



Napoleonic Scholarship

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J. David Markham
President

Wayne Hanley
Editor-in-Chief

Illustrations



Front Cover: Very rare First Empire cameo snuffbox in burl wood and tortoise shell showing Napoleon as Caesar. Artist unknown. Napoleon was often depicted as Caesar, a comparison he no doubt approved! The cameo was used as the logo for the INS Congress in Trier in 2017.



Back Cover: Bronze cliché (one sided) medal showing Napoleon as First Consul surrounded by flags and weapons over a scene of the Battle of Marengo. The artist is Bertrand Andrieu (1761-1822), who was commissioned to do a very large number of medallions and other work of art in metal. It is dated the year X (1802), two years after the battle (1800).

Both pieces are from the David Markham Collection.

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THE JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL NAPOLEONIC SOCIETY

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J. David Markham

President, International Napoleonic Society,
Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Palmes Académiques

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For further information on the INS, contact J. David Markham, 81 Navy Wharf Court, Suite 3315, Toronto, ON M5V 3S2, CANADA, Phone: (416) 342-8081, Fax: (416) 368-2887

Email: inspresident@icloud.com Web: www.napoleonicsociety.com

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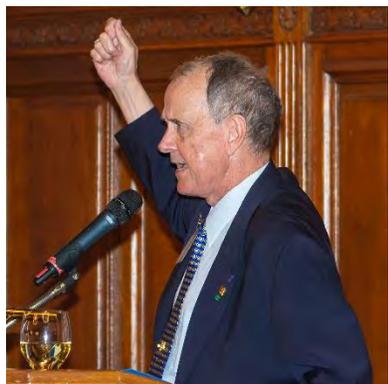
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International Napoleonic Society Aims and Goals

- The purpose of the International Napoleonic Society is to promote the study of the Napoleonic Era in accordance with proper academic standards. To this end, the goal of the International Napoleonic Society is to gather the leading minds in this field for the purpose of creating, reviewing, commenting upon, making awards to, and financially supporting Napoleonic Scholarship.
- The International Napoleonic Society will sponsor periodic International Napoleonic Congresses to give scholars and students the opportunity to meet and share the results of their research and studies. These Congresses will be held throughout the world. To date, Congresses have been held in Italy, Israel, Georgia, France, Poland, Canada, Malta, The Netherlands, Russia, Cuba and Belgium, and have attracted some of the world's foremost Napoleonic Scholars. We may also sponsor and support smaller meetings and/or joint meetings with other scholarly organizations.
- The International Napoleonic Society will encourage the publication of work of academic merit. To this end we will provide the opportunity for scholarly articles to be published in our journal, *Napoleonic Scholarship*, as well as on our website. We may also support the publication of works of academic merit, as well as the reprinting of important material no longer easily available.
- It is important that original documents, as well as material available only in languages not commonly read by western scholars, be made available to Napoleonic Scholars. We will therefore encourage and support the translation and/or publication of such materials, including in our journal and on our website.
- The INS may sponsor lectures, tours, the granting of scholarships, the production of exhibitions and other displays, and other academic and/or cultural activities as deemed appropriate.

Message from the President



I am very pleased to send you the 2017 INS Journal. I regret that it has been delayed, a situation that is mostly due to me. But I think you will find it well worth the wait. As usual, special thanks go to our editor-in-chief, Wayne Hanley, and our production editor, Edna Markham.

Some of these papers were presented at our Congress in Trier, Germany. It was a very successful Congress, largely due to the efforts of Bill Chew. The 2018 Congress was in Vienna, Austria, and was one of the most successful in our history. We owe a debt of gratitude to Ferdi Wöber for his tireless work in making it happen, along with excellent assistance from Allon Klebanoff. Some of those papers will appear in the next issue.

As usual, Wayne has assembled an excellent assortment of papers for this issue. But this issue is special for another reason as well. My personal Napoleonic collection includes a very large number of original documents from the period. The INS is undertaking a special project to make these documents available for researchers. Beginning in this issue we are presenting scans of an assortment of documents. Those that are not in English will be translated. Each will have a brief introduction by me as well as an appropriate graphic from my collection. It is my hope that this will make these documents more widely available to researchers. To further promote that distribution, we are also providing links to PDF versions of each of the documents. It is our hope that many of you will post these documents to appropriate research and other sites so that researchers of all levels will have greater access to them.

This issue presents a wide assortment of documents. We begin with Minister of Police Joseph Fouché's justification to the people of France for Napoleon's coup in Brumaire. We have two odes. One of them glorifies Bonaparte for the Peace of Lunéville, the other slams Great Britain for violating the Treaty of Amiens. The Lunéville ode is complemented by a copy of the treaty itself. Finally, we have two documents giving the news around the time of Napoleon's abdication in 1814.

Finally, it is with great pleasure that I announce that the 2019 INS Congress will be in Grenoble, France. Our friend and colleague Romain Bucion is making the arrangements and we will give you more details as they become available. Grenoble is a beautiful city and has a major connection to the One Hundred Days. Accordingly, the title of this Congress will be The One Hundred Days in One Hundred Hours. Future Congresses are planned for Athens (2021) and Philadelphia (2022). Plans are still being developed for 2020.

J. David Markham, President
Knight of the Order of the French Academic Palms

Message from the Editor-in-Chief.



I am pleased to present the new volume of *Napoleonic Scholarship* and its wide-ranging articles on the Napoleonic era (with topics ranging from traditional military history to historiography and to the decorative arts).

The first article is Peter Hicks's essay on Napoleon's doctor on Saint Helena, Barry Edward O'Meara, exploring his life both before and after his service to the emperor. In the next essay, Alasdair White cites recent works in psychology to advocate for caution when using memoirs as historical sources. Meanwhile, Marina Ortiz examines

Antoine Quatremère de Quincy's role in the debate over the despoliation of Italian artworks during the first Italian campaign, and James Hurst identifies the central figure in a Richard Goldsmith Meares (contemporary) painting of the Battle of Waterloo. In the fifth essay, an extended version of a paper given at the 2016 INS Congress in Dublin, Bill Chew details an outsider's perspective of Napoleon's return from Elba, that of the then-future president of the United States, John Quincy Adams, who happened to be in Paris in March 1815.

The next three essays provide different insights to the impact of the Napoleonic era in "Germany." In her contribution, Susan Conner explores the various roles that patriotic Prussian women contributed to Napoleon's defeat, ranging from sutlers and camp-followers to Queen Louisa herself. Building on their papers from the 2017 INS Congress in Trier, Romain Bouclan examines the Emperor's evolving attitudes and governance of the Grand Duchy of Berg while Karolina Stefanski highlights the influence of the Empire style on the decorative arts in the satellite kingdom of Westphalia.

In the ninth and tenth essays, we turn to military history with Eugene Chalvardjian's insights on Napoleon's reorganization of the French army during the Consulate and Empire and Kevin Broucke recaps the crucial role that Marshal Jean Lannes at the Battle of Friedland. Our final essay is something a bit different: Liudmila Sakharova's photo-essay of the story of how Napoleon's saber came to reside at the State Historical Museum in Moscow (it is what you might think).

I hope that you will find these articles as enjoyable and informative as I have.

Wayne Stanley, Editor-in-Chief

List of Contributors

Peter Hicks is the manager of international affairs at the Fondation Napoléon and serves as the editor of the English-language version of napoleon.org, the editorial secretary and a member of the editorial board of *Napoleonica: La Revue*.

Alasdair White is a management consultant, journalist and university lecturer, specializing in performance management, managing people and leadership. He is the author of a half dozen books on management and Napoleonic history (especially Waterloo) and is a Fellow of the International Napoleonic Society. A version of his paper was presented at the 15th Congress of the INS (in Trier).

Marina Ortiz is a doctoral student at Florida State University. A version of her paper was presented at the 14th Congress of the INS (in Dublin).

James Hurst was recently awarded his doctorate from the Australian National University, Canberra, and is the author of *Game to the Last, the 11th Australian Infantry Battalion at Gallipoli* (Oxford University Press, 2005). He is currently writing a book on the Life Guards during the 1815 campaign against Napoleon, culminating in the Battle of Waterloo. He lives in Adelaide, South Australia, with his wife and daughter.

William L. Chew III is professor of history and associate dean at the Vesalius College in Brussels (Belgium). He holds a doctorate in Modern History from Universität Tübingen and has focused his research on imagological studies of French and American perceptions of each other in cultural and historical sources. He has authored or co-authored six books and numerous articles on a host of topics from history to travel literature and education. A version of his paper was presented at the 14th Congress of the INS (in Dublin).

Susan P. Connor is *professor emerita* of history and former-provost and vice president for academic affairs at Albion College in Albion Michigan. She holds a doctorate in history from Florida State University. A specialist in 18th- and 19th-century French history, she has done extensive research on gender roles and the social and political status of women in 18th- and 19th-century Europe. Connor is the author of *The Age of Napoleon (2004)* and has authored numerous book chapters and peer-reviewed articles.

Romain Buclon hold a doctorate in history from the University of Paris and is a member of the editorial review board of *Napoleonic Scholarship*. A version of his paper was presented at the 15th Congress of the INS (in Trier).

Karolina Stefanski is a doctoral candidate at the Technical University in Berlin. A version of her paper was presented at the 15th Congress of the INS (in Trier).

Eugene Chalvardjian holds a doctorate in history from the University of Montreal. He specialized in military history and has taught a course in contemporary European history at the University of Montreal. This article is an excerpt from his thesis, *Impact de l'art de la guerre napoléonien dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle* (2012).

Kevin Broucke is a doctoral candidate at the University of North Texas, specializing in Napoleonic era military history. A version of his paper was presented at the 15th Congress of the INS (in Trier).

Liudmila Sakharova is the deputy director of the Federal Archival Agency of Russia and a research fellow in the department of 19th-century Russian History at the State National Historic Museum in Moscow. A version of her paper was presented at the 15th Congress of the INS (in Trier).

Who was Barry Edward O'Meara?

by Peter Hicks

Because of his high-profile feud with the governor of St Helena, Hudson Lowe, and his championing of Napoleon, Barry Edward O'Meara, Napoleon's doctor on St Helena from August 1815 to July 1818, was much talked about in his day. The chatter about him was always framed in 'for and against' terms, supporters of the establishment and the government trying at all moments to underline that he was a knave, and those of a more liberal disposition (like O'Meara himself) defending his honour. It was not until the English version of Philippe Gonnard's remarkable thesis, *The Exile of St Helena*, that anglophone readers were to get their first largely 'un-orientated' account.¹ Since Gonnard, there had been one monograph—indeed the only ever—on O'Meara, namely *The*

Emperor and the Irishman (Dublin, 2008) by medical doctor Hubert O'Connor. Though this book offers many tantalising details regarding the Irish doctor, however it is relentlessly apologetic for him, and worse still there are no notes to substantiate the new information therein. And as with all other treatments of O'Meara's life, there is no discussion of the

last sixteen years of his life (1820-1836) when O'Meara was a major player in international Napoleonism and close collaborator with members of Napoleon's family. Furthermore, still today, misinformation appears in published accounts; even the most recent edition of the British *Dictionary of National Biography* is not immune. What follows is an attempt at an accurate biographical sketch,

and it is part of a more complete study of Barry O'Meara and Napoleon currently in preparation.



¹ Philippe Gonnard, *The Exile of St Helena: The Last Phase in Fact and Fiction* (London: William Heinemann, 1909), esp. chapter VIII, 'O'Meara', 69-86, English version of *Les Origines de la Légende Napoléonienne: L'œuvre Historique de Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1906).

The Early Years

In a publication of 1819, Barry Edward O'Meara gave a short version of his own life up to 1815.² Though this is an autobiographical source, it seems the most appropriate starting point—and furthermore some of the details are corroborated by other, official sources.

O'Meara claimed that his father, identified by the first edition of *Dictionary of National Biography* as Jeremiah,³ was an 'old ... and highly respected' officer in the 29th (Worcester) Regiment of Foot—in 1819 O'Meara's father (if he had lived) would have been 83 years old.⁴ This regiment (O'Meara notes) served in North America under the Charles Stanhope, 3rd Earl of

² B. E. O'Meara, *An exposition of some of the transactions, that have taken place at St-Helena, since the appointment of Sir Hudson Lowe as Governor of that Island, in answer to an anonymous pamphlet [by Theodore E. Hook] entitled "Facts illustrative of the treatment of Napoleon Bonaparte", corroborated by various official documents, correspondence, etc.* (London: printed for James Ridgway, 1819), 96 ff. The French version, *Relation des événements arrivés à Sainte-Hélène, postérieurement à la nomination de Sir Hudson-Lowe, au gouvernement de cette île, en réponse à une brochure anonyme [par Théodore E. Hook], intitulée : "Faits démonstratifs des traitements qu'on fait éprouver à Napoléon Bonaparte", confirmée par une correspondance et des documents officiels, etc.*, was published by Chaumerot Jeune in Paris in July 1819.

³ Ed. Sidney Lee (London: Smith, Elder and co., 1895), vol 42, s.v., "O'Meara, Barry Edward".

⁴ See Turtle Bunbury http://www.turtlebunbury.com/history/history_iris_h/roadshow/barryomeara.htm, consulted in June 2013 who, citing no source, states that O'Meara's father died in 1804. For Jeremiah's birth date, see the following note.

Harrington.⁵ The history of the 29th Foot notes that the regiment left Dublin for Canada in 1765⁶ and *The Parliamentary Register* for 1776 records that a certain Jeremiah Meara was 'storekeeper' in Fort Frederick in 17[6]6-1768.⁷ O'Meara then writes that his father "was honoured with a special mark of royal favour by [George III], who was graciously pleased to grant him a pension for the loyalty and gallantry he displayed in seizing with his own hands" (Jeremiah was 26 at the time) "two of the leaders of an armed mob in the North of Ireland [...] as also for other services rendered by him, in support of the honour and interest of his sovereign."⁸ This was the uprising of the 'Oak Boys' (so-called because of the oak boughs in their hats). They were Protestant insurgents who had enacted a bloodless insurrection in 1763 in Armagh, Tyrone,

⁵ Stanhope had been made a captain in the 29th foot in 1773, becoming colonel of the regiment in January 1788. According to the regimental history (H. Everard, *History of the 29th (Worcestershire) Regiment*, Worcester: Littlebury & Company, The Worcester Press, 1891, Chapter 4), on 17 December 1773, Lieutenant Jeremiah Meara was Irish, 36 years old, and had served the 29th for 13 years.

⁶ See Everard, *op. cit.*, chapter 4, '1765.'

⁷ *The Parliamentary Register; Or, History Of The Proceedings And Debates Of The House Of Commons: Containing An Account Of The Most Interesting Speeches and Motions; Accurate Copies of the Most Remarkable Bills, Letters and Papers; of the Most Material Evidence, Petitions, &c. Laid Before and Offered to the House, During the Second Session of the Fourteenth Parliament Of Great Britain*, Almon: 1776, Volume 3, p. 374 records how Jeremiah Meara, esq. had received £144 s. 9 d. 0 for 963 days' pay as store-keeper in Fort Frederick in North America, from 1 Jan 17[6]6 to 28 August 1768.

⁸ O'Meara, *An exposition...*, 96-7.

Derry and Fermanagh against unfair taxes and land appropriation.⁹ The 29th was indeed in Londonderry in 1763,¹⁰ and a document, dated 1 March 1775, held at the British National Archives records that the Lord Lieutenant for Ireland requested a pension for Lieut. Jeremiah Meara, who had distinguished himself in action against the ‘Oak Boys’ insurgents in Londonderry.¹¹ That O’Meara’s father actually received his royal pension of £100 dated 1 April 1775 (after agreeing to convert from Catholicism)¹² is recorded in *The Parliamentary Register* dated 1790.¹³

Though the old DNB identifies Barry Edward’s mother as “Miss Murphy, sister of Edmund Murphy, M.A. of Trinity College,”¹⁴ it is more likely that she was “Catherine née Harpur.”¹⁵ Catherine married Jeremiah in 1781 and four children were born, O’Meara being the third of three brothers, the eldest - Hely Fitzpatrick - born in 1782 and Charles

Stanhope – presumably named after Jeremiah’s commanding officer in the 29th - in 1784; their sister Charlotte was the last of the children.¹⁶ As implicitly noted by Barry Edward himself in the 1819 publication, his own birth year was 1786.¹⁷

¹⁶ See Turtle Bunbury

(http://www.turtlebunbury.com/history/history_iris/roadshow/barryomeara.htm, consulted in June 2013) who gives details of a letter by O’Meara’s father, Jeremiah, to William Fitzwilliam, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, dated 24 January, 1795, in which Jeremiah writes that he had “a wife and four children, of whom three are boys, and the eldest (Hely) only turned twelve years...”. For references to Charlotte’s marriage (to William Deane) and related problems, see O’Meara’s letter to Finlaison, British Library, Mss ADD 20,146, ff. 54-57, dated 22 April 1816, and published in Albert Benhamou, *Inside Longwood: Barry O’Meara’s Clandestine Letters* (London: Albert Benhamou Publishing, n.d.), 43-48. Barry Edward bequeathed what he had received in inheritance from his brother, Charles Stanhope (who died intestate a major in the 46th (or the South Devonshire) Regt. of Foot), to Charlotte’s two children, Barry O’Meara Deane and Harriet Deane, who in 1835 were not yet 21 years old, see Barry Edward’s will, Public Record office, The National Archives, Prob 11/1864, p. 351r. For a brief account of the life and career of Barry O’Meara Deane (b. 1819), see Rev. Frank Penny, *The Church in Madras. The History of the Ecclesiastical and Missionary Action of the East India Company in the Presidency of Madras from 1835 to 1861* (London: John Murray, 1922), III: 355.

¹⁷ See O’Meara, *An exposition...*, 97. “I entered the 62^d regiment, as an assistant surgeon, in the beginning of the year 1804, at the age of eighteen.” Arnold Chaplin, *Napoleon’s captivity on St Helena, 1815-1821. A comprehensive listing of those present including civil, military and naval personnel with biographical details* (London: Savannah Publications, 2002), 108, incorrectly gives 1782. The new *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004-2006), s. v. “O’Meara, Barry Edward”, gives curiously “in or after 1770?”, presumably derived from John O’Hart, *Irish pedigrees; or, The origin and stem of the*

⁹ See “Hardy’s *Memoirs of Lord Charlemont*” in Ralph Griffiths, G. E. Griffiths (eds), *The Monthly Review, Or, Literary Journal*, s.n.: vol. LXVIII (1812): 346.

¹⁰ See Everard, *op. cit.*, chapter 4, ‘1763’.

¹¹ National Archives, Kew, Treasury Board and In-Letters, T 1/496/68-69.

¹² See Turtle Bunbury (http://www.turtlebunbury.com/history/history_iris/roadshow/barryomeara.htm, consulted in June 2013).

¹³ See *The Parliamentary Register, Or, History of the Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons of Ireland*, Printed for J. Porter, P. Byrne, and W. Porter, 1790, IX: 176.

¹⁴ DNB 1895.

¹⁵ See Turtle Bunbury (http://www.turtlebunbury.com/history/history_iris/roadshow/barryomeara.htm, consulted in June 2013).

We know that O'Meara received a relatively good education—already by 1819 he was fluent in two foreign languages (French and Italian)—because his father refers to him as reading Virgil and Lucian at the age of 11.¹⁸ O'Meara recounts his professional career as follows: he was apprenticed to Mr Leake, city surgeon, and he followed (so he says) Leake's lectures at Trinity College Dublin and at the Royal College of Surgeons, Dublin. Presumably this apprenticeship did not include formal inscription at the two institutions, since as the old DNB notes Barry's name does not appear on the registers of either. And he cannot have studied in Dublin long since he later affirmed that he had also studied in London, probably surgery, having studied anatomy in Dublin.¹⁹ At any rate,

Irish nation (Dublin: J. Duffy and Co. and New York: Benziger Brothers, 1892), I, s. v., "O'Meara", this a correction (!) of the old DNB's "1786". For corroboration of Barry Edward's statement of his own age (!), see also Turtle Bunbury (http://www.turtlebunbury.com/history/history_iri_sh/roadshow/barryomeara.htm, consulted in June 2013). O'Meara himself unfortunately confuses the situation (on page 104 of *An Exposition...*) by inferring (incorrectly) that he was 12 at the creation of the Irish Legion (August 1803); he may however be referring to his age at the time of the French attempts to invade Ireland in 1798, which would again place his birth in 1786.

¹⁸ See the Jeremiah's letter to the Lord Lieutenant General (quoted above, note 13) cited by Turtle Bunbury (http://www.turtlebunbury.com/history/history_iri_sh/roadshow/barryomeara.htm, consulted in June 2013): "The eldest [son] is now reading the second Iliad of Homer and the other two Virgil and Lucian."

¹⁹ See B. E. O'Meara, *Napoleon in Exile or A voice from St. Helena* (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1822), I: 3. "'Where did you study your profession?' [asks Napoleon, *ed.*]. 'In Dublin and

his training did not last long since he was to start his professional career at the age of eighteen. Following in his father's converted religion, and despite assertions in the new *Dictionary of National Biography* that Barry Edward was a Catholic, we know—because O'Meara himself says so in one of his publications—that he was a protestant.²⁰ At the beginning of 1804 (as O'Meara notes—actually on 25 February), he entered the 62nd regiment as an assistant surgeon, at the age of eighteen.²¹ In 1806, he served in this capacity with the 1st battalion of this regiment, first in Egypt under Major General McKenzie Fraser (which saw an ignominious retreat) and then in Sicily. He was subsequently detached (on the recommendation of a certain Mr Green,

London' [replies O'Meara, *ed.*]. 'Which of the two is the best school of physic?' I replied that I thought Dublin the best school of anatomy, and London of surgery. 'Oh', said he, smiling, 'you say Dublin is the best school of anatomy because you are an Irishman.' I answered that I begged pardon, that I had said so because it was true; as in Dublin the subjects for dissection were to be procured at a fourth of the price paid for them in London, and the professors were equally as good." Hubert O'Connor, *op. cit.*, 8-9, citing no source, claims that, at the end of 1805, O'Meara "attended various teaching hospitals in London, including St Bartholomew's and Guy's."

²⁰ See O'Meara, *Napoleon in Exile, cit.*, vol. 1, 9 November 1816 (197). And continuing this protestant theme in his life, O'Meara's future wife, Theodosia, had previously been married to a renowned Baptist minister, see below.

²¹ This remark in O'Meara, *An exposition...*, is corroborated in *A List of All the Officers of the Army and Royal Marines on Full and Half-pay: With an Index: and a Succession of Colonels*, Great Britain. War Office, vol. 53, 1805, 227: "Sixty-second (or the Wiltshire) Regt. of Foot [...] Assistant Surg. Barry Edw. O'Meara, 25 Feb., 1804."

deputy inspector of hospitals in Messina) to Calabria as senior medical officer to the English forces there under Colonel Robertson.²² After suffering a two-week siege (7-17 February 1808) in the Castello di Scylla,²³ O'Meara tended the wounded and gave medical assistance during the embarkation under fire as the troops retreated back to Sicily. The twenty-two-year-old assistant surgeon was however to be court-martialled in Messina on 17 June 1808, "for being the bearer of a challenge from a junior to senior officer on the evening of 27 May [and] and for persevering to repeat that challenge on the 28th and subsequent days of May," in fact, he had acted as a second in a duel for a school friend, Captain Crookshank.²⁴

On reaching Malta, a letter of recommendation from Mr Green brought him into contact with Admiral Sir

²² Major Robertson of the 35th Foot distinguished himself at the battle of Maida in 1805 was commander of the garrison in the castle.

²³ See Richard Hopton, *The Battle of Maida, 1806, Fifteen Minutes of Glory* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2002), 165-74.

²⁴ The official act of Court Martial was dated "Horse Guards 11 Oct. 1808." Full details regarding the court martial were published in Charles James, *A Collection of the Charges, Opinions, and Sentences of General Courts Martial: As Published by Authority; from the Year 1795 to the Present Time; Intended to Serve as an Appendix to Tytler's Treatise on Military Law, and Forming a Book of Cases and References; with a Copious Index* (London: T. Egerton, 1820), 293 ff. O'Meara himself quoted the charges in a letter (dated "18 Montague-square, Feb 27, 1823") which he sent to the *Morning Chronicle* and which was published by that newspaper on 3 March 1823, as part of his defence himself against Hudson Lowe and a libellous review of his *Napoleon in exile*.

