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Delphine Diaz, Antonin Durand, Romy Sánchez. Introduction -Intimate exile. The enforced migration of families, couples, and children in the nineteenth century. *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle*, 2021, 2 (61), pp.8-26. 10.4000/rh19.7092 . hal-03180436

HAL Id: hal-03180436

<https://hal.science/hal-03180436>

Submitted on 3 Jan 2022

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In *Revue d'histoire du XIX^e siècle* Volume 61, Issue 2, July 2020, pages 8 to 26

ISSN 1265-1354

This document is the English version of:

Delphine Diaz, Antonin Durand, Romy Sánchez, English translation by Adrian Morfee, «Introduction. L'exil intime. Familles, couples et enfants à l'épreuve de la migration contrainte au XIX^e siècle», *Revue d'histoire du XIX^e siècle* 2020/2 (No 61) , p. 8-26

Available online at:

<https://www.cairn-int.info/journal-revue-d-histoire-du-dix-neuvieme-siecle-2020-2-page-8.htm>

How to cite this article:

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Featured articles



Fig. 1. The Hugo family at Hauteville House in Guernsey in 1860
Photograph attributed to C-A Lebailleur-Villiers or E. Auzou
© Maison de Victor Hugo, Hauteville House

DELPHINE DIAZ, ANTONIN DURAND,
ROMY SÁNCHEZ

Introduction

*Intimate exile. The enforced migration of families,
couples, and children in the nineteenth century*

The most famous images of nineteenth-century European political exile are of men on their own, mostly depicted in a setting reflecting their supposed solitude. The photo portraits of Victor Hugo in Jersey are the prime example of this posture, even though he was joined in exile there by his family as of summer 1852. While portraits of the Hugo family in the Channel Islands do exist, they are not trotted out as frequently, and are not taken to reflect the situation of the homme and his clan. These group photos show the Hugos posing in the garden “like any other family”, without rocks or defiant gazes towards the France of *Napoleon the Little*.

There are no comparable images of Giuseppe Mazzini, another symbolic figure of nineteenth-century European exile: the only well-known pictures show him on the road, leaving Italy, traveling alone, or accompanied at most by a coachman or a few brothers-in-arms. Thus the stereotype of exiles, whether they left singly or with their family, did not include wives, sisters, brothers, children, cousins, elderly relatives, or nephews. It accorded even less room to the domestic sphere and the intimacy of indoor life, as instanced by the allegorical painting by Antonio Ciseri (1821-1891) of the exile (*L'Esule*, no doubt painted in 1860), depicted as a pensive lonely figure by the seashore.

But other, less well-known images depict a reality at times far removed from solitary exile, instead portraying the intimacy of home life. This is the case, for example, of a painting by the Spanish Carlist émigré José Rodríguez Gil, showing a family of fellow Carlists in 1876, in their house in Orléans, the town where they had just been taken in. It shows three men, apparently from three different generations, sitting at a table and being served by a woman, in all likelihood a wife, sister, or mother. A child wearing the Carlist beret, like his elders, is rekindling the fire in the hearth. This interior scene illustrates the rare case of a wealthy exiled group who were able to leave Spain as a family.



Fig. 2. José Rodríguez Gil, *Emigración carlista*, 1876, oil on canvas.
Private collection, Biarritz

At the same period, the Polish painter Józef Szermentowski (1833-1876) likewise chose to portray exile through an intimate family painting of an indoor setting. It shows a Polish widow seated with her two young children. She is showing the elder of the two where Poland is on a map of Europe, while the younger is playing with a windmill in the colors of the French and Polish nations. Notre-Dame may be seen through the open window, situating the exile in Paris. The portrait of the absent father looks down on the scene from the wall. These two images of outcasts' private lives are a reminder that exile, including in its most political aspects, was not only a matter of highroads and borders, but was also played out in the intimacy of drawing rooms and secrecy of families and couples.¹

1. The detail of all these works may be consulted on the website of the AsileuropeXIX research program, funded by the Agence nationale de la recherche and hosted by the University of Reims Champagne-Ardenne (2016-2020). Its image bank contains explanatory notes about the works [<https://asileurope.huma-num.fr/ressources-iconographiques>] (accessed on 7 November 2020): see the notes by Sylvie Aprile, Alexandre Dupont, and Antonin Durand. For the case of Giuseppe Mazzini, see also the engraving *Giuseppe Mazzini sur le chemin de l'exil*, Museo Centrale di Roma (MCRR), used as the cover illustration of: Catherine Brice, Sylvie Aprile (eds.), *Exil et fraternité en Europe au XIX^e siècle*, Pompignac, Éditions Bière, 2013.

WHEN POLITICS PERMEATES INTIMACY IN EXILE

Pictorial representations were not alone in largely neglecting this other setting of exile. Censuses conducted by the state or local administrations providing for and surveilling refugees long omitted to gather information about families. Thus the monthly registers of individuals in refugee depots in France in the first half of the nineteenth century tend only to include the first names and family names of men and fathers, the exception being widows, the only women to be named individually. Consequently, as studies of the history of exiles were based on these public sources, the family entourage was left out of the picture. Research on German forty-eighter exiles, many of whom left their country accompanied by their wives and children to take refuge in Europe or across the Atlantic, overlooks their dense family circles.² More generally, when literature on the nineteenth-century exile does reach for the notion of the “family”, this primarily refers to the political and symbolic community to which exiles belonged, not to their family circle in the proper meaning of the term.³

Yet recent studies have sought to throw light on this largely ignored dimension of enforced migrations. In her study of German and Hungarian forty-eighter refugees after 1848,⁴ Heléna Tóth shows that these exiled republicans and radicals were not all unaccompanied men, and that their wives and families, whether they stayed behind or migrated with them, did not remain inactive. Many women, particularly sisters and daughters, took up their pens to mitigate the conditions of exile, by improving traveling conditions, negotiating the choice of host country, or requesting grace or amnesty to facilitate the return home.⁵ Antonin Durand makes a similar observation in his analysis of written petitions for foreigners banished from the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont as part of the repression of an insurrection in which they had taken part in 1853.⁶

2. See the following works typical of this dominant trend in the literature on exile: Adolf Eduard Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1950; Carl F. Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution. The German Forty-Eighters in America*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952, “Uprooted lives” chap., p. 58 et seq..

