Distribution Agreement

In presenting this thesis as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for a degree from Emory University, I hereby grant to Emory University and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive, make accessible, and display my thesis in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter know, including display on the World Wide Web. I understand that I may select some access restrictions as part of the online submission of this thesis. I retain all ownership rights to the copyright of the thesis. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis.

John L. Gibson 23 November 2010

Networks of émigrés in the Principality of Neuchâtel from the fall of the Bastille through the Reign of Terror (1789-1794)

by

John Gibson

Brian Vick, PhD.
Adviser

Department of History

Brian Vick, PhD.

Adviser

Kathryn Amdur, PhD.

Committee Member

Valérie Loichot, PhD.

Committee Member

23 November 2010

Networks of émigrés in the Principality of Neuchâtel from the fall of the Bastille through the Reign of Terror (1789-1794)

By

John Gibson

Brian Vick, PhD.

Adviser

An abstract of
a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences
of Emory University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of
Bachelor of Arts with Honors

Department of History

2010

Abstract

Networks of émigrés in the Principality of Neuchâtel from the fall of the Bastille through the Reign of Terror (1789-1794)
By John Gibson

The French Revolution, in changing the political landscape of Europe and reigning in a new regime, also destroyed the notion of aristocracy. While some French nobles and clergy stayed in the Republic, many of them began a nomadic journey through Europe in search of shelter from the stormy climate. The period 1789 to 1794 marks the most frequent era of departure from France and symbolizes two defining events of the Revolution; the storming of the Bastille and the final moments of the Reign of Terror.

This thesis, fitting within the historiography of royalist emigration and resistance to the Revolution, traces aspects of emigration networks in the Prussian Principality of Neuchatel during the 1789-1794 timeframe. Neuchatel was of prime importance for the reception of refugees during this period due to its defense and neutrality agreements, Francophone linguistic heritage, and close proximity to France. Abraham-Louis Fauche-Borel (1762-1829) has been known as the host *par excellence* of the Suisse romande during the Revolution. However, there were many Neuchatel citizens besides him who directly involved themselves in the harboring of émigrés in the face of the French Republican onslaught. Although there were many participants in these efforts, this thesis addresses the involvement of main policy makers, leading citizens in royalist networks and hosting.

Networks of émigrés in the Principality of Neuchâtel from the fall of the Bastille through the Reign of Terror (1789-1794)

By

John Gibson

Brian Vick, PhD.

Adviser

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences
of Emory University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of
Bachelor of Arts with Honors

Department of History

2010

Acknowledgements

This research would not have been done without the generous support of the Emory History Department's George Cuttino Undergraduate Research Scholarship. As a result I was able to travel to the archives in Switzerland and put my hands on original 18th century correspondence and documents pertaining to this project.

Throughout my time at Emory University, my advisor Dr. Brian Vick has been very dedicated to mentoring me. He has helped me in focusing and narrowing this thesis and continued to support me every step of the way. Dr. Astrid Eckert helped me form the framework of the thesis in History 495. Thanks to thesis committee members Dr. Kathryn Amdur and Dr. Valérie Loichot for guiding me through this process.

I thank my Swiss affiliate professors who generously gave of their time and energy to welcome me and help me adjust to the Swiss academic environment. In particular, I should mention Professors Olivier Christin (Université de Neuchâtel) and François Vallotton (Université de Lausanne). These two, in addition to others were excellent sounding boards for this thesis research and provided me with academic contacts that have aided me in the project. Mr. Lionel Bartolini, chief archivist of the Archives de l'État de Neuchâtel was the most helpful in acclimating me with the archives. He and I had weekly meetings in which we discussed my research, challenges, and potential sources to consult. Through Mr. Bartolini, I was able to meet some of the top contributors to the field of publishing and French Revolution history in Switzerland. Jean-Daniel Candaux and Michel Schlup gave me invaluable advice on Fauche-Borel's publications, ideology, and distribution schemes.

I would like to thank the following archivists and library staff for their constant attention to my research: Mr. Christoph Baumgartner (Staatsarchiv Nidwalden), Mr. Olivier Girardbille (Archives de la Ville de Neuchâtel), Dr. Stefan Jäggi (Staatsarchiv Luzern), Dr. Urs Leu (Zentralbibliothek Zürich), Mr. Michael Schmidt (Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Neuchâtel). These fine people ensured that I was able to access all the records and books in their immense collections.

Also thanks to the ThinkSwiss Research Scholar program through the Swiss Confederation for endorsing my research during the spring and summer of 2010.

Thanks to Prof. Christian Windler for inviting me to present this research at the University of Bern's November 2010 Kolloquium für Fortgeschrittene: Forschungen zur Neueren Geschichte. Thanks to Presence Switzerland and Emory's SIRE program for making my conference presentation possible.

Table of Contents

1. The Fall of French Royalty

« La révolution était faite et je ne m'en doutais pas. L'État avait changé de forme, le royaume de lois et je n'en savais rien. »[1]

These words of the Marquis de la Maisonfort were typical of the aristocracy. The nobles at first saw the Revolution as something only somewhat different, another *spectacle*. A minority of disgruntled or dissatisfied nobles initially regarded it as something to embrace. However, as the situation deteriorated, the French Revolution heralded the destruction of the royalist world, the beginning of the end. The French people had risen up against not only an absolutist regime but against the established and seemingly unshakeable European system of royalty. At this point, Maisonfort noted, "Je n'étais plus pour la Révolution."[2] Historian Donald Greer's emigration statistics from the era confirm a change in sentiment starting in 1790 that reflected the nobility's alienation from the regime.[3] The aristocrats saw entire estates liquidated and châteaux confiscated for use by the new Republican state. In the name of justice, the state arrested nobles and nonjuring clergy for threatening the new regime.

Faced with the struggle against the Revolution, the former elite used several methods to survive those uncertain and radical times. Again, a relatively small portion of the threatened French nobility initially saw the potential change as positive in that they could have more access

---

[1] Louis Dubois Descours La Maisonfort, marquis de, *Mémoires d'un agent royaliste sous la Révolution, l'Empire et la Restauration 1763-1827* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1998), 99. Note: Quotations in this thesis were left in their original form. As a result, some French words or sentences within original citations dating from the 18th century may appear to contain misspellings, lack accent marks, or punctuation.

[2] Ibid., 101.

[3] "The current of the emigrations, in synchrony with the pace of the Revolution, quickened during 1790. The abolition of hereditary nobility set the provincial nobles, hitherto passive, against the Revolution; the suppression of the *parlements* disaffected the *noblesse de robe* and a good many bourgeois as well; the Civil Constitution of the Clergy alienated virtually all of the upper clergy and a great many of the lower; and the rising tide of insubordination in the army accelerated the defection of the officers." Donald Greer, *The Incidence of the Emigration During the French Revolution*, Harvard Historical Monographs (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1951), 23.

to power and privilege with a less powerful monarch. Others saw this as an opportunity to acquire more personal power. Churchmen and nobles left the First and Second Estates to join forces with the Third Estate as the power structure swung to the people's side. The best example of such a shift is the Abbé de Sieyès, the most republican of priests. In 1789, Sieyès energized the people with the pamphlet *Qu'est-ce que le tiers-état?* This became the foundational text of the Revolution and the radical rhetoric that followed. Taking leadership positions, nobles ascended the new political ladder. Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, comte de Mirabeau, a controversial writer and diplomat during the pre-Revolution, delivered the Tennis Court Oath in June 1789 giving momentum to the National Assembly's formation. When established, the *Constituante* Assembly was a forum to promote the monarchist agenda from 1789 to 1791.[4]

However, there existed a greater number of nobles who were virulently against any form of government by the people. Establishing counterrevolutionary armies in the West or on the Eastern border with France, the former elite literally fought the republicans with bloody results.[5] A more moderate form of counterrevolutionary battle was through writing monarchist propaganda in newspapers and pamphlets. In addition to the Parisian aristocratic publicists, there were two notable printers who were neither aristocrats nor French. Genevois Jacques Mallet du Pan, as editor of *le Mercure,* was instrumental in promoting the establishment during the pre-Revolution. Not leaving his position until forced removal during the Revolution, he directed one

[4] A good example of early royalist involvement in revolutionary politics, Jean-Joseph Mounier was a royalist parliamentarian in the Monarchist party. However, Mounier, gave up his political cause and eventually emigrated. Cf. Jean Egret. *La révolution des notables : Mounier et les monarchiens, 1789* and René Bourgeois. *Jean-Joseph Mounier : un oublié de la Révolution*. Also see Robert Griffiths, *Le Centre Perdu : Malouet et les "Monarchiens" dans la Révolution française* (Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 1988). This book profiles Malouet, another Monarchist leader and gives a good background on party ideology.

[5] There are many well referenced texts available on the counterrevolution. This is a selective list of publications that cover the fighting in the Vendée and the counterrevolutionary armies. See François Lebrun and Roger Dupuy, *Les Résistances à la Révolution : Actes du Colloque de Rennes (17-21 Septembre 1985)* (Paris: Imago, 1987).

of the only anti-Revolutionary Parisian newspapers at the time from 1789-1792.[6] Upon return to his native Geneva, Mallet du Pan operated a counterrevolutionary publishing firm and worked as an agent of the Bourbon Restoration. He was also a major advocate and host of refugees during the 1790s. Another notable printer of the period was Abraham-Louis Fauche Borel of Neuchâtel. He was an established printer who had garnered the title of *imprimeur du roi* from Friedrich II of Prussia. Fauche-Borel printed the most controversial Enlightenment literature during the mid-1780s. Via black market channels, he successfully trafficked the material through Bourbon France.[7] Employing similar methods as used in that former phase, Fauche-Borel catered to the counterrevolutionary black market in Paris, Strasbourg, and Lyon in the Revolutionary era while at the same time exchanging books with Republican booksellers. He, like Mallet du Pan, was instrumental in the hosting of émigrés in the Suisse romande during the Revolution.

As some nobles were fighting in parliament or on the battlefield, others reacted to the "flight or fight" instinct by collecting their families and belongings and escaping Revolutionary France. Around 150,000 aristocrats and clergy sought refuge in other countries.[8] The cry from the former masters of France was universal: "Où aller?"[9] In desperation, aristocrats and clergy left France for any safe harbor that would have them with the hope that they could soon return to a politically moderate France. The emigrants began wandering through Europe from the fall of the Bastille in 1789 to the end of the Terror in 1794. They rented castles on the Rhine, stayed in

---

[6] Cf. Frances Acomb, *Mallet du Pan (1749-1800): A Career in Political Journalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1973), 210-52. Also see the following for profiles of other monarchist journalists during the early Revolutionary period. Jean-Paul Bertaud, *Les Amis du Roi: Journaux et journalistes en France de 1789 à 1792* (Paris: Perrin, 1984).

[7] Abraham-Louis Fauche-Borel, "Catalogue des Livres de Louis Fauche Borel, Imprimeur du Roi," (Neuchâtel: Fauche-Borel, 1787). Call number BPUN QZP 121. This catalogue gives a good overview of Fauche-Borel's offerings that include Brissot, Mirabeau, Diderot, Adam Smith, Horace Saussure, etc.

[8] According to Donald Greer, during the Revolutionary period approximately 150,000 people left France of which 129,099 were official émigrés – on lists and registered in France and elsewhere and an estimated 20-30,000 unofficial émigrés – illegal and not registered in France. Greer, *The Incidence of the Emigration During the French Revolution*, 20.

[9] La Maisonfort, *Mémoires d'un agent royaliste sous la Révolution, l'Empire et la Restauration 1763-1827*, 99. Chapter title from Maisonfort's 1823 memoirs.

boardinghouses in Brussels, or started businesses in London.[10] After the peak period of emigration (1789-1794), quite a few aristocrats who chose to leave in the early 1790s returned to France after the Thermidorian Reaction (July 1794) optimistically awaiting a change in the Revolution's direction.

Through examining documentation in the state archives of Luzern (StA LU) and Neuchâtel (AEN), as well as Neuchâtel's City Archives (AVN), this thesis addresses the ways in which Neuchâtelois citizens in tandem with underlying local structures aided the Confederation's and Principality's refugee population. A focal point is the movement of French émigrés to Switzerland, especially comparison of the Swiss Confederation's reception of the French with the Principality of Neuchâtel's. Specifically, I will reassess Abraham-Louis Fauche Borel's role in helping émigrés and establishing counterrevolutionary networks, as well as his motivations for doing so, against archival evidence suggesting a community effort to house and protect the new population. In the process of highlighting the citizenry's response to emigration, I will also bring out the role of women in the protection of émigrés. Most importantly, this honors thesis will shed light on the many Swiss research possibilities that exist in the field of emigration history in surrounding cantons, *Landvogteien*, and principalities during the Revolutionary era.[11]

[10] There are many sources that track the activities of émigrés in Europe. See Margery Weiner, *The French Exiles 1789-1815* (London: John Murray, 1960). This is a general overview of the émigrations but emphasizes the London experience. For the living conditions of émigrés read pp.107-120.

[11] *Landvogteien* in Switzerland at this time included the Tessin (Ticinese cities of Mendrisio, Lugano, and Bellinzona), the entire Wallis/Valais region, and select cities of the Bernese territories like Lausanne. Besides Neuchâtel, Liechtenstein is a bordering principality to Switzerland.

2. Historiography of Emigration

There are quite a few studies on French emigrants and their survival in foreign environments. Historians have also treated French emigration in a variety of ways. Their studies have been focused within certain parameters such as the intellectual impact that the émigrés had on Europe, the social conditions surrounding their new environments, religious life, or their struggle to combat the Revolution from outside France. Historians have discussed the global reach of emigration during this period.

A breakthrough work devoted to the émigré movements during the Revolution is Donald Greer's 1951 statistical and geographical approach on emigration. To this day *The Incidence of the Emigration during the French Revolution* is cited by articles and monographs due to its strength in sourcing waves and patterns. His work seeks only to depict the statistics and movements of emigrants and does not focus energy on any particular region. It is a good introduction to emigration history during the French Revolution and can be seen as a clear foundation upon which the modern historiography of emigration studies is built.[12]

Departing from Greer's macro method, historians have also chosen to narrow their scope to specific geographic areas or political divisions. Their subjects range from Central Europe, the Iberian Peninsula, Italy, the Holy See, to the three German cities of Hamburg, Koblenz, and Konstanz. Since this paper is centered on the Swiss Confederation, Prussia, and Neuchâtel, my sources are focused almost exclusively on those regions.

