
Returning to the Continent – British Travelers to France, 1814

MARY T. DUARTE

Cardinal Stritch University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Denied access to most of the European continent for over a generation because of the French Revolution and Napoleonic regime, Britons were eager to flood to France with the newly established peace in 1814. This was a new type of traveler as a jaunt to Paris was now affordable to the shopkeeper, preacher and writers as well as members of the upper class. Both men and women took this opportunity to see the changes in France. Though influenced by previous travel accounts, this group was surprisingly willing to see the French as dupes of Napoleon and, therefore, possible future allies. This presented a small window of opportunity to readjust the British public's thinking regarding one of its closest neighbors. Yet previously held prejudices ultimately triumphed and were validated with the French acceptance of Napoleon upon his return for the Hundred Days.

Keywords: John Scott; Lady Charlotte Bury; Louvre; Louis XVIII; Lady Sydney Morgan; Morris Birkbeck; Reverend William Shepherd.

Barely had the ink dried on the first Treaty of Paris ending the Napoleonic Wars (30 May 1814) and a provisional government been established in Paris when hordes of British travelers began descending on France. Denied access to the European continent for over twenty years except for the short end of hostilities due to the peace following the Treaty of Amiens (1803), many British citizens desired to observe firsthand the result of the French Revolution and to see the treasures accumulated and the monuments built during Napoleon Bonaparte's reign. With peace restored, members of the British upper class along with a new group of travelers such as shopkeepers, independent writers, preachers and their spouses flocked to France, united in their common desire to view the new world order on the continent. Both men and women left accounts of their trips to France. Their published diaries, letters and books provided the British public with a unique insight into Restoration France. The political ideologies, as well as religious and moral outlooks varied among the numerous travelers yet they all shared the desire to see the world to which they had been denied access, except for a brief period, for over a generation. Ignorant of the French culture, language, and history some visitors found France overwhelming. Their reports are full of observations colored by their ignorance of French society, the Catholic faith and the French government and influenced by their preconceptions of the French. Most were excited by this opportunity to visit France in 1814 and the early months of 1815 and appeared ready to embrace the French citizen. This willingness offered an opportunity to break down previously established barriers and establish the foundations of understanding and friendship between the two nations. As travel books were widely read by the British public, their accounts, regardless of their accuracy, helped mold British perceptions of France and its people and thus influenced British and French relations for the next generation.

Numerous scholars have examined this period and the impact of the French Revolution and Napoleon on shaping European national identity. The English have a tradition of using travel literature to not only learn about the world but also to understand their global position and their own societal norms (Suranyi, 2009: 242). Recently scholars have examined the role of the traveler following the tumultuous events in France on fostering national pride and on a personal level

creating the perceptions of self (Thompson, 2011: 244). This work looks at the brief period from Napoleon's first downfall until his return and the impact of the British travelers had on shaping and, perhaps, reshaping public opinion and policy; as it appeared, many welcomed the opportunity to establish a new relationship with the French nation. Following Napoleon's loss at Waterloo, Britons arrived back in France to collect artifacts and walk on the historical ground of the battle, as they attempted to understand the recent past and put it into historical perspective (Semmel, 2000: 15). With Napoleon's return and acceptance by the French nation an opportunity was lost to reshape British perceptions of their neighbor.

Prior to the turmoil caused by the French Revolution, British trips to the continent were limited to either young men who could afford the cost of a Grand Tour to complete their education, the merchant or sailor whose experiences were confined to port cities or business centers or small groups of privileged men and women who had the means to afford such a trip. Capitalizing on the mystique and allure of the Grand Tour, a few travelers managed to make the trip across the Channel and then return home to publish their perceptions. Accounts by travelers such as Arthur Young and Hester Lynch Piozzi found a large, receptive audience. The public and private descriptions of French society, nobility and the French court by these early wealthy British tourists shaped the eighteenth-century British public's image of France. These earlier travel writers described the French peasants as ignorant and servile while the French nobility were depicted as vain and crafty and the French court decadent. These images were perpetuated into the 19th century.