3. For research on political “families” in exile, see Caroline Douki “Famille politique, mobilité et exil: les anarchistes dans le dernier tiers du XIX^e siècle”, in *Les Familles politiques en Europe occidentale au XIX^e siècle. Actes du colloque international de Rome (1^{er}-3 décembre 1994)*, Rome, École française de Rome, 1997, p. 299-312.

4. Heléna Tóth, *An Exiled Generation. German and Hungarian Refugees of Revolution, 1848-1871*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 98 et seq..

6. Antonin Durand, “‘Éloigner les Barabbas’. Sur une campagne d’expulsion d’étrangers en Piémont en 1853”, *Diasporas*, vol. 33, 2019/1, p. 130: “The great majority [of petitions] were written by these émigrés themselves, though at times family members (parents, wives, and sometimes brothers and sisters) lent their support to or else initiated these requests”.

While the family has been overlooked,⁷ couples have also been neglected in studies on refugees and outcasts who are represented as single men, or at least as autonomous individuals in exile, without taking into consideration their bonds of love, be these marital or extramarital. The only exceptions are the most famous couples, such as Germaine de Staël and Benjamin Constant in Coppet,⁸ Anita and Giuseppe Garibaldi in South America and Italy,⁹ and Napoleon III and Eugénie in England.¹⁰ Nevertheless, studies on contemporary enforced migrations now examine how couples may become stronger, drift apart, or split.¹¹ Addressing this topic could throw fresh light on the “century of exiles”.¹²

By re-examining the exile of couples or families we may cross “the threshold of the private realm”,¹³ and endow the latter with political meaning. This follows in the wake of research, conducted in France since the 1970s, into the history of women and domestic life. Leaving for a foreign country engendered a hiatus, at times a brutal break with one’s social environment. With the passage of time, those who had departed might at times turn inwards on their private life. Administrative authorities in countries of asylum tended to look favorably on this, seeing it as a sign of political quiescence. Writing about members of the Polish “great emigration” arriving in France after 1831-1832, Valentin Guillaume notes that departmental prefects in western France, where many of the assisted refugees were assigned residence under the July monarchy, generally “prioritized their new family

7. The belated attention to the family is not however specific to 19th-century history, as pointed out in: Christiane Harzig, Dick Hoerder, *What is Migration History?*, Cambridge, Polity, 2009, p. 75 et seq..

8. Laetitia Saintes, “D’une marginalité l’autre. Modalités polémiques dans la parole sur l’exil et la proscription de Benjamin Constant et Germaine de Staël”, *Orages. “Bannis, proscrits et exilés”*, no. 17, October 2018, p. 101-112.

9. In the case of the Garibaldis, an initial exile in Uruguay was followed by a second exile after the collapse of the Roman Republic in 1849. Anita died while fleeing, thus acceding to the status of heroine and icon of the Risorgimento: Silvia Cavicchioli, *Anita. Storia e mito di Anita Garibaldi*, Turin, Einaudi, 2017.

10. Paul Ganière, “Le dernier exil de Napoléon III”, *Revue du souvenir napoléonien*, no. 362, 1988, p. 21-38 [<https://www.napoleon.org/histoire-des-2-empires/articles/le-dernier-exil-de-napoleon-iii/>] (accessed on 7 November 2020). See the photographs in this article from the Martial Lapeyre collection, showing the emperor and his family in Chislehurst.

11. Among numerous references, see: “Le couple. Attention fragile”, *Hommes & Migrations*, no. 1262, July-August 2006; Mireille Le Guen, Élise Marsicano, Nathalie Bajos, “Des ressources pour une union, une union contre des ressources: mise en couple et conditions de vie chez les immigré-e-s d’Afrique subsaharienne après leur arrivée en France”, *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, vol. 34, 2018/4, p. 195-221.

12. Sylvie Aprile, *Le Siècle des exilés. Bannis et pros crits de 1789 à la Commune*, Paris, CNRS Éditions, 2010.

13. Michelle Perrot, “Introduction”, in Philippe Ariès, Georges Duby (eds.), *Histoire de la vie privée*, vol. 4: *De la Révolution à la Grande Guerre*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1999 (2nd ed.), p. 7.

responsibilities over any political demands”.¹⁴ Most of the families founded by the Poles were with French wives, very few women having left Warsaw under Russian repression.

But even the domestic realm, viewed as a sphere of withdrawal, came to bear the imprint of wholly political symbolism and rhythms. The smallest detail of daily life, from where one chose to live in exile, through to the choice of shop where one bought one's food, or the school where one sent one's children, took on a new dimension. Exiles choice of where to live on first arriving in host lands was based on pragmatic factors—they had to find accommodation as quickly and often as cheaply as possible. But it was also shaped by political strategies, since it was imperative they remain close to the places of sociability, reading rooms, and editorial offices of newspapers frequented by their compatriots. Thus many foreign exiles arriving in London chose to settle in Soho, from the liberals of the 1820s through to the anarchists at the end of the century, without forgetting the French communards after 1871. This politicization of daily life, a phenomenon not wholly specific to outcasts,¹⁵ nevertheless transpired in different forms during time spent abroad.

