Going Abroad
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EDITORS’ NOTE

All foreign-language texts have been translated into English. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are by the authors or editors. The original has been included only in bibliographical references, and in cases where necessary for a proper understanding, e.g. plays on words that do not translate easily.

We decided at an early stage in preparing the typescript to dispense with footnotes and endnotes. All bibliographical references use the author/date system, with full details at the end of each chapter.
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FOREWORD

Going Abroad is addressed to those readers who are inquisitive about the meaning of the different forms of mobility which concern almost all of us today, directly or indirectly, in our leisure time or in our professional lives. Most of us have been tourists or travellers, and there are increasing numbers of potential and actual migrants: in 2006 over a thousand Britons left the UK every day, of whom more than five hundred were going to live or work abroad for more than a year.

If you are tempted by emigration, enjoy being a tourist, or just love the adventure of travel, real or imaginary, we invite you to join us on a journey of discovery through time and across the continents, to explore and reflect on diverse experiences of mobility, past and present, and what it all means.

Several chapters analyse both the practical problems and the differing states of mind experienced by British emigrants to France and Spain today. But emigration, although on the increase, is not a new phenomenon—as shown by chapters on nineteenth-century Scottish emigrants to Canada and Australia, an early British presence in the French Alps, and the arrival of Brits and Americans in turn-of-the-century Paris. And if you have ever wondered about the impact of British immigrants on the host communities, there are clues in all those experiences, past and present, as well as a fuller analysis of the material and cultural consequences of immigration today on Marrakesh and Chamonix. We examine different kinds of emigration—the more or less voluntary search for economic improvement, the choice of a different lifestyle, and the imposed condition of political exile—and also visit Britain as a host country seen by French immigrants over a hundred years ago.

If crossing the Channel has become a mundane act apparently bereft of any significance today, next time you take the tunnel or a ferry you might pause to think about the multiple real and symbolic meanings that that crossing has had, as illustrated by travel literature and films. We visit turn-of-the-century Capri and Morocco today, in search of a carefree life of residence in the sun and exotic surroundings, with certain freedoms that often seem impossible at home. The life of a Filipino sailor, curiously neither at home nor really “abroad”, is a singular example of mobility that few of us have ever considered. And we examine stranger forms of
travel—old and new—in backpacking across four continents, the real and the fantasized exotic in nineteenth-century orientalist art, and the sanitized utopias of today’s theme parks. In two ‘afterwords’, some personal reflections follow their own very different directions, from a common starting-point: memories of a grandfather.

The key to this collection of texts is our attempts to understand the different meanings of mobility, a phenomenon that, though not new, is central to today’s—and no doubt tomorrow’s—globalized world.

*Going Abroad* is also, of course, for academic specialists, for students, teachers and researchers who are interested in the different approaches to issues of mobility. The book is both inter-disciplinary—drawing on the methodologies and subject-areas of history, geography, sociology, literature, the media, tourism, painting and architecture... what we in foreign-language departments of French universities call “la civilisation”, roughly translatable as “cultural studies”—and *cross-cultural*, the subjects and perspectives covering not only France and Britain (Scotland, Wales and England), but also Spain, Capri, the Middle East, North Africa, the Far East, and Latin America, as well as the waters between lands and continents (the Channel, the oceans of the world) and beyond (the imaginary worlds of painting, of theme parks...). Behind this multiplicity of places and approaches, the book explores both explicitly and implicitly the terminologies, “conceptuology” and methodology of a subject which features in the curricula of many different academic disciplines.

The authors of *Going Abroad* represent six different nationalities, live in or regularly move between a dozen different countries, and work or have worked in at least seven different academic systems. They incarnate the cross-national exchanges, migratory flows and—in some cases—the transformation from tourist to migrant, that are central preoccupations in *Going Abroad*.