Alexander Ball, whereupon O'Meara was made assistant surgeon to the schooner, *Ventura*. Lord Collingwood then appointed O'Meara acting surgeon of the 18-gun sloop of war, *Sabine*, under Captain Donnor, in which capacity he arrived in England at the end of 1809. Unable to continue as acting surgeon for technical reasons, O'Meara then was sent back to the Mediterranean on 74-gun *Victorious* under Captain Sir John Talbot. On reaching Messina, O'Meara was detailed to Captain Coffin's boat in the flotilla, serving against Murat for four months in 1810. On the dispersion of that army, he returned to *Victorious* upon which he served during the taking of the French 74-gun vessel *Rivoli*, seized off Venice in 1811. According to Captain Talbot's dispatch dated 3 March 1812, "The number of wounded, and the severity of their wounds, has caused Mr Baird, the surgeon, and Mr O'Meara, the only assistant surgeon on board, very great fatigue. Mr O'Meara has passed for a surgeon these last three years and *merits every promotion*" [original italics].²⁵ O'Meara's three years' service as assistant surgeon on *Victorious* led to his being employed in the West Indies during the war of 1812, where he served as senior surgeon successively on *Espiegle* (18 guns), and on *Goliath* (56 guns) and *Bellerophon* (on the latter as ship's surgeon) both under Captain Frederick Maitland (to whom Napoleon surrendered

²⁵ Quoted in O'Meara, *An exposition...*, 100-01.

after Waterloo).²⁶ When Napoleon's own surgeon, Louis-Pierre Maingault, refused to accompany him to exile in St. Helena, O'Meara attended the Emperor. Napoleon was impressed by O'Meara's fluency in Italian and requested that he be designated his personal physician.

O'Meara, Napoleon and St. Helena

This chance employment was in fact to be O'Meara's moment of destiny. And it was not to be free from controversy. As Napoleon's private doctor, he was in a

²⁶ O'Meara served under Maitland on *Goliath* and *Bellerophon*, see O'Meara, *Napoleon in Exile*, *cit.*, I: 6. "It is of no small gratification to me to be able to produce such a testimonial as the following from a captain with whom I served in three different ships. [...] The attention and meritorious conduct of Mr Barry O'Meara, while surgeon with me in the *Goliath*, calls upon me [...] to state, that [...] I have never had the pleasure of sailing with an officer in his situation who so fully answered my expectations." In between *Goliath* and *Bellerophon*, Maitland was appointed to (but never sailed with) the ship *Boyne* in November 1814, see new *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004-2006), *s.v.*, "Maitland, Frederick". It is therefore highly possible that O'Meara was likewise appointed to *Boyne*. Maitland's job reference for O'Meara (cited here) is dated 5 November, 1814, and O'Meara (above) says he served with Maitland 'on three different ships', i.e., one more in addition to *Goliath* and *Bellerophon* (but not *Espiegle*, which was not captained by Maitland). See also Capt. F. L. Maitland, *Narrative of the Surrender of Buonaparte and of his residence on board H.M.S. Bellerophon; with a detail of the principal events that occurred in that ship between the 24th of May and the 8th of August 1815* (London: Colburn, 2nd ed., 1826), 198. "[...] he [O'Meara] had given me so much satisfaction while under my command, that I had procured his removal from two different ships in which he had served with me previous to my appointment to the *Bellerophon*, that he might accompany me."

tricky position, party to Napoleon's private health details, information which in the end was to be politically sensitive, because Napoleon was to attempt to claim poor health induced by a tropical climate as leverage for a return to Europe. The result was that O'Meara—the only person qualified to describe the emperor's health—found himself put under pressure from both the British and the French side at Longwood House. The British held to the line that St. Helena was healthy (only partly true, Jamestown was healthy, Longwood plain was very damp and humid) and that Napoleon was in excellent health, and above all that he did not have hepatitis, the disease of the tropics. The French emphasised the poor climate, the poor quality of the food, and Napoleon's poor health brought on by the tropical climate, demanding that he should be repatriated lest he die of tropical diseases and his death be laid at the feet of the British.

This clash of two conflicting policies put O'Meara in an almost impossible position. And O'Meara made it worse by beginning to write to various people, most notably an employee and friend at the Admiralty, John Finlaison, giving accounts of conversations and anecdotes related to the French party at Longwood and life on St Helena. This took place (crucially) unbeknownst to fellow Irishman and governor of the island, Hudson Lowe. Further complicating O'Meara's situation, Finlaison, after having requested permission to receive the letters, also

passed them up to his superiors, notably to John Wilson Croker (Secretary at the Admiralty and a government loyalist) and Lord Melville (slightly more liberal). Thus, behind Lowe's back, Lowe's superiors were receiving parallel information regarding not only the French party on St. Helena but also Lowe himself. Though innocuous to begin with, gradually as Napoleon's health deteriorated, these letters took on a fatal importance for O'Meara. O'Meara had also sent some of these communications up to Lowe at Plantation House as an attempt to build bridges with the newly arrived governor. O'Meara had not been appointed by Lowe, who would have preferred his own friend and doctor, Alexander Baxter, to have O'Meara's position. Lowe was also to demand regular bulletins regarding Napoleon's health. Though this troubled O'Meara's professional conscience as a doctor, he complied. As Lowe ramped up his policy to get O'Meara to leave and as O'Meara became more and more embroiled with the French party at Longwood, (performing errands, acting as go-between for them with the governor, explaining when communications between Longwood and Plantation House broke down...), the



situation came to a head. From then on, O'Meara refused to collaborate with Lowe and simultaneously started working for Napoleon (notably translating his memoirs).

And with the breakdown of cordial relations between governor and doctor, O'Meara proffered his resignation.²⁷ That being said, O'Meara still had enough credit in London (as a direct result of his correspondence with Finlaison) for his resignation to be refused; indeed, from the way O'Meara behaved after his expulsion from the island—he wrote a long letter to the Admiralty directly accusing the Governor of having asked him to shorten Napoleon's life—he must have been quite confident in this. As late as early May 1818, Bathurst (by then receiving copies of O'Meara's correspondence with Finlaison) wrote to Hudson Lowe telling him to ignore any personal differences he may have with O'Meara and simply to put up with him since Napoleon was content with him as

²⁷ The resignation letter was sent on 12 April 1818. O'Meara's also wrote to Lowe on a similar subject on 10 May, and this letter is quoted *in extenso* in Benhamou, *op. cit.*, 146-48.

his doctor and not to remove him from Longwood, as it “would be an invidious measure [...] particularly if Bonaparte’s health were afterwards to decline so rapidly as to bring him soon to his grave.”²⁸ However, merely two weeks later this position was undermined by Gourgaud’s declarations to British minister Goulburn that Napoleon was in fine health (Gourgaud arrived in the British capital on 8 May 1818). Worse still for O’Meara, Gourgaud also refused to “to acquit him [O’Meara] of being privy to that clandestine correspondence which has for so long been carried on between Longwood and Europe.” Bathurst’s letter demanding O’Meara’s expulsion was dated 16 May 1818.²⁹ Lowe received that letter on 25 July 1818. Ordered to leave Longwood the very same day, O’Meara was finally arrested and shipped off the island at the beginning of August 1818.³⁰

Since this part of O’Meara’s life has been the most picked over, I have devoted the

²⁸ Lowe Papers, Add. Mss. 20,122, published partly in Benhamou, *op. cit.*, 145.

²⁹ Bathurst’s letter to Lowe, Mss. Add. 20,122 fol. 339, published in William Forsyth, *History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena: From the Letters and Journals of the Late Lieut.-Gen. Sir Hudson Lowe, and Official Documents not before made Public* (London: J. Murray, 1853), III: 399.

³⁰ The naval surgeon James Hall, who was carrying correspondence and coded letters for Napoleon (unbeknownst to himself, so he says) from London, met O’Meara not only on St Helena just before he was arrested but also crossed his path on the island of Ascension when he was being forcibly returned to England on the brig *Griffon*, details on the following web site, <https://sites.google.com/site/kinghallconnections/1800-j-hms-favorite>, consulted in July 2013.

least time to it. Philippe Gonnard’s is still the best and fairest treatment.³¹ Albert Benhamou, a staunch supporter of O’Meara desiring to rehabilitate the Irishman’s reputation, has recently published (with commentary) O’Meara’s letters to Finlaison. Though this is a very laudable enterprise, and he has uncovered much that is of great interest, he occasionally allows his desire to exonerate O’Meara to force his conclusions.³² Desmond Gregory in *Napoleon’s Jailer: Lt Gen. Sir Hudson Lowe, A Life* (London: Associated University Presses, 1996), followed the negative line about O’Meara pushed since Hudson Lowe’s apologist, William Forsyth.³³ And Hubert O’Connor, who offers no comment but for this period in O’Meara’s life, published an un-sourced diary—what he calls “a daily record of his doings and conversations with his great patient [...] extracts and summaries from those diaries”—but presumably from previously published material. It is uncritical and unusable.

What would appear to be indisputable is that, over and above the Lowe/O’Meara feud, during his three years on St. Helena, O’Meara emotionally speaking gradually became Napoleon’s man. Gourgaud in his

³¹ See above note 1.

³² See here below, note 34. There are also a good number of transcription errors, notably in the Italian expressions, but not only: p. 50 paragraph 1, p. 53 paragraphs 1, 2, 3, p. 54 paragraph 1, p. 56 paragraph 1, p. 58 *passim* including note 135, p. 60 paragraph 2, p. 61 paragraph 3, p. 70 paragraph 2, p. 71 paragraph 3, etc.

³³ William Forsyth, *op. cit.*

memoirs even claimed that O'Meara took money from Napoleon,³⁴ though Dr. Walter Henry, military doctor (assistant surgeon to the 66th) on St Helena during Napoleon's stay and professional colleague of O'Meara's, in his memoirs emphatically claims that O'Meara was too honest for

³⁴ Albert Benhamou (*op. cit.*, 219-20) takes issue with this, claiming correctly that in the ms. of Gourgaud's *Journal* at the Paris Archives Nationales (314 AP 90, fol. 379), in the incriminating sentence "The doctor was never so 'for' me [Napoleon] until I gave him my money" [published both in the 1899 or 1944 editions of Gourgaud's text (mistranslated however by Benhamou (on page 220)], the words 'the doctor' do not appear. A space however was left and marked with an underscore – the usual 19th-century way of implying that a name had been omitted - followed by the French word 'il' (he) – a photograph of the passage in the ms. is published in Benhamou, *op. cit.*, 220. However, two remarks must be made: a) the underscore implies a missing name (Benhamou imagines that the 'il' could be read as a capital 'I' referring to Ibbetson, though if this were the case the 'I' really ought to precede the underscore). Furthermore, Benhamou does not attach the sentence to Ibbetson but rather (on page 211) links it to Balcombe, and if that is the case, the abbreviation should be 'B'. Whatever the situation, the meaning is clear; the English can all be bought and one in particular has been bought by Napoleon; and b) the text in the 1944 edition (in its words but not sense) is relatively different from that in the ms., perhaps a sign that there was more than one ms. copy of Gourgaud's *Journal*, something which would explain the variants and the completion of the blank with "Le docteur." That Gourgaud cannot have much liked O'Meara is shown by the fact that when Gourgaud arrived in London (he had left St. Helena in March 1818), he loudly proclaimed that Napoleon's illness (noted by O'Meara) was a fake and that the Emperor was in fact fine, see Jacques Macé, *Le Général Gourgaud* (Paris: Fondation Napoléon/Nouveau Monde Editions, 2006), 313-22. Indeed, these remarks provided Hudson Lowe with the final piece he needed in his attempts to remove O'Meara from the island.

that.³⁵ Since in my opinion Dr. Henry gives the most succinct and credible account of this period in O'Meara's life, I have preferred just to let his remarks speak for themselves, as follows:

"There can scarcely be any reasonable doubt entertained, by those at all acquainted with the circumstances of the case, that Mr. O'Meara suffered himself to be cajoled and fascinated into the admirer, adherent, agent and tool of Napoleon. I will not say corrupted, for he was of a nature to scorn a pecuniary bribe. Yet in one sense he was corrupted. He was perverted from his proper duty and allegiance, his judgement was warped, his conceptions of right and wrong were weakened and confounded, and his principles undermined, by the blandishments and sophistries of the great Machiavel with whom he held daily converse."³⁶

³⁵ O'Meara proposed calling upon Henry (and other medical men on St. Helena) to aid in diagnosis of Napoleon's illness on 10 July, see O'Meara's letter to the Admiralty dated 20 October 1818, (published in Benhamou, *op. cit.*, 187).

³⁶ Walter Henry, *Events of a Military Life* (London: Pickering, 1843), II: 42-44. See also Capt. F. L. Maitland, *op. cit.*, pp. v-vi, on the almost irresistible nature of Napoleon's charm when coupled with pity and regret that a man so able should fall so low: "It may appear surprising, that a possibility could exist of a British officer being prejudiced in favour of one who had caused so many calamities to his country; but to such an extent did he [Napoleon] possess the power of pleasing, that there are few people who could have sat at the same table with him for nearly a month, as I did, without feeling a sensation of pity, allied perhaps to regret, that a man possessed of so many

Of course, he was not helped by his catastrophic relations with fellow Irishman, the governor. And Henry to continue (quite accurately):

Mr O'Meara was dismissed from the British service for having officially insinuated that Sir Hudson Lowe had suborned him to poison Buonaparte, or sounded him respecting such a crime, nine or ten months before he made the communication to the government. The secretary to the Admiralty said, 'You have either fabricated this most grave accusation, or it is true. If the charge is false, you are unworthy to remain in the service; if, on the other hand, the horrid and improbable imputation is true, you have grossly violated your duty in concealing such an atrocity so long.' Now I do not perceive any way of escape from this dilemma.³⁷

And despite the fact that O'Meara did indeed have support in high places, it was not enough to save him from being expunged from the service. Henry again gives the details:

I have been informed since, on authority which I cannot doubt, that Mr O'Meara had a friend in London, the private secretary of Lord

fascinating qualities, and who had held so high a station in life, should be reduced to the situation in which I saw him."

³⁷ Henry, II: 42-44.

M[elvi]lle,³⁸ who found it convenient to have a correspondent in St. Helena, then a highly interesting spot, who should give him all the gossip of the Island for the First Lord of the Admiralty, to be sported in a higher circle afterwards for the Prince Regent's amusement. The patronage of Lord M[elvi]lle was thus secured; and Mr. O'Meara, confident in this backing, stood out stiffly against Sir Hudson Lowe. The latter was quite ignorant of this intrigue against the proper exercise of his authority; and when he discovered it afterwards, he found it was a delicate matter to meddle with, and affecting, possibly, the harmony of the ministry. Even after the development of the vile poisoning charge against the Governor, the influence of the first lord was exerted to screen O'Meara, but in vain; for Lord Liverpool exclaimed, as in another well-known instance, of a very different description, 'It is too bad!'.³⁹

The fight with Hudson Lowe, which led to O'Meara's dismissal, merely served to push the doctor further into Napoleonist activities. Starting even before his return to England, O'Meara was to publish works in support of Napoleon,⁴⁰ he was to

³⁸ It was surely this fact that gave O'Meara the confidence to stand up to Hudson Lowe.

³⁹ Henry, II: 42-44.

⁴⁰ *Letters from the Cape of Good Hope, in reply to Mr. Warden; with extracts from the great work now compiling for publication under the inspection of Napoleon. The third edition.* [The preface signed: C-,

translate and have published Napoleon's memoir on Waterloo,⁴¹ and he was to be offered a pension by Napoleon's mother Letizia and brother Joseph (see below). Indeed, almost immediately after being struck off the navy rolls, O'Meara was to find his financial salvation in supporting Napoleon. Henry gives fascinating details about O'Meara's life post-St Helena and post-publication of *A Voice from St. Helena*. Henry again:

Still O'Meara has had his reward. He is now beyond the reach of praise or blame,⁴² but it can scarcely be deemed harsh or uncharitable to say, that his conduct at St. Helena made him very popular with the liberal section of politicians. He has been

i.e. B. E. O'Meara.] (London: James Ridgway, 1817).

⁴¹ *Historical Memoirs of Napoleon, Book IX, 1815, translated from the original ms. by B. E. O'Meara, with an appendix that the pretended manuscript from St. Helena was not written by Napoleon* (London: Sir Richard Phillips and co., 1820). O'Meara also saw into publication the French version, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France en 1815, avec le plan de la bataille de Mont-Saint-Jean* (Paris: 1820). In his letter to Joseph Bonaparte dated 4 February 1820 (Wellcome Library, see below note 66), O'Meara recorded how he had brought the manuscript for this book back from St Helena ("ouvrage dictée par l'Empereur, qu'il m'a donnée en partant de Longwood") and how he had had the text published in London, Paris and in the Netherlands, see below, though in the publication (more circumspectly, since he had been expelled from St. Helena for being too close to the French) O'Meara claimed that he had received in October 1818, in other words, on his arrival in London and therefore had not brought it back with him from St. Helena.

⁴² By the time Henry's memoirs were published, O'Meara was dead.

embalmed in a couplet by Lord Byron,⁴³ was pensioned deservedly by the Buonaparte family, admitted to the affections of a rich old lady on account of his politics, and again largely pensioned by his doting wife; besides being admired, quoted, and panegyricized by all the Buonapartists yet extant, all the Levellers, Jacobins, and Radicals, and a large proportion of the Democrats and Republicans in the world.⁴⁴

O'Meara, the Napoleonist: Napoleon in Exile or A Voice from St. Helena

Napoleon died on 5 May 1821. And as had been expected (even by Napoleon himself), those who had been in close contact with French ex-emperor on St Helena began approaching publishers with the aim of seeing their diaries of the St Helena experience appear in print. Barry O'Meara's *Napoleon in Exile or A Voice from St. Helena* was the first to be published. Whilst it would appear true that the book was a financial exercise, the Irishman also had an agenda. As he outlined in a letter (to Julie Bonaparte, wife of Napoleon's elder brother, Joseph Bonaparte) written in 1823: "the prime reason for the publication of the book was to defend the reputation of the late emperor [...] and to refute the frightful calumnies with which our ministers and

⁴³ In his poem, *The Age of Bronze*, Canto 3, line 79: "And the stiff surgeon, who maintain'd his cause, Hath lost his place, and gained the world's applause".

⁴⁴ Henry, II: 44.

their paid agents tried to sully his memory and also to give a picture of this great man, full of noble courage, expiring under the talons of that monster, half monkey, half tiger whom they chose to be his jailer.”⁴⁵

On publication day (the first edition was issued in 1822 by Simpkin Marshall and Co., at their offices in Stationer's Hall on Ludgate Hill, London),⁴⁶ *Napoleon in Exile* caused such a stir that the small courtyard in front of the building was mobbed, and the police had to be brought in to control the crowds.⁴⁷ The book was a huge success, running into three editions in the first year of publication.⁴⁸ Less than a year after signing the contract O'Meara had received

⁴⁵ O'Meara to Julie Bonaparte, 18 June 1823, letter on sale in March 2011 at Maggs Brothers Ltd, 80 Berkeley Square, London, reference AU5383. Though Lowe attempted to sue O'Meara for what he considered the libel against him in the book, the case was thrown out on a technicality, details in the legal section of the newspaper *Examiner* (London: 1808), 823 (1823: Nov. 9): 730.

⁴⁶ The book contract, published in Joseph Shaylor, *The Fascination of Books: with other papers on Books & Bookselling* (London: Simpkin Marshall Hamilton Kent and Co Ltd, 1912), 208-14, bears the date, 5 July, 1822.

⁴⁷ See Shaylor, *op. cit.*, 207.

⁴⁸ By 17 March 1824, 10,000 copies of the book had been published, see Shaylor, *op. cit.*, p. 214. Thomas Creevey M.P., 21 July 1822, in *The Creevey papers: a selection from the correspondence & diaries of Thomas Creevey, M.P., born 1768 - died 1838*; edited by Sir Herbert Maxwell, London: John Murray:1904, (quoted in O'Connor, *op. cit.*, 193) expressed his enthusiasm as follows: “I wonder whether you will be anything like as much interested by O'Meara and Buonaparte as I have been and am still. I can think of nothing else... I am perfectly satisfied Buonaparte said everything O'Meara puts into his mouth. Whether *that* is true is another thing...”

£1,350; and he had kept for himself the rights for foreign-language translations.⁴⁹ There were naturally to be certain temporary financial setbacks. In mid-1822, O'Meara was fined 500 pounds for taking a horsewhip against a man he took for the owner of *The Times* newspaper,⁵⁰ and at the end of 1825 and beginning of 1826 he suffered “considerable temporary embarrassment” on the failure of Sir Walter Stirling's bank.⁵¹ But his financial worries were to be soothed by his Napoleonism. His support of the emperor on St Helena brought him pensions, not

⁴⁹ The book was published in three French editions.

⁵⁰ Since O'Meara had written in *Napoleon in Exile* that Napoleon had said that *The Times* could be bribed, *The Times* called O'Meara a liar. Upon his exacting revenge on the wrong man (William Walter instead of John Walter, his brother and the owner of *The Times*), O'Meara appeared in court on 22 July 1822, and made a complete and unreserved apology. William Walter accepted this, and O'Meara was bound over to keep the peace and fined £500, see “Mr. Walter and Mr. Barry O'Meara”, *Calcutta Journal of Politics and General Literature*, 1:5 (1823: Jan. 6), 76.

⁵¹ Letter for sale: Barry E. O'Meara to Baron Emmanuel de Las Cases in Paris," 2-1/5 pages, 4to, [London], February 8, 1826. He writes, "I am much obliged to you for the introduction of your sensible and well-informed friend Dr. Grimaud. I introduced him to Mr. Lawrence, who felt great pleasure in conducting him through St. Bartholomew hospital (to which he is surgeon)...Mr. Lawrence speaks very highly of the pamphlet upon artificial anatomical preparations and expresses his conviction of their ultimately becoming of great utility in this country, where subjects are so very difficult to procure...I am much obliged by your kind offer of your services in making an application to [French financier] M. Laffitte, which I accept with great pleasure, more especially as I am suffering under considerable temporary embarrassment, caused by the failure of Sir Walter Stirling's bank..."

only 8,100 francs from Madame Mère⁵² but also 1,200 francs from Joseph in 1819, not to mention a grant of 2,370 fr 36 from Prince Eugène.⁵³ A receipt preserved in the French National Archives shows him also having received money from Napoleon's sister Elisa shortly before her death in exile in Trieste in 1820.⁵⁴ So from possible

⁵² D.-J. Larrey, *Madame Mère, Napoleon's Mater: Essai Historique* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1892), II: 224. Letter from Madame Mère to Joseph Bonaparte, Rome 14 April 1820: "Je vous disais encore que nous nous étions réunis, dans la famille, pour accorder une pension de 8,100 francs au docteur O'Meara, et que nous en accordions une au docteur Stokoe". Indeed, O'Meara was to remain on friendly terms with Napoleon's mother in Rome. In 1829, O'Meara in London wrote a letter to Cardinal Fesch recommending a certain General Warren to him (soon to visit Italy) and sending his respects to Madame Mère. Letter sold by AuctionArt, Rémy le Fur et associés Cirque d Hiver Bouglione - 110 rue Amelot 75011 Paris, on Wednesday 4 July, 2012, "Autographes N°181 SAINTE HELENE - LES MEDECINS", a) Barry Edward O'MEARA, ALS, 2 pages, small in-4, in Italian, dated London, March 1829, to Cardinal Fesch.

⁵³ See Frédéric Masson, *Napoléon et sa Famille* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1919), XIII: 133.

⁵⁴ Paris, Archives Nationales, Pièces diverses, 400AP/5, Dossier 6, receipt, "London, 15th September, 1819, Received of her Highness the Princess Elisa, by the hands of Mr Henry Green, the sum of fifteen hundred francs. [signed] Barry O'Meara". In a letter to the princess Elisa (Paris, Archives Nationales, Pièces diverses, 400AP/5, Dossier 6, accompanying the receipt) dated Frankfurt am M[ain], 27 January 1820, Henry Green remarked to the princess that she had bestowed a "pension à vie", presumably the 1,500 francs mentioned in the receipt. 1,500 francs was the indemnity of an academician at the Paris Royal Academy of Fine Arts in 1816, see Catherine Giraudon, Jean-Michel Leniaud, *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie des Beaux-arts: 1816-1820, Mémoires et documents de l'Ecole des chartes, École Nationale des Chartes Paris*, Volume 2, (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2001), 44.

penury resulting from having been kicked out of the navy, O'Meara was back on the road to financial security.⁵⁵ And his marriage to Theodosia Boughton/Beauchamp was to bring him financial independence. As with all events in Barry Edward's life after his fateful meeting with Napoleon, it was by no means an ordinary one. The groom was 37 and the bride, twice-married, ex-Baptist minister's wife, Dame Theodosia Anna Maria Boughton, was 66! Lady Leigh (from her second marriage to 'the preaching Baronet', Sir Egerton Leigh, 2nd Baronet⁵⁶) sometimes she called herself Beauchamp from her mother's maiden name.⁵⁷ The wedding

⁵⁵ As another financial sideline, O'Meara also launched his own brand of tooth powder, see Masson, *op. cit.*, 133-34.

⁵⁶ For Rev. Sir Egerton Leigh, 'the Preaching Baronet', and his career as a trail-blazing Baptist minister, see Alan Betteridge, *Deep Roots, Living Branches: A History of Baptists in the English Western Midlands* (Leicester: Matador/Troubador, 2010), 103-05 and *The Baronetage of England* (London: Stockdale, 1806), 345. See also "History of the Baptist Churches in connection with the Leicestershire Association", part VIII "Rugby" in *The Baptist Magazine for 1866*, ed. Rev. W. G. Lewis: London: Elliot Stock, vol. LVIII (series V. vol. X.), 1866, 13-14, and the website <http://www.rugbybaptist.org.uk/history/history.php>, consulted in June 2013.