In addition to the actions of everyday life, each major stage in their existence—punctuated by births, marriages, and deaths—could take on new collective meaning. The names given to children born in exile could reveal an intention, especially when borrowed from the political and linguistic repertoire of the host country. For instance, when Giovanni La Cecilia (1801-1880)—a Neapolitan refugee in France under the July Monarchy and staunch supporter of Mazzinian ideas—had a son in 1835, he made the symbolic choice of naming him Napoleon; the songwriter Béranger was the child's godfather.¹⁶ Napoléon La Cecilia went on to become a second-generation refugee, after taking part in the Paris Commune. A similar fate befell the Raspail family, discussed by Jonathan Babrier in this dossier. In her study of the Italian exile of Émile Ollivier, and of his wife Marie-Thérèse who was overshadowed by her husband, Emmanuelle Berthiaud likewise picks up on the couple's choice of name for their son, born in June 1871 in the Piedmontese mountains: he was baptized Jocelyn, in reference to the work of Lamartine. The boy, generally known as Nino,

14. Valentin Guillaume, “Les sources historiques du quotidien en exil”, *e-migrante*, no. 14, 2016 [<http://journals.openedition.org/e-migrante/699>] (accessed on 7 November 2020).

15. See the literature review on the politicization of daily life in popular milieus, drawn up over thirty years ago by Louis Hincker in *Revue d'histoire du XIX^e siècle*: Louis Hincker, “La politisation des milieux populaires en France au XIX^e siècle: constructions d'historiens. Esquisse d'un bilan (1948-1997)”, *Revue d'histoire du XIX^e siècle*, no. 14, 1997/1, p. 89-105.

16. Michel Cordillot, “Napoléon La Cecilia”, in *Le Maitron. Dictionnaire biographique, mouvement ouvrier, mouvement social* [<https://maitron.fr/spip.php?article163904>] (accessed on 7 November 2020). After the Paris Commune, Napoléon La Cecilia fled with his wife to Belgium, then England, and then the United States, before residing in Egypt where he died in 1878.

was viewed by his parents as a consolation in exile and a divine blessing, despite seeing him as a “child of foreign land”,¹⁷ “not speaking a word of French”. Like births and baptisms abroad, marriages concluded in exile took on particular meaning. The choice of witnesses, often selected from among compatriots or mediators of exile, was not left to chance. Anita and Giuseppe Garibaldi waited until arriving in Montevideo before marrying,¹⁸ after the birth in 1840 of their first son, Menotti, who was named after the revolutionary executed in Medina nine years earlier.

Just like births and weddings, death in exile was imbued by politics.¹⁹ Under the Bourbon Restoration then the July Monarchy in France, burials and funeral processions could be used to signal political dissent.²⁰ Likewise, exiles’ funerals could be the occasion for intense mobilization. Holding funeral processions provided a way of gauging numbers and assessing individuals’ loyalty to the group at what was always a testing time. Equally, the form taken by the funeral, though a personal decision, could convey a political message: many German forty-eighters who had taken in refuge in the United States chose cremation, cocking a snook at polite society in Illinois, Michigan, and Missouri, as well as at earlier German Lutheran immigrants who found the new arrivals’ atheism intolerable.²¹ Lastly, funeral eulogies could be used to express political solidarity and intimacy, both of which could wax and wane in exile. In Jersey, burials in the “refugee cemetery” in Sion—now called the Macpela cemetery—were an occasion to come together as a group, honoring the dead and systematically reminding those present of the exile community’s collective rules. They were sometimes also an occasion for polemics and the settling of accounts between outcasts, in which personal disputes compounded political opposition. The burial of the republican outcast Louise Julien (1815-1853) provides one striking example: a procession of about one hundred people, including eighty refugees, followed the hearse draped in a red flag. The eulogy, delivered by Victor Hugo, rendered homage to the deceased, placing her alongside women, companions, sisters, and daughters who, like her, had

17. Émile Ollivier, *Lettres de l'exil, 1870-1874 (suite épistolaire du "Journal")*, Plan de la Tour, Éditions d'Aujourd'hui, 1987 (1^{re} ed. Hachette, 1921), 20 June 1871, letter to the Comtesse de Magnac.

18. Silvia Cavicchioli, *Anita, op. cit.*, p. 13 et seq..

19. On the history of death in migration, see the issue edited by: Mathieu Grenet, Jérémie Foa (eds.), “Mourir ailleurs (xvi^e-xxi^e siècle)”, *Diasporas*, no. 30, 2017, [<https://doi.org/10.4000/diasporas.828>] (accessed on 7 November 2020).

20. Emmanuel Fureix, *La France des larmes. Mort et politique à l'âge romantique (1814-1840)*, Seyssel, Éditions Champ Vallon, “Époques” coll., 2009.

21. Carl F. Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America*, Philadelphia, University Press of Pennsylvania, 1952, p. 134.

unobtrusively suffered the ordeal of banishment.²² Hugo concluded his address with the words “Long live the universal Republic”, but the intended harmony was shattered when Joseph Déjacque (1821-1865),²³ an exiled Parisian worker-poet, retorted with a scathing “Long live the democratic and social Republic”. Hugo promptly stormed out of the assembly.²⁴

Exiles’ moral conduct was keenly scrutinized by their close-knit national or political communities.²⁵ Their concern for respectability was meant to transpire in irreproachable behavior.²⁶ In her article, Sylvie Aprile discusses the “court of honor” set up by the Russian exile Alexander Herzen (1812-1870) to sit in judgement on Georg Herwegh, the lover of his wife, Nathalie (1817-1875). The adulterous couple had formed in Paris in summer 1848, in defiance of the laws not only of marriage but also of internal group loyalty among refugees. “Refugee assemblies” were regularly held in the Channel Islands under the Second Empire to judge French republicans’ private affairs, should their moral or sexual behavior be deemed deviant or a threat to the group. The judgements against outcast’s private lives shows the extent to which their daily behavior was meant to espouse the ideas they defended in exile. On the face of it, married life, sexuality, the education of children, and household accounts were matters for the private sphere, but they could be subjected to political interpretation, comments, and even reprimands by the refugee community.

