Emigration and Memory: After 1685 and After 1789

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Literary and historical studies of autobiography, flourishing since the 1970s, have understood the genre as a peculiarly modern form of first-person narrative. Its early exempla are usually situated in the later eighteenth century – only after Rousseau's *Confessions* did autobiography become "a full-blown literary genre."[1] Lines of inheritance have been drawn back from autobiography to medieval spiritual meditations or to Augustinian modes of memory or to Montaigne's introspective *Essais*, but autobiography is nonetheless seen as having diverged sharply from earlier egodocuments. Earlier memoirs recorded actions and relationships; modern autobiographies self-indulgently disclose the author's inner life.[2] And the novelty of the new autobiography's form and content is customarily said to reflect the emergence of modern personalities: morally autonomous, secular, *sui generis*, self-defining and self-promoting.[3]

That one can *describe* a transformation in life writing occurring in the course of the eighteenth century is scarcely in doubt. Yet, *explaining* the change in narrative expression, accounting for the process through which a new subjectivity and a new genre took shape, is more difficult, for it must extend beyond the bounds of the literary or philosophical canon. Michael Mascuch, looking at the English case, has addressed the need for explanation by broadening autobiography's literary lineage and reconceptualizing early autobiographers' cognitive experience. The origins of autobiography, Mascuch suggests, lay with the miscellaneous, non-canonical forms of first-person narrative that proliferated in the eighteenth century: moralists' tracts, nonconformists' witnessing, popular biographies, criminals' confessions. In reading – or, better, misreading – these texts, future autobiographers "experienced personality as a creation of discourse" and "the potential contingency of his own self-identity." They glimpsed the possibilities of self-definition and derived from them an incentive to intimate self-expression. In this way, discourse itself fashioned a new kind of personality (rather than vice versa), and modern autobiography was born.[4]

The present article suggests moving into an even broader spectrum of texts and, beyond discourse entirely, into more concrete dimensions of autobiographical *practice*: that is, into the circumstances in which early modern people wrote their own lives and the purposes they meant their writings to serve. Its argument is that autobiography assumed its modern form and content as part of a much larger shift in the production of documents generally, occasioned by the state's appropriation of the power to set identity. State documentation came, by the end of the eighteenth cen-

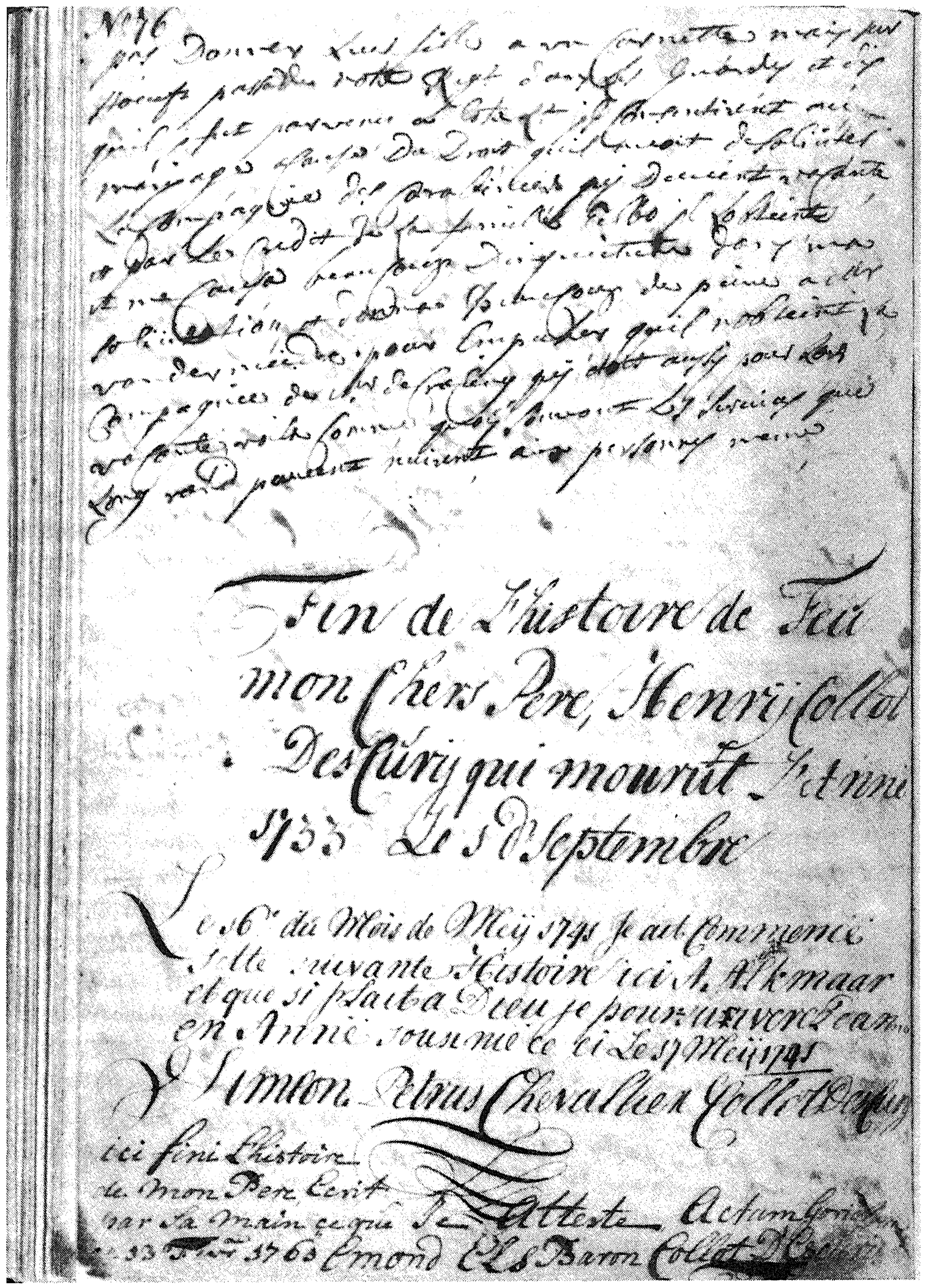
tury, to relieve memoirs of the need to meet public uses that had previously constrained them to masking private selves, to putting on "an additional layer of gravity and modesty on my face,"[5] so as not to undercut public purposes by exposure of personal sentiments. By so relieving them, it permitted an unprecedented privatization of self-definition and efflorescence of subjectivity: autobiography thereafter could unleash the "private self, one that aspires to the immortal glory of a god, a self that will brook no limits whatsoever, not even death."[6] A shift in material culture, then, by reshaping autobiographical practice – quite apart from any deep mutation in authorial personality that may have occurred – gave birth to the new genre.

MEMOIRS, HISTORY, AND NATIONALITY

Two successive sets of memoirs that illustrate how modes of autobiography co-evolved with successive regimes of documentation are the narratives of escape and exile written by two groups of fugitives from early modern France: the Huguenots who fled from France after the Revocation in 1685 – the first of modern Europe's great migrations to generate a body of first-hand literature – and the *émigrés* who fled the Revolution after 1789.[7] These two historical moments have, of course, been joined before, most eloquently by Jules Michelet: "What the Revolution was to the eighteenth century, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was to the seventeenth."[8] In juxtaposing 1789 and 1685, Michelet was drawing attention to successive re-makings of the French "classic state" and "nation." But other parallels are informative as well, notably the fact that both provoked emigrations and, from the pens of the fugitives, distinctive autobiographical literatures in which escape and exile were written either as an episode in a more extensive life history or as a freestanding tale.