---

[12] Greer, *The Incidence of the Emigration During the French Revolution*.
There were some books that preceded Greer of note that include Henri Forneron, *Histoire Générale des émigrés pendant la Révolution française*, 3 vols. (Paris: Plon, 1884); Fernand Baldensperger, *Le Mouvement des Idées dans L'émigration française (1789-1815)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Plon, 1924).

Prussia

In terms of Prussia, Thomas Höpel's book, *Emigranten der Französischen Revolution in Preußen 1789-1806,* scrutinizes French émigrés and their activities in Prussia. [13] In total, there were 4,000 French émigrés who took up residence in Prussia during the French Revolution.[14]

Britain, Central Europe, and Italy

There were other safe-havens for the French émigrés during the Revolution. In the 1970s, Arnulf Moser covered the French émigré situation in Konstanz.[15] This city on the Bodensee responsible for housing a large contingent of French during the Revolution was a major base of counterrevolutionary sentiment. As seen in the correspondence of Fauche-Borel and writer Isabelle de Charrière, there were many letters from nobles living in Konstanz. Another important host city in Germany was Koblenz. Here, the princes' armies assembled their ranks and prepared for counterrevolutionary warfare. But it was also a safe-haven for normal citizens seeking shelter from the Revolutionary chaos across the bordering Rhine River.[16] It became a place of transit for émigrés expelled from parts of the Swiss Confederation or cities in Germany.

---

[13] Thomas Höpel, *Emigranten der Französischen Revolution in Preußen 1789-1806: Ein Studie in Vergleichender Perspektive* (Leipzig: Leipzig Universitätsverlag, 2000). However thorough his coverage is, Höpel spends little time on the influx of émigrés into the Principality of Neuchâtel. He mentions that the scope of his research does not cover the exclaves as much as other parts of Prussia. Some source material on Neuchâtel can be found in Swiss scholarship. The main contributors in this section include Philippe Henry, "Aspects de L'histoire de L'émigration française dans la Principauté de Neuchâtel pendant la Révolution (1789-1798)," in *La Révolution dans la Montagne Jurassienne, Franche-Comté et Pays de Neuchâtel: Actes du Colloque Historique de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Suisse, 20 mai 1989,* ed. André Bandelier and Jean-Marc Barrelet, *Regards sur le Haut-Doubs* (La Chaux-de-Fonds: Impartial, 1989). Wolfgang Stribrny, *Die Könige von Preußen als Fürsten von Neuenburg-Neuchâtel (1707-1848): Geschichte einer Personalunion,* vol. 14, Quellen und Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1998).

[14] Thomas Höpel, "Emigranten der Französischen Revolution in Preußen und Sachsen," in *Révolutionnaires et Émigrés, Transfer und Migration zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland 1789-1806, Beihefte der Francia* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2002), 193-220.

[15] Arnulf Moser, *Die Französische Emigrantenkolonie in Konstanz Während der Revolution (1792-1799)* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1975).

[16] Christian Henke, *Coblentz : Symbol für die Gegenrevolution : die Französische Emigration nach Koblenz und Kurtrier 1789-1792 und die Politische Diskussion des revolutionären Frankreichs 1791-1794* Beihefte zu Francia (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000).

Kirsty Carpenter's and Thomas Mansel's edited collection, *The French Émigrés in Europe and the Struggle against Revolution*, introduces the genre of émigré studies in an accessible and diverse manner by indicating the geographic range of émigré patterns. International scholars collaborated to give perspectives on the emigration experience in the United States, Britain, Prussia, Hungary, and elsewhere. Paul Chopelin, in 2005, wrote an article on the treatment of French priests in the Holy See.[17] Judging by the global span of this population migration there should be more contributions in Revolutionary historiography. This thesis will discuss emigration to Switzerland and Neuchâtel. There were motivations for émigrés and their hosts in political, economic, and historical contexts that spurred an influx of émigrés to a favorable region – Neuchâtel.

Switzerland

As one looks at the impact of the French Revolution on Switzerland, there are very few books that go into depth on emigration or even the diplomatic relations between the Confederation and France during this time. A common historical trend discusses the onslaught of French occupation and Helvetik.[18] The present historiography on the subject of emigration and Swiss perspectives on the period 1789-98 has several gaps. The latest study on French emigration to Switzerland was Nicolas Clottu's mémoire de licence *L'émigration des prêtres français au Landeron et à Cressier à l'époque de la Révolution française* (2003) which follows a

[17] Paul Chopelin, "'Des Loups Déguisés en Agneaux' L'accueil des Prêtres Constitutionnels émigrés dans L'état Pontifical (1792-1799)," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 341 (2005). For more information on the Italians' involvement in the counterrevolution Cf. Vittorio Emanuele Giuntella, *Le Dolci Catene : Testi della Controrivoluzione Cattolica in Italia*, vol. 75 (Rome: Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, 1988).

[18] *De l'ours à la Cocarde* is an edited collection of articles that detail the occupation of the Bernese in the French speaking province of Vaud (the future Canton Vaud). It traces the history of Vaud to the era of French occupation and leaves out any infiltration of royalist émigrés during the revolutionary era. *Danielle Anex-Cabanis and François Flouck, eds., De L'ours à la Cocarde: régime Bernois et Révolution en Pays de Vaud (1536-1798) (Lausanne: Payot,1998).*Also see Alfred Rufer's overview of the French Revolution. This work mainly focuses on the preliminary events leading up to 1798. Alfred Rufer, *La Suisse et la Révolution française*, ed. Jean-René Suratteau (Paris: Société des études robespierristes, 1974). Eric Golay's *Quand le peuple devint roi* shows the revolutionary sentiment in Geneva before, during, and after the French occupation. Eric Golay, *Quand le peuple devint Roi: Mouvement populaire, politique et Révolution à Genève de 1789 à 1794* (Geneva: Slatkine, 2001).

theme by Georges Andrey's 1972 *Les émigrés français dans le canton de Fribourg (1789-1815)* in that Clottu shows the relationships between French priests and the host population. Andrey's volume remains the most comprehensive on French emigration to Switzerland.[19]

Publishing

As this thesis touches on several historical themes that include publishing, diplomacy, and emigration, there are plenty of relevant secondary sources that overlap my topic. Furthermore, the previous sources provide historical precedent, historical context and most importantly they complement the archival evidence.

There are three publishing historians whose work directly overlaps mine: Jean-Daniel Candaux, Robert Darnton, and Michel Schlup.

Publishing historian Jean-Daniel Candaux of the Bibliothèque de Genève is one of the experts on the distribution schemes of Samuel and Pierre-Francois Fauche and Abraham-Louis Fauche-Borel. Through meticulous and time-consuming research, Candaux's contributions to *Aspects du livre neuchâtelois* and to the journal *Musée neuchâtelois* form the catalogue of Abraham-Louis Fauche-Borel's counterrevolutionary printing house. Director of Harvard's libraries and professor of History, Robert Darnton has written the most about the publishing, distribution, and selling of Enlightenment literature in France. Since the 1980s, he has worked closely with the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Neuchâtel (BPUN) in explaining the Société Typographique de Neuchâtel's (STN) circulation of censored literature to France in the

---

[19] Georges Andrey, *Les émigrés français dans le Canton de Fribourg (1789-1815)* (Neuchâtel: Baconnière, 1972). Also Cf. Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret. "Comptes Rendus: Les Émigrés Français Dans Le Canton De Fribourg (1789-1815). Effectifs, Activités, Portraits." *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 29, no. 5 (1974): 1109-10.
Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, directeur d'études at the École des Hautes-Études en Sciences Sociales, stated that Andrey's work, even though it touched on a theme already discussed by Tobie de Raemy in 1935, demonstrated a mastering of new sources in Switzerland and in the Vatican. Besides that, Andrey also hints at the social and intellectual roles played by royalists in Canton Fribourg. Chaussinand-Nogaret himself has been praised for his evaluation of sources to reveal the social and intellectual makeup of French aristocracy during the pre-Revolution.

second half of the 18th century. Michel Schlup, Director emeritus of the BPUN, was one of the first to bring attention to the STN's activities with his 1970s publications and congresses.[20]

Jürgen Habermas' *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* is an important historical theory of communication, publishing and literature that has emerged out from the Frankfurt School. Habermas proposes a sociological evolution of Western European literacy, bookselling, and publishing in the modern era.[21] Like any theory, it is subject to criticism.[22] To historians and feminist scholars alike, Habermas' omission of women's roles in the "public sphere" is problematic. Steven Kale, in his article "Women, the Public Sphere, and the Persistance of Salons", shows the progressive involvement of women in order for salon culture to flourish in the 18th century.[23]

---

[20] Schlup was instrumental in assembling the most influential historians of Europe together to examine the Enlightenment publishing firm. Some of the conference publications that have emerged include Robert Darnton and Michel Schlup, eds., *Le Rayonnement d'une Maison d'édition dans l'Europe des Lumières : la Société Typographique de Neuchâtel, 1769-1789 : Actes du Colloque Organisé par la Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Neuchâtel et la Faculté des Lettres de L'université de Neuchâtel, Neuchâtel, 31 Octobre-2 Novembre 2002* (Neuchâtel: Attinger,2002); Michel Schlup, ed. *L'édition neuchâteloise au Siècle des Lumières : la Société Typographique de Neuchâtel, 1769-1789* (Neuchâtel: Bibliothèque publique et universitaire,2002). In addition to the sources on Neuchâtelois publications, there are secondary sources that describe the subject of Neuchâtel and Switzerland during the French Revolution which touch on or refer to the emigration experience and social factors surrounding the period.

[21] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* trans. Thomas Burger, Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1989).

[22] Keith Michael Baker, "Defining the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun, *Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1992). See also Joan Landes' book on women's contributions and interactions within the French public sphere. Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988).

[23] Steven D. Kale, "Women, the Public Sphere, and the Persistence of Salons," *French Historical Studies* 25, no. 1 (2002).

3. Emigration to Switzerland

After Louis XVI's failed flight to Varennes, and waves of approved emigrations from France, the movement of the nobility came under the fierce scrutiny of the republicans. In a 28 July 1792 decree, the National Assembly ruled that all passports issued before that decree were null and void. No French citizen could legally exit France under the penalties associated with being labeled "émigré".[24] These penalties included incarceration or death upon return to France. Faced with this strident republican decree, many of the aristocracy moved out of France illegally, risking their lives and giving up everything to get away from the new populist regime. They had left France with the belief that the Revolution would be a passing trend, only to be abolished by a successful Royalist regime. However, this was not the case. The émigrés would have to wait to the end of the Terror for more moderate measures and 1815 for a complete Restoration of the monarchy.

Émigrés, under extreme pressure and in some cases fleeing for their lives, left for three specific genres of locales: 1) to neutral states, 2) places where there was a foundation of francophone inhabitants in the cases of Hamburg, the Netherlands, and provinces and cantons surrounding and within the Swiss Confederation, and 3) to European Ancien Regimes and

---

[24] "L'Assemblée nationale, considérant que dans le danger de la patrie, tous les citoyens sont en état de réquisition continuelle, et qu'il est nécessaire d'empêcher qu'aucun d'eux ne puisse se soustraire au devoir sacre de marcher au secours de la patrie lorsqu'il en est requis dans les formes légales, décrète qu'il y a urgence.
L'Assemblée nationale, après avoir décrété l'urgence, et dérogeant à l'article 5 de son décret du 1er février dernier, décrété.
Art. 1er. Jusqu'à ce que l'Assemblée nationale ait déclaré que la patrie n'est plus en danger, il ne pourra plus être délivré de passeports pour sortir du royaume à aucun citoyen français. Les passeports qui auraient été accordés jusqu' à ce jour pour sortir du royaume, et dont il n'aurait pas été fait usage, sont déclarés nuls.
[…] Art. 5. Ceux qui, sans passeports ou en vertu de passeports pris sous des noms supposes, seraient convaincus d'être sortis du royaume, seront réputés émigrés, et comme tels soumis aux dispositions des lois rendues contre les émigrés."
J.-B. Duvergier, *Collection complète des lois, décrets, ordonnances, règlements.* Paris: 1824 tome 4 p.320. cited in Janine Ponty, *L'immigration dans les Textes: France, 1789-2002*, Histoire Belin Sup. (Paris: Belin, 2003), 15.

enemies of the French Republic that included among others Austro-Hungary, Britain, Prussia, Russia, and Spain.

Although very close to Revolutionary France, the Swiss Confederation and allied provinces were by far the most stable emigration options at the time. The Confederation was neutral, politically secure, and implemented stringent border defense strategies. Going beyond the Confederation, the Prussian Principality of Neuchâtel combined three deciding factors (neutrality, Francophonie, and protection by a major power) into one package. The Principality's neutrality, its French language tradition, the affiliation with an enemy of France – Prussia, and not to mention geographic convenience all contributed to make Neuchâtel a choice arrival zone of the displaced French nobility and clergy from 1790 through the end of the decade.

The Swiss Confederation, *Landvogteien*, and allies such as Neuchâtel were shaken to their foundations by the French Revolution. The Swiss Confederation saw radical France as a threat to its neutrality, its economy, and its sovereignty. The Catholic Waldstätten cantons (Luzern, Schwyz, Unterwalden and Uri) were up to 1798 an important concentration of Swiss diplomatic and economic power. They governed not only their cantons but also their shared *Landvogteien* or bailiwicks.

Luzern was an influential canton that had ties with the Bourbon dynasty before and during the Revolution. From the 17th century to the Revolution, Luzern was allied with France. In exchange for military protection and financial assistance from France, the canton provided Swiss guards. While serving as Louis XVI's personal guards, a few hundred Swiss regiment soldiers were massacred in the Tuileries Palace in August 1792. Despite this loss of life, Luzerners continued to serve the Bourbons' interests even after Louis XVI's execution by

housing royalist émigrés in Luzern and in the Swiss-Italian *Landvogteien* of Tessin.[25] From 1764 to 1789, Unterwalden had good diplomatic and economic relations with the French. It was an official distribution point of pensions to retired French officers. With the abolition of the French royal army in the heat of revolution, Unterwalden abandoned its interests with France and shifted its allegiance to the Kingdom of Spain. In 1793, an Unterwalden regiment was formed within the Spanish army.