Exiles were not the only ones to keep a close check on their fellows’ behavior: the administrative authorities in the host country were always quick to monitor refugees’ morality. In France under the July monarchy, departmental prefects used good morality as a criterion in decisions whether to grant assistance to foreign refugees. The register of Italian refugees

22. In a speech on 26 July 1853, in Jersey, Victor Hugo pronounced the following words glorying the invisible women of exile: “Pity! that word I have just uttered has sprung from my inmost heart before this coffin of a woman, a sister, and a martyr. Pauline Roland in Africa, Louise Julien in Jersey, Francesca Maderspach in Temeswar, Blanca Téléki in Pesth, so many others, Rosalie Gobert, Eugénie Guillemot, Augustine Péan, Blanche Clouart, Joséphine Prabeil, Elizabeth Parlès, Marie Reviel, Claudine Hibrut, Anne Sangla, the widow Combescure, Armandine Huet, and still so many others, sisters, mothers, daughters, wives, outcasts, exiled, transported, tortured, wrecked, and crucified. Oh, poor women!”

23. On the life of Joseph Déjacque, who in 1857 invented the adjective “libertarian”, see: Thomas Bouchet, Patrick Samzun (eds.), *Libertaire! Essais sur l’écriture, la pensée et la vie de Joseph Déjacque*, Besançon, Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2019.

24. Gauthier Langlois, “Louise Julien [D’Araïde Louise Anselme épouse Astruc]”, in *Le Maitron. Dictionnaire biographique, mouvement ouvrier, mouvement social* [<https://maitron.fr/spip.php?article213972>] (accessed on 7 November 2020); *id.*, “Autour de Victor Hugo: proscrits à Jersey et Guernesey de 1848 à 1870”, in *ibid.* [<https://maitron.fr/spip.php?article217295>] (accessed on 7 November 2020).

25. Delphine Diaz, “Une morale collective de l’engagement révolutionnaire en exil. Les réfugiés polonais en France sous la monarchie de Juillet”, in Sébastien Hallade (ed.), *Morales en révolutions: France, 1789-1940*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2015, p. 163-174.

26. Sylvie Aprile, *Le Siècle des exilés*, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

interned at the depot in Mâcon in 1831-1833 has an entire column about their morality, including various remarks on their sexuality or economic behavior, with grades going from “good manners” to “inconsistent behavior”, descending as far as downright “immorality”.²⁷ A refugee might be highly compromised in uprisings or revolutionary events yet deemed of good morality, showing that these observations clearly sought to detect and assess the private life of the individuals being monitored. This preoccupation with private matters was not specific to France. In Switzerland, marked in early 1834 by an attempted Savoyard invasion led by Italian and Polish refugees stationed in Savoy, the Confederation declared that to remain on its territory, refugees had to demonstrate they were “worthy of asylum”. This entailed proving to the police not only their “status as political refugees” but also their “morality”.²⁸ The host authorities thus kept a constant watch on any deviations from the norm, which were judged and sanctioned, either by being struck off the lists of refugees entitled to assistance, or else by imprisonment.

THE INVISIBLE ACTORS OF EXILE

These surveillance documents of refugees’ morals suggests that only men and heads of household were taken into consideration. Yet exile was less frequently a purely masculine phenomenon than surveys of morality and representations of the period might suggest—simply because the people, especially the women who accompanied them and shared their intimate circle were blocked out of the picture. Reconstituting the family trajectories which played out behind individual exiles thus presupposes not only a change in perspective, but also looking for sources and methods which reveal what was left unseen. Those concerned partook, whether voluntarily or not, in this process of screening off family and private life from view. Thus Sylvie Aprile notes that, through their silences and the scarcity of accounts they left, women “themselves produce their own invisibility”.²⁹ Caroline Muller, for her part, defines the intimate realm as “what people wish to hide from others in general”.³⁰ Though inevitably lacking in precision—neither the “people” nor “others in general” state who wishes to hide what from whom—this preliminary approach provides a partial explanation

27. Archives départementales de Saône-et-Loire, M 1782, registre des réfugiés italiens, 1831-1833.

28. Archives fédérales suisses, Berne, circulaire du Conseil exécutif aux préfets concernant le séjour des réfugiés politiques, 3 September 1834.

29. Sylvie Aprile, “De l’exilé à l’exilée: une histoire sexuée de la proscription politique outre-Manche et outre-Atlantique sous le Second Empire”, *Le Mouvement Social*, no. 225, 2008/4, p. 29.

30. Caroline Muller, *Au plus près des âmes et des corps. Une histoire intime des catholiques au XIX^e siècle*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2019, p. 18.

of the difficulties facing historians seeking to reconstitute what happened within exile families, for that presupposes lifting the veil, countering the wish for secrecy which often accompanies family intimacy. This is only one of the “paradoxes of intimacy” highlighted in a recent dossier edited by Arlette Farge and Clémentine Vidal-Naquet.³¹ Indeed, the nineteenth century, “the century of intimacy”,³² is a most promising laboratory for such unveiling. Works on the French Revolution have substantially paved the way to apprehending how politics may irrupt in the intimate realm, both in terms of gender relations and self-narratives.³³ But what is less well-known is how political upheavals and the ensuing enforced migrations could affect these new ways of relating to the intimate sphere.

Most exiles emphasize their political struggle rather than their family life, and this necessarily filters through to the archives. But this effacement of family intimacy goes far further than difficulties in apprehending it due to lack of sources. There are none so blind as those who will not see, and historians long turned their gaze away from the history of the family and of intimacy. This is largely due to a long-standing deprecation of private life and the domestic sphere to which women have been assigned. Admittedly, as of the 1980s the endeavors of Georges Duby and especially of Michelle Perrot opened up a new field of research,³⁴ which has recently been expanded and modified by the perspective of gender³⁵ and that of care.³⁶

Despite the considerable success of this undertaking, the secrets of émigré princes’ private lives and extra-conjugal affairs of Karl Marx or Victor Hugo in exile seem to be of less interest to professional historians than to mainstream TV. The history of intimacy and the family circle, especially when linked to great political or aristocratic figures, thus still sometimes comes in for criticism due to its supposedly anecdotal nature

31. See the issue edited by: Arlette Farge, Clémentine Vidal-Naquet (eds.), “Les Paradoxes de l’intime”, *Sensibilités. Histoire, critique & sciences sociales*, no. 6, 2019.