Why this should have been so in either case is not obvious. Both groups of memorialists had strong incentives to eschew the past. On the one hand, the Huguenots' religion – for which they emigrated – was, in Philippe Joutard's words, "of all Christian theologies the least hospitable to the existence of a profane as opposed to a sacred memory."[9] For Calvin, the New Testament founding of redemption upon remembrance of Jesus entailed a denial of history, including denial of those Catholic remembrance practices out of which modern memoirs are sometimes said to have developed – memorials of the dead, tombs, epitaphs, necrologies, relics.[10] As for the Revolution, it, too, de-legitimated the past and human history, effecting what François Furet called a "hypertrophy of historical consciousness."[11] "1789 became the birth date, the year zero of a new world founded on equality the definition in time of a new national identity."[12] It became, as well, the new source of personal identity. Any prescriptions from the past, any claims based on history – distant or recent – were nullified.[13] In 1789, to continue Furet's image, one might say, the nation and its citizens had a birth certificate and the "Old Regime" a death certificate.[14]

The turn to history/memoir/memory/commemoration by these two sets of exiles, then, is problematic and calls for explanation. Can we identify other incen-


Fin de l'histoire de feu
mon Cher Pere, Henri Collot
Des Escurij qui mourut l'an mil
1733 Le 3 Septembre

Le 6e du Mois de Mej 1745 je ai commencé
cette suivante Histoire ici à Alkmaar
et que si plaira Dieu je poursuivrai Jusques
en Mil sous me le 25 Mej 1745
Simon Petrus Chevallier Collot d'Escury

ici finit l'histoire
de mon Pere écrite
par sa main ce que je atteste
l'an 1763 Emond Ds Baron Collot d'Escury

Last page of the autobiography of Daniël Collot d'Escury, with a postscript by his son Simon Petrus. The author, who died in 1714, was a Huguenot who had fled France and became an officer in the Dutch army. His memoirs, "Livre de ma généalogie", were intended for his children. (Algemeen Rijksarchief I, Familiearchief Collot d'Escury 390).

tives, rooted in contemporary cultural practices, for the two sets of emigrants to cultivate profane, personal memory? Are there indications within the texts themselves, perhaps in passages that conventional readings overlook, as to the authors' motives for writing and the purposes they thought their memoirs could serve?

Both sets of memoirs are interesting and rich.[15] Like their two precipitating events, however, the sets of memoirs differ in important respects. Both groups of writers were driven from France by domestic politics, but the total numbers of emigrants were probably somewhat higher in the first case. The nobility was more dominant in the second. Huguenots exiled themselves on the basis of a *chosen* identity, but the nobles among the Revolutionary *émigrés* were caught in an identity ascribed to them. As Madame de la Villirouët lamented, "One should not regard as a crime my status of "ex-noble" : one does not preside at one's birth."[16] Furthermore, the Huguenot memoirs are by far the less numerous of the two. While some years of effort have allowed me to locate more than 50 autobiographical accounts of Huguenot escape and resettlement,[17] revolutionary *émigré* memoirs are abundant. The 200 published during the nineteenth century have been estimated to constitute only 10 percent of those written.[18] Moreover, the relationship between exile and composition was different in the two cases. The Huguenot memorialists composed in an exile that never ended, whereas most revolutionary *émigrés* wrote after returning to France.

As for thematic comparisons between the two corpuses, the Huguenot memorialists never emulated travel accounts, never reported visiting what we would call tourist sites or recorded observations on the customs or characters of the people they encountered. By contrast, the memoirs of Revolutionary *émigrés* commonly adopted the form of the traveller's account – by then, in Mona Ozouf's words, "a quite archaic genre"[19] – and in some cases invested their accounts with ethnographic observations. Underlying such observations was a strong sense of the author's Frenchness, and indeed one of the most important of the contrasts in content between the memoirs in the two corpuses concerns the writers' sense of national identity. The privileged place from which *émigrés* figured themselves as excluded was France; for Huguenots it was village and family and clientele networks.

A unifying thread in Revolutionary *émigrés'* memoirs is the centrality of the author's sense of French national identity: Châteaubriand evoking "my torn-apart *patrie*... Would I ever see this France again?"[20]; Saint-Méry construing the trial of the sea-crossing to America not as a test that affirms God's providence but as a proof of national character: "Indeed, one would truly be able to say that the character attributed to the French had never been more evident than with us never did one of us lose courage. The captain ... liked to repeat that English and American passengers would not have been capable of a similar strength of mind"; Saint-Méry, again, reporting his evident delight in the response President John Adams gave when asked why he had designated Saint-Méry for deportation: "'Nothing in particular, but he's too French'"[21]; the Duchess of Saulx-Tavanes, aware that in exile from France she was

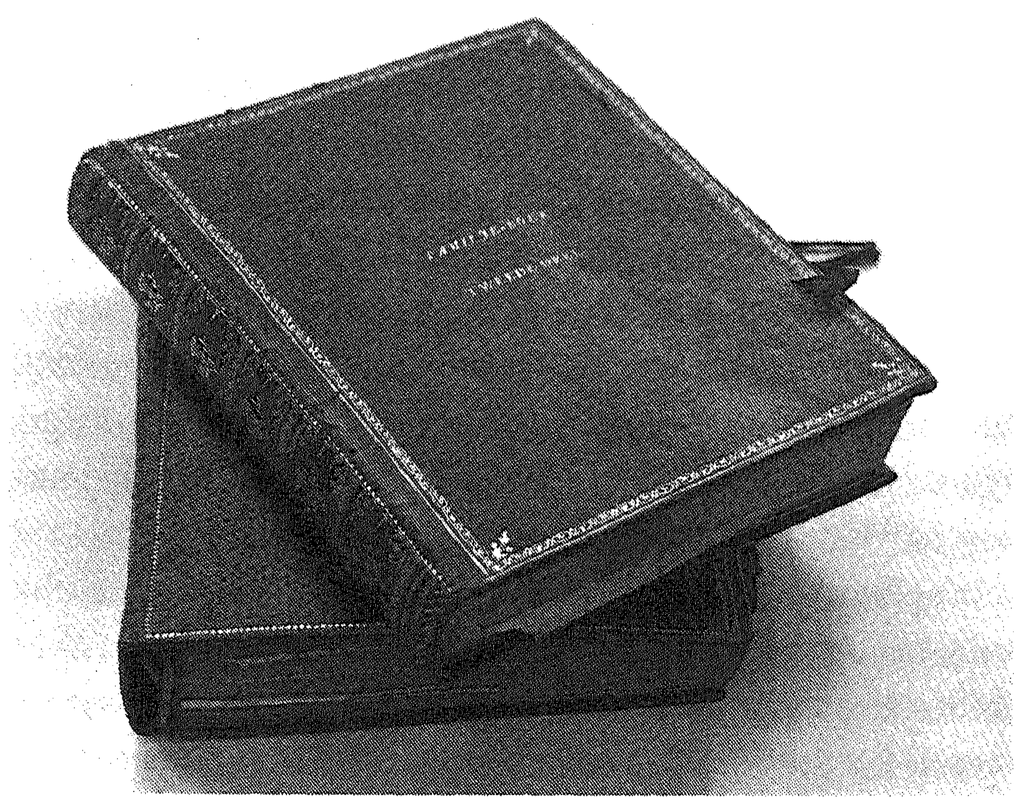
wandering outside the boundaries of civilization, opining that if the two rather coarse sisters of Marie-Antoinette she met had only had the good fortune to arrive in France as young women, they might have developed grace and good manners.[22]

The later memorialists' consciousness of national identity sharpens the contrasting absence from Huguenots memoirs of appeals to French nationality. Huguenot memorialists commonly located their distinctive past in the Old Testament concept of a chosen people and might evoke Poitou or Rouen or Saintonge, but not France. Huguenot memoirs, then, support Elisabeth Labrousse's contention that a sense of Frenchness was created in exile itself, only after some period of time in the Refuge, and less from sentiments nurtured in the prior milieu than out of a need for what has been termed "bilateral references"[23]: horizontal solidarities among emigrants that could serve as a bridge to their collective integration into the host culture.[24] In the nineteenth century, protestants, in commemoration and as part of an effort to rehabilitate Protestantism in post-Revolutionary France, would refashion the escapees into nostalgic patriots devastated by the loss of their homeland. Michelet and his generation saw their own mission as filling in the gaps in the national story, "solving their riddle" by posthumously anointing the Huguenot exiles as French patriots. But the refugees' own need was rather, as we shall see, to be cosmopolitan.