*Christine Geoffroy & Richard Sibley*  
Paris, autumn 2007
PART I -

TRAVELLERS AND MIGRANTS
OF YESTERYEAR
For many French people, leaving for London in the late nineteenth century no longer meant setting out on an adventure in unknown territory. For some it meant partaking in a long tradition of forced religious or political exile, whilst for others it was a matter of choosing economic migration or work-related travel. The Franco-British diplomatic exchanges of the period are well known, but the rivalries and the *entente* do not account for the wealth of relations woven in Britain by many anonymous French travellers and migrants. The interplay between travel, tourism and migration—between short voluntary stays, long exiles and permanent settlement—was at the heart of this French presence. We have chosen to illustrate it through three particular case studies:

– musicians who visited Britain by choice, either independently or on tour with others, and who instrumentalized their nationality in order to achieve success;
– anarchist refugees, forced to travel and often isolated, although some did form relations with their host nation;
– French people who settled in Britain and, reflecting about how to preserve their identity, began organizing themselves as a group.

**French musicians in England: truly Gallic travellers**

In both France and England, the end of the nineteenth century saw the strengthening of what might be called an “industry” of the performing arts. The first stage of musical industrialization was essentially marked by the
unprecedented growth of public concerts for paying audiences. On both sides of the Channel, music was becoming increasingly professional and in order to train and make a living, many musicians began to perform at a national and international level. Helped by the expansion of transport, geographical mobility became an indispensable feature of a musical career. The French musical union’s journal *Le Progrès Artistique* wrote in 1878:

A female artist who has just graduated from the Conservatoire had better go abroad to sing, and then come back to France with honours, rather than vegetate here for five or six years attached to the Opéra or the Opéra-Comique, where […] a career can never get started, where […] all sorts of obstacles are encountered during the best years of one’s voice. (*Le Progrès Artistique*, 15 August 1878)

Sometimes musicians would group together in order to buy train tickets in bulk and negotiate cheap rates. They even created associations for that purpose, like the British Music Hall Artistes’ Railway Association, founded in 1897. By the late 1870s, the mobility of musicians between Paris and London, the European capitals of entertainment, was particularly intense. The reasons for and modalities of these professional trips were diverse, and reflected the heterogeneity of the musical scene in the period.

Some musicians crossed the Channel on their own, in search of higher earnings. An article published in *L’Europe Artiste* even mentioned “boatloads of starving musicians” disembarking every morning onto the streets of London (11 February 1894). At the time, the Conservatoire National de Musique, an extremely powerful and renowned institution in France, had no equivalent in England. There did exist a Royal Academy of Music, but its teaching remained very poor until the early twentieth century (Ehrlich 1985: 76-80). Qualified foreign “labour” was thus much sought by British musical directors. Germans in particular had a very good reputation, but so too to a lesser extent did the French. This demand declined by the end of the 1880s, as the level of training of English musicians improved with the development of a higher-quality musical teaching (Russel 1987: 52-53) and as musicians organized their first professional associations: the Society of Professional Musicians in 1882, the Music Hall Artistes’ Association in 1886, the Amalgamated Musicians’ Union and the Orchestral Association in 1893.

Other, more settled musicians travelled in a much less spontaneous and isolated manner, within organized musical tours. This was the case of musicians in the great French orchestras, such as the Orchestre des concerts Lamoureux, which performed all around Europe (see *Le Courrier*
It was also the case of music-hall artists, for whom the trip to England was a necessary step in an international career and, by 1900, for any success in the United States. Among the French music-hall stars who then travelled to England were Yvette Guilbert, Odette Dulac, Gaby Deslys, Harry Fragson, Alice Delysia, Anna Held, Méaly, Adrienne Augarde, Max Dearly, Régane, Mlle Polaire, Louise Balthy, and Alice Aubrey. Their numerous autobiographies and memoirs recount their stay. Tours were organized by the great artistic producers, who were new actors in the industrialization of the stage and the professionalization of music. Two of them played an essential role in the export of French music hall and of its artists to England: Tom Barrasford, who produced cross-Channel tours as from 1905 (the year his Alhambra music hall opened in Paris) and thus facilitated the circulation of French artists in England and of English artists in France, and C.B. Cochran, who exported numerous French productions and launched in 1914 French-style revues (Jacques-Charles 1956: 80-92).