⁵⁷ See "Theodosia Anna Maria Boughton (127234)" on the website, *W.H. Auden, Family Ghosts*, <http://www.stanford.edu/group/auden/cgi-bin/auden/individual.php?pid=127234&ged=auden-bicknell.ged>, consulted in June 2013. It can be read, and family lore maintains, that this was Barry O'Meara's second marriage. I have however found no documentary evidence for a first marriage. However, in his will (Public Record office, The National Archives, Prob 11/1864, p. 351r-v), he bequeathed items to two different women, both married, namely Sophia Teste Faro,

took place on 10 February 1823. This was done at Theodosia's house (possibly in Montague Square).⁵⁸ They were only to be

wife of William Faro esq. Surgeon, now resident in or near Geneva, and Anne Isabella/Isabel Anne Jones (Mrs Cotton). These items were exceptionally precious and some of which he had received from Napoleon and his family. To Sophia were to be given a small brilliant pin with Napoleon's hair in it, a brilliant ring, a cameo (from Napoleon's mother) and a bronze statue (from Napoleon); O'Meara also appointed one of his will executors as one of Sophia's executors. To Isabella, he bequeathed £100 and a painting of a cock in the drawing room. And should O'Meara's nephew and niece die, their heirlooms were to be divided into three parts, two being given to Sophia and one to Isabella. It is not clear who these women were.

⁵⁸ According to the burial register for the church of Newbold on Avon - St. Botolph, Warwickshire, at No 279, Theodosia was buried (presumably alongside her second husband Sir Egerton Leigh (Bar't) (noted in the register at no. 98) on 20 January, 1830, under the name "Theodosia Beauchamp (Dame) Wife of Barry Omeara Esqur. LEIGH (her second husband's name), Aged 73 Address: Brownsover [Hall, Newbold on Avon], & Montague Square, London." See http://www.hunimex.net/warwick/bmd/newbold_burials_1800-1882.html, consulted in July 2013. Her obituary in the *Annual Register [...] of the year 1830*, London: Baldwin and Craddock, 1831, vol. 72, p. 250, appears as follows: "Early in the present year died Theodosia Beauchamp, wife of Barry E. O'Meara, esq. styling herself lady Leigh O'Meara. She was the only daughter of Sir Edward Boughton, the sixth baronet of Lawford, in Warwickshire, by his second wife, Anna Maria, daughter and heiress of _____ Beauchamp, esq. She was first married, in 1777, to captain John Donellan, who was hung at Warwick, April 4, 1781, for having, in the hope of inheriting the fortune, poisoned his wife's only brother, sir Theodosius Edward Allesley Boughton. This he effected by some prussic acid distilled by himself from laurel leaves, which he contrived should be administered, in lieu of medicine, by the mother of his victim. Inheriting the fortune her first husband had thus procured her, her second husband was Sir Egerton Leigh bart. He died at Bath April 27, 1818 aged 56; and his widow bestowed her hand in Feb. 1823 on

married for seven years since she was to die on 14 January 1830. It would appear that they met as a result of political affinities and that theirs was a 'marriage of minds'—Theodosia did not take O'Meara's name and was buried alongside her second husband (not her third). Henry noted it,⁵⁹ and Hubert O'Connor asserts that Theodosia came to hear Barry O'Meara give an after-dinner speech and was charmed.⁶⁰ In confirmation of Barry Edward's financial security, on the death of his wife in 1830 she apparently settled a thousand a year on him,⁶¹ and he moved into a fitting residence in 'Tyburnia', London, in the recently-built Italianate Cambridge Terrace off Edgeware Road at No. 16, definitely not a chic area but one

Barry E; O'Meara esq. former surgeon of the Bellerophon, and the well-known medical attendant on Napoleon at St Helena."

⁵⁹ See above.

⁶⁰ O'Connor, *op. cit.*, 196. Further evidence that this was a marriage of convenience might be seen in the Old Bailey Trial of 13 September, 1827 (*The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, Ref: t18270913-71, http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/oldbailey/html_units/1820s/t18270913-71.html, consulted in July 2013) in which O'Meara prosecuted two men for stealing watch-seals worth 10 shillings. The thieves were acquitted, "the property having been conveyed over to trustees for the sole benefit of Lady Theodosia Beauchamp Leigh, and the prosecutor having no controul [*sic*] over it".

⁶¹ See O'Meara's obituary in *The Medico-Chirurgical Review and Journal of Practical Medicine* (New Series) vol. 25 (1st April to 30th September) 1836, vol. V of Decennial Series, ed. James Johnson and Henry James Johnson, London: S. Highley, 286. The obituary also notes that Theodosia was seen by the same Doctor Johnson who attended Barry Edward's last days. She died of a "hypertrophy of the heart."

which was up and coming.⁶² His (not necessarily contemporary) neighbours included the Napoleon-obsessed painter Benjamin Haydon, the engineer Robert Stephenson, and William Makepeace Thackeray, author of the ‘Napoleonic’ novel *Vanity Fair*, who lived there with his parents.

But O’Meara’s devotion to the Emperor was not simply out of financial expediency. His activity in Napoleonic circles was to continue long after the island episode. Daniel O’Connell dined with O’Meara in July 1823 and noted: “We dined with him at Lyons. He is a plain, unaffected young man, greatly attached to the memory of the unfortunate great man.”⁶³ The Whig politician and commentator, Thomas Creevey also noted how much O’Meara had fallen for Napoleon.⁶⁴ In fact, Bonapartist poet

⁶² Grand Junction Street (a tree-lined avenue) was bordered by carriage roads called Cambridge Terrace to the north and Oxford Terrace to the south. This road complex was presumably complete by the late 1820s. See: ‘Paddington: Tyburnia’, *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 9: Hampstead, Paddington* (1989), 190-98. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=22664&strquery=paddington%20green>. Date accessed: July 2013. The address of O’Meara’s house is however wrongly given there as ‘32’ – his will gives No. 16.

⁶³ Maurice R. O’Connell, *The Correspondence of Daniel O’Connell* (8 vol.), Dublin, 1972-1980, vol. 3.

⁶⁴ Creevey, *op. cit.*, 24 August 1822: “Robert Ferguson tells me that he has seen a great deal of Major Poppleton lately, the officer of the 53rd who was stationed about Bonaparte. Bob says Poppleton is quite as devoted to Nap, and as adverse to Lowe as O’Meara, and that all the officers of the 53rd were the same... Poppleton has

Heine was to baptise O’Meara as one of the evangelists of St Helena.⁶⁵ And this evangelism (which was to last the rest of his life) was all to pass through the channel Napoleon’s elder brother, Joseph.

O’Meara and Joseph

The first existing letter from O’Meara to Joseph was written on 4 February 1820.⁶⁶ It gives a wealth of detail concerning Napoleon’s entourage on St Helena and also contacts between O’Meara and the Napoleonic world. O’Meara went to meet Albine de Montholon on her arrival in Europe, then pursued a “long and perilous voyage on the emperor’s business.” On learning the necessary details from Albine, he delivered the letters she bore from St Helena to Prince Lucien (met him on 19 October, presumably in Canino). He spent the month of December in Rome where he met Madame Mère (who attributed him a pension) and the Princess Pauline who was suffering from a liver complaint. Cardinal Fesch was well, as was Lucien and his family. O’Meara had suggested that Madame write a letter to Parliament demanding that her son be removed from St Helena because of his illness and the

a beautiful snuff-box poor Nap gave him. What would I give to have such a keepsake from him, and, above all, to have seen him. O’Meara has a *tooth* of his he drew, which he always carried about with him...”

⁶⁵ Heinrich Heine, *Reisebilder*, “Ideen. Das Buch Le Grand”, Hamburg: Hoffmann and Campe, 1827, chapter 9.

⁶⁶ Letter from O’Meara to Joseph, dated 3 Lyons Inn, London, 4 February 1820, Welcome Institute, London, 67125.

poor climate. The Irishman had a mysterious meeting in Florence (was this with Louis or Jerome?) He learned of the arrival on St Helena of Antommarchi and the Corsican priests and St Helena news up to 25 November. Napoleon, though not recovered, was much better. O'Meara also suggested to Madame Mère how to ensure a secure ally in Parliament—"the elections six months after the king's death would be a propitious moment," he opined. O'Meara noted to Joseph that he would send the latter *Mémoires pour Servir à l'Histoire de France ou Mémoires de Napoléon, Ouvrage Dictée par l'Empereur*, given to him on St Helena and which he had had published in Paris, London and the Netherlands. O'Meara had a letter to Las Cases published in all the London and Netherlands papers in October 1818. He ended the letter giving the impression that Joseph had sent him money and stating that Joseph could always count on his devotion and fidelity, and that he could always depend upon him to act in his and the emperor's service. We learn from a subsequent letter that Joseph had indeed promised O'Meara a pension, starting in 1819, as compensation for the loss of his navy salary. In the Irishman's letter of 1823 to Joseph's wife, Julie, we learn that O'Meara had been promised an annual pension of 1,200 francs.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ O'Meara to Julie Bonaparte, 18 June 1823, letter on sale in March 2011 at Maggs Brothers Ltd, 80 Berkeley Square, London, reference AU5383: "Your Majesty . . . was good enough to bestow on me an annual pension of 1,200 francs for life (as compensation for the loss of my pension due for

There must have been contact between O'Meara and Joseph over the years, but the only hint of this we have is a letter written at the beginning of 1832, when Joseph was still in the planning stages for his return to Europe from the US. In a communication between O'Meara and the publisher R. Marshall, the Irishman notes that wants to send copies of the French version of his *Napoleon in Exile* to the emperor's brother "en suite" in other words in agreement with the Count, thereby implying previous contact.⁶⁸ O'Meara was at that moment simultaneously pursuing Napoleonist agendas in parallel with actors in France. In the introduction to his short volume of observations on the memoirs of Bourrienne, O'Meara relates how he was "during a few weeks' residence at Paris, in December last."⁶⁹ Paris was in ferment

services to the Royal Navy) commencing in 1819. If I am not mistaken, I believe I only twice had the benefit of your generosity, in 1819 and 1820. Therefore please allow me, Madame, to take the liberty of now drawing those pensions for the years 1821, 1822 and the current year in three letters of change of 1200 francs each, in order to deal with the heavy expenses which this case has incurred for me."

⁶⁸ Letter dated 2 January 1832, on sale at Sotherans Bookshop, London, in March 2011.

⁶⁹ B. E. O'Meara, *Observations upon the Authenticity of Bourrienne's Memoirs of Napoleon* (London: Ridgeway, 1831), 1-2. This book would appear to have been an attempt to bolster, in English, the effect of the French and Belgian editions of *Bourrienne et ses erreurs volontaires et involontaires ou observations sur ses mémoires; par messieurs le général Belliard, le général Gourgaud, le comte d'Aure, le comte Survilliers, le baron de Meneval, le comte Bonacossi, le prince d'Eckmuhl, le baron Massias, le comte Boulay de la Meurthe, le ministre Stein, Cambacérés. Recueillies par A.*

with the arrival of Louis Philippe, and in the autumn and winter of 1830 Napoleonists thought that perhaps now was the time to put Napoleon's son on a throne in France.⁷⁰

Joseph, Napoleon's brother, had arrived in Liverpool on 16 August 1832, moving immediately to London, initially renting a residence in central London, but later moving out of the city, first to Marden Park in the summer of 1833 and then to Denham Place near Uxbridge in the summer of 1834 (to avoid the cholera in the city),⁷¹ at which O'Meara was a visitor.⁷² Indeed, in the draught manuscript version of his biography of Joseph,⁷³ Louis Mailliard, Joseph's

factotum, notes for the year 1832, "The doctor Barry O'Meara, Napoleon's doctor on St Helena, came to offer his services and placed himself entirely at his disposal."⁷⁴ He became greatly attached to Joseph and immediately became very useful to him." In 1833, for example, (notes Mailliard) O'Meara introduced the "patriot" Daniel O'Connell to Joseph. And O'Connell managed to get Joseph to agree to travel in Ireland. Furthermore, in his *Souvenirs et notes 1833 et 1834 au 31 mai 1835*, Mailliard also noted O'Meara's presence with Joseph as follows:

28 March 1833. General Romarino came. We met him at O'Meara's house.

18 July 1833. We went with O'Meara to take another look at Marden Park [...]. In the end we decide to take it.

18 July 1833. We went with O'Meara to the bookseller, Murray, to get some information regarding the letters from the allied sovereigns, which they say were sold in London in 1818 or 1819.

B. [uloz] (Paris: Heideloff, 1830 and Bruxelles: Hauman et cie, 1831). O'Meara implies that a republication of Bourrienne's memoirs in 1830 was essentially negative to the Napoleonist cause, indeed he interprets it as a sort of act of political aggression against a Napoleonist party in full effervescence in France: "I was fully convinced of its [the republication of Bourrienne's memoirs] being a book-making speculation, auspicated by the Legitimates, and "got up" for the united purposes of profit and malignity."

⁷⁰ See P. Hicks, "Joseph Bonaparte and the 'Réunion de famille' of 1832-33," *Napoleonica. La Revue* 2/2010 (N° 8): 30-52.

⁷¹ Michael Ross, *The Reluctant ZKing: Joseph Bonaparte, King of the Two Sicilies and Spain* (New York, Mason/Charter, 1977), 268 wrongly gives the address as Godstone in Surrey.

⁷² An entry in Joseph's diary dated 16 January 1834, [quoted in *Mémoires et correspondance politique et militaire du roi Joseph / publiés, annotés et mis en ordre par A. du Casse*. - 2e éd. pour tomes I à IX. (Paris: Perrotin, 1854-1855), X: 240, note 2] gives as follows: "At Midday I received Monsieur O'Meara and with him the general Mina".

⁷³ Mailliard's diary, Library of Yale University, New Haven, "Papers of Louis Mailliard," Ms 341, Journals of 1833-1835, 1840, 1841, Box 7 folder 80.

⁷⁴ Louis Mailliard was Joseph's 'valet de chambre de confiance', in other words, his gentleman's gentleman, from 1815 until Joseph's death in 1844 (and after, as recipient in his will and friend of the family). Louis Mailliard's *Journal 1815-1869* (in French), manuscript 6 volumes, is held apparently in Yale University library. He died in 1869. Occasional details about him appear in Gabriel Girod de l'Ain, *Joseph Bonaparte: le Roi malgré Lui* (Paris: Perrin, 1970), 468, notably what Mailliard received as per Joseph's will, and the adventure in which Joseph exiled in the US sent Mailliard to Prangins (Switzerland) to dig up diamonds which Joseph had buried there to bring them to the US, 330, 357-58, and 429-41.

These letters were the originals. We do not know what happened to the copies which the emperor mentioned to O'Meara. The originals had remained, following his order, in the hand (house?) of the Duc de Bassano in 1815.

15 October 1833. We went to Brighton with Monsieur and O'Meara.

17 October 1833. Monsieur and O'Meara went to London, and from there to Colonel R.W. Clayton in Marlow.

November 1833. We went to Windsor picking up O'Meara en passant in London. We arrived at 8 pm and stay at the White Hart hotel, which was bad and expensive.⁷⁵

O'Meara wrote to Napoleonist, Ida de St Elme,⁷⁶ from London on 16 May 1834.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Maillard's diary, Library of Yale University, New Haven, "Papers of Louis Maillard," Ms 341, Journals of 1833-1835, 1840, 1841, Box 7 folder 80.

⁷⁶ An eccentric figure renowned for her love for Marshal Ney and for her possession of autographs of Napoleon's letters to Josephine, her real name was Maria Elselina Johanna Versvelt, though she was also known as Elzéline van Aylde Jonghe or Vanayl de Yonghe. She was born in Lith, Noord-Brabant 27 September 1776 and she died in Brussels 19 May 1845. Living in London in the early 1820s she had relations both with the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley and also the Shakespeare actor Edmund Kean. Back in Paris in 1824, she published her (exceedingly successful) 8-volume *Mémoires d'une contemporaine* in 1827-28. Her *Une contemporaine en Egypte*, 1831, was less successful. After the *Trois Glorieuses*, she published *Mille et une causeries* (1833) which was countered by

And Ida came to see Joseph at Denham place in spring 1835 to try to sell him the correspondence of Louis Philippe.⁷⁸

Joseph furthermore was on occasions a guest at O'Meara's house.⁷⁹ In his will, O'Meara refers to a marble group and three paintings belonging to Joseph which were in O'Meara's house and which were to be returned to Joseph.⁸⁰ An autograph O'Meara letter published in *The Century Magazine* to Maillard (dated simply 'Saturday Night, May 2')⁸¹ reveals O'Meara's involvement in Napoleonist party affairs, in close collaboration with

Vicomte de Toucheboeuf-Clermont with his book *Mille et unième calomnie de la Contemporaine* (1834). In March to September 1836 she published from London a Bonapartist paper entitled, *La caricature française*, which included much criticism of Louis-Philippe and publication of letters written by him in 1807 critical of France. Full details here <http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DVN/lemmata/data/versfelt>, consulted July 2013.

⁷⁷ Letter cited in John Sainsbury, *The Napoleon Museum. The history of France illustrated from Louis XIV to the end of the reign and death of the Emperor, comprising: marbles, bronzes, carvings, gems, decorations, medallions, drawings, miniatures, portraits, pictures... etc. ... collected... and described by John Sainsbury*. (London, 1845), 595.

⁷⁸ Maillard, *op. cit.*

⁷⁹ Maillard's diary, Library of Yale University, New Haven, "Papers of Louis Maillard," Ms 341, Journals of 1833-1835, 1840, 1841, Box 7 folder 80), records two visits in July 1834, one in August and then O'Meara accompanies Joseph to the dentist.

⁸⁰ A marble group which stood in O'Meara's back drawing room and three paintings, *The Boar at Bay*, *The Creation*, by Ingres, and a *Battle*, by Giulio Romano, which hung in his 'Pantheon', all belonged to Joseph; see O'Meara's will, Public Records Office, National Archives, Prob 11/1864, p. 351r.

⁸¹ "Talks with Napoleon," *The Century Magazine*, vol. LIX, (Feb. 1900), no. 4, unnumbered illustration.

Mailliard.⁸² On 11 January 1835, Mailliard noted that O'Meara was ill. On 3 March 1835, Mailliard noted that they dined at O'Meara's house with the famous cameo engraver, and officer at the royal mint, Petrucci. On 11 March, O'Meara accompanied Mailliard to visit the doctor Johnston for Mailliard's liver and spleen complaint. On 12 March, Joseph and Mailliard visited John Soane's House, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and also John Sainsbury at his house at 35 Red Lyon's Square, John Sainsbury "who has a collection of all things related to the Empire and the Emperor Napoleon."⁸³ On 19 March 1835, the Duke of Sutherland went to O'Meara's house to see the Joseph's antique marble group there with Baron von Bulow—he found it beautiful. On 6 April and 16 April 1835, Joseph was again at O'Meara's house. On 1 and 2 May 1835, Napoleon's bastard son the Comte Léon (who had just arrived from Paris) was at O'Meara's house. Mailliard notes: "he has no real plans—these people are all crazy!" (according to Mailliard, the Comte Léon and his associate architect Mr David

⁸² In the letter O'Meara makes reference to a serious party dispute. Comparison to a reference by Mailliard in his diary, Library of Yale University, New Haven, "Papers of Louis Mailliard," Ms 341, Journals of 1833-1835, 1840, 1841, Box 7 folder 80), date May 3, 1834, makes it possible to date this letter to 1834 – "May 3

Nous allons à Londres pour régler une mauvaise dispute entre M. Lethiere et le Prince de Canino. Nous réussissons complètement moyennant de l'argent. Notre patron est vraiment bien tourmenté par les siens et ses prétendus amis. Que ne sommes-nous tranquilles à P. Breeze! Je n'augure rien de bon de notre séjour ici!"

⁸³ "Papers of Louis Mailliard," 12 March 1835.

had an insane plan to buy some land and found a Napoleonville). On 3 May, O'Meara wrote to Mailliard noting that the Comte Léon had become angry after Joseph's departure the day before and refused to go to Denham. On 9 May, O'Meara told Mailliard that the Comte Léon had left for Portugal and that he spoken badly about Joseph. In June, O'Meara wrote to Mailliard,⁸⁴ noting that the Comte Leon had indeed gone to Portugal but was returning to England on the next steamer. No attention had been paid to him in the country, despite letters of introduction. The Comte Léon's aim had been to get married, but O'Meara thought this unlikely. As for the impending arrival of the count, in his postscript to Mailliard, O'Meara noted humorously "I think I had better "not be at home" when somebody arrives." O'Meara was never to see Mailliard or Joseph ever again since Joseph left London on 8 September 1835, only returning in August 1836, by which time however O'Meara had died. Seven months before his death (26 November 1835), O'Meara wrote to John Sainsbury to praise his Napoleonic collection, then on show in Piccadilly.⁸⁵

Amongst O'Meara's final public political acts—in addition to support for Daniel O'Connell and his pursuit of Catholic Emancipation—was his participation in the founding of the Westminster Reform Club. O'Meara was in fact a committee

⁸⁴ Letter in amongst Mailliard papers.

⁸⁵ Facsimile of the letter published in Sainsbury, John, *op. cit.*, 597 and plate 40.

member of the club in its founding year of 1836. The new club was the brain child of Edward Ellice (1783-1863), a Whig whip whose main interest had been the securing the passage of the Reform Act 1832, for members of both Houses of Parliament. It was meant to be a centre for the radical ideas which that bill represented. And indeed, it was this political activism which was to cause Barry Edward's demise.⁸⁶

O'Meara's Death

O'Meara's death, like his birth is a matter of controversy. Chaplin,⁸⁷ agreeing with the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Annual Register*⁸⁸ (which the old and new DNB follow) gave the date of demise as 3rd June 1836. The burial records for O'Meara (which do not record death date) are also given by Chaplin. He notes that the church was St Mary's Church Paddington Green. The Burial register for the church for the year 1836 (page 227) gives as follows: "Name: Barry Edward O'Meara (Surgeon for Napoleon); Abode: 16 Cambridge Terrace;⁸⁹ When buried: June

⁸⁶ O'Meara was active in liberal circles almost immediately on his return from St Helena, as noted by Henry, above. In 1821, Thomas Moore spotted him in Paris in the autumn working with liberal lawyers for the Queen's divorce: Earl John Russell (ed.), *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore: Diary* (Boston: Little, Brown, and co., 1853), III: 151. On 25th Sept, 1821, he recorded that O'Meara was in Paris "on Queen's business, forwarding witnesses, etc. etc."

⁸⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁸⁸ *Annual Register* for 1836, volume 78 (1837): 205.

⁸⁹ O'Meara in his letters wrote '16 Cambridge Terrace, Edgeware Road.'

18th; Age: 54; By whom: J. G. Giffard, Curate."⁹⁰ The death date of 3rd June however must be incorrect since in O'Meara's will, one of executors, William Holmes, claims to have visited O'Meara "on or about the fifth day of June last during the illness of which he died,"⁹¹ and the obituary in *The Medico-Chirurgical Review, and Journal of Practical Medicine* (Vol. 25, 1836, p. 286, dated "July 1", *i.e.*, very shortly after death) gives the more likely date of 10 June.⁹² The obituary in medical journal offers details of how O'Meara stood too close to an open window, "through which a current of cold easterly wind was constantly entering" at a public meeting for Daniel O'Connell held at a tavern called the Crown and Anchor.⁹³

⁹⁰ A photograph of the entry in the Burial Register for St Mary's Church, Paddington Green, is published in Albert Benhamou, *op. cit.*, p. 216. As noted above there is some confusion over Barry O'Meara's birth date. This has been exacerbated by the obituaries which give his age at death, on 3 June 1836, as 54, thus placing his birthday in 1782. O'Meara's biographer, Hubert O'Connor, gives a birth date of 1783, but cites no source. The obituary in the *Medico-Chirurgical Review* gives "in his 53d year" (page 286). If we agree with O'Meara that he was born in 1786, he was 50 when he died.

⁹¹ Public Records Office, National Archives, Prob 11/1864, p. 352r.

⁹² http://books.google.fr/books?id=U- YEAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=fr&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=m&f=false, consulted in July 2013.

⁹³ The meeting is described in *The Spectator*, Saturday, 4 June 1836, page 531, and is said to have taken place on Wednesday, so 1 June. On the Crown and Anchor as a locus of radical politics, see Christina Parolin, *Radical Spaces. Venues of popular politics in London, 1790–c. 1845*, Canberra: ANU E Press, 2010, chapter 5, "'Fresh Crown and Anchor sentiments': radical reform in the Strand, 1817-1847," 147-77.

Since the room itself was crowded and hot, noted the obituary, he got a chill. O'Meara first assumed that he was having one of his usual attacks of "pulmonic inflammation," for which he had himself bled. The next morning erysipelas appeared on his face, "accompanied by a pulse of 140." His illness lasted ten days. The obituary notes how O'Meara was fond of food and drink and that he had grown fat, suffering from attacks of gout twice a year.⁹⁴ Indeed it also notes how after his wife's death O'Meara "spent his time in the enjoyment of the Society of choice spirits. He had a very large circle of acquaintances in the various clubs of the West End, and being rather an epicure, he wound up the frame of his constitution much too tight";⁹⁵ indeed his will was written on 31 October 1835, "in consequence of some recent occurrences."⁹⁶ However, it was his political journey to "extreme liberality and reform" which was to give him "the poison which carried him to his grave."⁹⁷ In his will, O'Meara was still trying to clear his name and to win the final victory over Hudson Lowe (in the end a struggle of liberals against conservatives). He asked for the following sentence regarding his book "A voice from St Helena," quoted by slightly incorrectly by Chaplin,⁹⁸ to be

⁹⁴ See Mailliard's journal (above) for the date 11 January 1835.