MEMOIRS AS DOCUMENTATION

At the root of these shifts in theme and approach over the century lies a shift in practices, in the usages of the written: how other writings shaped the production of the autobiographical text itself and the ways in which the autobiographical text was then used by the author. Changes in these two usages of the written transformed modes of autobiographical writing in two stages: first from family archives to the documentary memoir and then to the subjective autobiography. Furthermore, it is precisely within the autobiographical texts themselves that one can trace the shift in usages of the written, by noting the papers or documents that get mentioned in the story – if only incidentally – as well as the uses foreseen implicitly or explicitly for the text being produced. Within the memoirs after 1685 and those after 1789 an attentive reader hears the texts telling not only their author's life but also the history of their own creation.

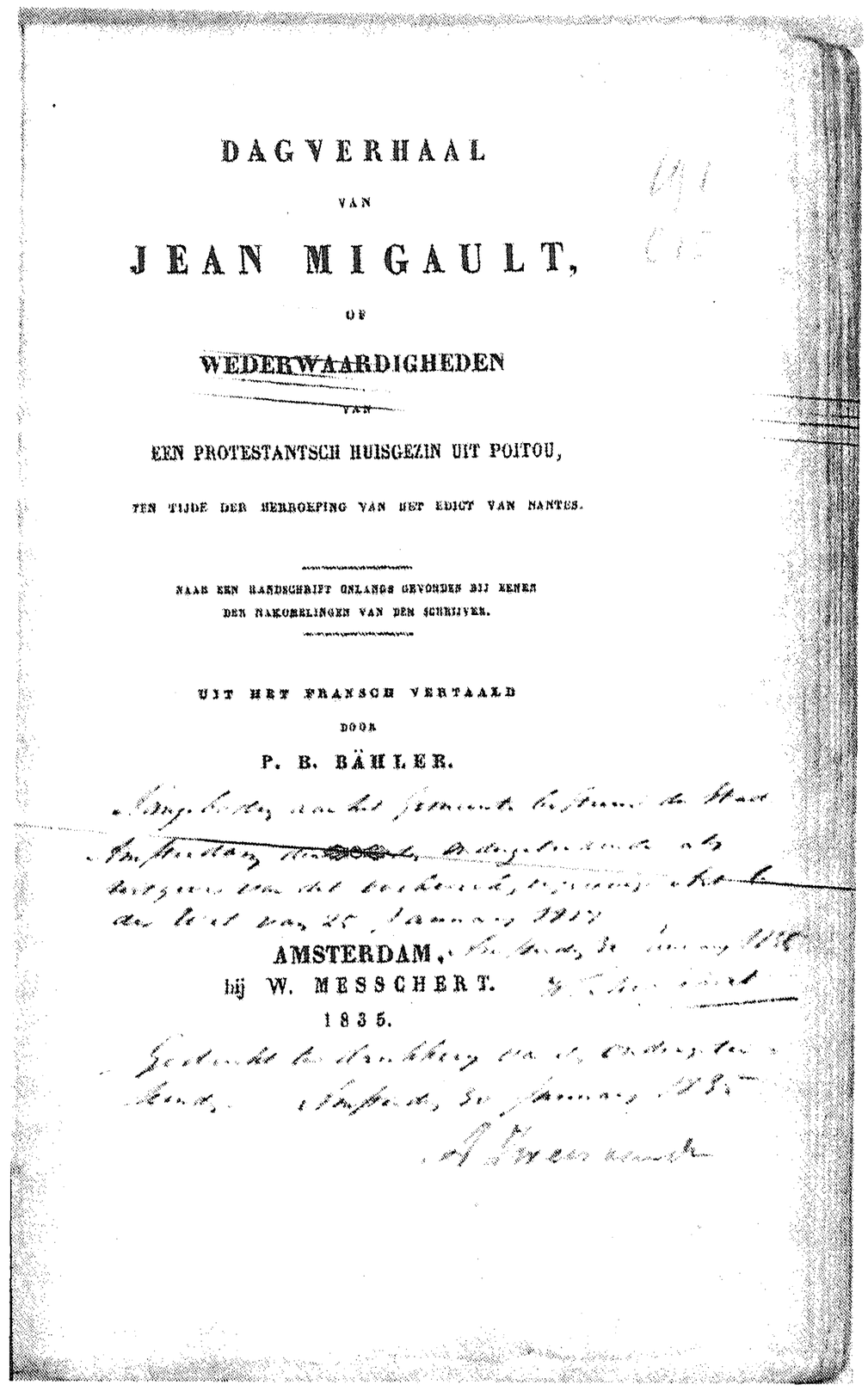
The involvement of other writings in the production of an autobiographical text can be seen in the best known of the Huguenot escape accounts: the memoir written by Jacques Fontaine (1658-1728).[25] This lengthy retrospective of migration from Saintonge to Ireland has been appreciated for "its humour, the quality of its language, the force of its spirituality."[26] Such readings disregard, though, vast portions of Fontaine's text. The first third of Fontaine's book reconstitutes his genealogy, and much of the rest reads like an annotated inventory of the papers – the items "of which you can see copies among my papers" (168) – that he had managed to accumulate, which the text makes seem an accomplishment in itself. Like other refugee



Willem de Vaynes van Brakell (1763 – 1843) wrote a history of this Huguenot family, including the story of the flight from France. The manuscript was bound in leather. (Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, The Hague, KNGGW Familiearchief De Vaynes van Brakell, doos 2, port. 2).

memorialists, Fontaine wrote for a variety of spiritual purposes: to justify his own actions in the face of persecution, to gain sympathy, to thank God for saving him, and so to "perform" his faith. But for Fontaine, an additional purpose was precisely to create documentation: his memoir was a vehicle for establishing civil identity without returning to France: "so that not one of my children nor grandchildren will ever be tempted to return to the Babylon God has pulled me out of" (47). Emigration had meant the loss of papers: "If only I had the papers of my father that my brother, Pierre Fontaine, who stayed in France, inherited by my going into refuge" (15). The loss of his family archive meant loss of lineage, hence loss of identity, which he must recreate through writing – must "trace upon this paper" (14).