The success of French musicians in England undoubtedly rested on their nationality. For orchestral musicians, it represented proof of artistic quality. For music-hall singers as for actors, to whom they were very close, being French—and particularly being Parisian—conjured up a colourful image which attracted an audience keen on merry entertainment. In the end, the reality of those artists’ “Frenchness” or “Parisianness” did not matter that much—what was important to the British public was that artists fitted what they imagined to be French culture and French character. In Marcel Lherbier’s film *L’Entente Cordiale*, Edward VII says of a singer “This woman is really Paris.” When someone says “I thought she was foreign,” he replies “Perhaps, perhaps, but Parisian” (Lherbier 1939). The image of *Gay Paree*, circulated through the universal exhibitions and tourist guides of a new kind such as *Paris after Dark, containing a description of the fast women ..., of the night amusements and other resorts ..., in the French metropolis, and others like Pleasure Guide to Paris for Bachelors or The Gentlemen’s Night Guide. The Gay Women of Paris and Brussels* had a big impact on the English mind, with its puritan past. In fact the success of French artists, women in particular, was often given momentum by more or less calculated scandals in the media.

Thus the *risqué* singer Odette Dulac performed in 1900 at the London Empire, in a production by C.B. Cochran. Her reputation having preceded her, all but two of her songs had cuts made by the censors. To some journalists, eager to hear her impressions after her first show, she explained that she was very satisfied but surprised that the two songs free
of censorship in England were the only ones censored in France (Jacques-Charles 1956: 84-5). The remark spread rapidly all around London and soon everyone came to hear her songs, hoping they were very daring. Similarly, Gaby Deslys created a sensation in 1913 when her performance at the Palace Theatre was targeted by the violent criticisms of some right-thinking moralizers, who were trying to have her censored. The Daily Mail, which covered the affair, talked about her “French vivacity” (13 November 1913). The show in which she was the lead performer became of course a great success. There were many other similar examples. Even when the British public adopted a French music-hall artist, as was the case with Alice Delysia who lived the rest of her life in London, exoticism remained the fundamental element of success.

The professional mobility of musicians from 1880 to 1914 played an essential role in the artistic exchanges between France and England. In the case of music hall, until the end of the 1880s the English influence dominated French popular entertainments, as the adoption in France of the term “music hall” shows. At the turn of the century the situation was reversed. Thus the revue, so typical of French music hall, settled in England and dethroned English variety after 1910. It was then that the ballet tradition, a speciality of English music hall (the Alhambra and the Empire even possessed their own ballet troupe, making music hall the only real English institution that, prior to 1910, taught dancing) was gradually abandoned in England but exported to France. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the majority of male and female dancers in French music halls were from England, though later they would come from the United States. The mobility of musicians was also a vector for transferring militancy as musicians’ organizations progressed in the 1890s. Every French association of orchestral instrumentalists had correspondents across the Channel. They met British union representatives, produced regular reports about the situation of musicians in England, the progress of their organizations, their methods of action and their achievements.

**Anarchists, from indifference to exploration**

Around five hundred French anarchists found shelter in Britain between 1880 and 1914, most of them fleeing prosecution in France. Their London exile was in many ways a rite of passage, since they had been preceded in Britain by several generations of continental political exiles. By this period, working-class tourism to Britain was not exceptional: the anarchist paper Le Père Peinard frequently featured adverts from
seafaring companies offering trips across the Channel. Professional migration was becoming increasingly common too. Moreover, the anarchist ideal proclaimed that the comrades should be travellers at heart—*trimardeurs* was then the current expression (a cross between a tramp and a journeyman)—free from the bourgeois sin of patriotism. The fact that crossing over to London seemed so easy and natural to these individuals testifies to a high degree of working-class cosmopolitanism, at a time more usually associated with popular anglophobia (Guiffan 2004) as well as the rise of middle-class and lower-middle-class tourism (Gerbod 1995, Bruillon 2002, Porter 1995).

Despite such apparent internationalism, in many respects the anarchists’ exile could be described as the very opposite of travelling—a voyage without any discovery, any adventure, characterized by national self-segregation and regrouping, and even by a relative degree of hostility towards Britain. As Switzerland and Belgium refused political refugees, Britain became a substitute land of asylum. The anarchists were thus more of a nomadic, wandering colony rather than a truly cosmopolitan colony of travellers. After the newly-elected President Faure declared an amnesty in 1895, most of them actually returned to France within a few months, two or three years at the most.