In contrast to their predecessors, British visitors to the European continent in 1814 varied widely in economic, educational and social backgrounds. They were primarily middle and upper-middle class who found a brief trip from the British Isles as not only desirable but affordable. Despite the variety of their socio-economic backgrounds, there is a surprising consensus in their observations of the French nation. These early travelers who preceded Napoleon's return during the Hundred Days believed that the new French King Louis XVIII embodied traditional "British" values developed during his exile at Hartwell in Great Britain, thus fostering in him an understanding of and commitment to a constitutional monarchy. Such a combination of attributes ensured to the British public that the new French monarch would return home and enact these values while strengthening France's friendship with Great Britain. While believing they understood Louis XVIII, the British travelers were uncertain of the French people, but they were willing to entertain the idea that Napoleon alone and not the French people had been responsible for the war. The French nation had been caught in his "despotic and remorseless sway" (Belsham, 1814: 3). Portrayed as dupes of the evil emperor, the French could be forgiven and even welcomed back into the brotherhood of Christian nations. Britons in 1814 carried with them these sentiments of hope. The reports of this first wave of visitors would both bolster and temper the initial enthusiasm for a perpetual brotherhood or alliance.

On the average, most visits lasted approximately a month as British travelers limited their itinerary to one or two specific destinations, such as Paris, northern France or, after June 1815, the battle sight of Waterloo. For some of these unseasoned visitors the thrill of their trip began at Dover, where many saw the sea for the first time (*Memorandums of a Residence in France*, 1816: 5). Although their trips were modest in scope, the nineteenth-century travelers continued the tradition of writing and publishing accounts of their experiences. The *Quarterly Review* from 1814-1818 listed twenty-two new publications recounting travels in France – a modest sampling of the many works that circulated during that period. Many of the accounts went through several editions during their first years in print. The popular accounts enabled those who remained at home to experience the adventures of their more fortunate countrymen.

Through these books, travelers influenced all levels of British society. Yet these publications were not the only means of disseminating information about France throughout Great Britain. Letters home and the stories told and retold by travelers reinforced the accounts in print. As one writer noted:

Where is the family that has not sent out its traveler, or travelers to the capital of France? Minute oral accounts of its wonders have been rendered at every tea table. Criticisms of its arts, and manners, have found their way, in soft whispers, across shop-counters (...) How many letters have been dispatched, from the very spot of observation, to “dear papas,” and “dear mammas,” (...) Where is the newspaper weekly or daily, that has not to boast of its special series of articles on Paris? (Scott, 1815: 1-2)

Information from the visitors’ experiences on the continent spread throughout the British Isles through a variety of mediums.

The half dozen female writers who intended to publish their commentaries on France upon their return home were, from the beginning of their journey, avid political spectators. Their works opened a new literary genre for the female writer (Adickes, 1991: 3). Assuming and maintaining the illusion of the amateur status of its author, the text was written in narrative and focused on the daily occurrences of travel, stressing personal encounters with the natives, from which readers could glean generalities about the French people. Feeding a curious public’s interests in the exotic, these works soon became a mainstay in bookshops and circulating libraries (Fay, 2015: 73-74). In order to retain their feminine modesty, the authors usually denied in their preface any initial intention of making public their writings. Instead, they cited the pressure of family and friends in their decision to publish their personal accounts. The majority of women writers adopted the literary format of either a diary or letters addressed to a family member or friend – a style used by only a few men (Foster, 1990: 23-24). This choice helped maintain the illusion that the women had not initially intended to publish their accounts, but had simply collected together personal observations that they had sent home to relatives and acquaintances. These works offer an insightful perspective on French life. Surprisingly, though women often had access to areas denied men, such as the private family quarters, their accounts from this period focus primarily on the political changes brought about by the French Revolution, Napoleon and the Bourbon Restoration, in order to quell British hunger for information on the changes of the past generation. Under the guise of a disinterested traveler, they were able to penetrate the male world of politics. Their comments on contemporary France and on French foreign policy were avidly read and discussed, garnering both respect and criticism from their male counterparts and the public, as they stayed within the conventions of femininity.

British men who in 1814 wrote about Restoration France provided the British public a perspective that complimented and expanded on the women’s accounts. Whereas the women’s works focused on politics and personal encounters, it was the male travelers who offered general observations on social changes and customs, such as costume, the role of women, manners, domestic life, children, and religion. Their gender occasionally provided them experiences and opportunities denied their female counterparts. Some traveling to the continent for the first time journeyed farther into France, as they had less concern about personal safety. Interests also varied as male visitors were fascinated by French agriculture methods, religious practices and French women. Their focused accounts provide a valuable perspective on Restoration France.