Combined, the central Swiss states were important diplomatic entities that wielded power from Luzern to the Italian border. Their financial commitment to the old French military, Catholic attitudes, and archaic political structures convinced the Republicans of counterrevolutionary maneuvers occurring in the Confederation. The French, mostly through the ambassador to Switzerland, perpetuated stereotypes. Ambassador François Barthélemy as well as members of the Committee of Public Safety wrote about the probable recruitment of a mercenary army in central Switzerland and the likely role that émigré priests and royalists had in shuttling local funds to support the counterrevolution.[26] But, besides financial support or deployment of a regiment to Spain, the central Swiss cantons were limited by their isolated location and could only indirectly participate in the counterrevolution. Their geography, neutrality policy, Catholic religion, and disconnection with Republican France could be seen as major advantages for émigrés seeking shelter. This situation was especially ideal for emigrant priests fleeing from the Revolution. They could still preach Catholicism while remaining safe from the Revolution. Given their distance from the French border, however, the central Swiss cantons would not be the best place to mount a counterrevolutionary resistance. There is no surprise to see that the

[25] Cf. StA LU A1 F1 Sch 41 – Diplomatie – Frankreich – Französische Revolution
[26] Cf. StA LU A1 F1 Sch 41 – Diplomatie – Frankreich – Französische Revolution

names listed in the "Französische Emigranten" box of Luzern's state archives are not traditionally associated with the Bourbon Restoration or counterrevolutionary activities.[27]

Contexts surrounding Neuchâtel in the 1790s

Geographically distanced from the Revolutionary firestorm, the cantons of the Swiss Confederation had independent diplomatic policies and were capable of acting on them until the French occupation of 1798. Unlike the Confederation's Waldstätten, the Prussian Principality of Neuchâtel was on the frontline of the Revolution. As such, it was responsible for balancing political pressures from France, the Confederation, and Prussia. The other comparable regions bordering France at the time included the independent Republic of Geneva and the Bishopric of Basel. Geneva, out of self-preservation, followed orders from France to rid itself of all French émigrés early on. Royalist publisher Mallet du Pan carried on a clandestine book business in Geneva while helping French émigrés until it was illegal to harbor them. Parts of Basel and the Jura were annexed and united by the French in 1793. Until 1800, Mont-Terrible region was the 84th Département of France. Fragmented Basel was unstable and bordered a few hostile French departements. Neuchâtel had an advantage that the other territories did not. It was an autonomous and sovereign principality of a great power – Prussia. Its defense and intelligence networks comprised the Prussians, Bernese, and the Waldstätten.

Neuchâtel as Regional Arbitrator

Just as the Confederation was threatened by the swift changes ushered in by the French Revolution, the Prussian Principality of Neuchâtel also felt the wave of Republican sentiment across its Northern border during the 1790s. Pre-Revolutionary politics, diplomatic relationships, and economic activities defined the Principality's stake in the Revolution.

---

[27] There are mostly priests and lesser nobles from Alsace who emigrated to Luzern. StA LU A1 F1 Sch 41 – Diplomatie – Frankreich – Französische Revolution.

Politics

Neuchâtel was an autonomous principality by constitution and treaty that dates back to the 1707 Prussian acquisition and traces its roots in the middle ages. Some of the constitutional conditions held that the Principality's citizens were exempted from Prussian military conscription, and that the Conseil d'État would be the locally operated government. The King of Prussia would appoint a governor to carry out limited ministerial duties. The Conseil d'État ruled that men would still have to serve in the local self-defense force but not at the behest of Prussia. Despite the autonomy and constitution, there was one factor that the Principality could not avoid. From one king's reign to the next, Prussian leadership styles varied from Friedrich-Wilhelm I's "expansionist" technique to the "Enlightened" in the case of the later Friedrich II. These management schemes influenced political and diplomatic obligations for Neuchâtel.[28] Left to rule in the shadow of Friedrich II's enlightened reign, Friedrich Wilhelm II was prince of Neuchâtel from 1786 to 1797 – the Revolutionary period. Despite his preoccupation with the Revolutionary wars, he carried out an interventionist rule over his subjects in Neuchâtel.[29] The relationship with Neuchâtel consisted of Friedrich Wilhelm II asking for information on natural resources, financial records, but also on diplomatic and defense alliances with other regions and countries. The prince kept the State Council informed on his opinions of Revolutionary France and was determined to defeat republicanism in all Prussian territories through arresting democratic troublemakers, enacting a censorship policy, and fighting in the counterrevolutionary wars across Europe. Neuchâtel authorities responded to this management philosophy by cracking down on patriotic societies and vigilantly patrolling the French border.

---

[28] Stribrny, *Die Könige von Preußen als Fürsten von Neuenburg-Neuchâtel (1707-1848): Geschichte einer Personalunion*.

[29] Jean-Pierre Jelmini, "Politique Intérieure et Extérieure de Neuchâtel, de 1707 à la Veille de la Révolution française," in *Histoire du Pays de Neuchâtel: De la Réforme à 1815* (Hauterive: Attinger, 1991), 95-96. Friedrich Wilhelm II involved the Prussians in warfare from the First Coalition (1792) to the Peace of Basel in 1795.

Diplomatic relationships

Sovereign yet formally governed by a Prussian appointed governor, Neuchâtel was frequently ordered by Berlin to initiate foreign policy relationships with France, Canton Bern, and the rest of the Swiss Confederation in the interest of Prussia. Its principal security allies were the then-powerful central Swiss cantons and Bern. Neuchâtel's diplomatic capital built during the Pre-Revolution proved essential for its stability during the turbulent era to follow.[30]

Economy

In the 18th century, second only to Marseille, Neuchâtel was a European capital of *Indienne* textile production. There were economic advantages of being an autonomous region under a European power. With their special status as autonomous Prussians, Neuchâtelois businessmen and bourgeois were free to contract with Prussia, Portugal, Sardinia, or France.[31]

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, the Neuchâtelois were known to have participated in a variety of illegal economic activities related to the proximity to the French border. It was officially illegal to counterfeit currency; however, neither the Principality's authorities nor the Prussian government enforced these statutes. Counterfeiting of royal currency was popular until the Principality's relations with France became strained during the mid-1700s. While the manufacture of Louis d'or was abated by Neuchâtel's successful crackdown on counterfeiters, there were still French rumors and stereotypes of Neuchâtel's involvement in the activity.[32] In 1789, France introduced assignats, paper money that replaced the Bourbon currency. Some Neuchâtel printers, thanks to their risqué literary output, came under suspicion for counterfeiting

---

[30] Ibid., 100-05.
[31] Philippe Henry, "Les Voies de Communication, les Postes et le Commerce," in *Histoire du Pays de Neuchâtel: De la Réforme à 1815* (Hauterive: Attinger, 1991), 216-26.
[32] For more on the manufacturing of counterfeit French currency in the 17th and 18th centuries see Charles Froidevaux and Arnaud Clairand, "L'industrie des fausses monnaies françaises au Pays de Neuchâtel," *Musée neuchâtelois*, no. 3 (1999). For 18th century counterfeiting see Charles Froidevaux, "Neuchâtel : Faux batz à la fin du 18e siècle," *Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau* 76(1997).

the new monetary instrument of Revolutionary France. The biggest case of this was in 1791 when the neighboring Pontarlier government accused Fauche-Borel of producing false assignats. French ambassador to Switzerland, Francois Barthelémy, sent several letters to the State Council and the municipal authorities but the Neuchâtel sheriff did not serve the search warrant until a year later. According to registers, no materials for making false money were found in Fauche-Borel's residence or at his publishing firm.[33]

The manufacture of assignats and Louis d'or was one activity, but the distribution of this money belongs under the larger umbrella of smuggling. Neuchâtel was a distribution point mostly for French wine and censored books.

Pre-Revolutionary economic activities: Société Typographique de Neuchâtel

The Société Typographique de Neuchâtel (STN) came into existence in 1769 upon the initiative of four entrepreneurs: Frédéric-Samuel Ostervald, Jean-Élie Bertrand, Jonas-Pierre Berthoud and Samuel Fauche. It enjoyed the status of being one of the most successful enterprises in the pre-Revolutionary book market.[34] Due to rigid censorship laws in France, the STN flourished as a clandestine publishing and distribution cartel that supplied progressive-minded Parisian coffee houses and bookshops. At the heart of the organization was Samuel Fauche, a well-connected businessman who promoted the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Brissot de Warville, and Louis-Sébastien Mercier.[35]

On the surface, all these business dealings look as if they were intended to circumvent, compromise, and thwart the French establishment. The business of banned books was a success

---

[33] AVN Manuel de Messieurs les Quatres Ministraux 1794-1799 (23 August 1794)

[34] Publishing has been thoroughly covered by historians such as Robert Darnton, Jean-Daniel Candaux, and Michel Schlup. They have focused on the Pre-Revolutionary book trade with the exception of Jean-Daniel Candaux, who in addition to the Enlightenment printing has dedicated much of his talents researching the counterrevolutionary imprints of Abraham-Louis Fauche-Borel in Neuchâtel.

[35] Robert Darnton, "Le marché littéraire français vu de Neuchâtel (1769-89)," in *Aspects du Livre neuchâtelois*, ed. Jacques Rychner and Michel Schlup (Neuchâtel: Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Neuchâtel 1986).

story because there was enough demand for the products. If the demand could not be met legitimately, consumers would be left with only the black market option. In the specific case of the STN, the publishers believed in their business model for two reasons. First, it was a strong financial winner because of a strong readership across the border. Second, the leaders of the STN were supporters of Enlightenment ideals such as intellectual openness, reason, and criticism of the status quo.

4. Abraham-Louis Fauche Borel

Abraham-Louis Fauche Borel (1762-1829) has been known to historians for generations as the champion of the counterrevolution in the Prussian Principality of Neuchâtel during the 1790s. Fauche-Borel, the son of Samuel Fauche, was steeped in the affairs of the publishing trade. When he was not assisting his father in Neuchâtel, he served as the sourcing arm of the firm. He traveled all over France with the Fauche catalogue to expand market share in the heyday of the pre-Revolutionary period. While abroad in Northern Germany, Paris, Amsterdam, and London, Fauche-Borel developed valuable commercial relationships that would pay dividends in 1786, the year he launched his own printing house.

Fauche-Borel's ideology prior to Revolution

The *Mémoires* are some of the only threads of originality that historians have to gauge Fauche-Borel's ideologies prior to, during, and after the French Revolution.[36] For example, Fauche-Borel relates his reactions to the 1769 riot in Neuchâtel by employing this event as an establishment of his royalist pedigree. In so doing, he also bolsters his opinions by quoting Rousseau's and Friedrich II's reactions of the riot.[37] Rousseau and Friedrich II decried the riotous Neuchâtelois and in their words called public mobs "unenlightened". On the surface, Fauche-Borel is an eccentric. He supports the heritage of royalty and at the same time encourages Rousseauan ideas. Digging deeper, however, we know that both Rousseau and

[36] The events, anecdotes, and statements related within the *Mémoires* are muddied by the fact that they were written over 30 years after they occurred. Jean-Daniel Candaux justifies the use of *Mémoires* because there are no primary sources intact that remain from the Revolutionary period. Cf. Jean-Daniel Candaux, "Louis Fauche-Borel Imprimeur de la Contre-Révolution," in *Aspects du Livre neuchâtelois*, ed. Jacques Rychner and Michel Schlup (Neuchâtel: Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Neuchâtel, 1986), 338-41.

[37] Abraham-Louis Fauche-Borel, *Mémoires de Fauche-Borel*, 4 vols., vol. 1 (Geneva: J. Barbezat et Compagnie, Imprimeurs-Libraires, 1829), 6-9.

Friedrich II were absolutely instrumental for the family publishing business. Rousseau was among the writers who brought notoriety to the STN and Samuel Fauche at the peak of Enlightenment. By Friedrich II's approval Samuel Fauche was granted "Libraire du Roi" status. Fauche-Borel would also gain the royal endorsement as "Imprimeur du Roi" in 1786 – shortly before Friedrich II's death. It was not Fauche-Borel supporting the king and philosopher but the king and philosopher supporting him.

In the early 1780s, Fauche-Borel apprenticed to a Francophone publisher (Virchaux) in Hamburg.[38] In the port city, Fauche-Borel honed his publishing skills, learned German, and made business connections. One of the most important authors who haunted the drawing rooms of the Virchaux family was Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock. The young Fauche-Borel was very impressed by the author of *Der Messias.*[39] Klopstock's politics were the period-enlightened republican stock.[40] The writers who selected Fauche-Borel were, like Klopstock and Rousseau, progressive for their time. According to business correspondence and notes dating from 1787, Fauche-Borel must have been in very high demand, for his orders stretched three years in

[38] Franklin Kopitzsch, *Grundzüge einer Sozialgeschichte der Aufklärung in Hamburg und Altona*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Hans Christian, 1982). There was a significant foreign population in Hamburg and in the Danish district of Altona. The Francophone inhabitants were the result of Huguenot migrations stemming from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) and expanded work opportunities. In particular, Kopitzsch's above book shows the intellectual and economic interests of these French residents. Fauche-Borel's brother Pierre-François Fauche worked with Virchaux as well. He stayed in Hamburg and developed the family business network in North Germany.

[39] Fauche-Borel mentioned in his memoirs that he translated Klopstock's great poem. Fauche-Borel, *Mémoires de Fauche-Borel*, 12-14.However, the 1795 book printed and sold by Fauche-Borel was translated by Petitpierre. In 1790, Fauche-Borel claimed that his German was not sufficient enough to translate a simple political brochure that he was willing to print in the original French. There are no letters from Klopstock to Fauche-Borel in either the Neuchâtel archives or in Klopstock's complete works. There are only references to Fauche-Borel, the Fauche family, and Pierre-Francois Fauche of Hamburg. According to Fauche-Borel's memoirs, Klopstock and he would spend many an afternoon strolling through the *Herbstadt* (Haseldorf), where the author famously wrote poetry.