⁹⁵ Mailliard's journal (above) for the date 11 January 1835.

⁹⁶ Public Records Office, National Archives, Prob 11/1864, p. 351v.

⁹⁷ *The Medico-Chirurgical Review, and Journal of Practical Medicine*, loc. cit.

⁹⁸ Chaplin, *op. cit.*, 109.

inscribed upon his tombstone: "I take this opportunity of declaring that with the exception of some unintentional (and most of them trifling) errors, the work published by me entitled "A voice from St Helena, or Napoleon in Exile" is a true and faithful narrative of the treatment inflicted upon that Great Man by Sir Hudson Lowe and others his subordinates and that I have even suppressed some facts which although true might have been considered to be exaggeration and not credited." After his death, O'Meara's effects were sold at auction *The Annual Register* for 1836, volume 78 (1837), p. 205, published the following account of the sale:

"On the 18th and 19th of July a sale of his effects took place, when there was considerable competition among the purchasers, for various articles which had been the property of Napoleon. A few lines in the emperor's handwriting sold for 11 guineas; a lock of his hair, of a light auburn colour, and of silky texture, for 2l.10s.; one of his teeth, extracted by Mr O'Meara, for seven guineas and a half; and the instrument with which it was extracted, 3l. 3s.; a few articles of plate, formerly the property of the emperor, sold for about six times their intrinsic value."

Barry O'Meara is perhaps the quintessential Napoleonist, inasmuch as he spells out (just as Las Cases would do shortly afterwards) the (we might add, very well hidden!) liberal nature of

Napoleon's political actions as publicised through the writings and dictations on St Helena. Indeed he had drunk at the source of Napoleon's St-Helena-found liberal persona. And with the benefit of hindsight, we can see (where the writers of his obituary could not) that there need be no contradiction in the heart of a man whose "political sentiments were strong, and though [we would need no 'but' here] an enthusiastic admirer of the greatest tyrant of modern time – NAPOLEON–yet he went to the extreme of liberality and reform, of late years. [...] He died at about the same age as his great master and patron, BONAPARTE."

Of Myths and Memories ... and Historical Documents about the Battle of Waterloo

by Alasdair White

The traditional approach to investigating historical events is to base underpinning assumptions on the documentary evidence about the event and this is certainly the way that the history of the Battle of Waterloo has been developed. In this case, the documentary evidence used has mainly been the military records (muster rolls, order books, copies of orders, military maps, etc.), as well as descriptions and memoirs written by participants on both sides of the conflict, together with the many sketches, watercolors and oil paintings made shortly after the events. However, recent research and developments in the fields of clinical and behavioral psychology, neuroscience, endocrinology, memory and the response to stress, calls into question the value of memoirs and reports written by participants in the events described. It also raises doubts about the validity of observations recorded by non-participants (i.e. observers). And as to artists: except for very few, such as Denis Dighton, the royal war artist, and Thomas Stoney, who were slightly more reliable, their images were highly romanticized to say the least and simply bizarrely inaccurate on the whole.

Between 2004 and 2012, neuroscientist John Coates conducted research into the

biological response to risk-taking, especially in high-stress environments, and described the results in his 2012 book, *The Hour Between Dog and Wolf*.¹ His principle findings are that people in high-stress environments, especially those involving risk-taking, have a distinct biological response involving the endocrine system, which affects the way their bodies work and how their minds process data to assess risks and determine actions. The most common physiological response is well known as the fight-or-flight adrenal response in which the hormone adrenaline prepares the body for short-term action. This affects the blood supply to the internal organs, including the brain, causing non-essential activities to close down while, at the same time, causing the survival functions to become enhanced. People in the grip of an extreme adrenal response report the time-phasing in the brain slowing down so that external events appear to be happening slower, and their ability to collect and process data (cause-and-effect) and to determine what actions to take, is speeded up. They also report that their sight was clearer and that they were more aware of their surroundings. The adrenal response effect is well

¹ See John Coates, *The Hours Between Dog and Wolf* (London: Fourth Estate, 2012).

understood and this description will come as no surprise, but what Coates also found was that this physiological response was occurring before the cognitive response. In other words, the body was sensing the threat and taking action before the mind could start processing it. This suggests that the senses transmit data to the central nervous system and the hypothalamus, which then triggers the endocrine system. According to Coates, the speed of this transmission is close to 119 m/s which is more or less instantaneous, but in reality, an image takes 100 milliseconds to reach the brain and a further 120 milliseconds to process it, but the brain has a pre-conscious capability and triggers the endocrine system that creates an auto-response in about 70 milliseconds—i.e. about a third of the time to create a cognitive response. This means that the environment of the memory has already changed before the brain can start encoding the information as memory.

But perhaps the most interesting result of this response is to the memory itself. Investigation was made into what research subjects could actually recall of high-stress events in which they participated, such as a car crash or a terrorist incident, and found that their short-term memory could recall very little, and that their medium-to-long-term memory could recall even less.² Indeed, the recalled memory seldom included the stimulus (the events that created the response), nor the actual

elements of the event itself and the order in which they occurred, as these were retained only in the short-to-medium-term memory. As time passed, their ability to recall accurately diminished significantly, leaving a set of memories that had been processed and often bore very little relationship to the actual event. In other words, what is recalled from memory is what the brain believes happened rather than what actually happened. This effect is often referred to as false memory.

False memory (rather than the cause of false memory) has also been recognized for some time and is often compounded by the mind encoding memories of what it thinks ought to have happened: and this occurs even if the subject is not contaminated by other sources of data about the event—reading or hearing a report of the event from someone else, for example. This is one of the reasons why the police take statements immediately from as many eyewitnesses as possible without allowing the eyewitnesses to hear what others are saying. They then tease out the facts from this jumble of data.

There is some evidence that rather than encoding data as a continuous and bounded stream, like a video, the brain appears to record data in discrete, bounded segments more closely resembling a still photograph. The brain then runs this past its experiential database to find the most

² The investigation is an on-going research project being conducted by the author.

likely bits to go between the segments to create a complete record.³

As time passes between the event and the recollection of it by participants who were there, the degree of cognitive processing distorts the memories even further and various biases creep in, the main one being that people come to believe that the version of events that they recall is actually correct because they recall it. This becomes self-reinforcing until they are unable to accept their original recall was incorrect (in other words, we come to believe our own myths). But the biggest issue with memory recall after time is almost always that the person recalling the event has been influenced by other memories (their own and from other people), which have combined to create a new version of the event. When challenged on this, the person then becomes subject to the “loss aversion” concept which Daniel Kahneman, an eminent clinical psychologist, talks about in his 2011 book, *Thinking, Fast and Slow*.⁴ He concludes that people will irrationally adhere to what they believe rather than risk changing to an alternative position, even

³ This is a hypothesis expressed by a growing number of researchers into how memory is actually formed. Unfortunately, absolute proof is unlikely as current research techniques are limited to observing brain function, rather than the content of the memory. However, discussions with people trying to recall events strongly suggests that images, rather than sequences of images, are being recalled.

⁴ See Daniel Kahneman, *Thinking, Fast and Slow* (London: Allan Lane, 2011).

when what they believe is demonstrably wrong and the alternative position is in their best interests. This is one factor behind how incorrect versions of events become embedded in the collective human cognitive memory.

This point has been discussed at some length simply because historians routinely use eyewitness memoirs as though they were a categorical truth rather than a “version of the truth.” To build a theory of what happened based on one or even a few stated sources often results in an incorrect interpretation of events. In the heat of battle, for example, the participants will be subject to an extreme adrenal response and this limits their ability to register and subsequently recall the situation other than in terms of what actually happens to them. If they then attempt to record down those events and the order in which they occur, the result is likely to be inaccurate and the memory is likely to become focused on what they believe should have happened. If their memoirs were not written until 15 or more years later, then the veracity of the report must be considered as being very low. So, looking at Matthew Clay’s much quoted memoir about the fight for Hougoumont, his description of events and the landscape prior to military action is likely to be more accurate than his description of events during the heat of battle, but both are likely to contain false memories (especially about time and order of events) given that his account appears to have been written

in 1853, some 38 years after the events described.⁵

Other examples abound, and to fully understand the events, it is essential to cross-reference the memoirs with other data and to re-interpret rather than to accept their rather romanticized and editorialized content as being correct. This is not to say that the memoirs are valueless or wrong, but only that a more careful analysis needs to be undertaken. Memoirs written immediately after the battle by participants are likely to be more accurate than those written 15 or more years later. It should be noted here that the vast majority of memoirs concerning Waterloo were written in the early 1830s in response to the creation of the Siborne model, which was completed in 1838. Also, most of the written material was eventually published in 1891 (76 years after the events) and has been ruthlessly exploited as ‘accurate’ by generations of historians ever since.⁶ The problem here starts with Siborne as (a) participants were trying to recall events that took place 15 years previously with all the issues discussed above, (b) in the case of a battle involving black powder there was a huge

⁵ Matthew Clay, *A Narrative of The Battles of Quatre-Bras and Waterloo; With the Defence of Hougoumont*, edited by Gareth Glover (Huntingdon: Ken Trotman Publishing, 2006)

⁶ Waterloo: Original Accounts, The Captain W Siborne Collection, British Library, were collected as part of Siborne’s research for the models and were subsequently edited by Major-General Herbert Taylor Siborne with part being published in 1891 and subsequently reprinted over the years by various publishers.

amount of smoke and it was generally impossible to see anything clearly more than 30 meters away, (c) the stress-related adrenal response would have made accurate memory formation nigh on impossible, and (d) most of the participants communicating with Siborne were also communicating with others, some of whom also communicated with Siborne.

This creates cross-contamination and is a very real issue the farther from the events the creation of the documentary evidence takes place. Many authors discussed their work with other authors who then wrote memoirs and books that incorporated information gleaned from others and, so often inadvertently, contaminated their own understanding of events. To make matters worse, many of the participants, either deliberately or unconsciously, sought to enhance their own roles and actions, and thus their accounts contained factually incorrect material as well as false memories.

Cross-contamination causes the creation of a group-think or authorized-versions, which often bear little resemblance to the facts. This phenomenon was explored by Dr. Jerry Harvey in 1974 in a paper entitled *The Abilene Paradox* in which he concluded that “groups agree to actions that are counter to the preferences of many (or all) of the group.”⁷ Authors

⁷ Harvey, J. B., "The Abilene Paradox: The Management of Agreement". *Organizational Dynamics*. 3 (1974): 63–80

writing about the battle found themselves not wishing to rock the boat or to challenge others for fear of being excluded or of being considered an outsider-group: belonging being more important, emotionally, than sticking to the facts. Once this state of mind is in place, a contrary opinion becomes undiscussable, eventually leading to the group talking about uncontentious and often digressionary details rather than the contrary view itself.

In terms of English histories of the Battle of Waterloo in particular, the final two issues are the problem of the Duke of Wellington and the problem of the Dutch. The Duke of Wellington, who refused to write his own account of the battle, objected to many of the better-researched histories as he felt they did not present the English army, nor himself, in the best light. As far as he was concerned the battle was a “great English victory,” and although he acknowledged the contribution of the allies, he was firmly of the opinion that history should record that it was the English regiments (and in this



he included the Scots, Welsh and Irish) who won the battle. So, for example, the timely engagement of the 3rd Netherlands Infantry Division under Lt-General Baron David Chassé with its associated horse and field artillery, particularly Detmer's brigade on either side of where the Butte de Lion now stands, was, in military terms, absolutely critical but has been downplayed or ignored.

The inconvenient truth, though, is that it was this intervention—to support Halkett's crumbling 5th Brigade of Alten's 3rd British Infantry Division—that stopped and then forced the retreat of the *Garde Impériale* attack between 19:30 and 20:00 hours. Wellington found that sharing the final “heroic” defense of the line with the Dutch-Belgians was not in accordance with how

he felt the battle should be remembered, and he sought to have this redacted or belittled.

Wellington's apparently expressed dislike of the Dutch-Belgians which resulted in their contribution being downplayed and even ridiculed. As can be seen in another example: the historians' treatment of Bylant's rapid re-deployment on the left of

the Charleroi-Brussels road during D'Erlon's 1st Corp attack at around 13:00 hours which is often depicted as the Dutch-Belgians running away (an adverse treatment still perpetuated today).

Pandering to such whims was later to find real support amongst the xenophobic British historians when, in 1830, the Belgians revolted against their Dutch overlords and set up their own country. The repressive and bloody response by the Dutch King, who then refused to accept the Treaty of London, caused many to conclude that the Dutch should be considered a "bad lot" and thus excluded from post-1830 histories. As a result, the 800 German-speaking Nassau Regiment troops of the Dutch army that alone staunchly defended the Hougoumont buildings and garden from the start of the battle until the British Guards retreated hurriedly into the farm yard at around 14:00 hours was completely written out of the popular histories, and their omission still occurs in books written today by supposedly better-informed British historians of the battle, who apparently still believe that the light companies of the Coldstream Guards and the Scots Guards alone defended Hougoumont from attack.⁸

⁸ The author, during discussions with Dutch historians and especially history school-teachers, has found that the exclusion of the Dutch and Dutch-Belgians from official British histories has resulted in their involvement in the Battles of Quatre-Bras and Waterloo being virtually unknown in the Netherlands.

In conclusion, because our only real source of information about historical events comes from historical documents, we need to take an evidence-based approach to their interpretation. It is essential that we cross-reference and refuse to consider any opinion as being entirely correct, no matter whose opinion it is. And we should also consider why it was being expressed—and here I draw attention to the version of history dictated by Napoleon in his exile on St Helena, which was rather obviously being prepared to act as the officially authorized version of his life and times, and to show him in the best light. We also need to keep in mind recent developments in knowledge about the biological and psychological responses to high-stress environments, as well as the way memory actually works, before we draw firm conclusions.

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Rome Undone: Competing Views and Aligning Rhetoric Concerning the Despoliation of Italy

by Marina Ortiz

During the years of the Revolution, artists were given opportunities beyond the canvas or studio, a chance to throw their name into the political game, and merge artistic prominence with political prowess. This artist-politician hybrid figure was almost the norm for self-proclaimed Republicans. And yet, in 1796, many artists' allegiances to the Republic were wavering in the balance. Upon the arrival of troops in Italy, the fate of the jewels of antiquity hung in the balance because Napoleon's official policy of art confiscation had infiltrated Italy. Art despoliation became legal policy, and the masterpieces of Rome were inextricably tied to treaties.¹ Their destiny was in France, in the hallowed halls of the Louvre. This decision to rob Italy of its artifacts was a point of contention for many artists, and was petitioned against passionately. And yet, it was also defended by those who coveted the works for their nation. The nature of the rhetoric used to either defend or protest will be the focus of this paper. Beyond giving an overview of the process and goals of Napoleonic art looting in Italy, this paper will primarily employ two sets of primary documents that defend conflicting positions on the

¹ Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 117.

issue. A collection of letters written by Antoine Quatremère de Quincy and a subsequent petition, signed by almost fifty of France's major artists, voiced the concerns of this treatment of art. As an archaeologist and a former member of the Committee of Public Instruction, Quatremère de Quincy's pen was on the side of Rome, against the confiscation of the city's heritage. The other document considered is a counter-petition published in *Le Moniteur* in response to Quatremère de Quincy's plight. While both have distinctly different aims, they both use language that conjures images of war and patriotism, a personification of the art, and by extension, personification of Rome. The competing rhetoric of Quatremère de Quincy's established artists and *Le Moniteur's* "outsiders" is the crux of this study, with particular attention paid to their use of the idea of France's close ideological relationship to Rome for different ends.

Art despoliation was not a new concept when it entered Italy in 1796: Confiscation of precious artifacts had become legal in 1794.² A report made by the Committee of Public Instruction in coordination with the Committee of Public Safety authorized the act on 27 June 1794. The Committee of

² McClellan, 117.

Public Instruction urged Napoleon's generals to use artists and other men of letters to go with them to assess which pieces should be abducted.³ Instructions were drawn up by major figures in the art world, including artists, people involved on the Louvre project, and art appraisers. These instructions were meant for generals on the chance that they ran across precious items themselves. Although detractors of the policy came forward (and will be looked at in detail in the following), those who subscribed to Napoleon's whims felt it was necessary to put precautions in place to protect the art work. The selection of art was heavily based on celebrity and rarity, using official commissioners who were able to evaluate each piece.⁴

Although the other areas of Europe brought riches to the French Republic, Italy had long been the center of artistic innovation and greatness. For a nation of people who had undergone a massive revival in Greek and Roman ideals, the artifacts of Rome were highly desirable. Spreading throughout France was a "doctrine of repatriation." David Gilks defines this as "the belief that works of art of genius were created by free men and were thus part of the patrimony of liberty to be guarded by the French Republic, irrespective of where they were currently situated."⁵ Supporters felt they were

freeing art from the oppression of tyranny. Having adopted Rome as their ideological relative, supporters believed that the art belonged in their land of liberty. They considered themselves the only legitimate successors of the "heritage of humanity."⁶ Artist Jean-Baptiste Wicar emphasized this feeling in a speech:

O spirits of the winners of Marathon, Salamis and Plataea, have we exclaimed, sighing! Receive the homage of young artists from a country where the first rays of freedom already announced to the world he is ready to avenge the insults that a string of barbarous ages has dwelt!... It is only us who can appreciate them.⁷

Portraitist Jacques-Luc Barbier-Walbonne was also an ardent defender of the process. He, along with Wicar, made speeches defending the confiscation on the terms of ideology, pedagogy, and support for the military.⁸

The art found itself "liberated" and facing integration into the Louvre. According to Andrew McClellan, art museums carry "a heavy symbolic load on behalf of the government and factions that sponsor them."⁹ This claim seems to ring

³ McClellan, 114.

⁴ McClellan, 119.

⁵ David Gilks, "Art and Politics During the 'First' Directory: Artists' Petitions and the Quarrel Over the Confiscation of Works of Art from Italy in 1796," *French History* 26 (2012): 55.

⁶ Édouard Pommier, "La Liberté en Italie: La saisie des oeuvres d'art," Napoleon.org, http://www.napoleon.org/fr/hors_serie/1campagne-italie/lesecrets/colloques/art.html.

⁷ Pommier.

⁸ McClellan, 116.

⁹ McClellan, 2.

particularly true for Napoleon's vision. The Louvre symbolized the government's ability to control the memory of the past, not only through what was preserved within its walls but also how it was organized.¹⁰ The Louvre officially opened in 1793 at the height of the Revolution, after Republican pressures to hurry its development. It had been a mere vision of Old Regime ministers, but the urgent need to create an institution to promote Republican ideals hastened the process.¹¹ Under Napoleon it came to be the highest example of a state-sponsored museum.¹² Built upon the foundation of the Revolution and its leader's desires, the Louvre became a powerful illustration of the French Republic.¹³

Art looting did not only result in a vast collection of art within the Louvre; it was also a source of immense patriotism and spectacle. Not unlike Revolutionary festivals that French citizens experienced, the arrival of art into the metropole became a grand event. Parades of the stolen art traveled throughout Paris. Hype was built by press releases following the travel of the cargo, with exaggerated stories of the art's adventures.¹⁴ Vases depicting these spectacles show famous works of marble such as *Laocoon and His Sons* and *Eros* being carted through towns, being cheered on by citizens of the French

Republic. They revel in the spoils of war, a visual reinforcement that the war is worth it, and that the military is to be celebrated.¹⁵ The festival-like parades featured Bonaparte's army, his commissioners, and of course, the grand works of art themselves.¹⁶ It was a "large-scale propaganda exercise managed with the precision of a military campaign."¹⁷ Architect Louis-Pierre Baltard was quoted as having said that "The National Museum and its precious contents are recompense for the lives and blood of our fellow citizens spilled on the field of honor."¹⁸

Although the occurrence of festivals and grand speeches from the likes of Barbier and Wicar seem to show overwhelming support for this military effort, 1796 saw great opposition from those of another mind. On 14 August 1796 a group of artists presented a manifesto addressed to the Management Board. While they did not out-right disagree with the measures that were to be taken in Italy, they urged that proper planning be put into action "before anything moves to Rome."¹⁹ They were worried that the military would not handle the works properly. The next day, 15 August, Quatremère de Quincy expressed his clear disapproval of Napoleon's plan for

¹⁰ McClellan, 2.

¹¹ McClellan, 1.

¹² McClellan, 2.

¹³ McClellan, 92.

¹⁴ McClellan, 120.

¹⁵ Sèvres, *Napoléonic Procession of Vatican Treasures to Musée Napoléon*, 1810-13, porcelain.

¹⁶ McClellan, 120.

¹⁷ McClellan, 121.

¹⁸ McClellan, 121.

¹⁹ Pierre Rosenberg, *Dominique-Vivant Denon: L'oeil de Napoléon* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux et le musée du Louvre, 1999): 64.

Italy's great antiquities. His rebuttal to the removal of artifacts from their birthplace took form in *Letters to Miranda*, a series of letters explaining his opposition. He was dismayed over the idea of art being ripped away from its homeland and placed into collections.²⁰ The series of letters were a campaign not waged on the battlefield, but instead fought with sharp wit and an eager pen. Quatremère de Quincy was an adamant proponent of studying art "*in situ*," and had an art background himself.²¹ Although he had a monarchist past, he garnered the support of Jacques-Louis David, who also agreed with the need to study art "*in situ*." David, as recalled by his student Etienne-Jean Delecluze, was known to have said, "though the sight of masterpieces may perhaps train scholars, it cannot train artists."²² Although Quatremère de Quincy's political background is a concern of some historians (such as David Gilks) to the motives behind the letters, the focus of this study will instead be upon the attempts to persuade by appealing to readers through political, spiritual, and heritage rhetoric.

Quatremère de Quincy de Within his first letter, opposing rhetoric overlaps. Echoes of Wicar's call to avenge a "string of barbarous ages" is seen, but instead

²⁰ Dominique Poulot, "The Cosmopolitanism of Masterpieces", in *Letters to Miranda and Canova on the Abduction of Antiquities from Rome and Athens*, ed. Chris Miller and David Gilks (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012): 1.

²¹ Poulot, 17.

²² Poulot, 17.

Quatremère de Quincy claims that by despoiling Italy the barbarism will not be behind them: "Effects of ignorance and barbarism might result from so imprudent an act."²³ While the supporters of art confiscation believe that the Louvre is to become a shining example of the ideal repository, Quatremère de Quincy argues the opposite, but in similar terms. He pronounces that Italy, especially Rome, is "a complete repository of all the objects proper to the study of the arts."²⁴ As opposed to the Republican idea that France is the rightful successor, Quatremère de Quincy writes that Rome is the only country that should enjoy this heritage of cultural prodigiousness, because the right has been "bestowed on it by the nature of things."²⁵ Key to his argument is the fact that Rome's government had been working to resurrect and reconstruct their former artistic glory with "tireless zeal," and he wrote that it would be extremely hypocritical for the French to at once praise the arts of Rome, and then later discourage this progress.

"Now what would you think of a nation that, instead of promoting these generous efforts, discouraged them; instead of contributing by its means and example, or at very least by manifesting its respect and admiration for the pursuit of these beautiful discovering, came to dry up the source and sterilize the vein that

²³ Poulot, 95.

²⁴ Poulot, 97.

²⁵ Poulot, 97

the industry of its owners had made ever more fertile?"²⁶

He stresses this hypocrisy further, by pointing out how unfortunate it would be for France to desecrate Rome, whom they admire so much for their past. By doing so it would discourage further promotion of the arts in Rome.²⁷

Rather than the elocution of rebirth and resurrection of Roman art, Quatremère de Quincy instead publicly declared that to "divide is to destroy." He harshly claims that the death of all forms of knowledge comes from dispersing the wealth of Rome.²⁸ "It is a colossus from which limbs could be broken off and their fragments carried away, but its mass is one with the soil like the great Sphinx of Memphis. Attempting a partial transfer of this sort would be nothing short of a mutilation and as shaming as it would be fruitless to its perpetrators."²⁹ Having himself taken the pilgrimage to study art in its homeland, Quatremère de Quincy views the city of Rome itself as a museum. The art is but an installation within a larger collection of monuments, geography, and buildings. The museum of Rome dwarfs that of the Louvre, and the proposed contrived organization of the spoils of theft would not match the quality of education of going to a completed, untouched Rome. It would result in "a crime against public

²⁶ Poulot, 98.

²⁷ Poulot, 98.

²⁸ Poulot, 98.