32. Brigitte Diaz, José-Luis Diaz, “Le siècle de l’intime”, *Itinéraires*, 2009/4, p. 117-146.

33. Guillaume Mazeau, Clyde Plumauzille, “Penser avec le genre: Trouble dans la citoyenneté révolutionnaire”, *La Révolution française*, no. 9, 2015/2 [<http://journals.openedition.org/lrf/1458>] (accessed on 7 November 2020); Stéphanie Genand, “Les proscrits de l’intime”, *Itinéraires*, 2009/4, p. 107-116.

34. Philippe Ariès, Georges Duby, *Histoire de la vie privée*, *op. cit.*

35. For an overview of how the notion of gender has contributed to French historical scholarship: Françoise Thébaud, *Écrire l’histoire des femmes et du genre*, Lyon, ENS Éditions, 2007; on the conjoint history of gender and migrations: Linda Guerry, Françoise Thébaud, “Femmes et genre en migration”, *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire*, no. 51, 2020.

36. Agata Zielinski, “L’éthique du care. Une nouvelle façon de prendre soin”, *Études*, vol. 413, 2010/12, p. 631-641; Francesca Scrinzi, “Care”, in Juliette Rennes (ed.), *Encyclopédie critique du genre*, Paris, La Découverte, “Hors collection Sciences Humaines”, 2016, p. 106-115; Pascale Molinier, Sandra Laugier, Patricia Paperman, *Qu’est-ce que le care? Souci des autres, sensibilité, responsabilité*, Paris, Payot, 2009.

and lack of intellectual weight. This is not only because it tends to take the form of monographs: after all, to cite but one field, global micro-history has resuscitated a taste for at times highly detailed case studies. But the history of intimacy still retains associations with peeping through keyholes; its interest is consequently easily overlooked. As Michelle Perrot notes in her introduction to *Histoire de la vie privée*:

Like middle-class Victorians, historians long hesitated on the threshold of the private realm, out of coyness, incompetence, and respect for the value system which holds the public man to be the hero and actor of the only history worth telling—the great history of states, economies, and societies.³⁷

There is rarely any need to unearth new archives to research the history of the intimacy of family life, proof that this lack of visibility is in the eye of the historian. It often suffices to re-examine the standard sources used for migration studies to refresh our approach to nineteenth-century exile.

In a pioneering study focusing on internal migrations in France and the inaptly named “rural exodus”, Paul-André Rosental succeeds in disentangling the “invisible paths” of family history and migratory trajectory,³⁸ drawing almost exclusively on sources long familiar to historians and biographers: civil registers, marriage certificates, and probate records. Without even turning to such massive series of sources, diaries, memoirs, and correspondence have long been used by historians of exile, adept at detecting expressions of political belief and signs of the material circumstances of exiles’ lives. All these sources abound in information about their everyday existence, family, and intimate life.

Even surveillance sources produced by police authorities, who were more concerned with political agitation than amorous irregularities, are of great help for apprehending the life of families in exile. Admittedly, it was the men who were regarded as suspect, with very few women being placed under direct surveillance, which of course makes any exceptions especially interesting. As for children, they were hardly ever suspected, though this does not mean no watch was kept on them, as shown by Benoît Vaillot in his analysis of exiles from Alsace-Lorraine after it was annexed in 1871. But surveillance of men often suffices to reconstitute families, and enter their intimate sphere even.³⁹ Lists of foreigners under surveillance often specify their marital status and number of children, although the equivalent task of identifying women and children is often hopeless given the

37. Michelle Perrot, “Introduction”, art. cit., p. 7.

38. Paul-André Rosental, *Les Sentiers invisibles. Espace, familles et migrations dans la France du XIX^e siècle*, Paris, Éditions de l’EHESS, 1999.

39. See especially: Heléna Tóth, “The Historian’s Scales: Families in Exile in the Aftermath of the Revolutions of 1848”, *The Hungarian Historical Review*, vol. 1, 2012/3-4, p. 294-314.

defective data, with their first names going unrecorded, and imprecisions about their age or place of birth. Men are thus placed front and center of the family nucleus, with no hope of decentering them. Conversely, some surveillance reports accord much room to daily life and family matters, not solely because political activity only rarely filled up the idle days of exile, but also because these reports could record about the morality of their marital and extramarital life, which the authorities sometimes used to attack their opponents.

Admittedly, keeping a diary was a more common practice in aristocratic society than in the cash-strapped anarchist networks of the late nineteenth century that Thomas C. Jones discusses in his article. Equally, it is not surprising that the correspondence of Ancien Régime elites, mentioned by Janet Polasky, should be more voluminous and better conserved than that of less famous families whose archives and documents have mainly disappeared. Nevertheless, other means exist for apprehending what they said to one another, and hence of entering the life of less wealthy, less well-received families. This often involves examining administrative documents, with the attendant risk of only picking up on communications seeking to obtain some purpose: having a family to support, a wife in poor health, or young children were all reasons exiles invoked to draw attention to their situation. More generally, the family was central to the feeling of fragility with which many exiles had an ambivalent relationship, wishing to arouse admiration for their courage yet elicit commiseration for their sufferings. Ultimately, references to the family transpired more readily in letters of condolence and calls for support than in heroic tales of combat against oppression.