Like their predecessors, the exiles regrouped along national and linguistic lines, around Soho and Euston, often in the same streets and even the same houses. There they mainly rubbed shoulders with other anarchist refugees—Belgians, Swiss, Francophone Italians—and spoke little or poor English. Their survival largely depended on their fellow Frenchmen, since many set up businesses providing for the other exiles, or relied on intra-communal charity. Their political life was very much focused on France. Some of them took up the old anglophobic stereotypes against the foul English weather, English materialism, or the political reformism. The journalist Emile Pouget thus cursed “this goddam London sky—always almost as black as a judge’s conscience,” (*Le Père Peinard. Série Londonienne*, October 1894) and contrasted French hospitality and warmth with “this dull city where watering holes are nowhere to be found” (*Ibid.*, September 1894). The exiles’ boredom was summarized by the anarchist sympathizer Zo d’Axa, who railed against “London, where I have spent three months vegetating in an exile’s retreat” (d’Axa 1895: 103).

However, on the margins of this colony, there were some better integrated individual trajectories. Some comrades remained in exile even after being allowed to return to France, and so became voluntary travellers, and even tourists keen to experience life abroad. This was the
case of the antimilitarist novelist Georges Darien, who stayed on after 1895, and of Louise Michel, who alternated between France and London, to avoid prison but also out of preference for British liberalism. In Britain she was very well integrated personally, professionally, socially and as an activist (Thomas 1971).

Some comrades practised what could be called “militant tourism”, nobody more so than Charles Malato. This journalist was one of the most anglophilic members of the French anarchist colony and experienced a good degree of personal and professional integration while in London. In 1897 he published *Les Joyeusetés de l’Exil*, a comic chronicle of the harshness of life as an exile. He was one of the few to look beyond the closed circles of the exiled: the book was full of observations and information on Britain, proving the anglicization of its author and setting it halfway between a militant’s diary and a tourist guide. This dual nature culminates in the last chapter, which is entitled “the exile’s practical guide to London” (1897: 206), in which Malato addresses potential refugees. The chapter ends with a ten-page French-English glossary, including a guide to pronunciation. It features very factual information: how to order a cup of tea or translate typically French phrases. These are mixed with typically anarchist comments, like “Is it true that in England, there have been honest politicians?” or “First of all, avoid X***. He’s a mole who just pretends to be starving in order to get us into trouble” (1897: 314, 318).

Lastly, some comrades settled for good in Britain, and thus became immigrants. The first one was Gustave Brocher, who by the late 1870s was in the Camberwell district of London, working as a language tutor and active in the first local socialist groups (Brocher archive). Gustave Mollet was another example, one of the few exiles to settle outside the capital. A native of Lyon, he was in Norwich by 1892. At the end of the century, after inheriting some money he set up a sawmill in Liverpool, spreading some informal anarchist propaganda and helping comrades get to the United States. Finally, Victor Cails was the true embodiment of the anarchist trimardeur. Imprisoned in 1892 after being implicated in the manufacture of bombs near Birmingham, he was still in Britain in the early years of the twentieth century, working on the building site of the Victoria and Albert Museum (Louise Michel Archive: letter from Cails to Michel, n.d.).

So, despite the isolation of most of them, some anarchists did set about discovering the British Isles. Such trajectories testify to a surprising working-class mobility between the two countries, and triggered international contacts which played an important role in exchanges.
between activists. However, the anarchists’ British sojourn was above all an exile, an involuntary journey, and in this respect Malato’s conclusion is highly revealing: “Do go to London, dear readers, if fate takes you there, but stay there as little as possible. In the name of the President of the Republic, the Minister of the Interior, the Prefect of Police, Amen” (1897: 328).

**When the London French get together and organize**

Whatever their initial plans when they crossed the Channel, many French people eventually settled in England as a result of family or professional bonds they had formed there. Having excluded any idea of returning to France, their concerns and expectations differed greatly from those of temporary migrants. The number of French people living in England at the beginning of the twentieth century has been estimated at between twenty and thirty thousand (Gerbod 1995: 73, 134; Atkin 2003: 3, 188). Most of them opted for London and in 1883, after a long absence, the French Consul General was surprised to discover “a numerous and industrious colony, on its way to prosperity and tending to unite and gather together”, instead of the isolated French, little inclined to frequent each other, that he had known twenty years earlier (SNPFA 1883: 30-31).