[40] According to anecdotes, he used a walking stick from Boston because of his positive views of the American Revolution (1775-1783). He adopted a Rousseauan philosophy in his poetry and letters. Klopstock was also initially supportive of the French Revolution for the Enlightenment values espoused by its leaders. The Republic made him citizen of France: an honor which he returned amidst the radicalization of the new regime. For further information see Maurice Boucher, *La Révolution de 1789 vue par les écrivains allemands, ses contemporains Klopstock, Wieland, Herder, Schiller, Kant, Fichte, Goethe* (Paris: Marcel Didier, 1954), 36-50.

advance.[41] He published and sold liberal philosophy, Adam Smith's *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations*, Horace Saussure's botany and travel narratives, Brissot's risqué *Biblion Erotica*, geography, mathematics, and biology.[42]

The ideological turn

One could conclude to no surprise that Fauche-Borel was against the French Revolution and a sympathizer of the royalty by reading through his memoirs. This could be based on his interpretation of Rousseau's philosophy, his 1829 *souvenir* of the Neuchâtel riot (1768), and a perceived respect for the royal establishment.[43] Fauche-Borel, when subject to post-structural analysis, plays the same role as Michel Foucault's "author", as a placeholder of a larger discourse, but from the position of a publisher.[44] Viewed by history, the name "Fauche-Borel" evokes counterrevolutionary rhetoric, the emigration, and the times in which he lived. Fauche-Borel is symbolic of the counterrevolution. Whether Abraham-Louis Fauche Borel actually believed in the French Revolution is not the issue. Fauche-Borel the publishing icon was staunchly against the Revolution. The ensemble of counterrevolutionary works that he published depicts his relationships, influences, and finally the political leanings that his firm adopted.

---

[41] BPUN Fonds STN Ms. 1149, 194-198 There are several business letters from Fauche-Borel to the STN located in the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Neuchâtel's Fonds de la Société Typographique de Neuchâtel. These particular letters (from 1787-89) cover Fauche-Borel's relations with the STN and booksellers in Paris.

[42] Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 206. Darnton shows the increasing incidence of the STN's publication of risqué literature from 1783 to 1789 due in part to the Vergennes censorship laws. Fauche-Borel, in league with his brothers Jonas, Pierre-Francois, and father Samuel published the erotic works of Mirabeau to the anger of the local government.

[43] Fauche-Borel, *Mémoires de Fauche-Borel*. See passage on page 6 for further information on Fauche-Borel's reaction to the riot and death of Prussian Advocate-General Gaudot. Fauche-Borel paints a picture of the non-existent role played by fellow Neuchâtelois Jean-Paul Marat by misquoting Marat : "La terre le refusera; la terre ne le recevra pas!" (in reference to the Advocate-General Gaudot. Olivier Coquard's research has proven this statement and even the presence of Marat during the riot to be incorrect as Marat was already 25 years old and not living with the Marat family in Boudry. Olivier Coquard, *Jean-Paul Marat* (Paris: Fayard, 1993), 24.

[44] Foucault states that, "…an author's name is not simply an element in a discourse (capable of being either subject or object, of being replaced by a pronoun, and the like); it performs a certain role with regard to narrative discourse, assuring a classificatory function." He concludes the argument by saying that, "The author's name manifests the appearance of a certain discourse within a society and a culture." Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author," in *Textual Strategies : Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism*, ed. Josué V. Harari (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 147.

The ideological shift manifested itself in several ways. On 30 September 1790, the Société des Patriotes Suisses in Paris wrote a letter to Fauche-Borel requesting him to print republican propaganda for dissemination in the Suisse romande. In his response (received 12 October 1790) Fauche-Borel categorically revokes each aspect of the Patriotes' arguments.

> Je vous dirai, Messieurs, que dans ce pays, chacun parait content de son part, grace à notre constitution, nous payons tres peu pour les charges publiques, tous les sujets de l'Etat y peuvent parvenir à tout, et nous avons toute la liberté que nous pouvons désirer. Je ne crois donc pas que personne dans ce pays souhaitte [sic] un changement dans l'administration.[45]

Was Fauche-Borel's response completely counterrevolutionary? It was actually an Enlightenment interpretation of the state of affairs in Neuchâtel. He did not see a reason to support the French regime by publishing revolutionary propaganda.

The next document that sheds light on Fauche-Borel's change in rhetoric is the newspaper *Feuille d'Avis de Neuchâtel* (5 May 1791). Fauche-Borel, like any other businessman, was known to take out half page ads in the newspaper to show the "new arrivals" in the shop. As opposed to the books on science and Enlightenment philosophy, he was promoting among others a French translation of Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* and a Catholic polemic – *Dénonciation aux Français catholiques, des moyens employés par l'Assemblée Nationale pour détruire en France la réligion catholique*.[46] But on 30 June 1791, Fauche-Borel advertised Brissot's 1788 *Nouveau voyage dans les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique*.[47] Besides ideology, this business model shift enabled Fauche-Borel's financial survival. He explains in his autobiography that in Paris he exchanged his newer royalist-leaning books for the cheaper

[45] AEN Fonds Fauche-Borel Dossier 9
[46] "Annonces," *Feuille d'Avis de Neuchâtel*, 5 mai 1791.
[47] "Annonces," *Feuille d'Avis de Neuchâtel*, 30 juin 1791.

Enlightenment literature that was banned prior to the Revolution for distribution in Switzerland and Neuchâtel.[48]

Fauche-Borel's change in ideology was a wise choice that would continue to allow his publishing house to remain under the wing of Prussia's court privilege. Unlike his oncle Friedrich II, Friedrich Wilhelm II was a reactionary monarch who was known for not appreciating liberal philosophy. For his survival and continued royal endorsement, Fauche-Borel chose the path of conservatism. Moreover, the Republican regime liberalized the press and encouraged the distribution of philosophy and enlightenment texts. This economic aspect of the Revolution dried up the demand for most book supply points outside France. The STN, in addition to having leadership difficulties, had felt the heavy blow to its once-reliable business model of publishing "forbidden best-sellers".[49] The STN filed bankruptcy in 1789 with skyrocketing debts and obligations. Fauche-Borel, who had dealt in the business of formerly censored books, was hit less hard. At one time, the major writers of the Enlightenment had converged on Neuchâtel searching for publishers. By 1789, this trend was over. Fauche-Borel had visited Paris in 1788. There, witnessing some of the Estates General proceedings, he made a major business decision that would transition his printing firm into a royalist establishment over the next two decades.[50]

> Les philosophes et les gens de lettres étaient devenus des livres vivans qu'on trouvait dans tous les salons, dans tous les cercles, et dont il fallait écouter la lecture journalière et répétée ; les associations académiques les avaient rapprochés des hommes les plus considérables de la monarchie. Ce mouvement réagissait dans toutes les classes.[51]

---

[48] Fauche-Borel, *Mémoires de Fauche-Borel*, 85, 89.
[49] Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995).
[50] Fauche-Borel was friends with Mirabeau, one of the firm's most important contributors to the book inventory. He stayed in Mirabeau's Parisian home during the calling of the Estates General. Fauche-Borel claims that after seeing and hearing the revolutionary discourse everywhere in Paris, that he was convinced that Revolution was inevitable. From that time onward, Fauche-Borel followed, « une route diamétralement opposée » to Mirabeau. Fauche-Borel, *Mémoires de Fauche-Borel*, 46.
[51] Ibid., 47-48. This passage not only brings modern readers a glimpse of the 1780s French "public sphere" but this also depicts Fauche-Borel's reflection of shock regarding his contribution to the impending Revolution.

Personal ideology, as he mentions in his 1829 memoirs, could have been an important emotional factor in his shift. However, the economic conditions and a radical change in discourse can be seen as much more practical elements in Fauche-Borel's switch. In contact with booksellers from Lyon and Paris to Amsterdam and Hamburg, he could gauge the success of his inventory. With the elimination of censorship laws, the demand for philosophy and science had gone down. In 1788, Friedrich Wilhelm II enacted a new censorship policy in Prussia that cracked down on Enlightenment writings.[52] This brought an end to scientific output in the kingdom. As Fauche-Borel explains in his memoirs, he exchanged the books that were not selling well at home in Paris for the ubiquitous philosophical writings of Diderot or French translations of world travels to keep the people in Switzerland informed.[53] Then Fauche-Borel would sell the newly illicit literature in the Prussian principality. An exchange of books was made between his network of distributors and colleagues. Fauche-Borel received a letter dated 4 Frimaire l'An 3 (24 November 1794) from the republican bookseller Aubry.[54] In the letter, Aubry discusses the arrangements that he could make for shipping Revolutionary literature to Fauche-Borel's bookshop in Neuchâtel. Enclosed in the letter is an inventory of books ranging from *Catéchisme des droits de l'homme* and *Civilité Républicaine* to *La Constitution.*[55] While this thread of business correspondence could be seen as "revolutionary", the literature purchased

[52] Wolfgang Neugebauer, "Preußen in der Zeit der Revolutionen," in *Handbuch der preußischen Geschichte*, ed. Wolfgang Neugebauer (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 364-72. The Wöllner Edict of 1788 forced Protestant ministers to read from the Bible with limited interpretation from the pulpit. This edict also led to widespread censorship laws of the press.
[53] Fauche-Borel, *Mémoires de Fauche-Borel*, 89-90.
[54] AEN Fonds Fauche-Borel Dossier 11 « Aubry ». Carla Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1810* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 183-84. According to catalogues and Carla Hesse's secondary source, Aubry was a successful bookseller who edited republican school textbooks and published the first French book trade journal. Aubry and Fauche-Borel's book exchange occurred after the Thermidorian Reaction in July 1794. The more moderate environment allowed Fauche-Borel to close business deals with Revolutionary booksellers. Although his content was generally counterrevolutionary, a small selection of his materials could be sold legally in post-Terror France.
[55] AEN Fonds Fauche-Borel Dossier 11

from Aubry was Enlightenment and pedagogical. In addition to his French network of booksellers, Fauche-Borel had a distributor in Milan (André Alemani) who handled requests in Italy. Some of the titles that Fauche-Borel obtained through exchanges appear in the 1792 collective catalogue of the Fauche family. For example Pierre-Francois Fauche published the complete works of Voltaire in 1791/1792 in Hamburg, Leipzig, and Brunswick most likely for dissemination on the black market. The catalogue does not list any blatantly republican nor any completely counterrevolutionary books that could have been transferred to the business, however.

Fauche-Borel was an important figure in the grand scheme of counterrevolutionary publishing and a key agent of the Restoration. His distribution network of booksellers in Europe and especially France remained willing exchangers of literature. Ideologically, we can only go by the memoirs to trace his ideological footsteps during the early to mid-1790s to the Terror. Starting in 1795 he began in earnest his political life as an agent of the Restoration. According to early historiographical treatments of Fauche-Borel and counterrevolution he was a "dangerous agent of the counterrevolution". [56] Examing his Revolutionary networks of booksellers in France, Fauche-Borel could be seen as a liberal and an intelligent businessman who knew the trends of European book markets. He was conducting business with similar methods used before the Revolution by supporting émigrés. For instance, writers in exile, out of favor with the French crown, and philosophes went to Neuchâtel seeking sponsors, publishers, and (in the famous case

[56] "L'imprimeur Fauche-Borel fut le Neuchâtelois qui abrita le plus grand nombre d'émigrés." Yvonne Bezard, "Les émigrés français dans la Principauté de Neuchâtel de 1789 à 1800," *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* 10(1938): 318. Alfred Chapuis, in discussing exiled watchmaker Abraham-Louis Breguet's lodging with Fauche-Borel, confidently states, « C'était certainement dans l'habitation du libraire et fameux agent politique dont la maison était ouverte aux réfugiés venus de la France. » Alfred Chapuis, *Abraham-Louis Breguet pendant la Révolution française à Paris en Angleterre et en Suisse* (Neuchâtel: Griffon, 1953), 47. Also see Forneron, *Histoire Générale des émigrés pendant la Révolution française*. Forneron labels Fauche-Borel "agent dangereux".

of Rousseau) protectors. The émigrés who had gone to Neuchâtel found that the locals were hospitable to refugees. This was nothing new. Protestants fleeing French violence and persecution arrived in the 16th and 17th centuries, *philosophes* and writers came in the mid-18th century seeking an alternative to French censorship, and at the end of 18th came priests and aristocrats to escape imprisonment and decapitation in France. This is where Fauche-Borel came into play. As before, he managed to weather the storm of censorship laws by publishing risqué and enlightened books that were illegal in France – only now, they were directed against the revolutionary regime rather than against the monarchical one. He was the quintessential man of his environment and times. His family, while partially noble, was clearly a Protestant one.[57] According to several letters, and those portions of his memoirs that deal with his leanings, Fauche-Borel disliked regulation, censorship, and radicalization. He shifted his role from promoting scientists and philosophers to protecting émigrés and their political attitudes. In its economic activity, Neuchâtel has historically challenged the French establishment. Fauche-Borel was only a reflection of this common-place sentiment. Fitting within this environment, it comes as no surprise that he was known as a major protector of émigrés in Neuchâtel.

[57] AEN Fonds Fauche-Borel Dossier 9

5. Neuchâtel's Immigrant Community

In 1790, there was a significant increase in non-residents to the Principality. In order to keep up with this unplanned expansion of population, the Principality's local government passed a law requiring the registration of all foreigners sojourning in the area.[58] Through this process, historians can assess the social backgrounds of arriving émigrés.[59]

The French refugees to Neuchâtel were diverse. There was a minority of high profile nobles such as the Prince de Montbarey who conducted counterrevolutionary activities based out of Neuchâtel.[60] Some established writers like Fenouillot de Falbaire, who contributed to Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, made the move as well. Abraham-Louis Breguet, watchmaker, fled Revolutionary Paris for his previous home, Neuchâtel.[61] Despite the famous names, a great majority of the new residents was made up by non-juring clergy, lesser nobles, army deserters, and those fearing radicalism. According to the estimates, most of the émigrés to Neuchâtel departed from the relatively nearby French regions of the Jura, Alsace, Savoie, and Doubs. In 1793, insurgents fled from prosecution several kilometers from the border in the département du Doubs. Although there were 300 fewer émigrés in the Principality of Neuchâtel than in Prussia's Black Forest landholding Ansbach-Bayreuth (1,319 émigrés), this number represents a denser émigré population considering the small size of the Principality.[62]

---

[58] AEN Cartons Bleus AC 522/32 « Émigrés et émigrations » Dossier I, Article 1 « Arrêts, etc. 1790, 1791 »
[59] There are lists of many émigrés to be found in AEN boxes and proceedings in the AVN.
[60] The Prince de Montbarey was Louis XVI's minister of war.
[61] Chapuis, *Abraham-Louis Breguet pendant la Révolution française à Paris en Angleterre et en Suisse*.
[62] Höpel, *Emigranten der Französischen Revolution in Preußen 1789-1806: Ein Studie in Vergleichender Perspektive*, 194, 204. According to Philippe Henry's contribution in the *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse*, Neuchâtel's population had increased from 32,300 in 1752 to 48,700 in 1806. Philippe Henry, "3.1.3 - L'expansion de la fin du XVIIIe siècle et la modernisation démographique de la première moitié du XIXe siècle," in *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse (DHS)* (Bern1998-2010).