An overnight stay at the Ship Inn and departure from Dover were the common route of many travelers both before and after the Hundred Days. Arriving in France, usually in Calais, the visitors eagerly searched the sites for “foreign curiosities”. Most were disappointed as the port town was full of British sightseers. They were more likely to hear English spoken on the streets of Calais than French. Some British patriots journeyed to the location near Calais from which Napoleon was rumored to have assembled his forces to invade England. As every British man knew, England alone had remained invincible to the Napoleonic threat. Their patriotism and sense of superiority is evidenced, as one woman noted, “I saw the hill where Bonaparte had organized the army with which he threatened to invade Britain, and which he afterwards led to more easy conquest of Germany” (Bury, 1900: 245). From the port city most journeyed on to

the capital of Paris.

The acquisitions of fine arts taken by Napoleon from other countries during his conquests and such projects as the *Arc de Triomphe* and the *Temple des Victoires* – the future Church of Madeleine – initiated by Napoleon to improve the capital were a tremendous draw for Britons on a limited budget. “To an Englishman who can avail himself of periods of only moderate leisure, Paris is easily accessible”, noted one such visitor and scholar (Shepherd, 1814: 17). The greatest attraction in the capital was the Louvre. It was the reason why British shopkeepers, ministers and parliamentarians left their country for the first time. As admission was free and open to the public, many individuals, such as Reverend William Shepherd, visited the museum daily and spent hours slowly examining the collections. These treasures produced strong emotions in those who had traveled so far to gaze at them. One visitor, on seeing the statue of Apollo Belvedere, wrote: “my heart palpitated – my eyes filled with tears – I was dumb with emotion” (Campbell, 1855: 28). The popular travel guides written by British travelers such as Lady Sydney Morgan, John Scott and Edward Planta devoted long chapters to the Louvre, cataloging its statues and portraits. These descriptions added to the popularity of the travel books. For many Englishmen, those publications were as close as they would ever be to Paris and its treasures. Planta’s guide went through almost thirty editions and its descriptions of Paris influenced a generation of British travelers and would-be visitors to the Continent.

As for many this was their first journey off of British soil, not all visitors found their trips rewarding – a circumstance Reverend Shepherd attributed to the visitor’s unrealistic and unfulfilled expectations. He faulted English visitors who journeyed to France with the intention of enjoying there all of the comforts of home. Looking for beef steak and finding unknown dishes, they complained of French cuisine. Since few of England’s middle and lower classes spoke French, many of these travelers were reduced to hiring a *valet de place* who only knew a little English to escort them around the capital. These tourists returned home and complained that Paris furnished no good company (Shepherd, 1814: 269-72; Birkbeck, 1815: 2-3). In a conversation one Englishman had with three countrymen, he voiced the following complaints: the wine was like acid, the beds too small, the soup too thin, everything was overpriced, and the women wore too much makeup (Langton, 1836: 125-27). For the first time traveler it was easy to criticize the French.

Another prolific traveler, John Scott, shared a carriage with a young English shopkeeper who journeyed to Paris for a one-week visit. The young man spoke no French and knew no one in the capital. He carried with him only British bank notes and was without a passport. His only goal was to see the Louvre. Unfortunately, the Louvre was closed to the public during the duration of his stay. He attributed all of his problems to the ignorance of the French people he met and not to his own lack of preparedness (Scott, 1815: 42-43). Aware that the tourists often paid more in shops than their French counterparts, many of the visiting Britons also complained of French duplicity and dishonesty (Granville, 1894: 60; Langton, 1836: 127-129; Shepherd, 1814: 32-33). Wealth and the ability to speak French played a key role in this assessment; Lady Morgan could find little wrong with the French even when being overcharged. Fluent in French Lady Morgan eavesdropped on an exchange between two vendors as one seller commented to the other that she was charging too much for the roses Lady Morgan was purchasing. Rather than using this conversation and personal encounter as an example of the French taking advantage of the British public, she instead focused on what she saw as the refined use of French among the lower classes (Morgan, 1817: 53). In her privileged position, Lady Morgan found that the French could do no wrong.