This same practice of resting memoirs on family papers, as well as the multiple ways in which the text was used by the author, can be seen in the rich and complex memoir of Dumont de Bostaquet (1632-1709).[27] Like Fontaine's, Bostaquet's memoir has been appreciated for its literary qualities and for its insights into the process of reculturation that was forced upon the refugees, but its purpose as documentation has remained in the shadows. The opening section of his memoir "maps" his identity back in France by "dropping" the names of the persons with whom he belonged. Throughout, Bostaquet depicts himself as a maker of the papers that create or reinforce the family's place/identity and structures his story so that the first turning-point is "the most terrible accident God can visit upon a man" (76), a fire at his principal residence that consumes "the titles of my *maison* ." His loss of house, he says, "rendered me nude" (79) by destroying the family-generated documentation that made identity. To revive his persona in exile, he must create new papers, must write his identity – that is, become a memorialist. He turns to writing letters, collecting attestations, writes "my petition" (153) for the Prince of Orange to read, and wins two certificates (154) – the beginnings of a new identifying archive. The



DAGVERHAAL

VAN

JEAN MIGAULT,

OF

WEDERWAARDIGHEDEN

VAN

EEN PROTESTANTSCH HUISGEZIN UIT POITOU,

TEN TIJDE DER HERROEPING VAN HET EDICT VAN NANTES.

NAAR EEN HANDSCHRIFT ONLANGS GEVONDEN BIJ EENEN DER NAKOMELINGEN VAN DEN SCHRIJVER.

UIT HET FRANSCH VERTAALD

DOOR

P. B. BÄHLER.

AMSTERDAM,

bij W. MESSCHERT.

1835.

Title page of Dutch translation of the memoirs of Jean Migault. This copy was presented by the editor to the city government of Amsterdam. (Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam).

writing of the memoir, then, is quite directly and self-consciously part of a process of (re)creating documents of social identity.[28]

Fontaine's and Bostaquet's (like other Huguenot memoirs) belong to the cultural phase that Jacques Le Goff calls "the passage from orality to writing."[29] Fontaine had already told the story orally in family settings (as he notes at the outset of his memoir), but a written version was required for the same reason that his family had recently "sworn, written and signed" (30) a paper contract among themselves: because oral communication, oral promises, even family sentiment or "the same blood" (40) did not suffice in exile as it had for earlier generations in France. Once geographical place did not provide family with a center, in exile, only new substitute papers could provide the material grounding for family that place and face-to-face communications had previously furnished.

For Bostaquet, too, the diaspora became a place where he had to re-collect papers because oral memory was not enough. And with Bostaquet we begin to see the multiple uses to which the Huguenot memorialists destined their writings – a much needed corrective to the standard acceptance at face value of the memoirs' formal dedications to "mes chers enfans."[30] Bostaquet wrote his account of the life he had led in France at the very moment when he was soliciting the patronage in exile of William of Orange, whom he calls the "illustrious protector of the refugees," (144) and the memoir was designed to serve as a means of securing the new patronage links he needed. When Bostaquet met with William of Orange to solicit his patronage, the prince remembered his family's name, and by virtue of memory Bostaquet got a promise of protection (152). But even as they exchanged reciprocal oral promises, Bostaquet learned that in exile memory alone did not suffice for creating or securing identity or place: he needed documents "to be produced" (152). Patronage had to be written for.

A third well-known Huguenot memorialist, Jean Migault (1644?-1707?), a schoolmaster from Poitou, similarly designed his memoir to bridge the oral/written divide and to address an audience beyond the explicit dedicatees: "mes chers enfans." He meant it to be used as a vehicle for knitting patronage relations, in his case among protestant notables residing beyond the borders of France. In a cover letter attached to the manuscript Jean presented to his eldest surviving son, he instructed his heir to have the memoir read aloud to his former patrons in Poitou, madame d'Olbreuse and madame de La Bessière, both now exiles in Celle and both of whom he names lavishly in his story. By making into major actors in his story the patrons to whom he had been attached in Poitou, Migault makes his memoir function as an homage from client to patron, much as contemporary authors eulogized in their dedicatory epistles the grandees who were (or who the author hoped would become) their patrons.[31]

These (and other) Huguenot memoirs, while dedicated to family and as such ostensibly private, were to be *used* and used *in public*, for re-establishing social identity for the writer and the writer's family. Huguenot refugee memorialists, after all, had been displaced into new arenas in which they needed to act – not into spiritual retreat or into the ease of retirement that had allowed the essayist Montaigne to free his subjectivity from the accidents of life.[32] Early modern families in general were obliged to furnish their own material confirmation of identity. Old Regime France had already become a society that rested on its documents: that looked to written documentation – rather than to eyewitnesses, testimonials, hearsay, community lore – for confirmation of identity or entitlements and for judging the legitimacy of claims. Families, accustomed to having life-cycle events and changes of status recorded, would have at home "a coffer of notarized family contracts and deeds."[33] But refugees lost, with the Revocation, the documents that bore their family's tangible identity. Exile became, precisely as Furetière would define it, "a civil death"[34]; refugees without papers would endure the lack of credence in the Refuge

that Fontaine said amounted to "yet another form of persecution" (150) unless they documented themselves, through memoirs. For this reason, the writing of memoirs became a practical necessity; Huguenot refugee memorialists moved from being users of documents to creators of them. In order to craft a usable tool for re-materializing their identity, French Calvinist refugees cultivated profane memory.

So escape narratives were written to annotate or replace family papers, and in this way family archives were among the antecedents of autobiography (the "pré-mémoires" Philippe Ariès enumerated as biographies of great men and great families, epitaphs on tombs, necrologies, chronicles, commentaries, livres de raison[35]).

FROM DOCUMENTATION TO SUBJECTIVITY

The practice of basing memoirs on family archives disappeared from the revolutionary memoirs, new kinds of papers came to be mentioned in the *émigrés'* texts, and the life story moved to introspection. No *émigré* memorialist (save one to be discussed below) pulls into the memoir the text of lineage documents. The reason for this is not that papers – personal or familial – had become less numerous or less widely held. On the contrary, in the course of the eighteenth century, as Daniel Roche has shown from postmortem inventories, at least for Paris: "Personal papers, family papers became more and more necessary and usual. This is evident first in the care taken to preserve notarial pieces, diverse acts, even papers and correspondence. The presence of papers doubles in a century for the poorest servants."[36]

But the operation of papers in establishing identity changed late in the century, and with that so did the relationship between memoirs and identity. The papers mentioned in the memoirs of the Revolutionary *émigrés* were commonly letters, and this points directly to the new practice among memorialists of emulating epistolary novels in their narratives. The other paper most often mentioned, however, is the passport. In part, this latter mention was a way of asserting that one had left France with permission. But it has farther-reaching implications as well.

The memoir of Moreau de Saint-Méry (1750-1819), for example, frames his narrative of escape and return by mentions of papers. On the opening page, Saint-Méry notes that he had a passport when he sailed from Le Havre in November 1793. Then the final dozen pages, when he returns to Paris in 1798, cast the drama of his reception and re-integration as a contest of papers: his need to secure written certification that he had been on no list of *émigrés*, a rival's efforts to get him placed yet on such a list, and his own attempt to get "the identity cards which my family and I needed in order to reside in Paris" (372). Saint-Méry's dispute is over what identity he will have and who will give it to him.