²⁹ Poulot, 101.

instruction."³⁰ Making the pilgrimage to Rome is more than just a strictly educational experience for artists, he claims. It is a life lesson, and it creates a sense of integrity.³¹

Quatremère de Quincy uses rhetoric reminiscent of war, as if the true battles were being waged against the canvasses. He speaks of "exiling" art to another country that is not their own, and he writes of "enemies." Though, according to him, "it is not the enemies of the arts, if indeed they have any that I fear; it is their ignorant friends."³² In his correspondence with General Miranda, Quatremère de Quincy challenges him to "take up the other side of their defense if you wish; raise yourself to the sublime regions of politics and the mutual relations of people."³³ On 3 October 1796 the smack down of Quatremère de Quincy's pleas was published in *Le Moniteur Universel*. It took the form of a counter-petition, allegedly created and signed by self-proclaimed "outsiders."

The "outsiders" of *Le Moniteur* make a point to remind Quatremère de Quincy and other detractors that they, too, are artists.³⁴ Falling in line with the idea of

³⁰ Poulot, 102.

³¹ Poulot, 110.

³² Poulot, 106.

³³ Poulot, 105.

³⁴ "Pétition présentée par les artistes au Directoire exécutif," *Gazette Nationale; ou, Le Moniteur Universel*, no. 12, 12 Vendémiaire, year V (3 October 1796), 45.
<https://archive.org/stream/gazettenationale17961panc#page/n379/mode/lup>.

confiscation inspiring patriotism, they open by stating that if art is carried from Rome to France, “it is for the honor and the glory of the French name.”³⁵ In a similar vein to Quatremère de Quincy, the counter-petitioners speak of progress. But where Quatremère de Quincy fears dismembering Rome will prohibit progress, the authors of the entry in *Le Moniteur* claim “we need models to overcome obstacles that might oppose progress among us.”³⁶ They use terms to appeal to the general public, and stroke the notoriously patriotic ego of republican France. They speak of the “long habit of truth and beauty” and extoll the “taste” of the French people.³⁷ In contrast to Quatremère de Quincy’s request to leave the great historical city of Rome alone, these authors use Rome’s history as means to justify their actions. “The Romans ... managed to civilize their nation, by transplanting to their home the productions of Greece defeated.”³⁸ Employing this history allows them to make a case for removing art from Rome to make France even greater. As the rightful successors to Rome’s heritage, it would only be fitting that they use this logic to support their goals. “In their example, enjoy our conquests and we will move from Italy to France everything that

³⁵ “Pétition présentée par les artistes au Directoire exécutif.”

³⁶ “Pétition présentée par les artistes au Directoire exécutif.”

³⁷ “Pétition présentée par les artistes au Directoire exécutif.”

³⁸ “Pétition présentée par les artistes au Directoire exécutif.”

could enlarge the imagination.”³⁹ Quatremère de Quincy’s claims that they are conspiring against Rome are shot down in the counter-petition. The authors refer to other countries who have pillaged Rome before them.

“Have we not already seen disappear from Rome a host of precious monuments? Did not these works of art form part of those alleged series, the dismemberment of which is so unreasonably supposed to inspire pity in the French government?”⁴⁰

By taking art themselves, they are providing it a sanctuary. Quatremère de Quincy, however, sees flawed logic in this excuse: “Well, England is the image of what Europe would become if the dismemberment that I fear were realized.”⁴¹ Clearly, he was dealing a low blow, but certainly one that was well-founded. He also attacks the harsh language of war and conquest being employed by the counter-petitioners, the so-called “outsiders”:

³⁹ “Pétition présentée par les artistes au Directoire exécutif.”

⁴⁰ “Petition Presented By Artists To The Executive Members of the Directoire”, in *Letters to Miranda and Canova on the Abduction of Antiquities from Rome and Athens*, ed. Chris Miller and David Gilks (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012), 172.

⁴¹ Antoine Quatremère de Quincy, “Letters on the Plan to Abduct the Monuments of Italy,” in *Letters to Miranda and Canova on the Abduction of Antiquities from Rome and Athens*, ed. Chris Miller and David Gilks (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012), 111.

“What are we to make of the scholarship of someone who legitimizes the spoliation of Italy by citing Scipio, Caesar, and Alexander as models of French republicans? I believe I may say without fear of contradiction that the genus of tyranny never gave birth to two greater exterminators of liberty than Caesar and Alexander.”⁴²

The counter-petitioners are well-versed in people-pleasing propaganda. The words “free,” “superiority,” and “dignity” are sprinkled throughout, appealing to the republican fervor throughout the nation. These words stand in stark contrast to Quatremère de Quincy’s “barbarism,” “exile,” and “dismemberment,” though not as much when the counter-petitioners are addressing the “servitude” and “barbarism” faced by the art while subjected to Rome. In 1794, two years before this discourse truly began to heat up, Jacques-Luc Barbier-Walbonne justified pillaging Belgium by using similar phrasing: “These masterpieces had too long been sullied by the sight of servitude ... these immortal works are no longer on foreign soil; they have today been deposited with the homeland of art and genius, the fatherland of liberty and holy equality.”⁴³ The “exquisite senses” of the “naturally endowed” people of France were, according to the counter-petitioners,

the true inheritors worthy of gazing upon the artistic beauty Rome had to offer.⁴⁴

With the “instruction of the nation” hanging in the balance, the authors and signers of the 3 October 1796 petition wooed observers of this spat with patriotism and propagandist rhetoric.⁴⁵ They used the idea of “repatriation” and true heritage to back up their goals. “The French Republic, by its strength, the superiority of its enlightenments and its artists, is the only country in the world that can give an inviolable asylum to these masterpieces.”⁴⁶ Quatremère de Quincy’s plight against “Europe returning to...bad taste, and barbarism once again spreading across it the veil of error and ignorance!” is at once opposed to their proposed actions, and at the same time almost in concert with the language that they themselves used to defend them. Notions of the proper education for artists, fear of barbarism, and the correct way to interpret the French Republic’s Roman roots are at odds and align with one another. Though their positions are clearly seated opposite each other, they borrow words and phrases to achieve different ends. On a topic so deeply concerned with culture, images of

⁴² Quatremère de Quincy, 116.

⁴³ Poulot, 19-20.

⁴⁴ “Pétition présentée par les artistes au Directoire exécutif”, *Gazette nationale; ou, Le moniteur universel*, no. 12, 12 Vendémiaire, year V (3 October 1796), 46.

<https://archive.org/stream/gazettenationale17961panc#page/n379/mode/1up>.

⁴⁵ “Pétition présentée par les artistes au Directoire exécutif.”

⁴⁶ “Pétition présentée par les artistes au Directoire exécutif.”

war and violent politics are conjured through a flair for dramatic syntax.

The creation of the Louvre as a national museum spurred a need to fill it with riches. Napoleon's campaigns throughout Europe allowed for an opportunity for France to take what they thought they had rightly inherited by subscribing to the ideals of the Roman Republic before them: liberty and freedom. The spoils of war from Rome were meant to inspire pride in the nation's citizens. The parades of booty being escorted to their new domain were likened to the festivals of years past, meant to be a "visual stimuli for reinforcing republican values."⁴⁷ And yet, this desire to emphasize France's intellectual supremacy through taking what they believed to be theirs created unrest among some artists, of mixed political backgrounds.⁴⁸ Quatremère de Quincy represented a group of people disturbed by the "distortion of heritage" that France was experiencing under Napoleon's legalized art despoliation. For the Republicans in support of the thefts, they were aiming to "replace illusion with truth."⁴⁹ Both the supporters and detractors were artists engaged in a heated discourse about art as a form of identity

and European heritage-consciousness. And although their goals were disparate, their modes of convincing their listeners often took similar forms.

⁴⁷ David Gilks, "Art and Politics During the 'First' Directory: Artists' Petitions and the Quarrel Over the Confiscation of Works of Art From Italy in 1796," *French History* 26 (2012): 71.

⁴⁸ Édouard Pommier, "La Liberté en Italie: La saisie des oeuvres d'art," Napoleon.org, http://www.napoleon.org/fr/hors_serie/1campagne-italie/lesecrets/colloques/art.html.

⁴⁹ Poulot, 18.

Killing in a Sepia Twilight: A “New” 200-Year-Old Waterloo Painting

by James Hurst

History “is made up of episodes, and if we cannot get inside these we cannot get inside history at all.”¹

Art is subjective, but when this observer first laid eyes on this painting, it seemed a little unsophisticated and a little disappointing: I was expecting detail, a historical panorama of a great battle. Instead, the painting seemed to be, at least to my uneducated eye of a more classical, symbolic style. The redcoat in the background, for example, seemed more reminiscent of the Roman soldiers in classical British paintings of Biblical scenes rather than of the Battle of Waterloo. When I revisited the painting a few hours later, my blood ran cold. I suddenly felt immersed in the battle, seeing it from the “inside,” an uncomfortable witness stumbling across an intimate, foreign world of killing. There were probably two factors that contributed to this keyhole-glimpsed intimacy: The painting’s darkness and the fact that the artist had been there. There have been thousands of depictions of battles and killing over the centuries, but in this case, the artist was probably not painting from imagination, but memory. To look at this painting is to watch people

¹ E.P. Thompson, “The Peculiarities of the English,” *The Socialist Register*, Volume 2 (1965): 338.

fighting for survival in a dark, sepia coloured, claustrophobic world, a gun-smoke created fish bowl—gladiators trapped in a ring, with triumph the only way out.

*Background*²

The man who painted the piece was Richard Goldsmith Meares.³ In December 1829, Meares, his wife and eight children, arrived in what is now known as Cockburn Sound, Western Australia. They had sailed from England aboard the *Gilmore* to become some of the earliest pioneers of the fledgling Swan River Colony. On that summer’s day they left the creaking, heaving ship that had been their home for many weeks, to be greeted by a hot, barren coast of low limestone cliffs.

Richard Meares had been born in Ireland forty-nine years earlier.⁴ By the age of 20, he was enrolled at the prestigious Royal Academy of Art in London, where he remained for two years or so. His time at the Academy coincided with that of

² I have based much of this account of Meares’ early life on John Foreman’s unpublished “Richard Goldsmith Meares 1780-1862,” and thank him for his extensive research on the subject.

³ According to the family who own the painting and the John Foreman.

⁴ The “Goldsmith” in his name is presumably because Richard’s mother was a relation of poet and author Oliver Goldsmith.

George Jones, who had enrolled in 1801, later served in the army under Wellington, and would complete a number of famous paintings of the battle of Waterloo.⁵ Meares next appeared in the written record in September 1803, as a member of the North Yorkshire Militia, and married Eleanor Seymour, of Newcastle. In 1808 he transferred to the Royal Fusiliers (the 7th Regiment of Foot), was promoted to lieutenant, and soon after purchased a commission as sub lieutenant, or cornet, in the 2nd Regiment of Life Guards. He was destined thus to serve with the Household Brigade—the 1st and 2nd Regiments of Life Guards, the Royal Horse Guards (the Blues) and the 1st (or King’s) Dragoon Guards—at the Battle of Waterloo.

The Household Brigade’s primary role was to protect the Royal Household at Buckingham Palace. Much of their time was spent on ceremonial duties, but they were also body guards for the King. On the battlefield they were heavy cavalry, the “mailed fist” of the army. The Life Guards, senior regiment of the British Army, have been described as “swagger incarnate,”⁶ “great big stalwart fellows, not a man under six feet in his boots, mounted on magnificent black horses

⁵ Including an oil on canvas piece, “The Battle of Waterloo,” which was recently sold by Sotherbys for £56,250 (or \$86,625). George Jones, “The Battle of Waterloo,” 1822.

⁶ Kasia Boddy, “Making history: Life Guardsman Shaw at Waterloo,” *Critical Quarterly* 57 (No.4): 4.

standing sixteen hands.”⁷ Because of their impressive physique, some of the Life Guards modelled for well-known painters of the time, such as Benjamin Haydon. By the time Napoleon escaped his exile on the island of Elba, Meares had returned to London from the Peninsular War, had been promoted lieutenant, and was the father of three children. While waiting in Belgium with Wellington’s army soon after, he learned that he had become father to a fourth child.

On 18 June 1815, the Household Brigade were formed up behind Wellington’s centre. The 2nd Life Guards were on the left of the Brigade, with their left flank adjacent to the north-south running Charleroi road, beyond which stood Wellington’s other heavy cavalry brigade, the Union Brigade. In the early afternoon they waited alongside their horses on the reverse slope of the ridge before Mont St Jean, with the battle raging unseen beyond the crest. Something in the order of 17,000 French infantry of Count d’Erlon’s I Corps, supported by heavy cavalry, were advancing towards Wellington’s left flank and centre. “We heard a thunder” of cannon and muskets, “and the shouts of combatants near us; and we saw many wounded men passing towards the rear: some were carried in blankets, others walked ... several fell and died,” recalled Thomas Playford of the 2nd

⁷ See Bacon, “The Glories and Traditions of the British Army. The Life Guards,” *Navy & Army Illustrated* (30 October 1896).

Life Guards.⁸ The ground behind the brigade was ploughed by “shot and shell” clearing the ridge and passing over their heads.

Accounts vary as to how far the French infantry got, but if they could sweep aside the depleted British infantry regiments immediately to their front, there would be no substantial body of allied infantry between them and Brussels. As historian Alessandro Barbero put it, by “two o’clock in the afternoon, along the Chemin d’Ohain between La Haye Sainte and Papelotte, the French were winning the Battle of Waterloo.”⁹

The Earl of Uxbridge, Henry William Paget, Wellington’s second in command and commander of his cavalry, understood he had discretion to use his horse as he felt necessary, and now, he felt, urgent commitment of the heavy cavalry was necessary. The Household and Union Brigades were to charge as soon as possible. Uxbridge then took position in front of the left-hand squadron of the 2nd Life Guards, as this would place him roughly in the centre of his heavy cavalry. Orders were passed to draw swords: Buckingham Palace’s ceremonial soldiers, the Household Brigade, were going to

charge into a mass of heavy cavalry and infantry who outnumbered them, as they believed, “five to one, and some say eleven to one.”¹⁰ The 2nd Life Guards had not crossed swords with an enemy in the lifetimes of any those present – this was to be their first fight. The French cuirassiers were experienced veterans accustomed to victory, and those in front of the Household Brigade had already triumphed this day. Against these veterans, Benjamin Haydon’s models, London’s “Hyde Park soldiers,” would have to prove they could fight; if they were not up to the task they would be cut from the saddle and left in the mud. The lines began to walk, and hasten their pace. Sixteen-year-old John Edwards, of the 1st Life Guards, raised his bugle to his lips and blew “Charge.”¹¹ The cavalry advanced to the crest and launched themselves at the French; the latter were so close that it is unlikely the charge reached a gallop.

The rest is history. The opposing lines of cavalry “dashed into each other with indescribable impetuosity.”¹² One observer recalled: “The clash of our horse against the picked mounted troops of Bonaparte was something I shall never forget. It made me hold my breath. For some

⁸ T. Playford, *A Lifeguardsman in Spain, France and at Waterloo: The Memoirs of Sergeant-Major Thomas Playford, 2nd Life Guards, 1810-1830*, edited by Gareth Glover (Huntingdon: Ken Trotman Publishing, 2006): 48.

⁹ A. Barbero, *The Battle: A New History of Waterloo*, translated by John Cullen (New York: Walker & Company, 2006): 138.

¹⁰ B.R. Haydon, *The Autobiography and Journals of Benjamin Robert Haydon* (London: Macdonald & Company, 1853): 255.

¹¹ This bugle is kept by the 1st Regiment of Life Guards to this day. R.J.T. Hills, *A Short History of the Life Guards* (Aldershot: Gale and Polden, 1933): 49

¹² William Siborne, *The Waterloo Campaign. 1815* (Birmingham, 1848), 409.

minutes no one could tell how it was going to end. Neither side appeared to give an inch.”¹³ Historian Captain William Siborne, who was not present, but had corresponded with those who were, wrote:

Swords gleamed high in air with the suddenness and rapidity of the lightning flash, now clashing violently together, and now clanging heavily upon resisting armour ... Riders vainly struggling for mastery quickly fell under the deadly thrust or the well delivered cut. Horses, plunging and rearing, staggered to the earth, or broke wildly from their ranks.¹⁴

Somehow despite the armoured breastplates of their opponents, the British gained the upper hand, and the French broke. Some tried to escape to their right, where they collided with the left of the 2nd Life Guards, and a series of individual combats emptied a few more saddles. As Meares’ troop appears to have been towards the left of his regiment, he may have fought in this area. The left of the Household Brigade then continued on and charged into the French infantry, and the hacking, slashing avalanche of heavy horse began a rout.

History also relates that due to ill-discipline or lack of control, the British cavalry then made the mistake of charging

too far, exposing themselves to the fresh horses and men of the French cavalry reserve. This is when most of the casualties in the two heavy brigades occurred, and they have been criticised ever since for this “deplorable” folly, which deprived Wellington of heavy cavalry for most of the battle. In a forthcoming work I will argue that it was fortunate for Wellington, and disastrous for Napoleon, that the charge took place as it did.

Meares’ Painting

In Meares family circles, it was believed that the lieutenant had fought in any number of battles in the Peninsular Campaign, and it was consequently believed that his painting could depict a battle from that campaign. In fact, although the Life Guards served on the peninsula, they did not get the opportunity to fight. Consequently, it can be assumed that the painting depicts Waterloo. Although the 2nd Life Guards and other heavy cavalry did attempt another charge later in the afternoon of 18 June, we know little about it other than that it was not very successful. It is therefore reasonable to presume that Meares’ painting depicts the first, great charge by the British heavy cavalry.

¹³ Richard Goldsbrough, *The Cavalry That Broke Napoleon: The King’s Dragoon Guards at Waterloo* (Stroud: The History Press, 2016), 131. David Slow, surgeon to the Blues.

¹⁴ Siborne, 409.



“Swords gleamed high in air with the suddenness and rapidity of the lightning flash, now clashing violently together, and now clanging heavily upon resisting armour ... Riders vainly struggling for mastery quickly fell under the deadly thrust or the well delivered cut. Horses, plunging and rearing, staggered to the earth ...”

Firstly, some of the painting’s weaknesses. As noted above, the painting did not seem “real” in terms of being a vivid, detailed, realistic depiction of the battle. The helmet of the red coated cavalryman in the background, for example, appears to resemble that of a Roman legionary more than that of a cavalymen of the Household cavalry, and this man’s chiselled chin hints at the heroic or classical warrior-hero. Classical battle paintings also seemed to have a standard set of “props” that were placed in the foreground to balance the picture—such things as knocked out gun carriages.

Meares’ painting does similar, with a wheel in the lower left-hand corner.

There also appear to be too few figures, as, if this does represent the great charge by the heavy cavalry, this must have been an extraordinarily crowded part of the battlefield. Perhaps the artist had decided to focus on only two key figures, or perhaps it was too labour intensive to paint more; perhaps the painting is unfinished. Or perhaps this absence is but a reflection of memory: One remembers certain key features of an event but not everything. Often we do not remember the clutter swirling around the incident we are

recalling, and stress can create “tunnel vision,” where all around the object of focus is a blur.

Similar arguments could be applied to the simplification of the uniforms, though the helmet on the ground (probably from the French cuirassier beside it) appears well detailed. This could merely represent another feature of memory, especially if

Meares was simply painting what he had seen in galleries or had been taught. One observer considered the painting’s composition to be not particularly sophisticated,¹⁵ but the depiction of light on certain features appeared to show a knowledge of art history, or familiarity with the earlier “greats.”¹⁶ Perhaps this is to be expected of one who was at the Royal Academy for only two years or so.



“Legs and spyglasses at the Waterloo Museum, Plas Newydd” The collection revolves around the story of Henry William, the 1st Marquess who played a key part in the battle of Waterloo. ... he lost his leg and was the first to receive a fully articulated wooden leg which can be seen with fragments of his uniform. Henry William Paget is Uxbridge.¹ Note the resemblance between the uniform and sabre to those shown in Meares’ painting. (Website of the Waterloo Museum, Plas Newydd, <http://www.culture24.org.uk/history-and-heritage/military-history/pre-20th-century-conflict/art528742-what-are-the-best-waterloo-exhibitions-ten-exhibitions-to-see-for-waterloo200>, accessed 28 February 2017.

the scene was painted years after the battle with details being lost to the passage of time. The horses appear to be represented in a stylised, unrealistic manner, as often seen in paintings of the era or earlier: The most obvious examples of this are the raised, forward pointing legs of the horse in the centre and the French at left rear. Perhaps former art student

The second time this viewer saw the painting, it appeared to reveal a dark, claustrophobic battle—men locked in combat, fighting for life, killing to survive. The most obvious feature of the painting is

¹⁵ Mr. Jim Moss, of the University of South Australia.

¹⁶ Jim Moss, University of South Australia, conversation, 3.30pm, 20 February 2017.

its darkness: Most Waterloo paintings show clear blue skies and good visibility. There may be some reason other than the artist's intent that makes this painting so dark, such as fading over time, generations of exposure to smoke or dirt, or a decaying layer of varnish, but it looks as though the artist in fact intended it that way: We are, for example, aware only of some of the French cavalry's presence from the glint of sun on metal. These images are strongly reminiscent of the brown, semi-twilight caused by thick smoke from bush fires. In this case, of course, the false, green-brown twilight would have been caused by powder smoke.

Waterloo were not present at the battle. Meares was. His painting is not of the battle by an onlooker; but by an insider; it takes the viewer "inside" the dark cloak of thick gun smoke. Other veterans described in words the effect shown in Meares' oils. Corporal Dickson of the Scots Greys described charging "into a belt of smoke where he could not see five yards"¹⁷ and Sir Hussey Vivian, writing of later that day, recorded that "the smoke was literally so thick that we could not see ten yards off."¹⁸

The next question is: What does the scene represent? The central figure, being uniformed in blue, would appear to be a



Wellington's ridge, looking east along the ridge, and where, for the 2nd Life Guards, it all started. The road marked by the horizontal line of trees is the Charleroi road; the road starting lower left and extending into the distance is the Ohain road, which ran along the crest of the ridge. The farm complex of La Haye Sainte is on the right. The ridge was higher in 1815. The 2nd Life Guards charged from left to right, meeting the French cavalry on the ground to the left of and beyond La Haye Sainte.

Dense smoke is depicted in other paintings of the battle—musket smoke, cannon smoke, in puffs, clouds or columns—but around the smoke is clarity, with a blue sky above. The reason the darkness is significant in Meares' painting, if it was intentional, is that most painters of

Frenchman—if not for the fact that he appears to have just slain a Frenchman. Moreover, he is wielding a sabre,

¹⁷ David Howarth, *A Near Run Thing: The Day of Waterloo* (London: Collins, 1968), 94.

¹⁸ Sir Hussey Vivian, letter to wife, quoted H.T. Siborne, edit., *Waterloo Letters* (London: Cassel and Company, 1891), 149.

resembling that carried by the British light cavalry, rather than the sword of the British heavy cavalry. This clue suggests the man to be a hussar, apart from his shako-styled hat, but why would a hussar be in the painting, unless the logic about the scene depicting the charge of the British heavy cavalry at Waterloo, is wrong. Is this actually a depiction of a different part of the battle? Or is it a flight of fancy?

I believe neither. One hussar did accompany the British heavy cavalry in their great charge: The Earl of Uxbridge, who rode, as far as I can establish, in front of Meares' squadron. Paintings of Uxbridge show him in all manner of hussar uniforms, but as he was colonel of the 7th Hussars, the uniform of that regiment is the most likely choice.¹⁹ The 7th Hussar uniform was pale blue. In Meare's painting the central character is wearing a pale blue uniform, similar in some respects to that of a hussar.

In 1816, the year after the battle, the British Institute held a competition for images of battle scenes. Denis Dighton's painting for the British Institute features Uxbridge. Joan Hichberger makes a couple of interesting observations about this painting.²⁰ "Dighton's technique," she wrote, "suggests that he had very little

¹⁹ Barbero wrote only "Lord Uxbridge, in his Hussar's uniform, rode ahead of the Household Brigade." See Barbero, 143.

²⁰ See Joan Winifred Martin Hichberger, "Military Themes in British Painting 1815- 1914" (PhD diss, University College, London, 1985).

experience in using oil paints, and that he was uncertain in his use of colour."²¹ This tangentially sheds a little light on Meares' painting: if an accomplished painter had "very little experience in using oil paints," any lack of sophistication in the artistic endeavours of an army officer, can be understood. She adds that by contrast the "artist's treatment of uniform show[s] the greatest attention to detail."²² Dighton was an ex-army officer and had been sent to Waterloo soon after the battle to study the ground and to interview the staffs of Wellington, Uxbridge and others; he also later gave a copy of his painting to the Marquess of Anglesey, formerly Uxbridge. It can therefore be presumed that Dighton's depiction of Uxbridge demonstrated some degree of accuracy. It shows Uxbridge wearing a pale blue uniform with a yellow stripe down the leg and a shako-styled hat as does Meares' painting.

I believe the central figure in Meares' painting to be Uxbridge. Would the commander of the Anglo-Allied cavalry and the Duke of Wellington's second in command have put himself in a position to have to draw his sword and fight for his life? The answer is *yes*. Uxbridge led the charge and early on "had a round with one of" the French "officers & though two of our men charged him and gave him plenty of cuts & thrusts on both sides, the man

²¹ Hichberger, 31. Hichberger does not mention Wellington being in this painting.