After having been denied access to France for so long, many Britons had misconceptions about the French and their religious traditions. Unfamiliar with Catholic religious practices and influenced by generations of British Protestant misconceptions of the popish religion, some travelers were surprised to find many of their long-held beliefs untrue. Lady Charlotte Bury is a case in point. Attending a high mass in Montreuil, she discovered that the congregation was not muttering their prayers in an unknown mystical tongue. On borrowing a poor girl’s missal she found

to her surprise that it was printed only in French and Latin. Nonetheless as was true of many other travelers, she remained unsympathetic to Catholicism. Her prejudices surfaced as she witnessed a procession of key town officials to the church to sing a *Te Deum* for peace. She found the military formality of the ceremony “an awful sight” which brought memories of the Reign of Terror (Bury, 1900: 247-48). Reverend William Shepherd’s personal and professional interest in religion led him during his travels to pay particular attention to French religious practices. He often stopped in local churches to admire the architecture and congregation. He found the services well-attended, primarily by women. Yet Shepherd was convinced that few frequented mass for religious reasons. He noticed that many women spent most of their time during the services laughing and talking. Elaborate religious processions which horrified Lady Bury, he found only drew a crowd because the onlookers were curious. He believed that devotion in France was more mechanical than sincere (Shepherd, 1814: 127). Like many of his countrymen, Shepherd believed that the French were basically an immoral people and nothing in his travels changed this fundamental perception. According to one English female visitor, the wrath of God was brought down upon the French, which led to their defeat because of their failure to observe properly the Sabbath (*A Letter Addressed...*, 1815: 27-28).

Not all were so highly critical of French morality; not surprisingly, Irish Catholic Lady Sidney Morgan found the population sincere in their devotion and related the story told to her of how the French Catholic peasantry even went to the church to practice their faith during the French Revolution, although there were no priests to minister to their needs. She placed the decline of the faith firmly on the priests and the Catholic hierarchy whose return the public feared (Morgan, 1817: 39). Another traveler, the Reverend John Eustace, in his quest to trace the effect of the French Revolution on religion, also disagreed that the devotion of the congregation was insincere. He argued to the contrary, claiming that in a country like France, where religion was held in such low esteem, there would be nothing to gain from attending mass other than personal edification. He attributed the preponderance of women to their more tender hearts and to the fact that on Sunday the men were called away to levees and reviews (Eustace, 1814: 73-74).

Yet, despite this defense of the French personal devotion, Eustace believed the future of France was bleak as the power of church had been broken by the French Revolution. A quarter of a century of military campaigns which glorified violence, looting, and rape had corrupted a generation. The hope of France, its young men, had been lost to vice and ferocity. Bred on revolution and acclimated to violence, this new generation would never be content with peace (Eustace, 1814: 73-74). He believed that the French propensity towards sinfulness and debauchery that had plagued them throughout the 18th century would continue. Eustace’s work went through eight editions in its first year. His basic distrust of the French found a wide audience in Great Britain, as stereotypes, instead of being corrected or modified, were reinforced.

The British traveler was concerned that the French were unable to learn from the excesses of the French Revolution and Napoleon’s tenure. Englishmen found French upper-class society dominated by the newly returned émigrés and royalists. Intrigued by the new French leaders in society, Lady Bury questioned whether those who had been humbled by the Revolution had truly learned anything since upon their return they sought restoration of their former privileges (1900: 454, 456). Other British travelers echoed her doubts about the humility and wisdom of the returning émigrés (Langton, 1836: 188-91; Underwood, 1828: 198). Unwilling to mingle with British society in exile, the émigrés had failed to win many friends among the British. They remained unchanged by the events of the past twenty years, retaining eighteenth-century ideas on government and privilege. Upon their return home, the émigrés’ desire for personal revenge and the reestablishment of the power of the church cost them the sympathy of British visitors who were outspoken in their criticism of this group (Hudson, 1973: 55). Travelers also blamed the émigré clergy for the moral decline of the nation, as they had failed to remain in France and offer an alternative to revolution. British writers often referred to the émigrés, royalists and priests as relics of the past, out of touch and in conflict with the new demands of the French nation and the re-

stored King Louis XVIII (Morgan, 1817: 152; Bury, 1900: 256). Many Britons were naturally skeptical as to whether this archaic group could successfully govern France. Echoed in their publications, the travelers' skepticism spread quickly across the Channel, to the British Isles.