Within a few decades, a whole set of associations developed, meeting the needs of a population aware that it was putting down roots. From 1862 onwards, the French colony was “revealed” by a series of yearbooks aiming to identify its composition and structure (Hamonet 1862: 5-9). While the Hamonet yearbook found only two French societies in 1862, fifty years later the Barrère yearbook (1909-1910) mentioned many more. At the time, the creation of a new association was often accompanied by criticism of former practices, the idea being to break with a tradition of isolation and to free French initiatives from their habitual failures (SPLFA 1832: ix; Hamonet 1880: 118; SNPFA 1882: 4-8). Whether this dark picture of the past was accurate or not, it is clear that migrants of that period felt like pioneers in bringing together and organizing the colony. Claiming inspiration from John Stuart Mill, one of them even asserted that the French colony should be represented in the French National Assembly (Hamonet 1880: 119).

The presence in London of a new generation of French ambassadors—W. H. Waddington and then Paul Cambon—probably played an important part in the success of this structuring process. French diplomats in England had not always been on good terms with their exiled compatriots (*Le Courrier de l’Europe*, “Chronique de Londres”, 12 January 1878; France
but these two took an active interest in the colony. In addition, their patronage and participation in various banquets, meetings and lectures gave credit and respectability to French institutions in Britain.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the French colony was organized along the classic associative lines such as religion, education, charity, health, professional associations and culture (CADN 1919). The French had had Catholic and Protestant churches for a long time, together with denominational schools. During the nineteenth century they created a French Benevolent Society (1842), a French Hospital (1867) and a Convalescent Home in Brighton (1896). At the end of the century, the rise of an elite among the colony led to the formation of a Chamber of Commerce (1883) and a French National Society (Société Nationale Française). It was the more successful members of the colony who took a leading role in most of these French institutions. At the same time, professional associations were founded in activities most favoured by the French: teaching, cooking and hairdressing for instance. They offered services such as help in finding employment or English lessons. When it seemed that the influence of a nation also depended on the diffusion of its language and arts, many cultural clubs and circles developed, frequently with the help of francophile British people. Such collective organization was not peculiar to the French in London. The Germans in London and the Italians in Paris structured their colonies along similar lines (Couder 1986; Panayi 1995), and a spirit of emulation meant that what one of them did, the others did as well, or better.

French institutions also enabled members of the colony to assert and cultivate their specificity while fitting into a new society. But what was the common ground which united all these French people? Religion and politics, often suggested in the case of immigrant populations (Payani 1995: 148, 256-7), did not seem able to federate the various elements of a very mixed French colony (SNPFA, Sixième Congrès (1887): 96; CADN 1897: 20). Fearing division, the National Society of French Teachers even made clear in its constitution that “no political or religious matters shall be discussed during the official meetings of the Society”.

Language was perhaps the common denominator, since many of the French institutions already mentioned were intended for all French speakers, irrespective of their nationality. Indeed, tensions arose in others when the use of the French language appeared to be threatened by the growing power of members who, while being of French descent, could not speak French, witness the debates concerning the French Protestant Church in London (CADN, Londres—Ambassade, CH 280).

It must be admitted that the opening of these organizations to an entire
speech community was probably not wholly disinterested: it obviously widened the spectrum of potential grants. Yet one should not underestimate the importance these exiles gave to their language, as illustrated in a question that both Franco-British and Franco-French couples had to tackle at some point: their children’s identity. In 1899, a Frenchman wrote to the French ambassador in London about his concerns: children of the French colony were, according to him, becoming “more English than John Bull’s sons” (CADN, Londres—Ambassade, CH 269). Of course military duties imposed on Frenchmen—at a time when uncertainty prevailed as to the nationality of children born in England of French parents—were often an important consideration when it came to opting for a nationality. Under these conditions, many parents thought of language as a means of checking this phenomenon, and thus wanted their children to acquire a good command of French. They thought this should take place in a non-denominational French school, “where at least French children, brought up among themselves, would lose neither the love nor the language of their motherland” (France 1900: 275.)