Numerous other *émigré* memoirs make mention of the passport, sometimes the only paper they do mention besides personal letters. The considerable weight that Talleyrand (1754-1838), for example, places on his possession of a passport – his official identity as a legal emigrant – is the other side of the coin from the deeply in-

terior turmoil of non-identity he fashions as his story in exile. As an outlaw he slips into oblivion, lapses into sleep at sea, endeavours to extend his voyage indefinitely so he can remain non-sentient, struggles "to kill time," experiences his exile metaphorically as "riding through a large wild forest in the middle of the night," laughs bitterly when a companion refers to him as "my lord", and regains humanity as well as subjective identity only through a gradual re-awakening in America. Officially documented on the one hand, Talleyrand yet is truly identified by his state of melancholy or anomie, something close to Châteaubriand's "despair that I carried in the depths of my heart"[37] – a sentimental life of indifference, solitude, loneliness, and eventually passionate intensity of the *moi.*[38]

The Duchess de Saulx-Tavanes (1772-1861) narrates her return to France from exile through references to a succession of papers. A false certificate of residence given her by deferential country folk not only allows her re-entry but stands for continuing cross-class solidarity (in their minds "anything that served us seemed legitimate") (121), and under its aegis she goes on to confront her equivocal identity: Is she at home or a stranger? Is hers a masquerade? Who is she? Has she changed or not? Has her *patrie* changed or not? A phony passport, she mentions, allowed an acquaintance to return under a false name. The government's *émigré* list that still bears her husband's name forces her to assume a fictional identity, go into hiding, and then later escape to Holland with a false passport from the Danish ambassador. All the while she muses on the instability of the state which presumes to judge her and ascribe her identity. Eventually, a paper permitting her husband to reside in France closes the re-entry episode. But the ease of manipulating the papers the state issues creates the impression that they matter little: her real identity lies elsewhere: namely in the personality she is writing in these pages.

Bracketed by this succession of papers, madame de Saulx-Tavanes' narrative of return shifts from the earlier rather humdrum travel account to an intimate relation of her emotional life: her suffering, bitterness, tears, regret, her "horror of solitude," (134) sadness, and cruel anxieties. In this most affecting part of the memoir, she opens up emotionally, defines herself by her sensibility, styling herself as pensive amidst gaiety, "trembling as I put my foot on this bloodied and still dying land." (121) She is, she says, *attendrie* by memories, haunted by her imagining of a Revolution she did not experience, an imagining that intrudes whenever she remembers her pre-revolutionary youth. Here the memoir becomes a remembering of herself remembering, a memoir of what was in her memory upon her return, what her experience brought back to her memory at that point and what emotions that provoked. She creates three *lieux de mémoire* that she tries, unsuccessfully, to revisit without consciousness of the intervening horrors: the streets of Paris whose gardens she finds she cannot free of the guillotine's spectre; her convent school in whose chapel, now destroyed, she had once engraved on a stone pillar "I am perfectly happy" (146); and the room in the château de Versailles where she had first been presented to Marie-Antoinette, whose kindness she cannot recall without be-

ing aware that adulation had turned to fatal enmity.

The shift in practice in the usages of papers in the production of the two sets of exile memoirs is best illustrated by one revolutionary *émigré* memorialist whom madame de Saulx-Tavanes cited with admiration (128, 164) – Châteaubriand (1768-1848). Châteaubriand opens his memoir by following the classic autobiographical practice of melding family archives into a narrative, and yet even as he does so he fractures that practice by implying that identity is not encapsulated in them. Like earlier memorialists he opens with a matrix of ancestors and lateral alliances. Two documents he quotes integrally: his family's confirmation of nobility in 1669 (I, 78) and his own baptismal entry (I, 90-91). But in ensuing moves he distances himself from, and undercuts, the traditional assumption that they establish identity. The genealogy, he avows, is in parts mythical: "my parchments," he opines, invite me to imaginary identities (I, 81) The Revolution has contested such histories, "these puerile recitations," (I, 83) imbuing only the commoner with honor, and yet, he points out with sarcasm the Revolution's own confusion in verifying his proofs of nobility once more after August '89, when titles of nobility had been abolished: what, in such a contradictory situation, could have been my true identity and merit? How do I identify myself? "I neither glory in nor lament either the old or the new society. If in the first I was the chevalier or viscount of Châteaubriand, in the second I am François de Châteaubriand; I prefer my name to my title." (I, 83) But to whipsaw one last time, he notes that he had been mistaken as to his own exact name and birthdate (I, 91), thus driving home the irony in introducing with family papers a memoir that would rest identity squarely in the personality and in the sensibility of the autobiographer the memoir serves to disclose.

Châteaubriand, Saint-Méry, Talleyrand, Saulx-Tavanes and other *émigré* memorialists had no ancestors and needed none. To borrow a *mot* from Balzac: "by cutting off the head of Louis XVI, the Republic cut off the head of all the fathers of families."[39] And so the "memory work" that Bostaquet and Fontaine did in recreating the long line of their progenitors, these Revolutionary memorialists agreed, was irrelevant. Identity was bound up in one's own personality rather than in lineage.

DOCUMENTS, MEMORY, AND THE STATE

The mentions of papers within autobiographical memoirs may seem, to the unalerted eye, ephemeral to the texts. But when taken seriously, they open up new and fruitful perspectives on autobiographical practice. As we have seen, lifewriting underwent two key transitions in Old Regime France: first from the family archive to the documentary memoir and then from the documentary memoir to the introspective autobiography. Both in 1700 and in 1800, papers made identity concrete. In 1700, the family archive bore the burden of establishing social identity by preserving privately written documentation of relationships knitted in localities, kin-groups, and patronage networks. By 1800, in contrast, the state had become the keeper of civil identity; its

papers – *cartes d'identité*, birth certificates, death certificates – rationalized and organized identities, inscribing a new boundary between private and civil persona. The new-style memoir, a product of this new world of the modern state and now understood to document only interior personality, would allow subjectivity to expand. Huguenot refugees separated from their family documents had written their own *social* identity, for use when it was needed in practice. Revolutionary *émigrés* wrote their own *personal* identity, whether to contest, ratify, or bypass the civil identity a state and its papers would confer upon them.

The changes suggested here in autobiographical practice between the two emigrations (from the memoir as family papers to the memoir as personal paper) can best be understood in the context of the larger evolution of documentation in which they occurred. The full contours of that larger evolution lie beyond the scope of this essay. But a few parallel shifts in documentation can be suggested, each of which moved toward a disentangling of personal expression from determinations of social standing. Each involved increased state interventions in realms earlier left to the family; in each, changes in administrative practices created conditions for the revolution in subjectivity.

One such shift occurred in naturalization, which, interestingly, concerned a situation opposite to that of the exile: individuals not cast out from home but rather seeking confirmation of belonging where they reside. Naturalization in the Old Regime was effected through private petitions to the courts. Those petitions represented the king not as creating status but merely as confirming or guaranteeing status already acquired by the family's history, through its own enracination in a community. And letters of naturalization, once acquired, remained in the possession of the petitioner and his family. In the family narrative laying out the petitioner's case, ancestry served as the basis for the claim, never individual character or traits of culture (language, ethnicity, ways of thinking). But after the Revolution, naturalization decisions and their documentation would be authored and archived by the state on behalf of the nation.[40] And precisely as we have seen in *émigré* autobiographies, claims to belong would come to rest not on lineage but on traits of French national identity. The passport expresses national identification as neither family documents nor earlier autobiographies had. Jacques Fontaine and Jean Migault, for example, used genealogical discourse and patronage networks to illustrate where they belonged. For *émigré* autobiographies, what was "in the heart" showed them to be French. In this as in other realms of experience, genealogy had lost its authority to legitimize and provide a sense of identity: by the end of the Old Regime genealogy was "un genre décrié, désuet, auquel on ne peut se risquer désormais sans lui donner un parfum d'archaïsme."[41]

Like letters of naturalization, financial records were transferred in the eighteenth century from the custody of families to the state. This transfer at "the cutting edge of the administrative state" replaced the regime of private documents – the practice of asking an individual or family for its proofs of identity – with direct state recordkeeping.[42]