At least initially this distrust of the returning nobility did not extend to the king. During his exile in England, Louis XVIII had won the sympathy of many of the British at home. This support continued into the first year of his reign, as his British supporters perceived the king as enlightened. Although aware of the struggles of the newly established French government, British contemporaries remained quietly committed to the Bourbons, as they appeared to support an approximation of the British form of government and offered the greatest chance for peace in Europe. On May 5, 1814, Louis promised to give France a constitution. Many travelers believed that through the enactment of a new constitution Louis XVIII would create within France the British tradition of government. Sharing a common form of government, these visitors shared with those at home their belief that the two countries would initiate a long friendship as a new France with its constitutional monarchy returned to the fold of peaceful nations. No longer would France suffer from the decadence and misrule of the past. Despite its faults, the Revolution had indeed ushered in a new age. "The revolutionary story had rolled in tremendous retribution over the scenes where luxury and pleasure had misruled. Providence has once more restored them to their rightful possessors, after having humbled them to the dust" (Bury, 1900: 254), commented one visitor. Britons hoped that Louis XVIII had returned a wiser man than his older brother, the former king. Despite these aspirations, the British public in France reported home that although the king's return was met with large crowds, he, personally, had been received with little enthusiasm (Berry, 1865: 12). Generally, the travelers discovered that the French peasant greeted the initial return of the Bourbons with great indifference (Bury, 1900: 246). Yet the British visitor believed that the future of France, the popularity of its government, and its friendship with England depended on the conduct of Louis XVIII (Shepherd, 1814: 273-76; Ward, 1904: 253); however, from the lack of public support this possible outcome was called into question.

Letters from an Anonymous English Lady to her Sister during a Tour of Paris in April and May 1814 captured the spirit in Paris during the first months of peace and the return of the king. Miss Anne Carter, who had her work published anonymously, was able to get tickets to Louis XVIII's coronation at Notre Dame and provided her readers a glimpse in the pageantry of the event as well as the optimism that initially prevailed in the capital (Fay, 2015: 84). The prestigious *Quarterly Review* reviewed this lady's descriptions of Louis XVIII's entry into Paris. It praised the *Letters* for being "just what they ought to be, lively and rapid tittle-tattle for use of the fair sex" (*Quarterly Review* 51). Yet its optimistic appeal went beyond just women, as this anonymous work was widely read in England and used for royalist propaganda in France (Moraud 35). Like many of her fellow travelers, including Lady Bury, this anonymous visitor had expected to find France in ruins. Instead, they found the stories which had circulated in England about bad road, dangers, and the general devastation of the countryside to be false. The harvests appeared plentiful, the soil good, and the people happy to have peace (Moraud 36-37; Bury, 1900: 263; Birkbeck, 1815: 11; Ward, 1904: 253). The future looked bright.

Leaving England in July 1814, Morris Birkbeck and his companions claimed to be the first Englishmen to travel south of Montpellier since the Treaty of Amiens (1815: 100). Interested in agriculture, Birkbeck provided a detailed account of soil conditions, crops, livestock and wages. He found farming conditions in northern France comparable to England, while the south was clearly inferior. He concluded that the Revolution had greatly benefited the majority of French by the national sale of lands, the ending of tithes, game laws and other restrictive laws and taxes, and the introduction of new crops and grasses (Birkbeck, 1815: 30, 53). Birkbeck observed the women throughout France employed in occupations considered unsuitable by English standards. Regardless of their class, French women undertook any task they were capable of performing that was essential to the maintenance of their stations. He provided the example of a woman loading a dung cart. Though the labor was hard, her work was a sign of wealth, as her family

owned the property and the cart with which she worked. Birkbeck believed that this employment provided the French women with an independence of action and character which few women in England had achieved (1815: 41-42). French women also demonstrated a greater comfort with their own sexuality. A woman adjusting her garter as she stepped out of a carriage inspired the observation “that a French lady’s knee is as modest as the elbow of an English lady” (Birkbeck, 1815: 49). Birkbeck found the French woman’s freedom of action one area in which the French excelled their British neighbors. Women did not necessarily agree with his assessment. A female visitor noted that British women should continue to follow the ideals of the proper British maiden – humility, modesty and virtuousness – and not to mimic decadent French traits (*A Letter Addressed...*, 1815: 31). Responding to an editorial in a large periodical, *Antigallicus* went even further. Describing the British woman as timid, delicate and family-oriented, this writer believed that British women traveling in France would fall prey to French ridicule and adopt French dress and manners. This would lead to the destruction of British home life and domestic comfort (*Gentleman’s Magazine* 6-7). Except for a few positive comments, the French woman faced a great deal of criticism from the British.