In order to stay in Neuchâtel, the émigrés were forced to find willing sponsors. The leading citizens connected to the government were the most prominent in securing housing for the royalists. They included Louis de Marval, Louis de Montmollin, Samuel Monvert, Jean-Jacques Sandoz-Travers, and the Mayor of Neuchâtel Charles Louis de Pierre.[63]

Government structures: The Conseil d'État, city government

The Principality and municipalities of Neuchâtel recorded non-resident aliens for inclusion in demographic reports to Prussia. The earliest records of emigrations from France that can be attributable to the Revolution date to spring 1790.[64] Neuchâtel approved almost all emigration requests with some exceptions.[65] The government registers only shed light on who was allowed or denied entry to the Principality. The only other written relationships between the state and the residents were those involving debts, estates, or criminal law. Legal correspondence, ordinances, and state council minutes are the only official means to track written connections to the émigrés. Deconstructing the government, we find it composed of the local elite. These entrepreneurs, vintners, military officers, and members of the highly selective Bourgeoisie de Valangin held the reins of the autonomous Principality. Their political ideologies, economic situations, and social standing decided the direction of Neuchâtel's official reaction to the French Revolution and the emigration.

Neuchâtel's role in the broad contexts of the counterrevolution

---

[63] Partial list of people housing émigrés: Isabelle de Charrière, Pierre-Alexandre DuPeyrou, Jean-Pierre Samuel Fauche (Fauche-Borel's brother), Abraham-Louis Fauche-Borel, Henri Lambelet, Louis de Marval, Louis de Montmollin (Conseiller d'etat et Procureur de Valangin), Samuel Monvert (Châtelain – Val de Travers), Charles Louis de Pierre (Maire de Neuchâtel, 1792), Jean-Jacques Sandoz-Travers (Conseiller d'Etat, Président de la commission secrète de Neuchâtel. He also wrote *De l'interet politique de la Suisse relativement a la principauté de Neuchâtel* in 1790 – av pamphlet on the importance of regional stability and alliances)

[64] AEN Cartons Bleus AC 522/32 « Émigrés et émigrations » Dossier I, Article 1 « Arrêts, etc 1790, 1791 »

[65] In addition to approval lists, there are expulsion lists that include those émigrés not able to pay their debts, thieves, or republican sympathizers. Example: AEN Cartons Bleus AC 522/36 « Émigrés et émigrations » Dossier 4 Article 9 "Etrangers que le Locle veut expulser, 1793 »

Besides accepting émigrés into their principality, the leaders of the government also corresponded actively with Bourbon agents and royalist armies in France, Germany, Italy, and the Low Countries. As Friedrich Wilhelm II was an adversary to France's expanding republic, he sent many letters inquiring about the status of the French Revolution from the perspectives of the Neuchâtelois. On 7 February 1791, the State Council read a 24 January 1791 letter from Friedrich Wilhelm II that bears the heading « Rescrit de Sa Majesté qui demande que le Conseil lui rapporte ce qui se passe en Suisse au sujet d'une contrerévolution en France ».[66] The Prince de Condé was passing through Bern from Turin on his way to Yverdon. The king charged the councilors with gathering information on the Revolution and ways in which Neuchâtel could help in the counterrevolution. There were certainly ways that the State Council and other government structures influenced foreign policy and communicated in diplomatic channels on behalf of Prussia, but on the local level the leaders within those structures worked to promote emigration to Neuchâtel. There were three major collaborators in facilitating counterrevolutionary activities and emigration in Neuchâtel: Louis de Marval, Samuel Monvert, and Charles-Louis de Pierre.

Louis de Marval

At the heart of every organization, company, or government, there are actors who lead and determine the path of that entity. Louis de Marval (1745-1803), president of Neuchâtel's State Council, was a chief power broker responsible for guiding regional policy in the interest of the Principality. He, along with others in the government, had a vested interest in fueling counterrevolutionary sentiment in Neuchâtel. To be counterrevolutionary and anti-republican would translate into loyalty to the Prussian court. With loyalty, the Principality and its ministers could safeguard their privileged position under Berlin's crown. Marval was also Prussia's

[66] AEN Chancellerie AC 111 « Lettres de Sa Majesté » (1789-92)

ministre du roi près du Corps Helvétique in Neuchâtel. This position was responsible for maintaining ties with all concerned powers that included the Swiss Confederation, France, and Prussia. History will remember Marval for his negotiation of a neutrality agreement with the Swiss Confederation in 1792. On 10 April 1792, a secret message was sent from Friedrich Wilhelm II to Marval encouraging the Neuchâtelois authorities to bolster their defense networks and prepare for invasion. In a grave 5 May 1792 address to the Secret Council of Bern, Marval spoke on several topics all surrounding the French Revolution. In his eyes (and therefore Neuchâtel's) there was a neighboring state bent on invading Neuchâtel and Switzerland. Realizing the impact of France's declaration of war on Austria and Prussia, Marval further explains an important wartime scenario. In the event Prussia goes to war with France, the Corps Helvétiques should protect Neuchâtel as a buffer zone between the Confederation and Republican France.[67] A resulting letter sent 7 May 1792 from Bern recognizes Neuchâtel as a sovereign state and at the same time under the wing of Swiss neutrality. The document also demands that France accept the inviolable sovereignty of Neuchâtel. The declaration of sovereignty was read to the State Council two days later and went into effect immediately. Marval's neutrality alliance with the Swiss, protecting the Principality from French invasion, came into effect by the end of the same month. The French National Convention officially accepted the agreement 13 April 1793.

Shortly after the writing of this letter, Marval received a letter on 12 May 1792 with information on the state of the Neuchâtel militia. This memorandum shows the demand for troops at the border, neutrality notices placed clearly in all *communes* of the Principality, and a thorough inspection of arms and munitions. Marval, the Corps Helvétiques, and the Confederation were preparing for a breach of contract with France and furthermore a defensive

[67] AEN Archives Marval Dossier 2 Article I

battle. Companies of French, volunteer, and German mercenary troops were arriving at the Château de Joux near Pontarlier, département du Doubs and around 600 were assembled in May 1792.

Marval was firmly against the French Revolution and proactive in forging stronger ties with the Confederation. In addition to his official foreign relations work, he conducted business with his fellow Neuchâtelois. Neuchâtel was in a very fortuitous position vis-à-vis the Prussian government. Prussia needed to have representatives of their interests in cities across the Continent. Kings Friedrich II and Friedrich Wilhelm II both selected Neuchâtel citizens to fill these important positions. In this capacity, the emissaries would send official correspondence to Berlin, but would also conduct business to further personal or regional gains. Marval understood the system and worked it to the advantage of Neuchâtel. In 1789, Marval pressed for an alliance with France and St. Gallen to protect the Principality. Friedrich Wilhelm II in a 4 May 1790 letter dissuaded the Neuchâtel government from pursuing any strategic relationship with Revolutionary France.[68] At the royal stroke of a pen, the Prussians had partly determined political, diplomatic, economic, and ideological consequences that Neuchâtel would carry into the early 19th century.

Samuel Monvert

« Nous avons tout ce qu'il nous faut pour être heureux ; nous formons un peuple privilégié, par les bénédictions que l'Être suprême répand sans cesse sur notre chère patrie. »[69]

This unique quotation reflects the sentiments of some Neuchâtelois; content, Calvinist, and strongly influenced by Rousseau and the Enlightenment. In 1793, Fauche-Borel published these words in a political pamphlet titled *Nous sommes bien, tenons-nous-y*. Not just another

[68] AEN Chancellerie AC 111 Lettres de Sa Majesté (1789-92)
[69] Samuel Monvert, *Nous sommes bien, tenons-nous-y* (Neuchâtel: Fauche-Borel, 1793). Call number at the Archives de l'État de Neuchâtel : AEN 949.443.8 MON

counterrevolutionary tract produced by the French royalist "staff" writers, this document was written by Samuel Monvert, captain and châtelain of the Val de Travers district northwest of Neuchâtel. Monvert (1745-1803) was 17 years old when Rousseau started living in his town of Môtiers.

As the principal administrator of Val de Travers, Monvert was responsible for counting the number of émigrés in his district. Instead of simply writing about the émigrés in his district, Monvert took direct action by harboring them in his château. In a 1790/91 letter to President Sandol-Roy, this is said about Monvert:

Monsieur le President,
Pour le bien de l'état, mettés sous les yeux du gouvernement cet avis important. Dans tout les villages du Vallon il y a des Émigrés françois revenu de l'armée ; Monvert en a à Môtiers deux qui etoient deja à l'armée noire l'année passée.[70]

Reading through the political pamphlet published by Fauche-Borel and limited correspondence, it is clear that Monvert was a counterrevolutionary sympathizer. On 14 August 1792, Monvert discussed the priests in the Val de Travers district and his efforts to allow them to stay.[71]

Samuel Monvert was instrumental in making Neuchâtel a supporter of the counterrevolutionary cause with his political pamphlets but he also was an activist for the émigrés. As a friend and supporter of Fauche-Borel, Monvert also signed onto the July 1794 "Acte d'Union". This open letter to the King of Prussia and the State Council addressed the loyalty of Neuchâtelois subjects to the crown signed by several prominent burgers.[72] The "Acte

[70] AEN Chancellerie AC 522/32 Série Cartons Bleus "Émigrés et émigrations" Dossier 1 Article I. Exact date and sender unknown. These are the earliest AEN records showing the presence of French émigrés in Neuchâtel and in particular French military deserters. Monvert confirms this fact by his official report to the State Council reporting the two French officers in addition to other émigrés in the Travers district. The reports drawn up by the district governors give a feel for the social standing and geographic origins of refugees. At the top of each list is a municipality that sponsored those émigrés.
[71] AEN Chancellerie AC 522/32 Série Cartons Bleus « Émigrés et émigrations » Dossier 1 Article II (janvier à août 1792)
[72] Fauche-Borel, *Mémoires de Fauche-Borel*, 130-38.

d'Union" follows a flurry of loyalty letters from each commune and district of the Principality to Berlin and the State Council.[73]

Charles-Louis de Pierre

On 28 May 1792, the State Council received a letter of congratulations and approval from Friedrich Wilhelm II upon the news of the mayoral elections. Charles-Louis de Pierre[74], already an experienced member of the State Council and a firm supporter of the Prussian court, became the new mayor of Neuchâtel in spring 1792. As another government administrator, he was a staunch royalist. He was a friend of Fauche-Borel, employing him in fact-finding missions. While he was not personally responsible for lodging royalists in Neuchâtel, his relaxed administration allowed the entry of hundreds of émigrés to the capital of the Principality. Pierre's leadership was instrumental in rallying the populace to harbor those refugees. Although his personal intervention is not apparent in the proceedings from 1792 onward, the friendship and correspondence with royalist printer Fauche-Borel must have influenced the policy of the city government because the issue of emigration was never a major source of problems like it was for the territory as a whole as seen in the State Council debate minutes.

Fauche-Borel

When Enlightenment writers ceased to approach Fauche-Borel to publish their works, he was forced to look for other books to sell in his two local stores and in France. Fauche-Borel was in the right place at the right time when the émigrés arrived in Neuchâtel. He went from printing Enlightenment literature to seeking out the talents of recently arrived aristocrats. In exchange for

[73] The original « Acte d'Union » is found within the letters to Berlin. Following this declaration signed by 3 private citizens (Monvert, Fauche-Borel, and Henry Borel-Borel), there is an official declaration signed by the State Council's members. This declaration emphasizes that the views of the private do not necessarily equate the public. Nevertheless, the State Council affirms the spirit of Fauche-Borel's loyalty agreement. AEN Chancellerie AC 73/44 Lettres à la Cour 1794.

[74] (1736-1824)

room and board, the French émigrés would be incorporated in business activities such as distribution or writing. The best indicator of whom Fauche-Borel helped during the 1790s is found in the refugees' contributions published at the time.[75] Fauche-Borel networked with many political agents, Swiss collaborators, and influential conspirators of the Restoration across Western Europe.[76]

Fauche-Borel's writers and correspondents:

Charles-Georges Fenouillot de Falbaire (1727-1800)

Fenouillot de Falbaire was a contributor to Diderot's and Alembert's *Encyclopédie*. Known chiefly for his plays and operas, he also wrote some counterrevolutionary propaganda pieces for Fauche-Borel while staying in Neuchâtel. Fenouillot de Falbaire was the editor of Fauche-Borel's *Messager Boiteux de Neuchâtel*, a farming and weather almanac intended for distribution in Neuchâtel and French-speaking parts of Canton Bern.[77] Not only did the *Messager* explain the climatic trends in the region or project harvests, but it also depicted the socio-political climate of the times. On page 38, the almanac discussed the Revolutionary wars that were raging in France and the impact that they would have on the economic forecast or situation.

---

[75] Candaux, "Louis Fauche-Borel Imprimeur de la Contre-Révolution." Candaux is very helpful and thorough in his analysis of Fauche-Borel's literary connections during the French Revolution. He compares and contrasts Fauche-Borel's exploits from the memoirs with the actual literature published at the time.

[76] Louis-Alexandre de Launay, comte d'Antraigues was an important writer and counterrevolutionary. He had lived all over Europe during the waves of emigrations. In Switzerland, he stayed in Lausanne and Mendrisio: two Landvogteien of the Confederation. The correspondence held within the Fonds Fauche-Borel at the AEN starts in 1795. These letters are important for the themes of secret agency, the Bourbon Restoration, and post-Reign of Terror counterrevolutionary activities. Another important contributor to Fauche-Borel's inventory of counterrevolutionary literature is Joseph de Maistre. Jacques Mallet du Pan, referred Maistre to Fauche-Borel for publication of Considerations sur la France in 1796. There is no evidence that Maistre stayed in Neuchâtel. There are also letters dating from 1796 to the Fauche-Borel's arrest (1806) from members of the Prussian court and royal family. Most prominently they include several letters from Luise von Mecklenburg-Strelitz, wife of Friedrich Wilhelm III.