²² Hichberger, 31.

escaped into the lane where he was killed by the others.”²³

I suspect Meares’ scene shows an early stage of the charge by the 2nd Life Guards, when the battle was breaking down into a series of individual combats between British and French heavy cavalry between the Anglo-Allied line and La Haye Sainte. This is where Uxbridge, and I believe Meares, would have fought.

Who then is the redcoat? A generic character, representing the Life Guards in general and no-one in particular? Or is it someone “real”? Lieutenant Meares? Or someone Meares saw? There is some evidence that Corporal John Shaw, the famous pugilist and member of the 2nd Life Guards, was in Meares’ troop. Shaw was described by one of his comrades, Thomas Playford, as being “six feet high,” and possessed of:

a powerful athletic frame. His features were large and rather coarse ... His broad chest, muscular arms, and large bony hands, denoted a powerful antagonist ... He was ... well versed in the use of the broad sword and could use the shining blade with a speed of a flash of light.²⁴

Could the bold, chiselled chin, and the helmet that almost looks too small, suggest that this was Shaw? Alternatively, the simplicity of the man’s uniform may

²³ Goldsbrough, 129.

²⁴ Playford, 46.

suggest him to be an officer, as officers would have ridden into the charge unencumbered by much of the belt equipment of the other ranks.

Perhaps the reason for the lack of detail is that the painting is unfinished. A dark shapeless space around “Uxbridge’s” shoulder, for example, may have been left to later complete his hussar’s pelisse over-jacket. The famous paintings of the time, by the British Institute prize winners, were not completed until 1820 for Jones, and 1821 for James Ward.²⁵ An officer in the Household Cavalry, husband and father, is unlikely to have had five years to paint a masterpiece.

When and why did Meares paint this scene? Before leaving England, he and many other officers had been placed on half pay; perhaps during this time he returned to his earlier “love”: painting.²⁶ He appears to have been proud of his time in the Life Guards, and in later in life painted a mural of the Battle of Waterloo on a wall of his house in Western Australia. An early resident of the colony, Edmund Du Cane, wrote that Meares was:

an accomplished draughtsman, and when ... he built himself a house with walls of rammed earth ... adorned one of them with a large and striking representation of a charge of the Life Brigades at Waterloo, led by Lord

²⁵ Hichberger, “British Painting,” 42.

²⁶ We do not know what motivated Meares to take up painting, so he may or may not have been motivated by a ‘love’ of the art.

Uxbridge – in which he had taken part ...²⁷

This description could have as easily described Meares' surviving painting.

Did Meares do his painting for the British Institute's competition, perhaps choosing as a subject two famous people who were near him in the charge, Uxbridge and Shaw? It seems unlikely, as Meares' name is not listed among the fifteen entrants,²⁸ though it is possible he was inspired by the competition but did not submit, perhaps because the painting was unfinished. Until more information comes to light, such ruminations as to when Meares did his painting are mere speculation.

Battle Paintings—'Inappropriate to British Genius'

The painting's apparent lack of sophistication is not surprising given the low regard given to battle painting in Britain at the time. The genre:

of military painting ... was deemed to be lowly, and seen, by adherents of Academic principles, to be connected with inartistic spheres of activity such as panoramas, dioramas, and topographical sketching.²⁹

²⁷ Edmund Du Cane, 'Early days in Westralia', 'Design and Art Australia Online', <https://www.daaao.org.au/bio/richard-goldsmith-meares/biography/>, accessed 22 June 2017; also quoted Foreman, "Richard Goldsmith Meares," 21.

²⁸ Hichberger, 28.

²⁹ Hirschberger 55.

Battle paintings "did not have a thriving existence within the parameters of High Art in Britain."³⁰ The British Institution competition, for example, received little "attention from the Press ... the concept of the competition ... was considered to be inappropriate to British genius."³¹ One reviewer wrote of "the total inadequacy of battle subjects in eliciting the higher powers of the artist."³² Hichberger continues that this reviewer considered that battle painting "did not require the exertion of imagination and intellect which were the hall-marks of History Painting ... Britain did not glory in war and only fought out of duty."³³ If Meares' painting lacked sophistication, it hardly seems surprising given this background: he was unlikely to have received any training in the genre and there was little precedent from which to learn. Moreover,

military pictures could be read on two levels; in terms of "truth" and in terms of "Art." Implicit in this division was the belief that any battle painting which aspired to the status of art must necessarily have abandoned any relation to the historical event, and conversely, that any work which was outside the High

³⁰ Hichberger, 25.

³¹ Hichberger, 29.

³² Victoria and, Albert Museum, London, 'Cuttings from English Newspapers,' 1194. quoted in Hichberger, 29.

³³ Hichberger, 29.

Art tradition must be read as a neutral transcription of the event.³⁴

Thus was the confusing and uninspiring world in which the British Waterloo painters worked – were they supposed to be painting “reality” and “truth,” or higher art, reflecting creativity but divorced from realism? We cannot know how each of these is reflected in Meares’ painting.

Regardless of how sophisticated or otherwise it is, I believe Meares’ painting is significant for one reason: it is a painting of the battle by someone who was in it. Dighton had served in the military, but had returned to civilian life before Waterloo.³⁵ George Jones served under Wellington, but his unit did not join the Anglo-Allied army until after the battle.³⁶ Neither of them was a participant and eye witness. How many paintings by veterans have survived?

We know of one, and the artist was coincidentally in Meares’ regiment, and apparently the same troop. This was Thomas Playford, who also, coincidentally, migrated to Australia.³⁷ Playford did a series of paintings of cavalry uniforms, including one of an 1815-era 2nd Life Guardsman on a

battlefield.³⁸ The difference between this and Meares’ painting is that it portrays the uniform rather than the battle. Unlike battle paintings, pictures of military subjects, such as uniforms, were popular.³⁹

Meares’ painting hints at a brutality one doesn’t usually associate with wars long gone, wars of glory, neat ranks and colourful uniforms. In Meares’ painting, two Frenchmen have just been cut down, yet “Uxbridge” seems completely disinterested in the man he has just despatched. This was presumably forced by the fact that he was in the middle of an immense and very dangerous battle, and that he was in command of one side of it. But there may be elements of a broader awareness of art by the painter. Some artists, like Turner and the poet Lord Byron, showed “soldiers not as glamorous warriors but as vulnerable pawns. These aspects of mankind, helplessness and the evil which emerges in moments of extremity were of particular interest to ‘Romantic’ artists.”⁴⁰ “Romantic artists?” And the Romanesque helmet on the redcoat in the background of Meares’ painting?

There is a footnote to this story: In Brussels, British surgeon Sir Astley Cooper bought at auction a number of wounded horses, reputedly of the Household

³⁴ Hichberger, 26.

³⁵ Hichberger, 30. He left the military in 1812.

³⁶ We know he was in Paris as a member of the Army of Occupation of France.

³⁷ Descendant Sir Thomas Playford holds the record for being South Australia’s longest serving premier.

³⁸ Playford, 33-37.

³⁹ Hitchberger, 25.

⁴⁰ Hirschberger, 54.

Brigade.⁴¹ These were sent to his property in England, and when he returned home, Cooper “set about removing musket balls, grapeshot and stitching sabre cuts.”⁴² Accounts vary in minor details, but essentially one morning the horses, “flecked white where their coats had grown back over their scars,”⁴³ formed a line, shoulder to shoulder, and advanced to the charge across the field. After the charge they “spun and retreated as formally as in a drill, and then broke from their line and careered about freely, in high spirits.”⁴⁴

One, apparently traumatised, horse, would “put himself on alert for a charge upon the slightest noise and start, as if to avoid a sabre cut.”⁴⁵ This reflex, of starting to avoid the slash of a sword or lunge of a bayonet, provides a small but intimate insight into the reality of the experience of the Battle of Waterloo. Accounts of glorious and deplorable charges, opposing cavalry locking horns, heavy cavalry pushing back d’Erlon’s infantry, capturing Eagles, advancing too far ... all these tell us what happened. Astley’s horse’s behaviour, and Meares’ painting, give us the slightest, personal hint of what it was like to be there, “inside” the smoke and confronting the danger of the battle.

⁴¹ S. Forrest, *The Age of the Horse, An Equine Journey through Human History* (London: Atlantic Books, 2016), 320.

⁴² Kemp, “Forgotten Victims.”

⁴³ Forrest, 320.

⁴⁴ Forrest, 320.

⁴⁵ Kemp, “Forgotten Victims.”

Postscript – the Swan River Colony

Meares was 49 years old when he arrived in the Swan River Colony and shouldered responsibility for feeding and sheltering a large family and others. The colony was only a few months old,⁴⁶ and apart from Sydney and Hobart, both in the order of 4000 kilometres away, “there was no other large town in Australia” and “no colonists at all on the northern, western or southern shores.”⁴⁷ A month or so after Meares arrived, the population of the new colony still only numbered “850 permanent residents.”⁴⁸ Meares had paid in advance for provisions and livestock;⁴⁹ but this was not honored nor the funds reimbursed. He had also invested a very large sum in land, which, to his dying day, he believed to have been only partly granted. Putting food on his party’s tables and canvas over their heads were but two of the challenges that lay ahead; visiting their landing point today makes one wonder any of them survived.

⁴⁶ Crowley, 7.

⁴⁷ Crowley, 1.

⁴⁸ Crowley, 8.

⁴⁹ Paid to business partners Thomas Peel, whose plan was to settle 10,000 people in the Sawn River Colony in four years. Peel was a cousin of the British Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel, and business partner of wealthy Sydney merchant, Solomon Levey.

A later correspondent, G.W. Leake, would write that the “old soldiers” who had survived Napoleon’s efforts to conquer Europe, “were true ornaments of the colony in their lifetime, their fellow colonists honoured and revered them, and the memory of them should not pass with them to their graves ... Their social work was very great ... had an influence of the most beneficial nature on Western Australia in its early stage.”⁵⁰ Meares’

Waterloo, he survived that battle to contend with many others.

Conclusion

Regardless of the level of artistic sophistication of Meares’ painting and its limited focus or scope, it is extremely rare in that it is a painting of the battle by a veteran. As such, this painting provides some insights into the experience of a



The coast of Western Australia, where Captain R.G. Meares, his family and other ‘pioneers’ came ashore from the ship *Gilmore*. One of the Meares family’s early residences, probably of canvas and salvaged animal crates, was erected near the patch of green scrub on the left.

name was the first on Leake’s list. 100 years after Waterloo, one of Meares’ descendants would take part in the infamous dismounted light horse charge at the Nek, Gallipoli. Like R.G. Meares at

participant of the battle: the “socked in” feel of being immersed in dense smoke, cut off from the sun and blue sky depicted by other artists; the brutality of face to face combat and face to face killing. It appears to show Uxbridge, Wellington’s second-in-command, bettering a Frenchman and cutting him from his horse. We cannot know if this is an accurate portrayal—there is always the possibility that the painting represents a flight of fancy—but if so it adds to our knowledge of Uxbridge’s part in the battle, as there is no

⁵⁰ G.W. Leake, “Some Old Soldiers,” *The West Australian*, Monday, November 21, 1887, 3. The article lists Waterloo and Peninsular War veterans of Western Australia; Meares is the first named. This was presumably Sir George Walpole Leake. G.W. Leake’s father had arrived in the colony a few months before Meares, and G.W. Leake was born in 1825, so he may well have known the men about whom he wrote.

written account of him personally despatching anyone in the charge. This depiction appears also to reinforce previous conclusions that Meares was near Uxbridge at the time.

Meares' painting is also a reminder that in those days, even the overall commander of the allied cavalry and the allied army's second in command had to be able to wield a sword well enough to survive a fight to the death. On 18 June 1815, Richard Meares, father of four, former art student and later horse breeder, horticulturalist and magistrate in a small, struggling colony on the far side of the world, had to do the same.

From Our Correspondent: Top U.S Diplomat Witnesses Return of Emperor

by William L. Chew III

Introduction

John Quincy Adams (1767-1848) ranks as the first American career diplomat, widely acknowledged as perhaps the single most successful Secretary of State, best remembered as the negotiator of the expansionist Adams-Onis Treaty, and the man behind the defining statement of American foreign policy, the Monroe Doctrine.¹ While in 1815 the crowning moments of his career still lay in the future, his accomplishments were already impressive. As an adolescent, Adams accompanied his father on diplomatic missions to France and the Netherlands during 1778-1782. In his early teens, he served as secretary to the American *chargé d'affaires* in Russia. Besides traveling widely and learning both French and Dutch, Adams also acquired a good working knowledge of German and other European languages. At age 26, he was Minister to the Netherlands, and four years later, Minister to Prussia. By 1809, he was the first American Minister to St. Petersburg. That appointment was cut short by the War of 1812, and Adams was recalled to serve as the chief negotiator in Ghent, Belgium, of the treaty ending that

¹An extended version of this article appeared as "John Quincy Adams: American Eyewitness of the Hundred Days," *Napoleonica La Revue* 24, (March 2015): 61-109. Passages reprinted with permission.

conflict. Not long after its signing on Christmas Eve, 1814, Adams packed for Paris, there to await confirmation of his posting as Minister to England.

Adams arrived in Paris on 4 February 1815 and stayed until 16 May. Thus, he was present for most of the Hundred Days and could hardly fail to note his impressions of the final dramatic episode of the Napoleonic saga. Given his background, connections, and powers of observation, the account is of particular historical interest. Yet it has so far been all but ignored by scholarship. The four pre-eminent Adams biographies devote less than half a dozen pages – between them – to his stay in Paris.² Even Samuel Bemis, premier diplomatic historian of the Early Republic and author of what is still the standard monograph on Adams' diplomatic career, glosses over his stay in two pages.³ A search through *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life* reveals no dissertations and academic journal articles on the subject, either. As

²Paul C. Nagel, *John Quincy Adams: A Public Life, A Private Life* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Lynn H. Parsons, *John Quincy Adams* (Madison: Madison House, 1998); Robert V. Remini, *John Quincy Adams* (New York: Henry Holt, 2002); Harlow Giles Unger, *John Quincy Adams* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 2012).

³Samuel F. Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of America Foreign Policy* (New York: Knopf, 1965), 221-223.

for the three top scholarly monographs on the Hundred Days, Adams is again conspicuous through his absence.⁴

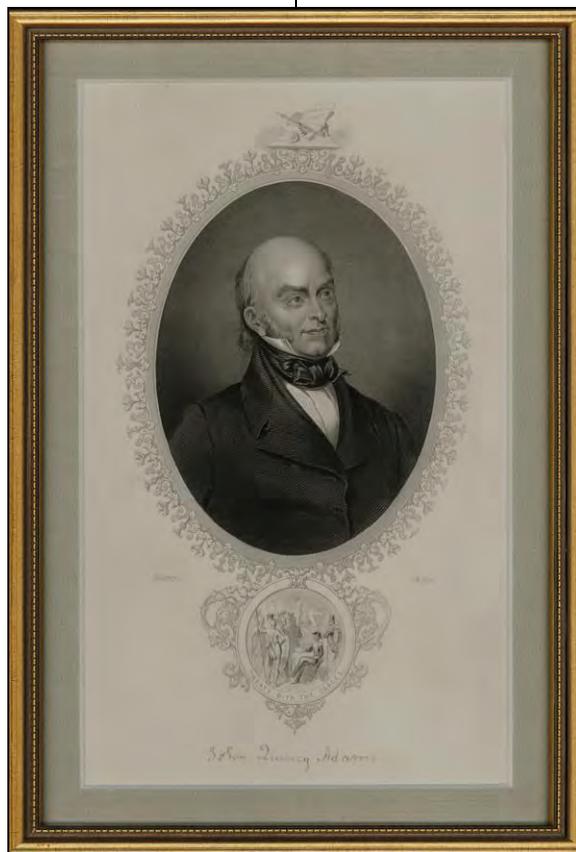
Adams' diary for this period amounts to 42,000 words, or some 55 single-space pages, in my transcription from the digital facsimile.⁵ In an earlier study, I looked at Adams the traveler and tourist.⁶ Here my purpose is to assess his political commentary. Let us recall that while Adams hailed from a Federalist family in a staunchly Federalist state, he had deserted the party in 1808, after having served as senator for

Massachusetts. His membership had become incompatible with his support for Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase (1803) and Embargo Act (1807). Further, he had just concluded bitter peace negotiations with

the English. Thus, contrary to his father, and therefore more in line with the famously Francophile Jefferson, Adams

had by 1815 evolved into an Anglophobe himself, largely because of the continued British hostility to the U.S., and the indirect hegemony he felt that country exercised over France and indeed over the whole Vienna Congress. "By an unparalleled occurrence of circumstances Britain during the year 1814 gave the law to all Europe," he wrote. "After reducing France to a condition scarcely above that of

a British colony she wielded the machines of the Congress of Vienna according to her good will and pleasure. [...] Louis 18 [...] was in substance a Vice-Roy under the Duke of Wellington."⁷ Not surprisingly, this Anglophobia was mirrored in his strong belief in the sincere Americanophilia of the French people—as opposed to the French government. Thus, while the French, as he claimed, "loaded" the English "with detestation and ridicule



⁴Gregor Dallas, *1815 The Roads to Waterloo* (London: Pimlico, 2001); Emmanuel De Waresquiel, *Cents Jours, la tentation de l'impossible, mars-juin 1815* (Paris: Fayard, 2008); Thierry Lentz, *Nouvelle Histoire du Premier Empire. Tome 4: Les Cent-Jours 1815* (Paris: Fayard, 2010).

⁵*The Diaries of John Quincy Adams: A Digital Collection*. Massachusetts Historical Society. www.masshist.org/Adamsdiaries/. Hereinafter cited as JQA Diary, followed by the date of entry.

⁶William L. Chew III, "John Quincy Adams: American Tourist in Paris, 1815," *Napoleonica. La Revue* 18 (décembre 2013): 84-125.

⁷Adams to John Adams, 24 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, ed. Worthington C. Ford, Vol. V 1814-1816 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1915), 306-3707.

[...] Americans were everywhere treated with kindness and respect.”⁸ So much for Adams’ tendency.

Adams and the Hundred Days

Adams’ diary provides something of a running account of the Hundred Days from the breaking news of Napoleon’s landing through the *Vol de l’Aigle* and subsequent flight of Louis XVIII, to the re-establishment of the Bonapartist regime, until Adams’ departure for England. His account highlights various aspects of interest, such as the speed of news reaching Paris, the status of news vs. rumors, news distorted by the Bourbon regime, the ebb and flow of public opinion as discernible in the streets and theaters and at troop reviews, and his own evaluation of events and concern for the future of France. Here, I shall focus on his reporting of the Emperor’s landing and triumphant return, seen from Paris, and his overall assessment of the Napoleonic phenomenon.

Napoleon left Elba with some 900 men, landing on 1 March near Antibes, whence he made his way north, choosing a route designed to avoid Royalist strongholds in the lower Rhône Valley.⁹ Immediately after disembarking, he issued proclamations to the people, denouncing the legitimacy of Louis XVIII; to the army, to rally to their Emperor and

liberate France; and to the officers’ corps, denouncing the white cockade as a badge of dishonor. The government did not announce the fact of Napoleon’s landing until 7 March, while word had spread throughout Paris nonetheless, though hardly provoking much public reaction.¹⁰ The immediate response appears to have been incredulity and certainly no fear that his return could topple the monarchy. Ardent royalists, if anything, rejoiced at the apparent opportunity of “doing away” with Bonaparte, once and for all. The Parisians, according to eyewitness reports, seem to have been politically rather apathetic.¹¹ The *Moniteur* did its utmost to keep the news of his advance cloaked in disinformation, often in surreal proportions. Far from conducting a victorious advance with more and more soldiers, Napoleon was made out to be constantly losing troops through desertion, while along his route the nation was manifesting its undying loyalty to King and Charter.¹² It was not until the 7th then, that Adams heard of Napoleon’s landing, noting in his diary that Louis XVIII had declared Bonaparte “a rebel and a traitor.” Rumor, as reported by our diarist, exaggerated his forces by roughly a third, at 1200 men and four cannon.¹³

On the 11th Adams learning from a fellow diplomat that Bonaparte was within eight leagues of Lyons, which alarming turn of

⁸Adams to John Adams, 24 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 307.

⁹See De Waresquiel, 117.

¹⁰Lentz, 298-99. Cf. Dallas, 287.

¹¹De Waresquiel, 133-36.

¹²De Waresquiel, 181-85.

¹³JQA Diary, 7 March 1815.

events prompted his neighbor, a certain Count de Sant Antonio, whose wife was English, to leave the city post-haste. By the 15th, it would be impossible to find any free cabriolets for hire in all of Paris.¹⁴ Adams soon discerned signs of a general exodus in the making.¹⁵ Specifically, the English community soon left.¹⁶ That night at the theater he saw further indications of a growing panic and heard various rumors feeding the general anxiety. Between the 7th and Napoleon's entry on the 20th, Adams attended the spectacles ten times, during all of which manifestations of political sentiment were expressed by the audience. This had become a vibrant part of theater culture since the Revolution, which is why the theater was closely watched by the authorities, and indeed under Napoleon highly regulated.¹⁷ Adams noted the famous song "Henri IV," celebrating the king who had delivered France from civil war during the 16th century, called for on eight occasions—being taken as an allusion by the public to Louis XVIII who, it was hoped, would

save France like his glorious predecessor. The equally popular song, "Charmante Gabrielle," about Henri IV's mistress, was called for six times. The tunes were loudly applauded, and on at least four occasions accompanied by great shouts of "Vive le Roi!"¹⁸

Meanwhile—though the news had not yet reached Paris—March 7th had witnessed the crucial turning-point of Napoleon's march north, marked by the first confrontation with Bourbon troops sent to stop him, at the defile of Laffrey, outside Grenoble. In a dramatic gesture Bonaparte, clad in his famous *redingote grise* and backed by his Old Guard, had reportedly bared his chest to the opposing 5th Infantry, who immediately turned—a harbinger of the rest of the army's attitude.¹⁹ The same day, news of his escape reached the Allies in Vienna, prompting immediate consultations on a course of action, though for the moment his destination and purpose were unknown.²⁰ On the 9th, Napoleon left Grenoble with some 6,000-7,000 troops, taking the high road in his coach, as stealth was no longer necessary.²¹ The next day, he arrived at Lyons to a triumphal reception, the crowd voicing revolutionary cries of a strong anti-feudal and anti-clerical character. He remained for three days, issuing several decrees designed to isolate the monarchy, temper Jacobin tendencies, and proclaim his own

¹⁴De Waresquiel, 226.

¹⁵JQA Diary, 11 March 1815.

¹⁶De Waresquiel, 226.

¹⁷For the politicization of the theater and the significance of popular song as a vehicle of political expression, see the relevant chapters in Jean-Paul Bertaud, *La vie quotidienne en France au temps de la Révolution 1789-1795* (Paris: Hachette, 1983); Jacques Godechot, *Histoire des Institutions de la France sous la Révolution et l'Empire*. 2nd ed. (Paris: PUF, 1968); idem, *La vie quotidienne en France sous le Directoire* (Paris: Hachette, 1977); Jean Tulard, ed., *Dictionnaire Napoléon*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Fayard, 1999); Robert Brécy, "La Chanson révolutionnaire de 1789 à 1799," *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française* 53 (1981), 279-303.

¹⁸JQA Diary, 7, 9, 11-15, 18-20 March.

¹⁹Dallas, 289.

²⁰Dallas, 296-98.

²¹Lentz, 301.

seeming conversion to a moderate liberalism by dissolving Parliament and calling for a Champ-de-Mai of the electoral colleges—i.e. the liberal elites. As for Napoleon’s sincerity as a “born-again liberal,” Lentz affirms that “*On ne saura jamais du reste jusqu’à quel point l’intéressé lui-même croyait en ce qu’il décrétait et disait alors.*”²² Adams and his liberal friends – notably Lafayette—had their doubts.

On the 12th, the news of Napoleon’s entry in Lyons reached the Court, finally provoking real concern, though no clear plan of action emerged.²³ In line with its disinformation campaign, the *Moniteur* claimed Napoleon had been defeated by the loyal troops of Lyon and was on the run in Dauphiné—while in Paris news of the reality of his triumphal entry into the city had arrived, creating a first panic.²⁴

The mood was indeed turbulent, as Adams’ entry for 12 March indicated, after discussions with several acquaintances repeating the phrase “alarm at the Circumstances.” The authorities were having a hard time calming public fears and maintaining order by preventing the accumulation of crowds. Adams described “numerous patrols of Soldiers, National Guards and Sentinels at the Corner of the Streets. News placarded upon the Pillars and clusters of people collecting and attempting to read them by the light of the lamps—I stopp’d a moment at one of

these clusters and, when patrols came up [...] the soldier at their head said in a low voice, *dispersez vous Messieurs, dispersez vous [...]* The agitation in the City has much increased within these two days.”²⁵ Two days earlier, the military guards of the Tuileries had in fact been tripled and cannon emplaced, while excited crowds congregated in the Tuileries Gardens and on the Place du Carrousel. Indeed, on the 12th, the populace got out of hand and “two or three poor buggers” were beaten to death, the guards intervening to prevent further violence.²⁶ During the next three days, the plot thickened considerably, though Paris and Adams would not become aware of events until a few days later. On the 13th, the Allies declared Napoleon an outlaw, and by the 16th, he was in Avalon.