**Different experiences of otherness**

We have focused on three groups, and whilst there were links between them, these were only occasional. The musical artists on a short stay had no reason to make contact with the French institutions in London. The anarchists could not afford a bourgeois evening at the music hall and preferred their own celebrations. The elite of the French colony, keen to preserve its respectability, kept clear of the anarchist “dynamiters”. Professional travellers, political refugees and migrants thus faced different experiences of otherness and different realities while abroad. Long before the era of mass migration, the French presence across the Channel was therefore rich and manifold. Each group, in its own way and in its own time, contributed to Franco-British cooperation, whether from abroad by taking part in friendship, professional or militant networks, or in France through correspondence and press reports. The International Musicians’ Confederation was thus born on May 10th 1904, from the Fédération des Artistes Musiciens de France and the British Amalgamated Musicians’ Union. The anarcho-syndicalism which gained ground in France after 1904 was partly inspired by trade unionism, which some anarchist exiles had observed while in Britain. Several members of the French colony wrote articles and books on England for French readers. Lastly, representations of the French were fashioned by this presence. While the music-hall artists reinforced the clichés attached to the French by playing
with their image in order to conquer British audiences, and while the anarchists perpetuated the French revolutionary myth, the French who had settled in Britain long before endeavoured to rectify negative stereotypes.

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Travel first emerged as an activity reserved for the idle rich, and has today become a mass tourist industry. There was, however, an intermediary phase in which travel/tourism was an elegant distraction, enjoyed primarily by those members of the aristocracy and the wealthy middle classes who had enough time for leisure activities (see Corbin 1995). Furthermore, many of those who had been to Paris as “tourists” decided to stay there for a longer period of time. This group, that we have labelled “the travelling elite”, then became “foreign colonies” in Paris, and in this chapter we analyse the impact they had on certain districts of the city. We will show that the patterns of movement initiated by the travelling elite, and the underlying logic of their arrival and settling in Paris, not only had an effect on the construction of an image of the city, but also influenced the development of its urban space and the social manners of its fashionable upper classes.

Studies of this subject, whatever the discipline—sociology, social or literary history, anthropology—are usually based on the tourist–traveller dichotomy. However, Harvey Levenstein noted in 1998 that the systematic opposition of these two terms was hampering the development of research in this area (Levenstein 1998: ix). Our notion of a “travelling elite” corresponds to no existing historical category and is used here, in the absence of any other adequate term, to designate a missing link which will enable us to follow the slow transformation from eighteenth-century traveller into twentieth-century tourist, and from cultural travel into leisure tourism. Furthermore, this categorization may stimulate reflection about the links between tourism and migration, since the movements of the travelling elite involved a temporary or a permanent settling of fashionable
foreigners, and the creation of foreign colonies.

The travelling elite was never a homogenous group, but consisted of travellers who were all apparently rich and had in common, in the eyes of their contemporaries, a taste for luxury, frivolity and fashionable society. In reality, it encompassed a very varied population who all shared similar attitudes and customs: diplomats and dignitaries, millionaires, ruined or exiled monarchs and lords (some genuine, others less so), nabobs and maharajas, financiers, industrialists and wealthy merchants, not forgetting “swindlers”: impostors who were not really aristocrats or not really wealthy, and all sorts of tricksters, thieves and procurers.

This diversity of sociological characteristics makes it impossible to classify the travelling elite in accepted social categories. The term aims simply to describe this new form of migration, which implies a process of evolution from individual travel towards mass movement. The notion of travelling elite does not imply any judgement on our part about its members. The concept is derived from their own ambition to be so considered, occupying the highest rank among travellers, generally thanks to their striking personalities, and sometimes to the financial power or social rank which they really had, or pretended they had, or to which they aspired. The travelling elite, far from representing a coherent whole, was composed of extremely diverse individualities. It is therefore not possible to draw a portrait of a typical traveller, although a distinction can be made between two basic types: those who were just visiting, and those who formed more settled foreign colonies. After the First World War, the first category was warmly welcomed as a substantial source of income, whereas the second was considered undesirable because of fears over its influence on the French economy, which shows just how actively present it was.