[77] The Jurassien and Vaudois cities of La Neuveville, Yverdon, and Lausanne were markets in addition to villages and towns in the Principality. There is evidence of distribution to these areas found in Neuchâtel's official correspondence with Bern. Some Bernese took offense by the title of Fauche-Borel's almanac because there was already another almanac of the same name in Vevey and in Bern. Additionally, the Secret Committee at Bern was concerned that the counterrevolutionary rhetoric within would threaten the neutrality alliance between France, the Confederation, and Neuchâtel. Cf. AEN Chancellerie AC 522/78 Série Cartons Bleus "Relations Exterieures" Dossier 3 : Berne. For Fauche-Borel's response to these concerns, go to AEN Chancellerie AC 522/74 Série Cartons Bleus "Presse Publications".

> En combinant les intrigues politiques avec les diverses rencontres que les sept Planètes auront à essuyer durant cette année, a moins que nos vieux observateurs ne se soient trompés, il y a apparence de quelque notable révolution, surtout sous les trigones de feu & autres pays. L'orient & l'occident n'ont pas encore lieu d'espérer la fin de leurs calamités. Heureux les peuples qui sauront profiter de ces malheurs pour devenir modérés & plus sages ![78]

In typical fashion, Fauche-Borel uses the pseudonym Antoine Souci for the editor. Indeed there was much *souci* in the *Messager* but neither Souci nor Fauche-Borel was editor of the publication. Fauche-Borel appointed Fenouillot de Falbaire as editor in chief of the publication. This fact does not limit the authorship of the almanac to these two men. There is a possibility that other émigrés participated in the *Messager*'s redaction and writing.

Challenging theory: Marianne Borel's role in publishing and hosting émigrés.

When Fauche-Borel was arrested, found guilty of espionage by a Parisian court, he was sent to the Temple prison. During his jail sentence, his wife continued the business activities in Neuchâtel. Marianne Borel published, sold, and distributed books in the same way that Fauche-Borel did in the 1790s.

A part les articles de sa Librairie, elle se charge de procurer les articles qu'on ne trouveroit pas dans son Catalogue. Nota. Elle a une imprimerie bien assortie en très-beaux caracteres, et peut entreprendre toutes sortes d'ouvrages. Le public peut être assuré de la plus grande exactitude dans ses impressions, et qu'elle donnera tous ses soins pour mériter sa confiance.[79]

It is easy to see that Marianne Borel was very important for the family business during her husband's imprisonment. She was publishing books independently of Louis in the period 1806-14. She was an independent businesswoman who had continued the progress made by her husband despite his incarceration. However, there is also a case to be made for an involved Marianne Borel long before the arrest. Abraham-Louis Fauche-Borel was known for his long

---

[78] *Messager Boiteux de Neuchâtel pour l'année 1794* p.38 See pp.41-50 on Louis XVI's trial and death. See pp. 51-52 Ode for the victims of August 10th.

[79] *Catalogue des Livres qui se trouvent chez Marianne Fauche née Borel Libraire et Imprimeur*, 1806. Call number at the BPUN is Q 7514.

business trips, travel to Paris, Hamburg, and elsewhere. In establishing a printing firm in Strasbourg in 1795 and left the Neuchâtel business for months at a time. His travel plans were multiplied when he worked as a Bourbon agent from 1795 to the Restoration. He was arrested on a few occasions in Directory France and after fled to Germany.[80] There are gaps in the memoirs that do not explain the occurrences in Neuchâtel for the simple reason that Fauche-Borel was not in town.

In his memoirs, Fauche-Borel dedicates a portion to his wife and marriage.

> En janvier 1786, je fus uni à l'être le plus fait pour m'aider à traverser la vie dans la carrière orageuse que j'étais destiné à parcourir. Attachée à ses devoirs de fille, d'épouse et de mère, ma femme ne s'en est jamais écartée durant le cours de notre union, et par conséquent dans les circonstances les plus critiques ou les évènemens de la révolution aient pu engager un homme plein de bonne foi et d'entrainement.[81]

It is very possible that Marianne Borel led a very busy life as a businesswoman and a hostess of émigrés. There is further evidence and documentation that point to her involvement in securing writers for the printing house and making important connections with Restoration agents such as La Maisonfort and Montgaillard in Neuchâtel and Hamburg.[82] Marianne Borel is a symbol of women's involvement in the public sphere through publishing but also through influencing political change in Europe. This was all occurring when France had officially adopted the values of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. In Paris, those engaged women were denounced as "counter-revolutionary" to quote François Chabot.[83] Landes argues that the radical Jacobin leaders were quick to call any activity that threatened their masculine superiority

---

[80] Fauche-Borel, *Mémoires de Fauche-Borel*, 297, 326, 32.
[81] Ibid., 23.
[82] These connections can be found in the memoirs of both Montgaillard and La Maisonfort. La Maisonfort, *Mémoires d'un agent royaliste sous la Révolution, l'Empire et la Restauration 1763-1827*; Maurice de Montgaillard, *Souvenirs du comte de Montgaillard : agent de la diplomatie secrète pendant la Révolution, l'Empire et la Restauration*, ed. Clément de Lacroix (Paris: P. Ollendorff, 1895).
[83] Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, 142.

counterrevolutionary and subversive.[84] This brought about the elimination of women's republican societies in France. Women were meant to be the "matrons of the Republic".[85] It is interesting that in Neuchâtel, an autonomous Principality of Prussia connected to the emigration and counterrevolution, there could be such revolutionary women, or in this case at the same time actually counterrevolutionary women like Marianne Borel.

Isabelle de Charrière

In 1984, Candaux finished compiling the complete works of Isabelle de Charrière 180 years after her death.[86] Since this important milestone, there has been increased interest in Charrière's correspondence, her ideology, and the makeup of 18th century Neuchâtelois society. Using her writings of the Revolutionary era as a lens into Neuchâtel, modern readers can glimpse into the lifestyles of French émigrés and their reception by the locals.

In the mid-18th century, Isabelle de Charrière and her husband moved from the Netherlands to Neuchâtel for business opportunities. The most-read channel into Charrière's life and writings is Simone de Beauvoir's 1949 *The Second Sex*. We hear of the struggles of Charrière's confining marriage and a limited narrative on her literary activities in Neuchâtel.[87] However, there is much more to be seen in Charrière's fictions and correspondence that bring out a crucial figure in 1790s Neuchâtel. An important salon of the late-Enlightenment was in Neuchâtel chez Isabelle de Charrière.[88] It was ordinary in Paris for aristocratic women to host engagements in the home for the occasional playwright or philosophe. In Neuchâtel however, Charrière combined the role of hostess and celebrity. Charrière, the literary figure of Neuchâtel,

---

[84] Ibid., 139-46.
[85] Ibid., 161.
[86] Isabelle de Charrière, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Jean-Daniel Candaux, 10 vols. (Amsterdam: G.A. Oorschot, 1979).
[87] Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H.M. Parshley (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 476-77.
[88] Philippe Godet, *Madame de Charrière et ses amis d'après de nombreux documents inédits* (Geneva: Jullien, 1906).

occupied a role otherwise held only by Jean-Jacques Rousseau during his tenure there. Rousseau was usually invited to the homes of STN publishers Ostervald and Fauche or his protector DuPeyrou. Later, when it was Charrière's time to be the Principality's literary genius, she took it upon herself to invite the wealthiest and most politically connected patrons of the city to her home. DuPeyrou, Montmollin, their wives, and other councilors or emissaries to Prussia were the Neuchâtelois who even in the waning days of the STN grew accustomed to being surrounded by the latest literary talent.

At the age of 22, Charrière adopted her style of satire with *Le noble*. This 1762 parody of aristocratic life and customs written in the Netherlands clearly foreshadows her future work in Neuchâtel.[89] that humorously portrays French royalists and priests in Neuchâtel. Like many who lived in Neuchâtel prior to the French Revolution, Isabelle de Charrière had a liberal outlook on life. She was well-read in the works of Diderot, Rousseau, and Voltaire that were published in the same town years before. Colombier and Auvernier were two of the wealthiest villages surrounding Neuchâtel. Charrière was Colombier's most famous resident before the Revolution. Combining her wit, liberal background, and passion for satire, she was the best person to write about the lives of her new aristocratic neighbors. Only one of her books was published by Fauche-Borel.[90] In a letter describing the politics of publishing, she said,

> Je voudrois bien pouvoir vous envoyer les miennes [les pièces] mais je ne sai plus ou les trouver. Fauche est trop aristocrate pour avoir voulu les imprimer ou les vendre… A present je suis tentée de croire que tout a disparu sans pouvoir deviner comment car a Geneve on ne les a point eues. Elles etoient trop Aristocrates comme a Neuchâtel trop Democrates. Ce qui me fait plaisir de la petite Comedie c'est qu'elle ne fache pas ceux aux depens de qui elle fait un peu rire.[91]

---

[89] Her later works (plays and novels) in Neuchâtel are similar to her earlier ones in that they humorously portray French royalists and priests. In the same way, Charrière used her interactions with the Dutch-French elite to add to her literature, she continued this style in depicting her opinions on the émigrés in the Principality.

[90] *Lettres d'un évêque français à la nation* published in 1789.

[91] A Jean-Pierre de Chambrier d'Oleyres, 1 février 1794. Isabelle de Charrière, *Œuvres complètes: Correspondance IV avril 1793-décembre 1794*, ed. Jean-Daniel Candaux, 10 vols., vol. 4 (Amsterdam: G.A. Oorschot, 1979), 323.

This statement reveals both the political positions of publishers and the Suisse romande reading public. Charrière did not find a willing printer in conservative Geneva or in Neuchâtel because of political agendas and to some degree self-censorship. Regardless, she successfully published in Lausanne.

Charrière was not a counterrevolutionary in any sense of the word. She was a moderate liberal as Isabelle Vissière mentioned, « Renvoyant dos à dos émigrés et Jacobins, elle suggère une voie moyenne et propose l'hospitalité helvétique comme un modèle à la fois d'humanité et de sagesse politique. »[92] Having lived in Neuchâtel before and during the Revolution, she had two ideas of republicanism. She was in support of the open society promised by the new regime but against the hostility to the aristocracy. Her writings of the time reflect mixed attitudes of royalist mockery and anti-republicanism. *L'émigré* (1793), a play based on Charrière's daily interactions with French refugees, is a window onto Neuchâtel's society and ideological makeup.

DuPeyrou said in a 25 December 1793 letter to Charrière that, « Votre *Émigré* est un véritable impromptu dont la composition est presque plus rapide que sa transcription. »[93] This praise affirms the speedy writing of her manuscript as well as the currency of its content. The first scene of Act I (set in a Swiss country house, 1793) starts off with a political conversation of Revolutionary France.

> M. Jager. – Pourquoi, ma sœur, cette grande toilette, et l'air de fête que vous donnez à votre maison?
> Mme Vogel. – Il ne me paraît pas impossible que Monsieur le citoyen Ministre de la République française ne vienne nous voir aujourd'hui, et il n'est point d'accueil si flatteur, si distingué, que je ne voulusse lui faire.
> M. Jager. – Fort bien. Je suis tout aussi disposé que vous à le bien recevoir ; mais d'où vient tant de flagorneries et d'empressements de la part d'une femme naguère si

[92] ———, *Isabelle de Charrière, Une Aristocrate Révolutionnaire : Écrits 1788-1794*, ed. Isabelle Vissière and Jean-Louis Vissière (Paris: Des Femmes, 1988), 457.
[93] Ibid., 458.

> aristocrate, et qui traitait de Jacobins, et moi, et tout ce qui ne maudissait point la Révolution ?

In the same scene, they are discussing the First Coalition interspersed with royalist trifles. M. Jager (German for hunter) is obviously very distressed about the state of affairs from a foreign affairs perspective, while Mme Vogel (German for bird)

> M. Jager. – Ce n'est du mois pas à vous.
> Mme Vogel. – Non, sans doute, et j'en serais bien fâchée. M. de Vieuxmanoir est venu demeurer tout auprès de nous dans une saison morte. Nous avions besoin alors de société : je n'avais personne pour faire ma partie de trictrac ; ma nièce négligeait son pianoforte…
> M. Jager. – N'oubliez pas de dire que la Prusse, l'Autriche, l'Angleterre se préparaient à entrer en campagne avec des forces redoutables.[94]

Her works from this era (plays and novels) depict the living conditions of émigrés, their socio-economic status, and the reception that they received in the Principality. In particular *l'émigré* is a piece that represents her disgust with the direction the French Revolution is going and hearkens back to *le Noble* of 1762 by making fun of aristocrats. Charriere tows a fine (and sometimes confusing) line between her frustration with France's republican regime and her parody of the privileged class.

We know that Charrière was known to host the elite officials and businessmen of Neuchâtel. Despite the fact that there is little evidence that convincingly shows that she also hosted the émigrés, Charrière definitely was touched by their cause. This can be proven by her regular correspondence with the European emigration network. Her letters are to and from men and women in Konstanz, Hamburg, Berlin, and parts of Northern Italy who participated in the counterrevolution. But this does not mean that Charrière was an ardent royalist. Instead, she was against the ostentatious nature of royalty. Despite her liberalism, she was sympathetic to the

[94] Ibid., 461-63.

refugees. In 1792, the State Council had ordered the émigrés to exit Neuchâtel with very few exceptions. This swift move on the part of Abram Pury, Sandoz-Rollin, and other councilors was very shocking to none other than Charrière. She decried the decision by writing a bitter letter to Mme Caroline de Sandoz-Rollin.[95]

> Votre conseil de ville ma belle vient d'etre lache et cruel d'une maniere distinguee. Je ne crois pas que nulle part on se soit avisé de chasser un *emigre* seul et personnellement… On avoit resolu de faire comme les cantons ; quand on a su ce que faisoient les cantons on a desiré de connoitre le desir du Roi & sans attendre qu'on en soit instruit on procède ![96] (23 novembre 1792)

This letter addresses the particular case of le Prince de Montbarey, a high profile royalist who had worked closely with Fauche-Borel and the counterrevolutionary networks throughout Europe. He was evicted from Neuchâtel based on the expiration of his travel pass. Even though she had harshly criticized the extravagance and dogmatic nature of royalists like the Prince de Montbarey in her literary works and letters, she marched to the chateau demanding the Council reexamine his case and allow him to stay. Her letter of complaint to the government via Caroline de Sandoz-Rollin insisted that the rash treatment by the authorities should be reexamined. But the Prince was to leave. Despite this loss, we can clearly see that Charrière used two conduits of communication that in Revolutionary France were almost always limited to the masculine realm: letters of complaint and opinion to the government and political discourse without threat of arrest. Not only does this episode reflect the relative open nature of Neuchâtel, but it also displays Charrière's (and possibly other women's) participation in Neuchâtelois politics.