Among the various forms of intimate relations, those within couples were no doubt the first to attract historians' attention, and to have been examined most comprehensively. Although gender history took a while to fertilize migration studies, this was righted by the pioneering work of Nancy L. Green, soon followed and adapted to the specificities of political exile by Sylvie Aprile,⁴⁰ Philippe Rygiel,⁴¹ Anne Morelli,⁴² and Delphine Diaz.⁴³ Their research has enabled figures such as Cristina Trivulzio di Belgiojoso,⁴⁴

40. Sylvie Aprile, "De l'exilé à l'exilée", art. cit., p. 27-38.

41. Philippe Rygiel (ed.), "Du genre de l'exil", *Le Mouvement Social*, no. 225, 2008/4.

42. See the issue edited by Anne Morelli (ed.), "Femmes exilées politiques. Exhumer leur histoire", *Sextant*, no. 26, 2009.

43. Delphine Diaz, "Femmes en exil, femmes réfugiées dans la France du premier XIX^e siècle. Vers la difficile reconnaissance d'un statut", in Nicolas Beaupré, Karine Rance (eds.), *Arrachés et déplacés. Réfugiés politiques, prisonniers de guerre, déportés, 1789-1918*, Clermont-Ferrand, Presses universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2016, p. 47-62; Delphine Diaz, "Mujeres de refugiados, mujeres refugiadas en la Francia del siglo XIX (años 1830-1870)", in Mercedes Yusta Rodrigo (ed.), "Los exilios de las mujeres", *Arenal*, vol. 26, 2019/2, p. 343-365.

44. Mariachiara Fugazza, Karoline Rörig (eds.), *La Prima donna d'Italia. Cristina Trivulzio di Belgiojoso tra politica e giornalismo*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2010.

Jeanne Deroin, and Louise Michel to emerge from the very masculine world of exile. Especially, they have emphasized the role of “female followers”, as Nancy L. Green then Sylvie Aprile have called them, as opposed to “female exiles *sensu stricto*” chased out of their country due to their own political involvement.⁴⁵ There is however no hard and fast boundary between the two categories: a “follower” could precede her husband, such as Johannes Reichle’s wife, who prepared his way by settling in the United States with her three children one year before he did.⁴⁶ Above all, analysis of how these couples functioned often shows that exile resulted from a family dynamic in which choices of how, where, and the material circumstances of departure were decided together, as a couple or a family. Symmetrically, there is no doubt scope for reconsidering the place of “male followers”, husbands of “female exiles *sensu stricto*”, who scholarship has often treated as wan and self-effacing figures, without interrogating the social construct according to which strong women’s husbands are *ipso facto* weak men.

In addition to couple relationships, studying exile through the prism of the family throws light on the place of children. This category of exiles is all the less visible as there are very few texts by or about them, apart from a few rare retrospective writings. The unearthing of diaries kept by exiles, such as that discovered by the autobiography specialist, Philippe Lejeune,⁴⁷ of Marguerite Mathieu, a sixteen-year-old from Metz who was displaced to the Sudetes with her family during the Second World War,⁴⁸ has provided a way of seeing how a child viewed exile, in this case in the twentieth century. Recent work by Célia Keren on children evacuated during the Spanish civil war draws on accounts she has unearthed in which children and former children recount their experience. Using such documents, we can examine how classic issues in the history of refugees—to what extent did host societies display solidarity or rejection, compassion or xenophobia—may be reframed when applied to the early years of life.⁴⁹ The question also holds for the nineteenth century, the administrative sources for which regularly record, often succinctly, children transiting from one country to another, either because they were accompanying their parents, or because they were adolescents leaving their country of their own accord, such as

45. Nancy L. Green, *Repenser les migrations*, Paris, PUF, 2002; Sylvie Aprile, “De l’exilé à l’exilée”, art. cit.

46. Heléna Tóth, *An Exiled Generation*, op. cit., p. 5.

47. Philippe Lejeune, *Le Pacte autobiographique*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1975; *id.*, *Écrire sa vie: du pacte au patrimoine autobiographique*, Paris, Éditions du Mauconduit, 2015.

48. Philippe Lejeune, “Margot et son journal d’exil ou les cailloux du petit Poucet”, *Genèses*, no. 38, 2000/1, p. 119-135.

49. Célia Keren, “L’évacuation et l’accueil des enfants espagnols en France: cartographie d’une mobilisation transnationale (1936-1940)”, PhD thesis, EHESS, 2014.

the “little conspirators”—the disciples of Mazzini studied by Arianna Arisi Rota.⁵⁰

Examining childhood and adolescence necessarily leads to the topic of transmission in exile. Researchers have studied schools and forms of teaching, and enquired into how political combat may be transmitted within a family, such as Jonathan Barbier’s study of the Raspail family. The effect of age—being exiled when young—combined with that of generation—being 10 in 1830 meant being 28 in 1848—invites examination of the impact of exile over a long timeframe. The notion of generation also provides an essential interpretative tool for linking the transversal issue of the collective nature of exile, to the longitudinal issue of transmitting experience of exile, as demonstrated by Heléna Tóth in her pioneering book on Hungarian exiles of 1848-1849, and more recently by Edward Blumenthal for Argentinian and Chilean exiles between 1810 and 1862.⁵¹

THE MANY WAYS IN WHICH FAMILY TIES WERE RECONFIGURED IN EXILE

Refocusing our attention on the family and private sphere not only considerably enriches the history of exile; examining family and intimate issues through the prism of exile is also of interest for rethinking the history of kinship, households, and intimacy in all their political dimensions. For instance, it was not rare for exile to profoundly alter the conjugal situation for couples who had been banished, and were hence experiencing a violent break in their daily lives; or who, on the contrary, went through long periods of separation, sometimes punctuated by political cooperation at a distance. Such situations could cement the bonds uniting pairs of activists, while it could also cause others to founder on the altar of the cause. Marie-Thérèse and Émile Ollivier, studied *qua* exiled couple by Emmanuelle Berthiaud in this dossier, were, in 1870s Piedmont, the archetypal conjugal nucleus strengthened by exile, without their family hierarchy thereby being modified. Their restricted household economics when abroad compelled Marie-Thérèse Ollivier to step up her role running the household. At the same time, she assumed a larger role as political associate to her husband, a former statesman, compiling notes and writing mail for him. Far from complaining about this in her letters, she savors this rapprochement with her husband, whom she had seen far less when he was a minister.