**La rue de Castiglione – an English and American street**

The history of members of this elite who eventually settled in Paris often followed the same pattern: first a few trips to the city, then a request to set up in residence there, and finally perhaps naturalization. In other words, they first lived in a hotel (preferably a grand hotel), then a rented furnished flat, and finally a private mansion which they rented or bought or even had built. This elite contributed to the construction of the urban identity of Paris by stimulating, among other things, the development of trade in luxury items and of the hotel industry. This phenomenon can be observed by analysing the development of the districts they frequented.

Before 1850, most of the buildings in the rue de Castiglione were
either furnished houses for rent or had rooms to let—only numbers 1-3, occupied by the Ministry of Finance, and numbers 8 and 14 were not let out for rent (Archives de Paris: D1P4-192). From that date onwards, they began to be turned into residential hotels, and soon other kinds of establishment began to appear. By 1855, there were already numerous buildings offering accommodation for foreigners. There were three hotels—the Hôtel Clarendon at No. 4, particularly recommended to Americans, the Grand Hôtel de Londres at No. 5 [see Fig. 2-1], and the Hôtel Castiglione at No. 12—as well as two furnished rented houses (Nos. 6 and 9). To satisfy the demands of the foreign travellers, building and extension work took place from the mid-1870s, which altered the appearance and the comfort not only of these buildings but of the whole district, and pushed up the rentable value of the buildings and the price of rented rooms. The opening in 1878 of the Hôtel Continental (at No. 1) simply confirmed the appeal of this district to foreigners.

Fig. 2-1. The Grand Hotel de Londres, as shown in The American Travellers guide to Paris prepared for the Correspondents of Messrs. J. Munroe & Co., American bankers, 7, rue Scribe, Paris, London, W.H. & L. Collingridge, Aldersgate St, E.C., 1869, p. LX.

The small trades that occupied the ground-floor shops in 1855—fancy goods, second-hand clothes, draperies—were gradually taken over by watchmakers, jewellers and curiosity shops in the 1870s, and then in the
1890s by various kinds of service agencies, exchange agents, transport companies and different businesses. In 1855 the even-numbered side of the street was already favoured by English-speakers, with two English chemists, Hogg’s at No. 2 and Swann’s at No.12 on the ground floor of the Hôtel Castiglione, and at Nos. 10 and 14 business agencies and wine and tea merchants (Arthur & Sons and Johnston’s). This is how Edmond Deschaumes described the street in 1889:

> Incidentally, very English, that little area between the Place Vendôme and the Tuileries Gardens: agents offering rented accommodation, bars, wine-merchants, Guerre’s shop with its ‘pastry cook’ sign, English bookshops, and shop-windows displaying photographs, cloth-bound guidebooks and maps of Paris. (Deschaumes 1889: 239)

These businesses had appeared primarily to meet the requirements of the foreign clients of the luxury hotels, thus contributing to the international reputation of the rue de Castiglione and helping to create the image of Paris as a cosmopolitan city.

Of the various businesses and agencies, John Arthur’s deserves particular attention, not only because he claimed to have founded the first rented accommodation agency in Paris (Manuel Officiel ... 1899: 100-101), but also because he was the English-speaking elite’s favourite—indeed for a long period, their exclusive—estate agent. Other nationalities had recourse to his services, as we can read in the tales of travellers who recommend him to their compatriots (Ochoa 1861: 30-33). According to a card and a 1913 bill in the Debuisson Collection (Paris, private collection), the agency was first known as A. Arthur & Sons and had been founded by John’s father in 1818, although an advertisement in The Paris Way Book (Jerrold 1867) suggested the agency had existed only since 1830. The agency moved to the rue de Castiglione in 1853, John Arthur describing himself as the official agent for the British Embassy, a wine-liquor- and tea-merchant, broker, furnished accommodation agent, and exchange agent (Archives de Paris: D1P4-192). He also undertook to ship goods to England, America and India, rent out and sell property, and provide insurance, and he even had an agency to patent inventions in Britain. By 1867 he was the co-publisher of guide-books, such as Blanchard Jerrold’s The Paris Way Book, in exchange for detailed advertisements for the activities of his firm. At that time, John Arthur & Co also described himself as the official agent for the American Embassy, with a banking and exchange office, an estate agency for buying and selling property as well as renting out houses and furnished or unfurnished apartments, a forwarding agent for all kinds of goods including objets d’art, and a
merchant selling French and foreign wines. It was to John Arthur’s that Jerrold’s character, the Englishman Timothy Cockayne, went the day after his arrival in Paris (Jerrold 1871: 95). Tom Lévis, the foreigners’ agent described by Alphonse Daudet in *Les Rois en exil*, was very probably inspired by John Arthur, a hypothesis confirmed by the fact that Daudet’s original plan situated Tom Lévis’s agency at the same address as that of John Arthur: 10, rue de Castiglione (Daudet 1990: 1463, note). In 1878, George Augustus Sala described him as the most helpful of bankers and estate agents, constantly assisting English-speakers in Paris (Sala 1879 vol. 2: 325). Little by little, property transactions and letting rented accommodation became his principal activities, indicating that more and more foreigners were settling in Paris. By the 1880s the number of this type of agency was growing.