Late in the century, tax collectors investigating families' wealth moved past the traditional personal declarations of revenue and "scoured the supposedly confidential *bureaux de contrôle*, where all kinds of legal acts (marriage contracts, wills, bills of sale, leases, etc.) were deposed. To access the records of the *bureaux de contrôle* was to enter the secret world of family property.[43] As the example of taxation reveals, royal administrators did use new bureaucratic procedures to investigate the ownership of property and to tax income that for centuries privileged subjects had regarded as, in the words of Saint-Simon, "the secret of their families".[44]

The most revealing of the parallel shifts, however, occurred in the norms and usages of letterwriting. Roger Chartier has traced a shift in letterwriting manuals, across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from hierarchical models based upon courtly relations to egalitarian models patterned on sentimental relations.[45] Courtly letters of compliment or patronage (offering a service, expressing gratitude, requesting favor) were bound by well-defined norms governing propriety (bienséance), including constraints on expressiveness and conventions prescribed by differences of estate between writer and addressee. Later, the letter genre, freed from such formal demands, emerged in two forms. On the one side was the sentimental letter, marked by "true liberty and sincerity of feeling," and on the other the letter to a state official. If the typical letter in a seventeenth-century letterwriting manual was addressed to a patron, the typical letter after 1800 bared one's heart to a lover or requested a copy of a birth certificate or marriage certificate or death certificate. In either case, the break with the sensibility of the traditional courtly manuals was complete: the earlier models of letters came, by the time of the Empire, to seem incomprehensible, risible "twaddle."[46]

The evolution of lifewriting can be seen as parallel to that of letters, as issuing from a similar specialization of the official that freed up a space for the sentimental. Migault or Bostaquet wrote in the courtly tradition, for their memoirs were to serve as instruments of patronage both through the well-turned compliment and (especially in Bostaquet's case) through the careful documentation of the supplicant's "place" in the Old Regime society of privilege and hierarchy. The link between identity and papers was both an impulsion to write and a constraint on what was written, in the sense that it oriented writers to a past outside themselves and to a larger transgenerational matrix in which they as individuals lived. The disintegration of the Old Regime patronage system and the disappearance of the documentary function – or more precisely, the shift of the documentary function to public authorities and the locating of personal identity "inside and under the skin"[47] – would open memoirs to new forms of expressiveness. Saint-Méry, Saulx-Tavanes, Châteaubriand, rather than mapping their social place, wrote their "true liberty and sincerity of feeling."

The shift to interiority would at the same time relocate autobiography into personal space where – and here is the predicament of modern autobiography – memory itself (regarded as an individual's act rather than a community's culture) is unre-

liable and documentation irrelevant. Exiles in both periods produced memoirs because exile ruptured memory as (in Pierre Nora's words) "a living presence," created awareness of the pastness of the past, and threw the subject back on history. They wrote to explain how they had come to lose their memory, "to redefine [or at least, I would say, re-establish] their identity by dredging up their past."[48] Huguenot memorialists' family archive served a real purpose (demonstrating identity and standing), rather than wholly emotional needs.[49] The *émigrés*, by contrast, made their memoirs themselves into *lieux de mémoire* or artificial commemorative "permanent sites of memory."[50] Their memoirs passed from social to personal memory, as "Memory became a private affair."[51] Earlier, collectivities attested and documents verified the individual's recollections of the course of a life. But in private, individual memoirs, "the self" was expected to remember itself by itself, and the ability of internalized memory to do so became the autobiographer's only warrant, the foundation of "the autobiographical pact."[52] *Emigré* memoirs began to be haunted by this redefinition of the autobiographer's task. So Madame de Saulx-Tavanes uses the pilgrimage to sites of her youth – in the way Rudolf Dekker has shown to become common in the nineteenth century[53] – as an aide-mémoire when she claimed to be remembering, in writing, what she had been remembering on the occasions she describes. She falls prey, then, to the paradox James Olney has recently pointed out: that whereas the course of a life can be reconstructed "across the distance of time," the recollection of the earlier self/ feelings/ memories is an impossibility: "One consequence of positing the self at the center of the life-writing act is to disorient both memory and narrative and to vex the latter to the point of impossibility."[54]

At the same time, the use of papers in the production of memoirs changed to such an extent that documentation no longer served memory, even documentation produced by oneself. Talleyrand's prefatory musings on the impotence of memory reflect this point. He finds himself unable to frame the exile experience in discourse, to tell it in a story, despite the fact that he had recorded it in daily notes which he had to hand as he tried to write. Talleyrand protests: "It would now be impossible for me to relate the experiences of this period, I do not recollect them; their connecting link is lost for me" (I, 171). He thus speaks the predicament of the modern autobiographer: that if the self has a history, it cannot be written. To what uses in practice, then, other than pure narcissism, could the new-style first-person narratives be put?

A HUGUENOT, AN ÉMIGRÉ, AND THEIR BOOKS

To conclude, a pair of incidents in emigration memoirs – one from after 1685, one from after 1789 – clarify the contrasting links between papers and identity at the beginning and end of the eighteenth-century transition in personal narratives.

After 1685, the Huguenot refugee Jean-Louis Cabrit (1669-1751) opens the story of his escape from France by confessing that he does not know the year or date of

his birth because "my baptismal record was lost with the other papers of our church." He then proceeds to represent the Huguenot exile's situation as the loss of papers (hence identity). He allegorizes his own lack of papers with the haunting story, symbolizing the family's passage into exile, of burying his father's books beneath the stable on the eve of their departure for the frontier. Shamed by his absence of documentation in exile, he journeys through German lands collecting certificates (i.e., remaking his identity). In the end he signals his retrieval of identity and status by reporting that he has been presented with a copy of Bayle's dictionary ("very well bound and covered in leather, to preserve it") and noting with evident contentment that not only does he now have documentation: he possesses more paper on which he can inscribe as needed "any occurrence worthy of being added to this history."[55]

After 1789, Saint-Méry makes a different metaphorical use of exiles' books: in this case those he mentions taking on board ship, along with a fry pan and some sugar. In mid-voyage he discovers them compromised, nearly lost: "the distress of finding a chest filled with my literary works (which had arrived on board too late to be put in the hold and so had been put between decks) exposed and soaked to the point of damaging all my papers, engravings and drawings. One must have the soul of an author to understand the agonizing despair that comes with such a discovery; if ever I'd had any fear that one's sensibilities would be damaged by a long and fatiguing voyage, this experience would have proved that they can withstand the severest tests. I salvaged my materials as well as I could; but some of them will forever bear witness to how greatly they suffered." (16-17)

For the Huguenot Cabrit, the family's buried books stood for the loss of social identity that his own memoir – new documentation, a new family-generated paper – would endeavor to reconstruct. For Saint-Méry, his own endangered books testified to the durability of his character, his sensibility, his soul: the identity that mattered.

NOTES

1 James Olney, *Memory and Narrative: The Weave of Life-Writing* (Chicago, 1998), 416.

2 See *A History of Private Life: III: Passions of the Renaissance*, ed. Roger Chartier, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA, 1989); Philippe Lejeune, *L'Autobiographie en France* (Paris, 1971).

3 The classic statement of the autobiographical canon is Georges Gusdorf, "Conditions et limites de l'autobiographie," in *Formen der Selbstdarstellung: Analekten zu einer Geschichte des literarischen Selbstporträts*, ed. Günter Reichenkron and Erich Haase (Berlin, 1956); translated into English, it was reprinted in *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical*, ed. James Olney (Princeton, 1980), 28-46. Although modernist axioms continue strongly to mark autobiography studies, a number of recent works have challenged their rhetoric of autonomous selfhood. Among the more important of these are Mary Mason, "The Other Voice: Autobiographies of Women Writers" in Olney, ed., *Autobiography*; Leigh Gilmore, "Policing Truth: Confession, Gender, and Autobiographical Authority," in Kathleen Ashley, Leigh Gilmore, and Gerald Peters, eds., *Autobiography and Postmodernism* (Amherst, 1994), 54-78; Nancy K. Miller, "Representing Others: Gender and the Subjects of Autobiography," *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 6 (1994): 1-27.