50. Arianna Arisi Rota, *I piccoli cospiratori. Politica ed emozioni nei primi mazziniani*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2010; *id.*, *Risorgimento: un viaggio politico e sentimentale*, Turin, Il Mulino, 2019, an overview of the history of Italian construction with particular focus on children and adolescents in exile.

51. Heléna Tóth, *An Exiled Generation*, *op. cit.*; Edward Blumenthal, *Exile and Nation-State Formation in Argentina and Chile 1810-1862*, London, Palgrave MacMillan, 2020.

While exile could provide an opportunity for intimacy, spouses who did not depart together could see their intimate ties rent asunder. In Spanish Cuba in the 1850s, Emilia Tolón, wife of the anticolonial separatist Miguel Teurbe Tolón, was accused of complicity with the exiled junta in New York because of the long letters she received from her husband, who was one of its active members.⁵² One of the intercepted letters dates from Miguel Tolón's flight to the United States in 1849. Knowing that he was being hunted by the authorities because of his annexionist stance, he fled northwards; he scribbled a note to Emilia, telling us as much about the couple's situation as about conditions on the island: "Adieu Emilia, who knows if Eternity is not preparing to separate us! Adieu! I am persuaded that this will not cause you to shed a tear, while mine wet this paper. You know that I am going to leave, and you went to town. Adieu ... perhaps for ever".⁵³

In extreme cases, certain exiles took advantage of their banishment to rid themselves of a problematic marital situation. One such instance is José Antonio Saco (1797-1879), a Cuban reformist exile who was forced by the island's Spanish captain general to depart for Europe in 1834. His detractors did not fail to point out that he had "abandoned" his wife who stayed behind in the country.⁵⁴ Saco had married by proxy a cousin of his, as part of a family arrangement. He never refers to her in his correspondence, and the wife in question states in her 1842 will that she had never met her husband and bequeathed him no property.⁵⁵ Yet this in no way diminished the scandal when he remarried, in exile, this time plighting his troth to the widow of a leading figure in the Cuban cause and sister of a companion in exile. The situation in exile sometimes generated free course to unions which would have been decried or even impossible back home; for that matter, contraventions to heterosexual norms and subsequent repression could force people to migrate in the nineteenth century.⁵⁶

Exile could thus reveal intimate relationships in their "best" or "worst" light following the moral criteria of the period. What became of supposedly fundamental private bonds during the most arduous times caused by banishment? Children address this in the few sources where we may catch their voice, even after the events. Thus the Cuban Julia González de Mendoza y

52. Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Comisión Militar, 91/3; Romy Sánchez, *Quitter Cuba. Exilés et bannis au temps du séparatisme cubain*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, "Des Amériques" coll., forthcoming 2021.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid, Ultramar, 4603/5.

55. Olga Portuondo Zuñiga, *José Antonio Saco: eternamente polémico*, Santiago de Cuba, Editorial Oriente, 2005, p. 50-59, 197-200.

56. Régis Schlagdenhauffen points out that the first European jurist to have pondered same-sex marriage, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825-1895), was decried by his colleagues and forced into exile outside Germany, finishing his life in Italy: Régis Schlagdenhauffen "L'union homosexuelle, 150 ans d'histoire", *Le Monde*, 31 January 2013.

Pedroso, whose family fled Havana due to the war between Spanish loyalists and separatist insurgents, recounts in her memoirs written at the end of her life how the arrival of the entire clan in New York in 1868 threw the family routine into disarray:

We embarked on the *Morro Castle* steamer and settled [...] in a house on 23rd St, between 9th and 10th Ave, in the same block as Pepe Mestre, who already lived there. I was sent to school, and I don't know if it was the case every day, but from time to time I had to go with Maria Antonia, who was four years younger than me. The schoolmistress was called Mrs. Frochlich, she lived on 12th St and that is where I started to learn French.⁵⁷

Doing more to look after their younger siblings, leaving home to receive education in a foreign language—these were but some of the many novelties for certain children of elites, used to private tutors and domesticity, the backdrop to their life back home.

Banishment could also significantly alter parent-child bonds. In this respect, the way Karl Marx assumed his role as a father when exiled in London is revealing. By becoming involved in his children's daily life, Marx sought to differentiate himself from the bourgeois model of a tyrannical father figure. But exile and the hard times befalling the Marx family, forced to live in cramped lodgings and experiencing hunger and illness, entailed rethinking the functions of close relatives to children whose survival even was threatened. Wilhelm Liebknecht provides a vivid account of the way Marx thought of his paternal role in London during the 1850s:

One had to have seen Marx with his children to get a full idea of the depth of feeling and childlike character of this hero of scholarship. In his moments of leisure or on walks he carried them about, played the maddest, merriest games with them—in short, was a child among children.⁵⁸

Later on, Marx's already distant relationship with his son-in-law Charles Longuet, husband to Jenny, became all the more strained as he reckoned Longuet was not a loving enough father to his four children, born, like Marx's, in exile in London.⁵⁹ Assigned family roles were thus significantly altered by political engagement, for sure, but also by the situation of exile, obliging people to make considerable material and affective adjustments.

57. Julia González de Mendoza, *Fechas de mi vida. Diario*, undated, private collection of Victor Batista, Madrid.

58. Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Karl Marx zum Gedächtnis*, Wörlein, Nuremberg, 1896, p. 61, 63.

59. Jonathan Sperber, *Karl Marx. A Nineteenth-Century Life*, New York/London, Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2014, p. 469.