Pierre-Alexandre DuPeyrou

Born on a plantation in Dutch Guyana, Pierre-Alexandre DuPeyrou (1729-1794) inherited the family sugarcane business upon his father's death in Paramaribo. While collecting

[95] Caroline de Sandoz-Rollin was the wife of Henri-Alphonse de Sandoz-Rollin (1769-1862) secretaire du Conseil d'État (1789-1799), conseiller d'Etat (1799-1806 et 1814-1831)

[96] Isabelle de Charrière, *Œuvres complètes: Correspondance III 1787-mars 1793*, ed. Jean-Daniel Candaux, 10 vols., vol. 3 (Amsterdam: G.A. van Oorschot, 1979), 450. This is letter 877.

payments from the South American company, DuPeyrou dabbled in the philosophy and sciences of the Enlightenment. His *mécénat* to Rousseau meant the financing of two important editions of Rousseau's *œuvres complètes* in Geneva and Neuchâtel. DuPeyrou provided accomodations and helped publish Rousseau's work.

During the French Revolution, DuPeyrou would again play the role as a protector but this time for the emigration. A branch of the DuPeyrou family which had ties to the Bourbons and French nobility was living in France at the worst possible moment. DuPeyrou graciously opened his home to his less fortunate relatives.[97] According to a 5 December 1794 letter in the form of an elegy to DuPeyrou, Jean-Pierre de Chambrier notes,

> « …le bienfaisant par excellence... Cet homme qui depuis deux ans ne touchait rien de ses plantations de Surinam et dont les affaires etaient embarrassees, aidait vingt familles d'émigrés. »[98]

Chambrier's statements are true according to some of the documentation found within the AEN. DuPeyrou played host to many other refugees who had arrived in the Principality besides his own extended family.[99] With the coming of the French Revolution, his investments and farms could have been effected negatively. His letters to Charrière depict his leanings against the Revolution despite his Enlightenment past.

In regarding the many émigrés who were lodged in Neuchâtel from 1790-1794, we can see a trend started and gradually intensified by government officials and the leading citizens of Neuchâtel. The officials realized that a "counterrevolution" was approved by the Prussian court. Thus acts of praising the establishment, purging of French sympathizers, and bolstering troop levels would be noted by Friedrich Wilhelm II and his ministers. This patriotism on the part of

---

[97] For information on DuPeyrou's hosting of his French relatives see p.12 of Auguste Parel, *Les émigrés dans le Pays de Neuchâtel sous le régime de la Terreur* (Colombier: Imprimerie Girardbille et Peytieu, 1900).
[98] Charrière, *Isabelle de Charrière, Une Aristocrate Révolutionnaire : Écrits 1788-1794*, 245. Jean-Pierre de Chambrier d'Oleyres was a well-connected Neuchâtelois emissary of Prussia from the 1780s until his death in 1822 and a member of the city's bourgeoisie.
[99] AEN Chancellerie AC 522/32 Série Cartons Bleus « émigrés et émigrations » Dossier 1 Articles II-VI

the local government included the hosting of émigrés. The government councilors and ministers were the first to house the refugees. In time, businessmen and wealthy citizens such as Fauche-Borel and DuPeyrou followed suit. The government had succeeded with the help of Fauche-Borel's polemics and propaganda pieces. It could be true that due to these efforts (both the outward participation of government officials in hosting and the propaganda) could have influenced lesser known hostesses and hosts to lodge nobles and clergy from 1792 until the peak of emigration in 1794. Councilors could have used their dedication to housing émigrés as a means to reinforce their position in Prussia. Not only was housing émigrés a humanitarian choice of the elite, but this charitable deed was also an act of defiance to the authorities across the border.

Minor actors

We know that there were those visible advocates of emigration such as Fauche-Borel and Monvert. However, amongst the other bourgeois Neuchâtelois, there were some who were not personally concerned with the French Revolution or the implications of counterrevolutionary struggle. Nevertheless many of these "minor figures" played a role in housing émigrés.

Sculptor Henri Lambelet was known for his designs of Neuchâtel's Classical façades and fountains. His Enlightened style continued through the Revolutionary era. Fauche-Borel, Lambelet, and many of the state councilors were in the prestigious Bourgeois de Valangin – an exclusive order of Neuchâtel's most important citizens. The Prince of Neuchâtel/King of Prussia would approve or disapprove of each membership selection and as such this group was a conservative force in the Principality with direct ties to the Prussian crown. Judging by his

closeness to Fauche-Borel and his bourgeois status, it is not surprising to find out that Lambelet harbored French émigrés as did his more famous neighbor.[100]

So far we have been tracing the most important politicians, landowners, and financiers of Neuchâtel. These decision-makers would have chosen to help out the émigrés because they wanted to show solidarity to the emigration movement and the waning royalty. The leaders knew they were able to house émigrés without any revenge from France because of the Confederation's neutrality alliance drawn up to include Neuchâtel. Some businessmen, such as Fauche-Borel, used the émigrés for economic purposes. As evidenced by their contributions to the *Messager Boiteux de Neuchâtel*, political pamphlets, and royalist books, they were housed by Fauche-Borel with the understanding that they would write counterrevolutionary propaganda or distribute his books into France. These activities ultimately made his company profitable during unsteady times. In the process of networking with the royalists, he launched his career as an agent for the Bourbon Restoration.

There were other citizens who did not place as much emphasis on the importance of the counterrevolution but opened up their homes to those who needed shelter. The less political Neuchâtelois played a role in the housing of refugees. They functioned as the hosts for a new population that arrived in the Principality. They were watchmakers, caterers, and pastors from the Protestant church. The state actually advocated this type of hospitality for the benefit of the Principality's strategic situation. Neuchâtel was in a solid neutrality agreement with the Confederation and France, there was a potential gain from the new residents for labor or manufacturing positions, and also added to the position of Neuchâtel within the networks of French Restoration supporters.

[100] AEN Chancellerie AC 522/32 Série Cartons Bleus « émigrés et émigrations » Dossier 1 Article II, III

Brothers Abraham-Louis and Pierre-Francois Fauche led the counterrevolutionary struggle in Neuchâtel and Hamburg through their printing houses. The roles of their siblings in the emigration and counterrevolution are largely unknown. However, according to records in the Neuchâtel municipal archives, there is evidence that Abraham-Louis and Pierre-Francois' lesser known brother Jean-Pierre Samuel Fauche also participated in housing émigrés during the Revolution.

> Le Sr. Samuel Fauche fils traiteur au tertre et qui loge des émigrés a été averti, de demander une enseigne au Conseil s'il veut continuer à loger, ou ne loger personne et de se borner à son établissement de traiteur puisque le Magistrat voit en tout temps être a même de surveiller les Étrangers dans cette ville, aucun d'eux ne pouvant y rester sans sa permission.[101]

If Fauche was asking permission to house émigrés longer, we can safely assume that he was housing them before September 1797. This also comes at a time when the émigré problem was not as pronounced as in 1792-1795. This does not prove that Jean-Pierre Samuel was a counterrevolutionary rebel or connected in the least bit to the resistance to France. He was an ordinary citizen who opened up his home to the new residents. There could have been pressure from his brother to involve himself in hosting but that is only speculation. This document confirms (to the modern historian) that the common people were helping émigrés in Neuchâtel.

Antoine Courant

Officially, he was a glassmaker and designer. Before the French Revolution, Antoine Courant served in diplomatic missions for Friedrich II in Poland and East Prussia.[102] This diplomatic was the landlord of the Abbaye de Fontaine-André from 1783 to his death in 1805.

---

[101] AVN Manuel de Messieurs les Quatres Ministraux 1794-1799 (19 septembre 1797)

[102] This is according to Fauche-Borel's *Mémoires*, « M. de Montgaillard m'adjoignit M. Antoine Courant, de Neuchâtel, et par conséquent mon compatriote. Il avait été employé jadis dans les affaires secrètes d'une nature à peu près semblable par Frédéric-le-Grand, qui lui avait témoigné, par ses bienfaits, la satisfaction qu'il avait éprouvée de ses services. M. Courant joignait à beaucoup de sang-froid une grande présence d'esprit dans les conjonctures difficiles ; et d'ailleurs il parlait très bien plusieurs langues. » Fauche-Borel, *Mémoires de Fauche-Borel*, 229-30.

According to records, this location became a major place for hosting French aristocrats. He was at the center of one of Neuchâtel's important counterrevolutionary networks when he hosted the Marquis du Cheylar in 1793.[103] Already known for accepting émigrés who had previously stayed with Fauche-Borel, Courant was well connected to the refugee community.[104] Among the émigrés housed by Courant was the Marquis du Cheylar. Even into the 19th century, there is evidence of du Cheylar's presence in the Neuchâtelois region because there are court proceedings in the concerning a financial intrigue between Abraham-Louis Fauche-Borel and the marquis that took place in the 1820s.

Samuel Dubois

A successful watchmaker, Samuel Dubois (1739-1820), had recently completed building his large villa on a mountain overlooking Le Locle in 1792. According to records dating from 22 September 1792, Dubois graciously hosted the aristocratic de Billis family at his Château des Monts. They were illicitly passing through Neuchâtel to reunite with wife and mother Madame de Billis in Neuchâtel.[105]

What about the woman who sheltered priests in her boarding house, the watchmaker who took on new apprentices, or the vintner who employed new arrivals in the field? Although too

---

[103] Antoine Courant's émigrés : as of 21 November 1793 in the Juridiction de Thielle Abbaye de Fontaine André : Le Marquis Ducheylar, Le Marquis de Roussillon, Jules de Vaux
Cf. AEN Chancellerie AC 522/32 Série Cartons Bleus « émigrés et émigrations » Dossier 1 Article VI (novembre et décembre 1793)

[104] AEN Fonds Fauche-Borel Dossier 5 Among the émigrés housed by Courant was the Marquis du Cheylar. Even into the 19th century, there is evidence of du Cheylar's presence in the Neuchâtelois region because there are court proceedings in the concerning a financial intrigue between Abraham-Louis Fauche Borel and the marquis that took place in the 1820s.

[105] AEN Chancellerie AC 522/32 Série Cartons Bleus « émigres et émigration » Dossier 1 Article III (septembre 1792)

many to name, these citizens played a role in hosting a displaced group of French clergy and nobles during the Revolution.[106]

There were also those Neuchâtelois who opposed the counterrevolution or took a radical political stand for the Revolution by forming patriotic societies in le Locle, la Chaux-de-Fonds, or in Neuchâtel proper. With these societies, the leaders encouraged republican rhetoric, corresponded with expatriated Swiss in Paris and distributed propaganda in the Neuchâtelois countryside. While their efforts were important in the foundations of Neuchâtel's democracy and the 1814 Neuchâtel Revolution, put in context they were not as influential as the French Revolution's detractors or the common Neuchâtelois who hosted émigrés during the Reign of Terror (1793-94). However, there was at least one influential politician who forced the departure of a few hundred émigrés in 1792. Abram Pury (1724-1807), a relative of financier David de Pury was notably one of Rousseau's protectors in the Val-de-Travers during his stay in the Principality. In addition to forging stronger ties between the Principality and Switzerland with pamphlets and public addresses, Pury was very close to the DuPeyrou family and Isabelle de Charrière. As a compromise to Neuchâtelois sovereignty and autonomy, he agreed that the Principality would register and disclose all French émigrés in the interest of regional security and the neutrality alliance ratified by Louis de Marval.[107] Abram Pury was by far the most anti-clerical and anti-absolutist member of the State Council and took steps in approving the expulsion of French priests near the border.[108] Despite his passionate dislike of the Catholics, he turned a blind eye to the increasing number of illegal aristocratic émigrés that had taken up

[106] AEN Chancellerie AC 522/32 Série Cartons Bleus « émigrés et émigration » Dossier 1. These unnamed actors can be found throughout the boxes of émigré registers evidence.
[107] Albrecht von Mülinen (1732-1807) avoyer of the French speaking parts of Canton Bern and President of Bern's War Council called for bolstered security, passport control, and deportation of suspicious subjects in a 14 January 1792 letter to Marval. Cf. AEN Archives Marval Chapitre I supp. 6 bis.
[108] Letter from Abram Pury to State Council of Luzern 13 September 1792 in StA LU A1 F1 Sch41 Diplomatie – Frankreich – Emigranten Französische Revolution

residence in the Principality. Only on exceptional occasions were they expelled from Neuchâtel. Otherwise, Pury and State Council members were active in the protection of the nobles.

In a 30 June 1792 report on the emigration situation in the mountains, the mayor of le Locle claimed to have "aucun émigré" in town. However, he confirmed the presence of French soldiers legally domiciled in the Principality. They could be seen wearing uniforms and carrying weapons through town.[109]

[109] AEN Chancellerie AC 522/32 Serie Cartons Bleus "émigrés et émigrations" Dossier 1 Article II « Rap[p]ort du Sieur Vuagneux Maire du Locle, 30 juin 1792 »

6. Conclusion

My research has shown the ways Neuchâtel integrated French émigrés through political, economic, and social networks during the Revolution. Traditionally, Abraham-Louis Fauche Borel has been seen as the most helpful and vocal host of the new population. This paper seeks to also bring attention to the less well known hostesses and hosts who facilitated the émigrés' stay in the Principality. The motivation of these hosts was driven by four factors (of which two are political and diplomatic and the other two social) that determined Neuchâtel's acceptance of exiles: King Friedrich Wilhelm II's conservative ideology, the Principality's neutrality alliance with Bern, a collective social history of refugees, and a power structure composed of local elites who led the people through their generous acts of hospitality.

Friedrich Wilhelm II's politics contrasted starkly with those of his enlightened uncle Friedrich II.[110] His political temperament can be read in his diplomatic traffic to the Principality from his coronation through the 1790s. He attempted to be an interventionist king for an autonomous entity. As a 1790 example, the King sent a secret memo to Marval asking him to foster relations between the Bernese and the Neuchâtelois to forge an alliance with the rest of the Confederation.[111] Unlike previous rulers of Neuchâtel, who allowed the Principality to negotiate its own diplomatic arrangements, Friedrich Wilhelm II managed the Principality's relations. Neuchâtel, in addition to the normal financial and population reports, answered his majesty's counterrevolutionary intelligence requests.

[110] Friedrich Wilhelm II was crowned King of Prussia in 1786 following Friedrich II's death.
[111] AEN Chancellerie AC 111 Lettres de sa Majesté.