4 Michael Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791* (Stanford, 1996), especially chapter 5.

5 Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, quoted in Jay Caplan, *In the King's Wake: Post-Absolutist Culture in France* (Chicago, 1999), 32, 39.

6 Caplan, *King's Wake*, 39. Caplan's exceptionally insightful work construes as post-absolutist changes whose beginnings may be found earlier and within absolutist practice. On autobiography in the formative years of French absolutism, see Jonathan Dewald, *Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture: France, 1570-1715* (Berkeley, 1993) and Reinhart Koselleck, *Le règne de la critique*, trans. Hans Hildenbrand (Paris, 1979).

7 The role of exile at the origins of autobiography is a fascinating issue that lies beyond the scope of this paper. In seventeenth-century France, such personages as Bussy-Rabutin, Mademoiselle, and the cardinal de Retz illustrate "le lien vital qui unit l'écriture des mémoires à l'épreuve de l'exil. l'exil est bien une terre d'élection pour les mémoires." (Jean Garapon, "Mademoiselle et l'exil," *Papers on French Seventeenth Century Literature* 21 (1994), 345.) An article filled with insights on the origins of memoirs in the experience of exile is Bernard Beugnot, "Livre de raison, livre de retraite: interférences des points de vue chez les mémorialistes," *Les Valeurs chez les mémorialistes français du xviie siècle avant la Fronde*, ed. Noémi Hepp and Jacques Hennequin (Paris, 1979), 47-64. Garapon's *lien vital* persists for the contemporary exile, about whom Nobel laureate and exiled autobiographer Joseph Brodsky observed that "la rétrospection joue un rôle excessif dans son existence Comme les faux prophètes de l'*Enfer* de Dante, il a la tête perpétuellement tournée à l'envers." See Joseph Brodsky, "Cette Condition que nous appelons l'exil," in *Le Genre humain: Émigrer, Immigrer* 19 (1989), 91. Brodsky calls the twentieth a century of "displacement and misplacement": *New York Review of Book*s 21 January 1988. Exile is (arguably) the characteristic psychological feature of modern culture and autobiography its characteristic genre. See Terry Eagleton, *Exiles and Emigrés: Studies in Modern Literature* (New York, 1970); Michael Seidel, *Exile and the Narrative Imagination* (New Haven, 1986); Shari Benstock, "Expatriate Modernism: Writing on the Cultural Rim," in *Women's Writing in Exile*, ed. Mary Lynn Broe and Angela Ingram (Chapel Hill, 1989), 20-40; Leszek Kolakowski, *Modernity on Endless Trial* (Chicago, 1990): "We have to accept, however reluctantly, the simple fact that we live in an age of refugees, of migrants, vagrants, nomads roaming about the continents and warming their souls with the memory of their – spiritual or ethnic, divine or geographical, real or imaginary – homes."

8 Jules Michelet, *Histoire de France: XV: Louis XIV et la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes* (Paris, 1879), 4.

9 Philippe Joutard, "The Museum of the Desert: The Protestant Minority," in Pierre Nora, ed., *Realms of Memory: I: Conflicts and Divisions*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York, 1996), 354. Joutard continues: "The only historical event worthy of recollection is Christ's sacrifice, memorialized in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Because human works play no role in salvation, they do not deserve to be remembered." See also the elaborating quotation from Dean Carbonnier, conservator at the Musée du désert: "Sons of the Reformation, has not the Reformation caused us to forget? ... Can and should the past mean anything to Protestants? Are they not theologically ahistorical?" (368).

10 Philippe Ariès, "Pourquoi écrit-on des mémoires?," in *Valeurs chez les mémorialistes français*, 13-20.

11 François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, trans. Elborg Forster (Cambridge, 1981), 25.

12 Furet, *Interpreting*, 2.

13 See, for example, Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, MA, 1988).

14 Furet, *Interpreting*, 2-3.

15 One student of the Revolutionary emigration, Fernand Baldensperger, found the *émigré* memoirs unworthy of extended study: "Lisez dix récits sur l'Emigration, et vous serez charmé, presque sans faute, et sans égard pour la qualité proprement littéraire des auteurs. Lisez-en vingt, vous éprouvez un peu d'ennui; lisez-en cinquante, et vous serez agacé." Fernand Baldensperger, *Le Mouvement des idées dans l'émigration française (1789-1815)* (2 vols., Paris, 1924), I, 210. Baldensperger looked to the memoirs for evidence on the origins of romanticism. This article, by contrast, seeks in them often unwitting markers of the circumstances – private and public, personal and political – in which they were composed and the relation of those circumstances to the kind of story they can tell.

16 Marie-Victoire de Lambilly, Comtesse de Mouesan de la Villirouët, *Une Femme avocat, épisodes de la Révolution à Lamballe et à Paris. Mémoires de la comtesse de la Villirouët, née de Lambilly (1767-1813)* (Paris, 1902), 33.

17 For the larger study on "Huguenot Memory" of which this paper is a part, I have endeavored to collect all extant firsthand memoirs of escape from France in the era of the Revocation, both those that recount only the emigration and those that do so as part of a larger telling of a life story. Escape memoirs are scarce, which is, as Robin Gwynn has remarked, surprising: "One wishes there were more original memoirs to set alongside those by Jacques Fontaine, Dumont de Bostaquet and others that have survived. Some have disappeared from view even over the past century; where are all the sources known and used by [Samuel] Smiles?" ("Patterns in the Study of Huguenot Refugees in Britain: Past, Present and Future," in Irene Scouloudi, ed., *Huguenots in Britain and Their French Background, 1550-1800* [London, 1987], 222). Any texts that readers might bring to my attention would be appreciated.