There were other areas where Birkbeck believed that the British could learn from the French: their temperance, neatness in dress, good manners, treatment of their horses and the overall condition of the laboring class. At the same time he noted that the French engaged in habits that were hardly tolerable to the Englishman, such as their habit of spitting. Nor could he stand the stench of their populous towns, which resulted from the frequent emptying of chamber pots from the windows. He found their long meals and many dishes an excessive waste of time while also criticizing the French love of playing of cards and billiards as a form of recreation. Their large standing army he considered an excuse for a latent militarism while the growing number of priests was indicative of an anti-intellectual superstition. Finally he criticized the French for their excessive greetings and farewells (Birkbeck, 1815:104-06). Nothing escaped his gaze. Notwithstanding their difference, Birkbeck was convinced that the French and English were not natural enemies, but the victims of the bad policy of their respective governments which indulged in pointless rivalry and war. He shared the enthusiasm of many of the 1814 travelers who foresaw initially a long, prosperous, and close friendship between the nations. His and other accounts stressed the low cost and high quality of life in France and encouraged some of the British on fixed or limited incomes to migrate across the Channel (Ward, 1904: 255-56). This trend would be attacked in the British press the following year, as the attitude towards the French had changed significantly with the French acceptance of the return of Napoleon.

While peasant loyalties varied throughout France, one constant was the emotions of the French military. The French army continued to be devoted to the fallen emperor during the first restoration. Napoleon could do no wrong while Louis XVIII could do no right. One female visitor noted that she did not see one smile on the face of any French soldier during her entire trip to Paris (Granville, 1894: 6). While upon purchasing a *croix d’honneur*, Reverend Shepherd was confronted by a French soldier who proudly displayed his own medallion and noted that it was awarded for bravery and not bought at a souvenir shop. Exasperated by the ensuing discussion on the merits of Napoleon and the military, Shepherd concluded the encounter: “on my opening my pocket-book to deposit my purchase in it I observed his eye glance with curiosity on a rouleau of Bank of England notes, out of which I selected a most superlatively dirty and ragged one and told him that this was the index of England’s prosperity (...) by virtue of which we had withstood all the power of Bonaparte and finally hurled him from the throne” (Shepherd, 1814: 250). The reverend’s overreaction to the French veteran’s pride in his army and service demonstrated not only his inability to fully appreciate French views, but also served to validate his own prejudices. Shepherd went to France expecting that he would encounter hostility from the French people and his negative attitude helped make that a reality. After his return home, his friends and acquaintances who had not traveled abroad bombarded him with questions and request to read his personal travel log. Interest was so great – or so he said – that he felt compelled to publish his

private journal in order to gain some peace at home (Shepherd, 1814: viii). His popular work went through three London editions and one in America. Although unfavorably reviewed in the Tory *Quarterly Review* (46-60), the book was highly praised in the more liberal *Edinburgh Review* which ran several excerpts from it, thus broadening its audience.

Reacting to the various traveler accounts, many of the Englishmen who remained at home worried about the French influence on those who journeyed to that decadent land. One anonymous female writer who described herself as coming from a humble and religious background was concerned about the moral peril to those who visited France (*A Letter Addressed...*, 1815: 27). She claimed that it was her fears that led to the publication of *A Letter Addressed to an English Lady of Fashion in Paris*. In this tract she expressed concern for the women who traveled to Paris and who were influenced by its lifestyle for “was it not (...) their pride, their vanity, their love of pleasure, their giving way to luxury of every kind, and still more the neglect of very moral and religious duty which led to the downfall and debasement of France?” (6). If these vices were transplanted to England the result could be civil turmoil. The burst of optimism generated by the first peace in 1814 turned to cynicism as Britons returned home with less than favorable reports.

Cultural differences, sharpened by the language barrier, perplexed the British traveler and often led to hostile reactions. Elaborate menus, ornate dress, flowery greetings, and other differences drew criticism and seemed to confirm longstanding British prejudices that the French were effeminate, ostentatious and untrustworthy. Napoleon’s triumphant return reinforced these attitudes and made any political alliance difficult. The final proof of the French citizen’s innate wickedness was their acceptance of Napoleon during the Hundred Days. John Scott typified many travelers whose initial joy at visiting a new country gave way to growing disapproval and disillusionment following the Hundred Days. Those who had been willing initially to regard France favorably now voiced concerns and a window of opportunity to redress the distrust between the two nations was lost.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

ADICKES, Sandra (1991). *The Social Quest: The Expanded Vision of Four Women Travelers in the Era of the French Revolution*. New York: P. Lang.