Adams picked up the narrative on 13 March, having met and conferred with his colleague Gallatin and Lafayette. News of Napoleon’s arrival at Lyon reached Paris, but the number of his troops was downplayed to “only Twelve or Thirteen Thousand men.” An acquaintance reported “that favourable accounts had been received,” and Adams noted that “The Pillars of the Palais Royal are plaistered with appeals to arms against Buonaparte.”²⁷ By the 15th, Paris seemed to have recovered its aplomb and Adams again met with Gallatin, Lafayette, and Bielefeld to discuss developments. The

²²Lentz, 305.

²³Lentz, 308-09.

²⁴De Waresquiel, 182-83.

²⁵JQA Diary, 12 Mar 1815.

²⁶De Waresquiel, 184.

²⁷JQA Diary, 13 March 1815.

“opinion [is] prevailing,” Adams wrote, “that the Government will be maintained – a strong Spirit to support it has yesterday and this day appeared–The moment of consternation has passed away, and that of confidence and energy has succeeded. The number of volunteers who have offered themselves at Paris to march against Buonaparte is greater than the government could accept.”²⁸ Yet these enthusiastic volunteers were just a motley crew incapable of opposing seasoned veterans.²⁹ Adams subsequently took the political pulse of several officers, and the conversation he reported is indicative of the surreal state of overconfidence, even among the officers’ corps, still prevailing at this time. “Several officers dined with me on Sunday–They said they had faithfully served Buonaparte when he was Emperor, and would faithfully serve the king now–Many others have the same sentiments [...] It will be all over, in a very few days.”³⁰ That evening, Adams concluded, “The public Spirit in Paris now is confident and sanguine it does not appear that Napoleon has advanced from Lyons–He is undoubtedly there very weak; and formidable forces are marching from all quarters against him. It is ascertained that a part of the troops as well as of the highest Officers are faithful to the king; and Napoleon’s soldiers will probably desert him in the end.”³¹ This assessment would soon prove to be nothing

less than naive.

On 13 March, the Allies formally declared the Emperor an outlaw.³² While the declaration was aimed at Napoleon personally, and not at the French nation, the last paragraph affirming the signatories’ resolve to guarantee against any “attempt that might threaten to plunge the peoples of Europe into the disarray and misfortune of revolutions,” left open the possibility of an allied response in the event Napoleon’s defeat was followed by another French revolution against a second Bourbon restoration by the grace of allied bayonets. Adams assessed the declaration from the angles of international law—which could be severely undermined by this dangerous precedent – and the stability of the European state system. As he put it, “[...] the allies [...] have declared that there can be neither peace nor truce with him; that by violating his convention with them (which they had previously violated in all its parts) he had forfeited the only legal title he had to existence, and had delivered himself up to the public vengeance. It is not easy precisely to determine what those high and mighty personages meant by these expressions [...].”³³ The Allies, he believed, were in fact guilty of hypocrisy, and the proclamation’s implications for international law could be far-reaching. “As a sovereign (and by the very treaty of

²⁸JQA Diary, 15 March 1815.

²⁹See Lentz, 309.

³⁰JQA Diary, 14 March 1815.

³¹JQA Diary, 15 March 1815.

³²Lentz, 352-56. Cf. Dallas, 300-01 and De Waresquiel, 165. The full text is printed in Lentz.

³³To Abigail Adams, 22 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 303.

Fontainebleau to which they refer they had all acknowledged him as such) the only way by which they could punish his offences was by war," he continued. "It is a new maxim in the law of nations that a sovereign by the breach of a treaty forfeits all legal right to existence; its application might perhaps be found inconvenient to some of the high allies themselves."³⁴ When all was said and done, the Declaration, according to Adams, would plunge Europe back into general war.

On the evening of the 15th, Adams again went to the theater. The mood of those present seemed decidedly pro-Bourbon. "There is but one sentiment to be heard in Paris," he wrote. "After the performance [...] one of the Actors came forward and sung some couplets of encouragement and promise to the volunteers—[...] there was the Lys [i.e. the Bourbon lily], and the Bourbons, and Henry Quatre [...] in every couplet, and they were received with rapturous applause, and loud cries of Vive le Roi."³⁵

The next few days, until Napoleon's triumphant entry on the 20th, witnessed a further succession of dramatic events. The first of these took place on the 16th, when Louis XVIII held a *séance royale* before both chambers of Parliament. This was a grand theatrical show of royal pomp, beginning with the departure of the royal cortège from the Tuileries. National guards

and elite household troops lined the way. Eyewitnesses unanimously reported the people's enthusiastic cheers of "Vive le roi!" Greeted at the steps of the Palais Bourbon by a joint delegation of peers and deputies, the King made his way into the chamber, escorted by some hundred marshals, generals and other dignitaries. Seated on his throne, Louis had the Comte d'Artois and Duc d'Orléans on his right, the Duc de Berry and Prince de Condé on his left. The representatives of the nation cheered the King's discourse with frenetic enthusiasm, especially when the Comte d'Artois rose—in a dramatic choreographed move—to solemnly swear fidelity to King and Charter. Louis, for his part, portrayed himself as the guarantor of the liberal constitution and protector of the people from the double threat of civil and foreign war, embodied in Napoleon. Louis swore to die defending *la patrie*. The next day, the *Moniteur* summed up the effort as a celebration of national unity, bonding king and all classes of Frenchmen against Napoleon. Yet in the end, it was a stage-managed spectacle belying the deep political and social divisions within France, and incapable of holding back Napoleon and his advancing troops.³⁶ And later that evening, Louis learned of Ney's desertion.³⁷

Adams is mute (for the moment) on the *séance royale*, his mind focused on the

³⁴To Abigail Adams, 22 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 303.

³⁵JQA Diary, 15 March 1815.

³⁶See De Waresquiel, 206-13. Cf. Dallas, 293 and Lentz, 311-12.

³⁷See Lentz, 307 and 312; De Waresquiel, 246; and Dallas, 294.

Emperor's imminent arrival in the capital. On the 18th, he spoke with Gallatin, the Portuguese chargé d'affaires, and General Turreau, former French ambassador to the U.S. Gallatin thought it would come to a pitched battle by the 19th, but was contradicted by Turreau, who just "smiled; shrugged his shoulders, and said—*une bataille—allons donc*—sufficiently indicating his opinion that there would be no battle."³⁸

By the 19th it was clear to all that the army was flocking to Napoleon in droves, and the Emperor himself would be in Paris any day. The turn of events since his landing prompted Adams to characterized developments as "more strange, more astonishing, and more unexpected than anything that had yet occurred" in the previous 25 years, which had already witnessed, in the "annals of Europe," the most "unforeseen and wonderful vicissitudes." Europe's "prospect of a long and profound peace" had been rudely disrupted with Napoleon's return and now Paris was expecting his victorious arrival within six days, "without having spent an ounce of gunpowder on his march." Adams considered the feat utterly fantastical. When first he had heard of the landing, he had considered it Napoleon's "last struggle of desperation," predicting the Emperor would hardly gather 500 followers and pay with his life within ten days. But subsequent events, much to Adams' surprise—indeed he repeatedly noted that

³⁸JQA Diary, 18 March 1815.

he had difficulties trusting his own judgment now—proved otherwise. After ten days, Napoleon had triumphantly entered Lyons. All the troops sent to oppose him had either turned outright or refused to fire on their erstwhile comrades. By the 17th, he had reached Auxerre, a bare hundred miles from the capital.³⁹ Adams continued, "The defection in the troops of the army is unquestionably very great, and if not universal, is scarcely less formidable than if it were. For the government knows not what troops it can trust. The soldiers all cry *Vive le Roi* without hesitation. [...] They march wherever they are ordered, but not a regiment has yet been found that would fire upon the soldiers of Buonaparte. They will not use their arms against their former fellow soldiers."⁴⁰ He also reported that, given the overall chaos and difficulty of distinguishing rumor from hard news, precise and authenticated information on the numbers of troops with Napoleon, and how exactly he had effected his victorious march, were as yet impossible to come by.

Adams correctly maintained that public acclaim had been extraordinary all along the road Bonaparte had taken, but falsely claimed, initially believing rumors disseminated by the Bourbons, "that the cities through which he marches, as soon as he passed through them, immediately

³⁹To Abigail Adams, 19 March 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 291-92.

⁴⁰To Abigail Adams, 19 March 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 293.

return to the royal authority.”⁴¹ More surprisingly, as late as the 19th Adams, in a gross error of judgment over-assessing the strength and resilience of the Bourbon regime, and the loyalty of the army to Louis XVIII, still believed Napoleon would be stopped. “Notwithstanding the general opinion I do not believe that he will enter Paris without bloodshed; nor even that he will reach Paris at all. The government has been collecting a force upon which they can depend, which will meet him before he can arrive here, [a possible reference to Ney?] and the first actual resistance he meets will I think determine his fate,” for, he continued, “In the mean time nothing is seen or heard here but manifestations of attachment and devotion to the King and the House of Bourbon. In the streets, at all the public places, in all the newspapers, one universal sentiment is bursting forth of fidelity to the King, and of abhorrence and execration of this firebrand of civil and foreign war.” In a candid admission—with regard not only to his own earlier analysis, but to the astonishing historical significance of it all—he again conceded that, “At the same time I must admit that the facts have hitherto turned out so contrary to all my expectations that my confidence in my own judgment is

⁴¹To Abigail Adams, 19 March 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 293. “I wrote to you in my last that the cities through which he had passed, immediately after he had left them returned to the royal authority. That was one of the fables circulated by the adherents to the royal cause, which I had the simplicity to believe. It was entirely without foundation” (300).

shaken.”⁴² And with his years of experience and knowledge of France, Adams did not place great trust in the appearance of French public opinion, either. “If the slightest reliance could be placed upon the most boisterous and unanimous expressions of public feeling, the only conclusion would be that here are twenty-five millions of human beings contending against one highway robber.” Yet Adams was privy to the highest circles of international diplomacy, as also to well-placed Parisian society, where predictions were rather different. “In private conversation the universal expectation is that Buonaparte will enter Paris as he entered Lyons, without opposition; but that the inevitable consequence will be a foreign and civil war.”⁴³

By the evening of the 19th, he had received information of Ney’s desertion, been out observing in the street, and had time to take notes on an informative meeting with U.S. Ambassador Crawford. The diary passage throws light not only on the shifting mood of the troops with Napoleon *ante portas*, but also on the desperate attempts of the monarchy to save its skin: “I [...] walked round by the Tuileries, and the Place du Carrousel, where a great concourse of People was assembled. The king was going out to review the troops, who are to march out tomorrow Morning to meet Napoleon. [...] the countenances of

⁴²To Abigail Adams, 19 March 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 293.

⁴³To Abigail Adams, 19 March 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 292.

the attendants at the Tuileries marked dejection – Mr Crawford told me yesterday that [...] when the Officers of the garrison of Paris attempted to prevail upon the troops to cry Vive le Roi, the soldiers would say ... Oh. Yes! Vive le Roi—and laugh.”⁴⁴

By Monday morning, 20 March, Adams received accurate news of the King’s departure the previous night: “The King left the palace of the Tuileries at one o’clock this morning, taking a direction to the northward. Napoleon is expected to enter Paris this day or tomorrow. Yet nothing but unanimity in favor of the Bourbons is discernible. How it will be tomorrow I shall not anticipate.”⁴⁵ Around 11 A.M. on 20 March, in the vicinity of the Tuileries, many cries of “Vive le Roi!” could still be heard, while one eyewitness noted that some Bonapartist (half-pay) officers wearing the tricolor cockade were almost lynched by the crowd, who wanted to force them to relinquish their offensive colors.⁴⁶ Yet the Parisians were rapidly adapting to the anticipated regime change. By noon, a crowd had gathered near the Tuileries gardens, and the cries of “Vive le Roi!” had died down, stopping completely

⁴⁴JQA Diary, 19 March 1815.

⁴⁵To Abigail Adams, 19 March 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 294. In his diary for 20 March he wrote, “I was finishing my Letter to my Mother, when Mr Beale came in and told me that the king and royal family were gone [...]” (JQA Diary, 20 March 1815).

⁴⁶De Waresquiel, 35. According to Dallas, “Only the soldiers, veterans, and officers on half-pay actually cheered Napoleon when he entered Paris” (294).

by 16:00, while from the Carrousel more and more cries of “Vive l’Empereur!” were to be heard, often mixed with ominous shouts of “A bas la calotte!” and “A bas la garde nationale!”⁴⁷ At least one scholar has pointedly noted that the general population of Paris before, on and during 20 March appears to have been marked by a political apathy born of exhaustion. While a boisterous crowd had gathered around the Tuileries, the rest of the capital was remarkably quiet. This attitude appears to have extended to the greater part of the population at large—the military excepted. Key contributory factors to the prevalent mood were likely a de-politicization during the Empire; a general weariness of revolution, political instability and war; a desire to return to business as usual; and a general yearning for peace and order. Thus, what mattered was less who was the new ruler in France, but that there *was* one and that he was uncontested, maintained order, and provided security and stability. This could reasonably explain the apparent ease of the populace in alternately cheering the monarchy and the Emperor.⁴⁸ Witness Adams’ entry for the 20th:

[...] the king and royal family [...] left the Palace of the Tuileries at one O’Clock this Morning [...] There was a great crowd of People upon the Boulevards; but the cries of Vive l’Empereur had already been substituted for those of Vive le Roi.

⁴⁷De Waresquiel, 37.

⁴⁸De Waresquiel, 83-85.

[...] it was said that Napoleon was to enter Paris by the Porte St. Antoine [...] The crowd waiting for him there was very great. Two or three troops of horse of his company came in before him – The cries of Vive l’Empereur were repeated wherever they passed; but the general conversation of almost all the persons whom I overheard consisted of remarks upon the constancy of the populace, and the facility with which they shouted in favour of whoever was the ruling power of the day – There was a printseller who had spread on the ground the prints of the king and Royal family, and was crying allons Messieurs – a dix sols la pièce – The faces of Napoleon, Marie-Louise, the king of Rome, had taken the place at all the Print Shops of the family of Bourbon [...] As I came home I found the columns of the Palais Royal covered with Napoleon’s proclamations [...] The crowd of people in the Arches and in the garden was considerable, and the cries of Vive l’Empereur frequent; and sometimes accompanied by cries of à Bas les Calottins⁴⁹

And so Napoleon entered the Tuileries that evening at 21:00. The following day, Adams again left his hotel to take the public pulse, again noting how swiftly the royal *vivats* of the previous days had been exchanged for imperial *vivats*, how the ci-

⁴⁹JQA Diary, 20 March 1815.

devant Bourbon troops recently turned had not even had the time to exchange their royal for imperial insignia, how street vendors were already selling the politically correct *cocardes*, and some in the crowd were already dreaming of a resurgent foreign policy:

I mixed with the crowd of People, heard their cries of Vive l’Empereur, and heard their conversations among themselves. The troops were the same garrison of Paris which had been sent out against Napoleon and who entered the City with him last Evening–The front of their helmets and the clasp of their belts were still glowing with the arms of the Bourbons, the three flower de luces–There appeared to be much satisfaction among the soldiers–But among the People I saw scarcely any manifestation of sentiment; excepting in the cries of Vive l’Empereur, in which a very small part of the people present joined their voices–There was a man passing among the throng, with a basket of three coloured cockades, and crying Voici Messieurs les Cocardes de la bonne couleur–La couleur qui ne salit pas–The crowd were laughing and joking, and talking of the Rhine, the natural boundary of France, and swearing vengeance against the Prussians.⁵⁰

Adams now maintained that the general opinion was such that it was expected in a

⁵⁰JQA Diary, 21 March 1815.

few weeks France would be “ranged once more under domination of Napoleon”—though he was as yet unwilling to make any predictions on the reactions of the powers, except that the Vienna settlement could no longer be “considered as definitive.”⁵¹

On the evening of 21 March, Adams was back at the opera again, where the impact of Napoleon’s arrival—and the “political” culture of French theater—was immediately felt. “The royal arms were removed from the Curtain and the royal box, and the Imperial Eagle had taken their place. Even the title page of the Opera, had an Eagle over the flower de luces which the boys who sell them had not had time to paste over. All the theatres have taken the title Imperial instead of Royal.” The cheap seats in the parterre, Adams observed, were packed with “persons who came for the purpose of making a cry of Vive l’Empereur.” A popular military marching song of the First Empire, “La Victoire est à nous!” was sung, “which the audience chose to understand as applicable to the present juncture” and “boisterously applauded.” Adams thought the application of the song to the present circumstances “absurd.”⁵² A week later, imperial control of the theater was firmly re-established. At one point during the performance, a member of the audience threw a note on the stage, as Adams reported, presumably requesting a

⁵¹To John Adams, 21 March 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 298.

⁵²JQA Diary, 21 March 1815.

song. The actor “came forward and said they could read nothing without first shewing it to the Officer of the Police.”⁵³

By the 23rd, Adams described recent events as a “revolution [that] was taking place which has overthrown again the family of Bourbons, and witnessed the enthusiasm of the troops and of the people in favor of Napoleon.”⁵⁴ Adams’ remarkable choice of the term *revolution* lent further weight to his continuing astonishment at events which appear to have confounded even his highly-trained political reason. His commentary also reveals the typical American perception of France as a singular country. In August 1792, another Bostonian, the merchant James Price, having witnessed the storming of the Tuileries, observed that “When Paris moves it resembles a Storm at Sea for the whole kingdom is in motion & Seen to approve all their proceedings they are a determined people that when they once get under way nothing Stands before them. ... If the Nation were not Devided in opinion, all Europe combined together could not subdue them for they can send Six Millions free Men on the frontiers & have enough to protect the interior part of the Kingdome arms & amunition is all they want, men they have plenty, & one woman in this country is equal to 2 men, the resources of france are

⁵³JQA Diary, 27 March 1815. Henceforth, in the performances witnessed by Adams during the remainder of his stay in Paris, songs called for and/or played were all martial Napoleonic airs.

⁵⁴To Abigail Adams, 22 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 299.

immence.”⁵⁵ These fundamentals had not changed in the intervening decades, and Price’s words could just as well have been uttered by Adams, in March, 1815.

Napoleon’s bloodless dash to Paris continued to challenge Adams’ critical faculties the more he thought about them. “Prepared as every person accustomed to reflect upon political events ought to have been for occurrences of an extraordinary nature in France,” he wrote, “I must acknowledge that those which have been passing around me have been [...] totally contrary to my most confident expectations.” Initially, he had considered Napoleon’s landing “as the last struggle of a desperate adventurer, and [...] could not believe that he would become without bloodshed master of Paris; and at this hour I can scarcely realize that he is the quiet and undisputed sovereign of France.”⁵⁶ Much of Adams’ surprise hinged on his earlier false assessment of the quality, stability, and popularity of the Bourbon regime. Before Napoleon’s return, he had been firmly convinced that, while the Bourbons were not “cordially cherished by the people of France,” the king was at least “generally respected” and his administration “mild and moderate.” Indeed, he believed that the French nation had “universally detested” the

“domination of Napoleon.” Now he was forced to review his previously held opinions. In this re-assessment, several salient features emerged. The “attachment of the army to Napoleon” was unequivocal, it was true, but there had been “scarcely any military agency in his restoration”—meaning no violence. It also appeared clear that, if at any point in his return there had been any significant popular resistance, “he could not have made his way.”⁵⁷ Adams was fully aware of the military’s pivotal role in any regime change, but took his analysis beyond the simple conclusion that soldiers currently serving the Bourbon regime, who had recently served the Emperor, retained a loyalty based on his leadership and charisma—which Louis evidently lacked. More than that, Adams looked back on the long French history of war and conscription which had produced whole generational cohorts of Napoleonic veterans who, demobilized and returning to their native villages, as he believed, created a link of loyalty between the military and the population at large.⁵⁸

Adams also attempted to analyze the causes of Bourbon failure and Napoleon’s successful comeback from a broader societal angle. For the most part, his reasoning is spot-on. For one, he clearly identified, as an important constituency supporting Napoleon, the “purchasers of

⁵⁵William L. Chew III, *A Bostonian Merchant Witnesses the Second French Revolution: James Price A Voyage and a Visit to France in 1792* (Brussels: Center for American Studies, 1992), 37 (Diary entry for 26 August 1792).

⁵⁶To Abigail Adams, 22 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 299-300.

⁵⁷To Abigail Adams, 22 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 300.

⁵⁸To Abigail Adams, 22 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 301-02.

national property” as a “numerous and powerful class of people attached to him by their interests,” though at this point Adams has not yet grappled with the fact that this particular constituency would also constitute a convinced *liberal* political class, apt to view the Emperor’s supposed “conversion” to liberalism with great skepticism.⁵⁹ As the prime causes explaining the alienation of the Bourbons amongst the people, he correctly noted that “[...] all the ancient nobility were asserting anew their claims to the feudal rights which had been so oppressive upon the people, and the priesthood equally favored by the King and the court were already clamorous for the reestablishment of tythes. The persons who had acted the most distinguished parts in the Revolution were excluded from all appointments, and even arbitrarily removed from judicial offices and literary and scientific institutions. [...] By this series of measures [...] the government of Louis 18 in the short space of two months had rendered itself more odious to the mass of the nation, than all the despotism and tyranny of Napoleon had made him in ten years.” So far so good. Then, however, Adams erroneously concluded—in a clear overreaction erring in the other extreme from his original estimation—that “the French nation has been thus earnest and thus nearly unanimous in receiving again Napoleon for their sovereign [...]”⁶⁰ This

⁵⁹To Abigail Adams, 22 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 302.

⁶⁰To Abigail Adams, 22 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 302.

apparent “unanimity” was, of course, far removed from the truth. Isolated expressions of enthusiasm aside—regionally limited, or limited to the army and a few specific constituencies—Napoleon essentially faced, as Lentz put it, “l’absence d’enthousiasme populaire.”⁶¹ In fact, on his return, he had to adapt to a completely new political reality. Just as the Bourbons could not undo the revolutionary (and Napoleonic) legacy, he could not just step back into his old imperial regime, for political liberalism and relaxed censorship had made much headway under Louis XVIII. French politics, finally had become highly fragmented between the liberals (probably the strongest party), republicans, monarchists and Bonapartists.⁶²

Conclusion

Adams was clearly the most senior professional diplomat the United States possessed at that time, and the intelligence and penetration of his observations—with all their candid self-criticism—rank with those of a Thomas Jefferson or Gouverneur Morris. It is long overdue that he be given his proper rank as the prime American observer of the Hundred Days. Let us, in closing, take stock of his eyewitness testimony.

The two hallmarks—besides intelligence, knowledge of context, and linguistic skills—that mark out a strong historical observer

⁶¹Lentz, 318.

⁶²Lentz, 375-97.

are true proximity to events, and absence of strong tendency. Adams scores high indeed in the first category. He is extremely well-connected and therefore not reduced to just picking up rumors on the street or reading public papers, which often abounded with disinformation. Indeed, he is highly sensitized to the authorities' tactics to mislead, just as he is sensitive to rumors, which he attempts to substantiate or refute, drawing on independent sources. He is equally aware that public pronouncements could take on propagandistic forms, and so their tendency needed to be considered. His sense of European politics and foreign affairs was acute. Nor is Adams just satisfied with his elite network as a source of political sentiment, for he is aware that this network could not be equated with any general public opinion. Thus, his method includes putting his ear to the ground in public places, by observing audience behavior at the theater, or discussing current events with whoever might be seated next to him, or just eavesdropping on conversation. Out on the streets of Paris, he made it a point to attend military reviews, observing the exclamations of loyalty of soldiers and onlookers, to Bourbon or to Bonaparte.

Adams scores somewhat lower in the second category, i.e. of tendency, though only marginally so, in this author's opinion. He had come from a convinced Federalist family from the most Federalist of all states, with all that implied in terms of anti-French feelings. Yet he had

subsequently migrated to the Democratic-Republican camp, not however because of any new-found ardent Francophilia, but rather due to his support for Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase and Embargo Act. And there the divisive political issues were the constitutionality of expansion and the economic harm to New England commerce. Thus, if anything, Adams emerged as a pragmatist willing to abandon his original party when he felt this was for the greater good of the nation. Meanwhile, the strongest indicators of tendency in American observers in France, from the founding generation, is whether they were outspoken Federalists and therefore Francophobe and Anglophile; or decidedly Democratic-Republican and therefore Francophile and Anglophobe. Adams doesn't fit neatly into this pattern. While a certain Anglophobia is detectable, it is not for doctrinaire or ideological reasons, as was the case during the early American party system. Adams' Anglophobia is rather rooted in pragmatic concerns and experiences—his negotiations in Ghent and expected mission to England to negotiate a trade agreement the British didn't want. When it does play out in his assessment of the Hundred Days, it is in his denunciation of Britain as the indirect hegemon at Vienna—a strong but not unreasonable realist analysis of the international system within a balance of power context. His view that Louis XVIII came to Paris “in the baggage train” of the Allies, as it were, is further sharpened to “the baggage train of Wellington.”