18 Frédéric Masson, ed., *Mémoires du comte de Moriolles sur l'émigration* (Paris, 1902), 1.

19 Mona Ozouf, "Voyages en France dans la décennie révolutionnaire," in *Le Voyage révolutionnaire*, ed. Willem Frijhoff and Rudolf Dekker (Hilversum, 1991), 15.
20 François-René de Châteaubriand, *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* (2 vols., Paris, 1997), I, 356-57.
21 *Moreau de St. Méry's American Journey (1793-1798)*, trans. Kenneth Roberts and Anna M. Roberts (Garden City, N.Y., 1947), 23, 253.
22 Duchesse de Saulx-Tavanes, *Mémoires (1791-1806)*, ed. Marquis de Valous (Paris, 1934), 100-04, 29, 115-16.
23 Gerard Noiriel, "French and Foreigners," in Nora, *Realms of Memory*, I, 162.
24 Elisabeth Labrousse, *Une Foi, une loi, un roi? La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes* (Paris, 1985); Elisabeth Labrousse, "Le Refuge hollandais: Bayle et Jurieu," *XVIIe siècle* (1967), 75-93.
25 Jacques Fontaine, *Mémoires d'une famille huguenote victime de la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, ed. Bernard Cottret (Montpellier, 1992); *Memoirs of the Reverend Jaques Fontaine 1658-1728*, ed. Dianne W. Ressinger (London, 1992). The page numbers in parentheses refer to the Cottret edition.
26 Bernard Cottret, "Du bon Usage de l'anticléricalisme, Jacques Fontaine, réfugié en Angleterre et en Irlande (1658-1728)," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* (1994), 518.
27 Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet, *Mémoires d'Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet gentilhomme normand sur les temps qui ont précédé et suivi la révocation de l'édit de Nantes, sur le refuge et les expéditions de Guillaume III en Angleterre et en Irlande*, ed. Michel Richard (Paris, 1968).
28 See in particular Ruth Whelan, "Writing the Self: Huguenot Autobiography and the Process of Assimilation," in Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton, eds., *From Strangers to Citizens* (forthcoming).
29 Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, trans.Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman (New York, 1992), 54.
30 The manner of the surviving texts' preservation and (in some cases) publication has influenced the way they have been read. Most were preserved by descendants of the memorialist. This circumstance, combined with the fact that manuscripts often were dedicated to "mes chers enfans," has led many critics to assume that their exclusive audience was familial and private: they were "intended solely for the eyes of his own family," "written solely for the benefit of his descendants," "destined solely for the family circle," "destiné à un usage privé" – as if anyone not "writing consciously for publication" were writing only for family. To take the memoirs at their word, however – as private family accounts and as transparent reports of what actually happened – is to impoverish them, to merge their multiple purposes, and to obscure the contribution they made (or, at least, were intended to make) to constructing the Huguenot diaspora. Sources of the above quotations are Yves Krumenacker's introduction and afterword to his edition of *Journal de Jean Migault; ou, Malheurs d'une famille protestante du Poitou* (1682-1689) (Paris, 1995) and Derek A. Watts, "Testimonies of Persecution: Four Huguenot Refugees and their Memoirs," in J. H. Fox, M. H. Waddicor, and D. A. Watts, eds., *Studies in Eighteenth-Century French Literature: Presented to Robert Niklaus* (Exeter, 1975). Another example of the oversimplified dichotomizing of family and publication, private and extra-familial is in Michel Richard's introduction to Dumont de Bostaquet, *Mémoires* (1968 ed.), 10: "Il écrit pour ses enfants, et ne se préoccupa nullement, autant que l'on sache, de faire publier son 'témoignage'."
31 Wolfgang Leiner, *Der Widmungsbrief in der französischen Literatur (1580-1715)* (Heidelberg, 1965) and Roger Chartier, "Princely Patronage and the Economy of Dedication," in his *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia, 1995), 25-42. Chartier discusses the practice of reading aloud a work that was being presented to a patron and notes "the older meaning of "publication" as a "public" reading of a work before the prince, lord, or institution to which it was dedicated" (32-33).
32 On the importance of writings in retreat for the emergence of memoirs, see Beugnot, "Livre de raison."
33 Natalie Zemon Davis, "Ghosts, Kin, and Progeny: Some Features of Family Life in Early Modern France," *Daedalus* 106 (1977), 97. Much more attention has been paid to books and their uses than to papers and their uses, both among historians and among contemporaries. For example, it is difficult to find paintings or engravings that include such documents, though early modern paintings of people with books and in libraries are easily found. Yet manuscripts were far more familiar than books: as late as the 1650s even the king's own library consisted mostly of manuscripts (Chartier, "Princely Patronage," 28).
34 Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel, contenant généralement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes, et les termes de toutes les sciences et des arts* (2 vols., The Hague, 1694), article "Exil."
35 Ariès, "Pourquoi écrit-on des mémoires?," 14, 19. The writing of documentary narratives paralleled the emergence of archives, in the seventeenth century, for the systematizing of the tokens of memory – just as, in our day, the (family) photo album constitutes, in Le Goff's words, "the new familial archives, the "iconothèque" of family memory." (*History and Memory*, 90).
36 Daniel Roche, *Le Peuple de Paris: Essai sur la culture populaire au xviiie siècle* (Paris, 1981), 207, 215. Roche does not make clear whether this phenomenon was more pronounced in Paris (as he goes on to say about reading).

37 Châteaubriand, *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* I, 356.
38 Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, *Memoirs*, ed. Duc de Broglie, trans. Raphaël Ledos de Beaufort (5 vols., New York, 1891-92).
39 Quoted in Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1992), 73.
40 This paragraph paraphrases, with the author's permission, an earlier unpublished version of Peter Sahlins, "La Nationalité avant la lettre: les pratiques de naturalisation en France sous l'ancien régime," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations* (forthcoming).
41 André Burguière, "La Mémoire familiale du bourgeois gentilhomme: généalogies domestiques en France aux xviie et xviiie siècles," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations* (1991), 779. Burguière discusses aristocratic and bourgeois models of family history that appear in family account books during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
42 Daniel Roche implicitly construes family papers and state papers as a continuum, but I see the identity card and the whole system that "oblige [l'individu] à suivre un parcours de plus en plus balisé par l'état civil" as a replacement for the regime of familial documentation, not its culmination. Roche glosses over (*Peuple de Paris*, 215-216) the fundamental difference in the nature of papers and their provenance between the practice of asking an individual or family in question for its definition of identity and what Roche himself describes as a documentary regime "de plus en plus balisé par l'état civil. Ce n'est pas pour rien que le Comité de Sûreté générale de la Convention crée – à la photo près – la carte d'identité. La carte civique – dont le double est copié sur un registre – permet une meilleure connaissance des citoyens, le contrôle des suspects, la prévention des désordres."
43 Michael Kwass, "A Welfare State for the Privileged? Direct Taxation and the Changing Face of Absolutism from Louis XIV to the French Revolution," in W. M. Ormrod, Margaret Bonney, and Richard Bonney, eds., *Crises, Revolutions and Self-Sustained Growth: Essays in European Fiscal History, 1130-1830* (Stamford, CT, 1999), 362-363.
44 Michael Kwass, "A Kingdom of Taxpayers: State Formation, Privilege, and Political Culture in Eighteenth-Century France," *Journal of Modern History* 70 (1998), 295-339.
45 Roger Chartier, "Secrétaires for the People? Model Letters of the Ancien Régime: Between Court Literature and Popular Chapbooks," in *Correspondence: Models of Letter-Writing from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Christopher Woodall (Princeton, 1997), 59-111.
46 Chartier, "Secrétaires," 102.
47 Rousseau, *Confessions*, quoted in Olney, *Memory and Narrative*, 415.
48 Nora, *Realms of Memory* I, 10. Benedict Anderson has insightfully linked memory loss, documentation, narratives, and national consciousness. See his *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York, revised edition, 1991), 204: Narratives spring from the amnesias that occur at the point of change in consciousness, and "a huge modern accumulation of documentary evidence (birth certificates, diaries, report cards, letters, medical records, and the like) simultaneously records a certain apparent continuity and emphasizes its loss from memory. Out of this estrangement comes a conception of personhood, *identity* which, because it can not be "remembered," must be narrated."
49 For them, it was still social practice; by contrast, today, when, as John Gillis has said, "every attic is an archive," a family's archive slakes only nostalgia. John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994), 14.
50 Gillis, *Commemorations*, 6.
51 Nora, *Realms of Memory*, I, 11.
52 Philippe Lejeune, *Le Pacte autobiographique* (Paris, 1975).
53 Rudolf Dekker, 'The child we once were', chapter XIII in: Rudolf Dekker, *Childhood, Memory and Autobiography in Holland from the Golden Age to Romanticism* (London 1999), 109-127.
54 Olney, *Memory and Narrative*, 412.
55 Jacques Cabrit, "Histoire de la vie de J. Cabrit, pasteur de l'Eglise françoise de Cottbus, écrite par lui-même à ses heures de récréation vers l'année 1734," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* 39 (1890), 534; 40 (1891), 586, 649.