ANONYMOUS (1815). *A Letter Addressed to an English Lady of Fashion at Paris*. London: Har-
chard.

BELSHAM, Thomas (1814). *The Prospect of Perpetual and Universal Peace: A Thanksgiving Sermon for the Conclusion of Peace with France, Preached at Essex-Street Church, July 3, 1814*. London: J. Johnson & Co.

BERRY, Mary (1865). *Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry from the Year 1783 to 1852*. 3 vols. Ed. by Theresa Lewis. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

BIRKBECK, Morris (1815). *Notes on a Journey through France, from Dieppe through Paris and Lyons, to the Pyrenes, and Back through Toulouse, in July, August and September 1814, Describing the Habits of the People and the Agriculture of the Country* (3rd ed.). London: William Phillips.

BURY, Charlotte, Lady (1900). *The Diary of a Lady-In-Waiting*. Ed. by Francis Steward. London: John Lane.

CAMPBELL, Thomas (1855). *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*. Ed. by William Beattie. 2 vols. New York: Harper and Brothers.

EUSTACE, John Chetwode (1814). *A Letter from Paris, To George Petre, Esq.* (8th ed.). London: J. Mawman.

FAY, Elizabeth (2015). Travel Writing. In Devoney LOOSER (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Women’s Writing in the Romantic Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

FOSTER, Shirley (1990). *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth Century Women Travellers and Their Writings*. New York: Harvester Wheatsleaf.

Gentlemen’s Magazine (1814-1815).

GRANVILLE, Harriet (1894). *Letters of Harriet Countess Granville, 1810-1845*. Ed. by F. Leve-

son Gower. 2 vols. London: Longmans et al.

HUDSON, Nora E. (1973). *Ultra-Royalism and the French Restoration*. New York: Octagon Books.

LANGTON, Richard (1836). *Narrative of a Captivity in France from 1809 to 1814*. 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder and Co.

Memorandums of a Residence in France, in the Winter of 1815-1816. Including remarks on French Manner and Society (1816). London: Longman et al.

MORGAN, Sidney Owenson, Lady (1817). *La France* (2nd ed.). 2 vols. London: Henry Colburn.

MORAUD, Marcel (1933). *La France de la Restauration d'après les visiteurs anglais de la première abdication de Napoléon à sa mort, 1814-1821*. Paris: H. Champion.

PLANTA, Edward (1831). *A New Picture of Paris; or the Stranger's Guide to the French Metropolis: Accurately Describing Public Establishments, Remarkable Edifices, Places of Amusement, and Every Other Object Worthy of Attention. Also a Description of the Environs of Paris: with Correct Maps, an Accurate Plan of the City, A Guide to the Principal Objects of Curiosity, and Numerous Views of the Public Edifices* (16th ed.). London: Samuel Leigh.

Quarterly Review (1814-1818).

SCOTT, John (1815). *A Visit to Paris; Being a Review of the Moral, Political, Intellectual and Social Condition of the French Capital* (2nd ed.). London: Longman et al.

SEMMELE, Stuart (2000). Reading the Tangible Past: British Tourism, Collecting, and Memory after Waterloo. *Representations*, 69, Special Issue: Grounds for Remembering: 9-37. Web. 6 May 2016.

SHEPHERD, William (1814). *Paris in Eighteen Hundred and Two and Eighteen Hundred and Fourteen* (2nd ed.). London: Longman et al.

SURANYI, Anna (August 2009). Virile Turks and Maiden Ireland: Gender and National Identity in Early Modern English Travel Literature. *Gender & History* 21, 2, 241-262. Web. 4 May 2016.

THOMPSON, Victoria E. (2011). Foreign bodies: British travel to Paris and the troubled national self, 1789-1830. *Studies in Travel Writing* 15, 3, 243-265.

UNDERWOOD, T. R. (1828). *A Narrative of Memorable Events in Paris, Preceding the Capitulation, and During the Occupancy of that City by the Allied Armies, in the Year 1814*. London: Longman et al.

WARD, John (1904). *Letters to 'Tuy' from the First Earl of Dudley*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