**Foreign colonies**

By settling in Paris, the travelling elite helped form the city’s cosmopolitan society. They became part of Parisian high society (“le tout-Paris”), for whom by the 1850s, coming from a particular place or belonging to a particular nation was less important than segregation by social class. The travelling elite, accused by its critics of being superficial and indifferent, had little time for the universalist ideas of the eighteenth century (considered to be the century of cosmopolitanism). Nevertheless, through its habits and its demands, it gave a concrete form to this universalism, transforming intellectual cosmopolitanism into what one might call “material” or “economic” cosmopolitanism. Anne-Marie Thiesse has already shown how national identities, which since the eighteenth century have structured the concept of “community”, are related to intellectual cosmopolitanism (Thiesse 1999). From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, a new cosmopolitan ideal can be seen to emerge, based on fashionable social practices connected to travel, and quite distinct from the cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment. This ideal helped to construct another form of collective identity, an identity marked by cosmopolitan sociability.

The colony can be defined as a group of people coming from one place, living in another, and conserving their own traditions. The notion of a foreign colony in Paris implies neither a desire to dominate a territory nor any ambition for economic exploitation, but simply designates a fashionable elite settled, for a while or permanently, in the French capital. Foreign colonies were not recognized as such until there existed some form first of social, then of cultural representation. Even if they underwent
important transformations due to political or economic changes in their country of origin, the foreign colonies were in fact often represented by the idle rich, and by businessmen, artists and writers. Intermediary activities then brought in a large number of foreigners, for travelling elites were the starting point for a new type of immigration, which played an important part in the economic development of France and fostered relations between France and the countries of origin of the travellers. The American Register was one of the American colony’s most popular papers.

Nationality was not a criterion for membership of the colony, many continuing to be part of it even after obtaining French nationality. Others were accepted into the colony through marriage with a member. As for national customs, the particularity of these foreign colonies was that they tried to develop a dialectical relationship with each other and with the indigenous population. Without abandoning their own traditions, they thus accepted French influence at the same time as they were spreading their own habits in Parisian society, without being obliged to merge with it.

The directories which list the members of the colonies are often incomplete but they allow us nevertheless to analyse the image that such publications projected of these groups, taking into account the criteria for selection of names to be included. They also enable us to study the establishment of the fashionable elite in the city and to observe the consequences of its arrival in terms of how open the city was to the practice of certain professions by foreigners. The Anglo-American Annual, a Directory & Handbook for Residents in Paris, which appeared in 1890, published for the first time a list of names which recorded 1,087 British and American people resident in Paris. The list of occupations and the list of English- or American-owned businesses, also included in this directory, show that the colonies resulted in various tradesmen setting up businesses to help the colonies maintain certain cultural traditions, and also to turn to their compatriots to defend their interests or obtain health care. The directory included fourteen British or American lawyers, nine interpreters, forty-five dentists and twenty-one dental surgeons. Incidentally, the advice given in this publication encouraged the British and American elite to settle in districts already frequented by their compatriots.

The American colony

Of all the foreign colonies, the American colony is one of the most visible in the source material, and had a strong impact on the city and its customs. It was established in Paris at almost the same time as the British colony, from 1830 onwards, but was smaller. By the time of the Second