Neuchâtel was plunged into the counterrevolution based on its connection with Friedrich Wilhelm II's reactionary court, diplomatic alliances with the Confederation and oligarchic Canton Bern, Fauche-Borel's publishing activities, and the generous reception of French émigrés.

The field of Swiss emigration history in recent years has been concerned *grosso modo* with the treatment and reception of Italian laborers in Ticino during the 20th century. In another vein of emigration history, quite a few scholars deal solely with the Huguenot migration from France to the Suisse romande during the 17th century. With the exception of Georges Andrey's *Les émigrés français dans le Canton de Fribourg (1789-1815)* and some articles published on the reception of émigrés in Neuchâtel, there are few historical accounts surrounding the impact of French emigration on the Confederation. Primary source emigration records found in cantonal and municipal archives are sometimes the only supplies of information available to researchers.

My honors thesis reassessed several themes surrounding Neuchâtel vis-à-vis French émigrés. First, I introduced the subject of emigration to the Confederation and Neuchâtel. Then I discussed the unique qualities of Neuchâtel which included neutral politics, affiliation with Prussia, and a legacy of Francophonie. Next I introduced Abraham-Louis Fauche-Borel, a traditional counterrevolutionary character who has dominated the scholarship on emigration and foreign agents of the Bourbon Restoration. Prior historiography lacks sufficient recognition of women, the governmental structures such as the State Council, and common Neuchâtelois' roles in providing shelter for the refugee population. I revised the makeup of emigration networks, reassessed the Neuchâtelois "public sphere", and uncovered evidence of an entire population working together to host a displaced group.

There are many paths that 18th century emigration history could take in Switzerland. Researchers could undertake similar studies in a variety of other Swiss cantons. French émigré priests lived in a number of Catholic cantons like Luzern, possibly Solothurn, and also under the protection of the Bishop of Chur, Graubünden. The Staatsarchiv in Luzern contains several registers recording the presence of a French émigré population both secular and clerical. It is also possible that Zurich supported émigrés during the same period.

In terms of the social existence of émigrés in Neuchâtel, researchers could frame their projects by identifying how the new residents worked, lived, or worshipped rather than simply focusing on "réseaux contre-Révolutionaires" which my research covered.[112] This potential project could take on the stucture of Andrey's *émigrés français dans le Canton de Fribourg* showing the émigrés' lifestyles through a Neuchâtelois lens.

[112] The credit goes to Jacques Godechot's article title in a series of conference proceedings. Jacques Godechot, "Les « réseaux » contre-Révolutionnaires " in *La Contre-Révolution*, ed. Jean Tulard and Benoît Yvert (Paris: Perrin, 1990).

Bibliography

Primary Sources (Archives, correspondence)

Archives de l'État de Neuchâtel (AEN)
Archives Marval
Chancellerie
Fonds Fauche-Borel

Archives de la Ville de Neuchâtel (AVN)
Manuel de Messieurs les Quatres Ministraux 1794-1799

Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Neuchâtel (BPUN)
Fonds de la Société Typographique de Neuchâtel

Staatsarchiv Luzern (StA LU)
A1 F1 Sch 41 – Diplomatie – Frankreich – Französische Revolution

Books, catalogues, pamphlets

"Annonces." *Feuille d'Avis de Neuchâtel*, 5 mai 1791.
"Annonces." *Feuille d'Avis de Neuchâtel*, 30 juin 1791.
Borel, Marianne. "Catalogue des Livres qui se trouvent chez Marianne Fauche née Borel Libraire et Imprimeur." Neuchâtel,1806.
Charrière, Isabelle de. *Isabelle de Charrière, Une Aristocrate Révolutionnaire : Écrits 1788-1794*. Edited by Isabelle Vissière and Jean-Louis Vissière. Paris: Des Femmes, 1988.
———. *Œuvres complètes*. Edited by Jean-Daniel Candaux. 10 vols. Amsterdam: G.A. Oorschot, 1979.
Fauche-Borel, Abraham-Louis. "Catalogue des Livres de Louis Fauche Borel, Imprimeur du Roi." Neuchâtel: Fauche-Borel, 1787.
———. *Mémoires de Fauche-Borel*. 4 vols. Vol. 1. Geneva: J. Barbezat et Compagnie, Imprimeurs-Libraires, 1829.
La Maisonfort, Louis Dubois Descours, marquis de. *Mémoires d'un agent royaliste sous la Révolution, l'Empire et la Restauration 1763-1827*. Paris: Mercure de France, 1998.
Montgaillard, Maurice de. *Souvenirs du comte de Montgaillard : agent de la diplomatie secrète pendant la Révolution, l'Empire et la Restauration*. Edited by Clément de Lacroix. Paris: P. Ollendorff, 1895.
Monvert, Samuel. *Nous sommes bien, tenons-nous-y*. Neuchâtel: Fauche-Borel, 1793.

Secondary Sources

Deutsche in Frankreich, Franzosen in Deutschland, 1715-1789 : Institutionelle Verbindungen, Soziale Gruppen, Stätten des Austausches. Edited by Jean Mondot, Jean-Marie Valentin and Jürgen Voss, Beihefte zu Francia. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1992.
Acomb, Frances. *Mallet du Pan (1749-1800): A Career in Political Journalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1973.

Andrey, Georges. *Les émigrés français dans le Canton de Fribourg (1789-1815)*. Neuchâtel: Baconnière, 1972.

Anex-Cabanis, Danielle, and François Flouck, eds. *De L'ours à la Cocarde: régime bernois et Révolution en Pays de Vaud (1536-1798)*. Lausanne: Payot, 1998.

Baker, Keith Michael. "Defining the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France." In *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, edited by Craig Calhoun, 181-211. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1992.

Baldensperger, Fernand. *Le Mouvement des Idées dans L'émigration française (1789-1815)*. 2 vols. Paris: Plon, 1924.

Beauvoir, Simone de. *The Second Sex*. Translated by H.M. Parshley. New York: Vintage Books, 1989.

Bertaud, Jean-Paul. *Les Amis du Roi: Journaux et journalistes en France de 1789 à 1792*. Paris: Perrin, 1984.

Bezard, Yvonne. "Les émigrés français dans la Principauté de Neuchâtel de 1789 à 1800." *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* 10 (1938): 315-21.

Boucher, Maurice. *La Révolution de 1789 vue par les écrivains allemands, ses contemporains Klopstock, Wieland, Herder, Schiller, Kant, Fichte, Goethe*. Paris: Marcel Didier, 1954.

Candaux, Jean-Daniel. "Louis Fauche-Borel Imprimeur de la Contre-Révolution." In *Aspects du Livre neuchâtelois*, edited by Jacques Rychner and Michel Schlup, 337-432. Neuchâtel: Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Neuchâtel, 1986.

Carpenter, Kirsty, and Philip Mansel, eds. *The French Émigrés in Europe and the Struggle against Revolution, 1789-1814*. Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1999.

Chapuis, Alfred. *Abraham-Louis Breguet pendant la Révolution française à Paris en Angleterre et en Suisse*. Neuchâtel: Griffon, 1953.

Chaussinand-Nogaret, Guy. "Comptes Rendus: Les émigrés français dans le Canton de Fribourg (1789-1815). Effectifs, Activités, Portraits." *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 29, no. 5 (1974): 1109-10.

Chopelin, Paul. "'Des Loups Déguisés en Agneaux' L'accueil des Prêtres Constitutionnels émigrés dans L'état Pontifical (1792-1799)." *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 341 (2005): 85-109.

Coquard, Olivier. *Jean-Paul Marat*. Paris: Fayard, 1993.

Darnton, Robert. *The Corpus of Clandestine Literature in France, 1769-1789* New York: W.W. Norton, 1995.

———. *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1995.

———. "Le marché littéraire français vu de Neuchâtel (1769-89)." In *Aspects du Livre neuchâtelois*, edited by Jacques Rychner and Michel Schlup, 59-73. Neuchâtel: Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Neuchâtel 1986.

———. *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.

———. "Philosophy under the Cloak." In *Revolution in Print: The Press in France 1775-1800*, edited by Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche, 27-49. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989.

Darnton, Robert, and Michel Schlup, eds. *Le Rayonnement d'une Maison d'édition dans l'Europe des Lumières : la Société Typographique de Neuchâtel, 1769-1789 : Actes du Colloque Organisé par la Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Neuchâtel et la Faculté des*

Lettres de L'université de Neuchâtel, Neuchâtel, 31 octobre-2 novembre 2002. Hauterive: Attinger, 2005.
Dwyer, Philip G., ed. *The Rise of Prussia: Rethinking Prussian History, 1700-1830*. New York: Longman, 2000.
Forneron, Henri. *Histoire Générale des émigrés pendant la Révolution française*. 3 vols. Paris: Plon, 1884.
Foucault, Michel. "What Is an Author." In *Textual Strategies : Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism*, edited by Josué V. Harari, 141-60. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979.
Froidevaux, Charles. "Neuchâtel : Faux batz à la fin du 18e siècle." *Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau* 76 (1997): 231-61.
Froidevaux, Charles, and Arnaud Clairand. "L'industrie des fausses monnaies françaises au Pays de Neuchâtel." *Musée neuchâtelois*, no. 3 (1999): 173-213.
Giuntella, Vittorio Emanuele. *Le Dolci Catene : Testi della Controrivoluzione Cattolica in Italia*. Vol. 75. Rome: Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, 1988.
Godechot, Jacques. *La contre-Révolution : Doctrine et Action, 1789-1804*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984.
———. "Les « réseaux » contre-Révolutionnaires " In *La Contre-Révolution*, edited by Jean Tulard and Benoît Yvert, 168-84. Paris: Perrin, 1990.
Godet, Philippe. *Madame de Charrière et ses amis d'après de nombreux documents inédits*. Geneva: Jullien, 1906.
Golay, Eric. *Quand le peuple devint Roi: Mouvement populaire, politique et Révolution à Genève de 1789 à 1794*. Geneva: Slatkine, 2001.
Greer, Donald. *The Incidence of the Emigration During the French Revolution*, Harvard Historical Monographs. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1951.
Griffiths, Robert. *Le Centre Perdu : Malouet et les "Monarchiens" dans la Révolution française*. Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 1988.
Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* Translated by Thomas Burger, Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1989.
Henke, Christian. *Coblentz : Symbol für die Gegenrevolution : die Französische Emigration nach Koblenz und Kurtrier 1789-1792 und die Politische Diskussion des revolutionären Frankreichs 1791-1794* Beihefte zu Francia. Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000.
Henry, Philippe. "3.1.3 - L'expansion de la fin du XVIIIe siècle et la modernisation démographique de la première moitié du XIXe siècle." In *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse (DHS)*. Bern, 1998-2010.
———. "Aspects de L'histoire de L'émigration française dans la Principauté de Neuchâtel pendant la Révolution (1789-1798)." In *La Révolution dans la Montagne Jurassienne, Franche-Comté et Pays de Neuchâtel: Actes du Colloque Historique de La Chaux-de-Fonds, Suisse, 20 mai 1989*, edited by André Bandelier and Jean-Marc Barrelet. La Chaux-de-Fonds: Impartial, 1989.
———. "Les Voies de Communication, les Postes et le Commerce." In *Histoire du Pays de Neuchâtel: De la Réforme à 1815*, 216-26. Hauterive: Attinger, 1991.
Hesse, Carla. *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1810*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991.
Höpel, Thomas. *Emigranten der Französischen Revolution in Preußen 1789-1806: Ein Studie in Vergleichender Perspektive*. Leipzig: Leipzig Universitätsverlag, 2000.

———. "Emigranten der Französischen Revolution in Preußen und Sachsen." In *Révolutionnaires et Émigrés, Transfer und Migration zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland 1789-1806*, 193-220. Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2002.

Jelmini, Jean-Pierre. "Politique Intérieure et Extérieure de Neuchâtel, de 1707 à la Veille de la Révolution française." In *Histoire du Pays de Neuchâtel: De la Réforme à 1815*, 91-105. Hauterive: Attinger, 1991.

Kale, Steven D. "Women, the Public Sphere, and the Persistence of Salons." *French Historical Studies* 25, no. 1 (2002): 115-48.

König, Mareike, and Rainer Ohliger, eds. *Enlarging European Memory : Migration Movements in Historical Perspective*, Beihefte zu Francia. Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2006.

Kopitzsch, Franklin. *Grundzüge einer Sozialgeschichte der Aufklärung in Hamburg und Altona*. 2 vols. Hamburg: Hans Christian, 1982.

Landes, Joan. *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988.

Lebrun, François, and Roger Dupuy. *Les Résistances à la Révolution : Actes du Colloque de Rennes (17-21 Septembre 1985)*. Paris: Imago, 1987.

Möckli-Cellier, Maurice. *La Révolution française et les écrivains Suisses-Romands*. Neuchâtel: Attinger, 1931.

Moser, Arnulf. *Die Französische Emigrantenkolonie in Konstanz Während der Revolution (1792-1799)*. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1975.

Neugebauer, Wolfgang. "Preußen in der Zeit der Revolutionen." In *Handbuch der preußischen Geschichte*, edited by Wolfgang Neugebauer. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009.

Parel, Auguste. *Les émigrés dans le Pays de Neuchâtel sous le régime de la Terreur*. Colombier: Imprimerie Girardbille et Peytieu, 1900.

Ponty, Janine. *L'immigration dans les Textes: France, 1789-2002*, Histoire Belin Sup. Paris: Belin, 2003.

Rufer, Alfred. *La Suisse et la Révolution française*. Edited by Jean-René Suratteau. Paris: Société des études robespierristes, 1974.

Schlup, Michel, ed. *L'édition neuchâteloise au siècle des Lumières : la Société Typographique de Neuchâtel, 1769-1789* Neuchâtel: Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, 2002.

Stribrny, Wolfgang. *Die Könige von Preußen als Fürsten von Neuenburg-Neuchâtel (1707-1848): Geschichte einer Personalunion*. Vol. 14, Quellen und Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1998.

Sutherland, D.M.G. *France 1789-1815: Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, Fontana History of Modern France. London: Fontana Press/Collins, 1985.

Tilly, Charles. "The Analysis of a Counter-Revolution." *History and Theory* 3, no. 1 (1963): 30-58.

Weber, Klaus. "French Migrants into Loyal Germans: Huguenots in Hamburg (1685-1985)." In *Enlarging European Memory : Migration Movements in Historical Perspective*, edited by Mareike König and Rainer Ohliger, 59-69. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2006.

Weiner, Margery. *The French Exiles 1789-1815*. London: John Murray, 1960.