Such adaptations, far from necessarily being painful, were sometimes a blessing, reinforcing ties which might otherwise have frayed without the circumstances of exile. This is what Victor Hugo describes in his poem *L'Exilé satisfait*, in a collection titled *L'Art d'être grand-père*, published in 1877: "I have seen so much that which bites, which flees, which buckles/ That, old, weak, and vanquished, my joy is henceforth/ To dream motionless in some dark place".⁶⁰ For the conjunction of these two conditions—being a grandfather and exiled in Guernsey—procures him joy, or that at least is what the author of these lines wishes to suggest.

Equally, relations between brothers and sisters could be strengthened by exile, due to the extremely precarious situations or common struggle in which family ties overlaid "political fraternity". The exceptional case of the exile of the Spanish princes Ferdinand and Carlos, assigned to residence at the Château de Valençay from 1808 to 1814, is revealing here. Daily walks in the grounds of the château, together with numerous other joint activities induced by exile in captivity, led an observer such as Talleyrand to write "they could never have been brothers to such an extent".⁶¹ At times, it was after death even that political and fraternal ties were strengthened. Manuel Bilbao, the brother of the famous Chilean exile Francisco Bilbao, who accompanied the latter in many of his recurrent banishments, penned his brother's posthumous memoirs, writing a *Life of Francisco Bilbao*, and paying for the publication of his brother's complete works in 1866, one year after his death.⁶²

Lastly, one major alteration brought about by exile related to households' economic situation. Thus be it for the émigrés and aristocrats in exile in Hamburg and Altona at the turn of the nineteenth century studied by Janet Polasky, or the London anarchists analyzed by Thomas C. Jones, exile was never without consequences for the lifestyle of those affected. The studies in this dossier depict a range of material conditions. Thus, as Emmanuelle Berthiaud explains, Marie-Thérèse Ollivier, forced to withdraw to the Piedmontese mountains, experienced social relegation, having to go purchase her own food and employing only one nurse, instead of the bevy of servants she was used to in Paris. Conversely, the members of the liberal professions from Alsace-Lorraine, very many of whom chose

60. Victor Hugo, *L'Art d'être grand-père*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1877, p. 3.

61. Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand Périgord, *Mémoires du prince de Talleyrand*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1891, p. 382. Quoted in Clémentine Colmont, "L'exil de la famille royale des Bourbon d'Espagne: les expériences de l'exil de Ferdinand VII et des Infants Don Antonio et Don Carlos à Valençay entre 1808 et 1814", Paper given at the "Exil, genre et famille au XIX^e siècle" conference, Reims, 5-7 September 2019.

62. Manuel Bilbao, "Vida de Francisco Bilbao", in Francisco Bilbao, *Obras completas de Francisco Bilbao*, vol. 1, edited by Manuel Bilbao, Buenos Aires, Impr. de Buenos Aires, 1866. Quoted in Edward Blumenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

to emigrate after 1871, quickly regained their social position in their new lands, as studied by Benoît Vaillot. While enforced migration during the long nineteenth century did not appear to produce the same economic effects for all exiles, the papers gathered here suggest that the family unit was at the forefront of the socio-economic upheavals inherent in such displacements.

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Over recent decades, the dual question of couples and families has acquired greater centrality in debates on contemporary migration. This is due firstly to changes in international law, particularly impacted by recognition of the right to private and family life in article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights of November 1950. The 1951 Geneva Convention on the status of refugees, following in its wake, asserted the right of minor children to live with their parents. Even though nations have sometimes taken time to enshrine these principles in law—France only enacting the principle of family reunification in 1976, for instance—their recognition has meant that family issues no longer relate to the purely private sphere. Rather, they have become a matter of law, further weakening the already fragile separation between politics and the intimate realm. This has led to greater consideration of the fate of accompanying families, influenced in this by anti-immigration discourse. Migrant men's marital status and good conjugal behavior are still criteria for separating “the wheat from the chaff”,⁶³ as illustrated by the way debates on conjugal violence have been turned against migrants, or the perpetually recurring controversy about polygamy.

But the changes run deeper still. While the presence of women and children may at times be perceived as a pacifying factor on social relations, favoring the insertion of exiles in their host society, they have gradually come to be the target of hostility. Rather than being invisible companions, they are presented as threats to European societies' security and demographic equilibria. Henceforth, when exiles try to prove their family links to a territory, it is not a matter of calling for sympathy, the issue, rather, is their right to settle there. Contemporary asylum seekers are now required to demonstrate their family ties; since it is often difficult to gather administrative proof of these ties, national authorities require ever more voluminous documentation before enacting the right to normal family life, often including documents relating to intimate affairs, making the separation between public and private ever less clear-cut.⁶⁴ The same ambiguity

63. Philippe Rygiel (ed.), *Le Bon grain et l'ivraie. La sélection des migrants en Occident, 1880-1939*, Paris, Aux lieux d'être, 2006.

64. Frédérique Fogel, *Parentés sans papiers*, preface by François Héran, Paris, Dépayage, 2019.

extends to Western societies' attitudes towards "unaccompanied minors", who may be perceived either as victims of adult wars, or as threats to the social order.⁶⁵ The very recent case of young dissidents, sometimes on the verge of adulthood, who left Hong Kong for Taiwan or Great Britain to flee reprisal by Peking, provides another way of viewing unaccompanied minors, this time considering them as agents in their own right, heading into political exile.⁶⁶

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English translation by Adrian Morfee,
with a grant from the Institut universitaire de France (IUF).

65. On this topic, see the initial results of the Mina93 project on unaccompanied minors in Seine-Saint-Denis presented in Yasmine Bouagga (ed.), "Jeunes en migration, entre défiance et protection", *De Facto*, no. 17, March 2020 [<http://icmigrations.fr/defacto/defacto-017/>] (accessed on 8 November 2020).

66. See the report by Chloé Rémond, Xavier Mehl, "Taïwan: terre d'asile", 2020, *ARTE Reportages* (length 24', available from 26 August 2020 to 23 August 2023) [<https://www.artetv.fr/videos/098980-000-A/taiwan-terre-d-asile/>] (accessed on 8 November 2020).