The significance of Adams' testimony emerges in two areas. First, as a high-quality foreign account to be added to the inventory of existing accounts, and indeed unique as the only American account of its kind. Adams adds to and further substantiates existing testimony on the *Vol de l'Aigle* from the vantage point of the capital: the widespread initial disbelief of the news of Napoleon's landing; the back-and-forth of rumors regarding his advance and troop numbers; then a phase of rallying-around-the-lily accompanied by a naive optimism at being easily able to crush the interloper; culminating in concern and finally panic at the news of troop desertions and the rapidity of his approach to Paris. In the capital itself, Adams' observations further corroborate the broad apathy of a general public fed up with instability and war and willing to cheer whoever appeared to be able to maintain the power required to guarantee peace and stability. After the Emperor's triumphal entry, Adams' journal testified to Bonaparte's efforts to take immediate control of sensitive nodes of public opinion—even if the most recently turned soldiers had not yet removed their fleurs-de-lys.

These considerations, then, bring us to the second area of significance of Adams' account, revealing both of his personality and of the enormity of this chapter of the Napoleonic saga. Adams—for all his intelligence and background—was painfully aware of his own fundamental errors of judgment and prognosis of events. He was

not only just surprised at the next turn of events, but stupefied and dumbfounded. More than once he exclaimed that he no longer trusted his own judgment. Having expressed confidence in Louis XVIII, whom he had believed to be a moderately liberal and relatively competent monarch, even if not universally-beloved, and believing that Napoleon who, after all, had founded a military dictatorship with censorship and only the trappings of representative government, could hardly be welcomed back with open arms, Adams was confronted with a phenomenon he found hard to explain. Even in the area of foreign affairs, Adams was, by the end of his stay, no longer willing to hazard any predictions at the eventual outcome of a war which seemed inevitable, and so he limited himself to an analysis of the infamous Allied declaration within an international law context. Thus, Napoleon's comeback marked him out as nothing less than a modern *stupor mundi* that defied rational explanation with existing categories. And so, Adams' testimony also contributes to our understanding of the genesis of the Napoleonic myth.

Arms and the Woman: One Queen and Some Wives, Whores, and Others in Prussia, 1806-1815*

by Susan P. Conner

The date was 5 July 1807, and Queen Louisa of Prussia had just arrived the day before in Picktupöhnen. She had been invited by her husband Fredrick William III to charm Napoleon into a better settlement than was being proposed in the future Treaties of Tilsit.

The next day, she crossed the Nieman River on a ferry, craning her neck to see the infamous, decorously bedazzled raft where the talks had been taking place. A quarter of an hour later, she met Napoleon at the Prussian headquarters which were located in a small house and water mill. After a few niceties, Louisa remarked, “Sire, I know you have accused me of meddling in politics.”¹ He had, in fact, compared her to

an amazon and later said she was “the only real man in Prussia,”² but at Tilsit, he was a bit more chivalric, if such can be said about Napoleon when it came to women. “Your Majesty may rest assured,” he said, “that I never believed all the

rumours which were so indiscreetly circulated during the time of our political hostility.”³ Napoleon talked fashion with her, much to her chagrin, asking her where her dress had been made; but he made no concessions. She had another opportunity to talk with him at dinner, but it was to no avail. The Treaties of Tilsit were devastating to the Prussians, but Louisa went home a hero. She had taken on “The Monster,” as she was



Wilhelm Ternite, *Queen Louise in Riding Habit*, c. 1810, oil on canvas, Staatliches Museum, Schwerin

*I have chosen to anglicize German names as much as possible throughout this article.

¹ Constance Wright, *Beautiful Enemy: A Biography of Queen Louise of Prussia* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1969), 171.

² Todd Fisher, Gregory Fremont-Barnes and Bernhard Cornwell, *The Napoleonic Wars: The Rise and Fall of an Empire* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2004), 254.

³ Mary Maxwell Moffat, *Queen Louisa of Prussia* (London: Methuen & Company, 1906), 199. Queen Louisa’s letters, which form most of the narrative in Moffat’s book, provide testimony to how often she called Napoleon, “The Monster.”

fond of calling Napoleon, and a cult of patriotism emerged around her.

The period from 1806 to 1815 is an interesting one during which to explore gender studies in Central Europe. Certainly Queen Louisa was well-known for her pro-war and anti-French positions, but other women are less likely to be recognized in period writings or archival sources. As Karen Hagemann has pointed out, historians have generally not merged military history with gender studies, but during the period of the Anti-Napoleonic Wars, troops crossed the countryside interminably, merging civilian life with military life.⁴ According to John Leighton, “The civilian’s tale is largely a story of requisitions, contributions, conscription, theft, disease, looting, and violence.”⁵ Troops and civilians could almost be interchangeable, given the circumstances. John Lynn’s *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe* further amplifies the point. Besides the cities and towns that were torn asunder, there were campaign communities that had vast numbers of non-combatants, many of whom were women.⁶ In this paper, I will

⁴ Karen Hagemann, “Female Patriots: Women, War and the Nation in the Period of the Prussian-German Anti-Napoleonic Wars,” *Gender and History* 16 (August 2004), 397-424.

⁵ John Leighton, *Witnessing the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in German Central Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 124.

⁶ John A. Lynn II, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 33. Lynn also notes that the presence of camp women declined after 1650, although their choices

return briefly to Queen Louisa and then I will move mostly from elite women to “more mundane women,”⁷ (as John Lynn called them) including the few women soldiers who could be found in Prussia, sutlers, wives, whores and prostitutes, as well as those who engaged in philanthropic causes. A theme that runs through this analysis of women is that Prussia became a gendered nation, with clearly delineated male and female roles, because of its defeat to Napoleon. And, its future successes would be laid to virile and martial masculinity and women’s unfailing, appropriate support.⁸ If there had been a variety of female roles before 1815, they were radically circumscribed afterwards, generally with the acquiescence, silence, or silencing of Prussian women.

Now to set the stage. As of 1806, even though Napoleon had been overwhelmingly successful at Austerlitz and in the provisions of the Treaty of Pressburg, the Prussians felt confident in their military, i.e., the military of Frederick the Great. The Prussian army could take on any adversary, they believed. On the other hand, their last major conflict had been in 1763; and in the wars of the French Revolution, their

remained generally an unwillingness to leave their spouses and economic issues. Some were, Lynn asserts, “attracted to the fool’s gold of plunder.”

⁷ Lynn, 2.

⁸ See Karen Hagemann, ‘Heroic Virgins’ and ‘Bellicose Amazons’: Armed Women, the Gender Order and the German Public during and after the Anti-Napoleonic Wars,” *European History Quarterly* 37 (2007).

commitment had been inconsequential. They were a uniformed, regimented, heavily drilled, alleged fighting machine. They were, as it turned out, not a cohesive army; and they were untested and woefully inadequate up against the French citizen-soldiers whose loyalty to Napoleon and his commanders was undisputed.

Prior to the beginning of the campaign, the war party, led by Queen Louisa and Prince Louis Ferdinand, promoted a staunchly anti-French position. After all, Napoleon had created the Confederation of the Rhine and bartered Hanover; plus, he clearly had no respect for Prussia. Then he had Johann Philip Palm executed. Palm's crime was to have published a pamphlet (at that time the work itself was anonymous) titled, "Germany in her Deep Humiliation."⁹ Napoleon was infuriated by the angry rhetoric chastising his Empire and his soldiers, so he felt he had ample incentive to move forward. His armies were already in Bavaria when the ultimatum from Frederick William III reached him, and the battle of Jena was quick and decisive for the French. Near Auerstädt on October 13, the Prussian army, led by the Duke of Brunswick, encountered Louisa. "What are you doing here, Madame," he began his surprised and angry admonition. "For God's sake what are you doing here?"¹⁰ Louisa explained that Frederick William thought she would be safer there than on the road to Berlin;

but not long after she left, the cannonade began. A Napoleonic *Army Bulletin* summarized the scene that transpired: "The King, the Queen, General Kalkreuth, and 10 or 12 officers are all that have escaped."¹¹ The rest of the troops (145,000) had been killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. As Louisa made her way distant from the battling troops, we do not know what she saw from her carefully guarded carriage. What we do know is that she was devastated by the loss, and she fervently meant to make change in Prussia in spite of the circumstances. Napoleon, who was no admirer of Louisa, had looked forward to her capture, although such did not occur. In another of his infamous *Army Bulletins*, he wrote, "The Queen of Prussia was seen several times by our outposts.... She wanted to see blood."¹² He had already questioned her marital fidelity (intimating an affair with Czar Alexander); and after the defeat, he argued in a familiar refrain about women that she had "neglected her domestic duties and the serious occupations of her *toilette* to meddle in affairs of state, to influence the King, and to kindle the [anti-French] fire that possessed her."¹³

⁹ Christopher Herold, *The Age of Napoleon* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963), 179.

¹⁰ Wright, *Beautiful Enemy*, 122.

¹¹ Lorraine Petre, *Napoleon's Conquest of Prussia—1806* (New York: John Lane Company, 1907), 300.

¹² Napoleon I, "8^e Bulletin de la Grande Armée, Weimar, 16 Octobre 1806," in *Correspondance de Napoleon Ier: publiée par ordre de l'empereur Napoleon III*, vol. 13 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1853), 363.

¹³ Napoleon I, "17^e Bulletin de la Grande Armée, Potsdam, 25 Octobre 1806," in *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, 13: 405.

According to historians, it took six years and the “strenuous exertion” of Stein, Scharnhorst, Blücher, Gneisenau, Jahn, and Yorck to make a difference.¹⁴ In the meanwhile, Louisa turned her attention to the dire situation of her countrymen and women, and grew more convinced that many of the problems of Prussia were exacerbated by ignorance and poor leadership. When Louisa died in 1810, there was a cult, almost like a secular canonization, which had developed around her. Already salons, women’s associations, and writers (both male and female) extolled her virtues as the confidant of the King, a wife and mother, and Prussia’s greatest patriot during the time of troubles.

From 1807 until 1813, there was an underground nationalism, fueled by the French occupation and hopes for liberation. As was true elsewhere in Europe, a strong salon society had existed in eighteenth-century Berlin and continued unimpeded into the nineteenth century. These salons were the precursors of patriotic women’s associations where female networks were created and confirmed and “uncensored patriotic-national discourse”¹⁵ coexisted with good company, desultory chitchat, and repasts.

¹⁴ Petre, *Napoleon’s Conquest of Prussia*, 309.

¹⁵ Hagemann, “Female Patriots,” 410. See also Gertrud Roesch, “The Liberation from Napoleon in the Year 1813 in the Letters of Rahel Varnhagen,” in Waltraud Maeierhofer, Gertrud Roesch, and Caroline Bland, eds., *Women against Napoleon: Historical and Fictional Responses to his Rise and Legacy* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2007).

Often women demonized the “enemy state,” and abjured anything French, although they noted that French soldiers must have been more masculine and virile than their Prussian counterparts during the campaign of 1806. For the most part, they also adopted a bourgeois gender order.

In March 1813, one week after Frederick William III joined the coalition against Napoleon, twelve Hohenzollern princesses, including the sister-in-law of the King, published their *Appeal to the Women of the Prussian State*. “The fatherland is in peril!” the *Appeal* began, “... Men grasp the sword ... But we women, too, must participate, and must help to promote victory.” The plea further promoted the creation of a Women’s Association for the Good of the Fatherland, and encouraged women to provide cash donations and “any spare bagatelle,” e.g. wedding rings or other jewelry, along with linen, spun wool, yarn, and their labor. Ultimately women’s patriotic associations were founded in 414 Prussian towns.¹⁶ In Berlin, those who gave a wedding ring received an iron one in return. Engraved were the words, “Gold gab ich für Eisen.”¹⁷ Other women engaged in medical missions, and what funds were not used to support the war were earmarked for nursing care

¹⁶ Roesch, 402-404, and Karen Hagemann, *Revisiting Prussia’s Wars against Napoleon: History, Culture, and Memory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 197.

¹⁷ Leighton, *Witnessing the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 173.

and aid to disabled veterans.¹⁸ Not only did elite and educated bourgeois women play a role in the anti-Napoleonic Wars of Liberation beginning in 1813. There were wives, sutlers (*cantinières*), whores, prostitutes, and women soldiers, although the latter were few.

As far as women soldiers are concerned, Karen Hagemann found records of twenty-three in the campaign of 1813.¹⁹ The Prussian military reforms of 1808 and 1809 were intended to exclude women from the army,²⁰ and it appears that for the most part they were successful. A few women, nonetheless, cross dressed. They were 18 to 25 years old and were generally of a lower social strata than male volunteers.²¹

¹⁸ Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947* (London and New York: Penguin, 2007), 375 and Karin Baumgartner, "Valorous Masculinities and Patriotism in the Texts of Early Nineteenth Century German Women Writers," *German Studies Review*, 31 (May 2008), 333.

¹⁹ Karen Hagemann, *Männlicher Muth und Deutsche Ehre: Nation, Militär und Geschlecht zur Zeit der Antinapoleonischen Kriege Preußens* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002), 384, n. 145. Their names are Rosalie v. Bonin, Marie Elisabeth Buchholtz, Louise Grafemus, Frau Gronert, Karoline Grothen, Freifrau v. Halberg, Friedericke Wilhelmine Hartfeil, Elisabeth Holstein, Fernandine Ilse Hornborstel, Friedericke Krüger, Anne Lühning, Esther Manuel, Frau Patschinska, Lina Peterson, Eleonore Prochaska, Frau Riebert, Frau Rôding, Dora Sawosch, Frau Scheinemann, Louise Dorothee Schultz, Beta Seebeck, Anna Unger, and Maria Werder. In a later article, Hagemann references 22 women soldiers.

²⁰ Leighton, *Witnessing the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 76.

²¹ Karen Hagemann, 'Heroic Virgins' and 'Bellicose Amazons': Armed Women, the Gender Order and the German Public during and after the

According to the few records that survive, they joined for economic reasons rather than patriotism and hid their femaleness by using tampons²² and urinating using a tube. I could find specific information about only four of the women soldiers, including Eleonore Prochaska, Friederika Krüger, Anna Lühning, and Maria Werder. Of them, the most is known about Eleonore Prochaska who enlisted with the Lützow Free Corps as August Renz in 1813. A drummer and then infantryman, she was mortally wounded during her short enlistment; and at that time, she confided to medics that she was a woman. In death, she was mythologized. By 1815, her brief encounter with war and her death had been made into a play with a musical score written by Beethoven. In fact, two dramas, a number of poems, and widespread news reports circulated in the years just after her death. Friedericke Krüger also joined Lützow's Corps in 1813, and she was allowed to remain with her comrades until 1815 when her commanding officer advertised for a dowry for her. Lühning likewise was able to remain with her unit which she had joined in October of 1813. Finally, Werder fought with her husband in both the campaigns of 1806 and 1813, and only let her sex be known after her husband was killed at

Anti-Napoleonic Wars," *European History Quarterly*, 37 (no 4, 2007), 514

²² See Janice Delaney, Mary Jane Lupton, and Emily Toth, *The Curse: A Cultural History of Menstruation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 138.

Leipzig.²³ But by the end of the contest, women's patriotic societies were closed down, and the exploits of living women soldiers were moved to the background and erased or forgotten. In the literature of the period and so as not to invert the gender order, women soldiers needed to marry, return to peace times with their husbands, or be martyred.

In a country that extolled the Valkyries, amazons, and the Biblical Judith, mythical women did not emasculate men by bettering them in combat; therefore, in Prussia, real military prowess was reserved for men. There had been pamphlets in Prussia to create a corps of amazons (reminiscent of the pamphlets in France in 1792), but there was a countercurrent in literature arguing that women soldiers evoked a "male weakness."²⁴ The initial appeal to poor, young, unmarried women was carried by the *Russisch-Deutsches Volksblatt* in May 1813, and it occasioned two months of letters to the paper (generally negative but with some very limited support), until finally the King ended the discussion. One response laid out the context of the debate that could have been a re-visioning of the gender order:

Let us instead take on tasks more appropriate to us, let us care for those injured in war, for there we can do

²³ Helen Watanabe O'Kelly, *Beauty or Beast? The Women Warrior in the German Imagination from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 157 ff.

²⁴ Hagemann, "'Heroic Virgins' and 'Bellicose Amazons,'" 522.

much good. Woman seems to have been created to alleviate man's pain through patient attendance and gentle care [. . .]. Femininity is woman's greatest charm. It would be immediately lost in the tumult of battle and camp, and the happy future for which our men and boys are fighting would perhaps no longer include the accustomed comforts of female company. For that reason, [let there be] no army of Amazons!²⁵

In the end, the heroine of the conflict was Johanna Stegen who was from Lüneburg. As one writer noted, "She did not volunteer, wear men's clothes, or fight in the army." What she did was to supply the Prussian *fusiliers* with ammunition from a deserted French ordnance cart. Back and forth she went, often dodging bullets and carrying the needed ammunition in her apron which she had secured under her chin.²⁶ Later she was the subject of a number of plays and writings; according to those authors, she had, in fact, remained true to her sex and gender.

Unlike women soldiers, wives did not challenge or invert the gender order, and they played an important role in the campaigns of 1806 and 1813-1815. If they stayed home, and the majority of them did, they were responsible for family homes and children in the absence of their husbands, fathers, brothers, and betrothed

²⁵ *Russisch-Deutsches-Volksblatt*, no. 18, 11 May 1813, 176-7 and *Russisch-Deutsches-Volksblatt*, no. 26, 29 May 1813, 237, as cited in *Ibid.*, 521.

²⁶ Watanabe, *Beauty or Beast*, 162.

when massive conscription was invoked. As Hagemann noted, “homeland and the front grew ever closer as the two became more fluid.”²⁷ Prussian towns were invaded, besieged, stormed, and occupied. Homes were burned, sacked, or commandeered for soldiers’ billets.²⁸ The Prussian press, while extolling the virtues of domestic life and the roles assigned to women, encouraged them to take on patriotic female duties such as nursing, aiding the disabled, educating their children in “German manners,” and continuing to support patriotic charities.²⁹ In the midst of the war, they were allowed a more public presence but reminded of the following:

Destined for a smaller circle of domestic life, women are excluded from the business of state and from public fame.... Be that as it may, there are moments when women, too, may not be refused a lively participation in public affairs.... The present is just such a moment!³⁰

Ultimately women needed to welcome their soldiers home to a restored Prussian society.

²⁷ Hagemann, “Female Patriots,” 399.

²⁸ Leighton, *Witnessing the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 123.

²⁹ The best and most complete work on wives is Beate Engelen, *Soldatenfrauen in Preußen: eine Strukturanalyse der Garnisonsgesellschaft im späten 17. Und 18. Jahrhundert* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2005).

³⁰ Hagemann, “Female Patriots,” 408.

Some wives, who did not remain at home during the conflict, followed their husbands to the front as sutlers (*cantinières*), i.e., in supply to the army. One such sutler named Sophie Holle accompanied her husband to Jena where he was wounded. According to eye-witness accounts, she hid him under the bodies of the dead so that he would not be killed. Then she and he continued in the army train.³¹ Sutlers, like Sophie Holle, were regulated by Prussian ordinances, but they also had a good deal of independence. In terms of regulation, every squadron was to have a sutler who was an independent contractor with the army. Weights and measures were standardized (as much as possible) so that purchasers of comestibles and liquid refreshments would not be disadvantaged, and a specified portion of the return would go to the Solicitor-General, Major of the Regiment, and Adjutant. For the most part, sutlers would not have competition in their rolling canteens, but troopers and dragoons (typically husbands of sutlers) could “deal in bacon, butter, cheeses, tobacco, brandy, and all kinds of small wares in camp” so long as they did their duties as members of the army and served appropriately.³²

In general, sutlers and wives were important parts of the army train because they provided a wealth of tasks, e.g.,

³¹ Leighton, *Witnessing the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 128.

³² *Regulations for the Prussian Cavalry translated from the German Original* (London: J. Haberkorn, 1757), 236.

tending fires, washing, purchasing and selling food stuffs and alcohol, foraging, sewing, and nursing (the latter because the Prussian medical corps was insufficient to care for the wounded). They were part of what John Lynn has called a campaign community that included soldiers and the vast array of camp followers.³³ Either they conducted their businesses from their horses or wagons, or in the encampments where their tents sported a sign of a tankard, wreath, or flag. On the other hand, in spite of the regulation, they were also noted for “being attracted to the fool’s gold of plunder.”³⁴ What they could commandeer meant greater profits and a greater inventory. But, the ordinance also made it very clear that plundering was not allowed: “No waggoner, or other attendant upon the baggage, shall dare, on pain of death to quit his carriage on a march in order to drink, to steal, or to plunder.... [if he should do so, his Provost-General should] immediately hang him without trial.... Any soldiers’ wives or such like persons, found guilty of stealing on a march, shall also meet with the same punishment.”³⁵ We do not know if such punishments were meted out since French despoliation was so vast, and records are nonexistent.

When it came to the sale of goods, one story may suffice. “A peasant girl brought butter to the market in town. Because no one there could afford it, she took her

wares to the camp. A soldier asked how much a pound cost. ‘*Ein Guilder,*’ replied the girl. ‘That’s a lot,’ said the soldier. ‘That’s right,’ conceded the girl, ‘but, it’s war!’ ‘Very well, give it here,’ said the soldier and paid the peasant girl the *Guilder*. When she had gone a few paces, the soldier went after her and took his money back. The girl cried out aghast, [but] the soldier laughed, ‘Lass, it’s war.’³⁶ Even within the campaign community (or army train, as we might call it), confrontations, disease, violence and even rape were not uncommon. Given the scarcity of goods, women and children served as “mules” for smuggling; and fake funerals and false-bottomed wagons were commonplace. The situation in Prussia had been dire since 1806.

There were, of course, other women in the camps, perhaps less respected, but nonetheless acknowledged. They were the whores and prostitutes who managed to cling to their wagons, tents, and soldiers. It is not known how many whores and prostitutes followed the armies, both the Prussian-Saxon armies and the French occupation armies.³⁷ What mattered, for

³⁶ Leighton, *Witnessing the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 129.

³⁷ John Lynn makes an interesting distinction between whores and prostitutes in the armies of Europe. A whore typically was attached to one soldier, although not formally married to him. Often she played a role quite like a sutler or nurse. Prostitutes, on the other hand, were unattached and sold their sexual wares to any soldier who could pay. For the most part, prostitutes were the carriers of sexually transmitted disease and the provocateurs of disorder in the military

³³ Lynn, 33.

³⁴ Lynn, 38.

³⁵ *Regulations for the Prussian Cavalry*, 233.

the most part, was hygiene because the spread of sexually transmitted disease was described as legion. According to the few statistics available, General Karl Philipp Joseph von Wrede (a Bavarian commander and ally of Napoleonic France until 1813), wrote that in 1806 all of his cavalymen in Potsdam were infected. As a result, two hundred unattached prostitutes were arrested. When examined, twenty were determined to be incurable.³⁸ Since various mercury-based treatments were *de rigueur* for assailing the *grosse vérole* or *Geschlechtskrankheit*, one assumes that these prostitutes were locked away with no recourse even to palliative care. By 1811, General Louis Friant had created an entire protocol to deal with prostitutes in various areas of Prussia, including arresting all of the “public women” within 24 hours, subjecting them to medical examinations, and charging their medical expenses to the municipalities from which they came. The decree also ordered that “Any woman found walking alone in camp at night shall have her hair cut off and her face blackened and be driven away by a formation of soldiers.”³⁹

There is so much more to be said, but I must turn to conclusions. First, Queen Louisa was viewed as a paragon of

encampments. Lynn notes that “whore” seems like a harsh word today but that it was commonplace at this time. Lynn, 66.

³⁸ William Haberling, “Army Prostitution and Its Control: An Historical Study,” in Victor Robinson, ed., *Morals in Warfare* (New York: Publishers Foundation, 1943), 62

³⁹ Haberling, 64.

strength (and a beautiful one at that), particularly when compared to her pitiful, waffling, unenergetic husband who was the King of Prussia. After her death, she was reconsecrated as the vision of womanhood—wife, mother (frequently pregnant), and almost virginal (although she clearly was not). In 1814, Frederick William III initiated the Order of Louisa (*Luisenorden*) to recognize women who supported the anti-Napoleonic front, solidifying the image of the good mother. Second, by the end of the Wars of Liberation, both in 1813 and 1815, Prussian women adopted a very gendered order for themselves. The campaign in 1813, had brought home terror and “total war” immediately around them. One observer of Leipzig described it in this manner:

As soon as the advance columns in the bivouacs had reached the nearby villages thousands of harbingers appeared.... Weeping mothers with featherbeds packed into baskets, two or three nearly naked children in tow, their infants on their backs.... [S]ick people in wheelbarrows being pushed through the throng of horses: everywhere weeping and lamentation—these were there heralds and the trumpeters [albeit of the victory].⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Alan Forrest, Karen Hagemann, and Jane Randall eds., *Soldiers, Citizens, and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1790-1820* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 166.

Women were the guardians of the family, the *Volk*, and therefore the kingdom; but they were not ordained to usurp the governing or military rights of men (i.e., the public sphere). They had played many roles during the Anti-Napoleonic period, but one was reserved solely for them in its aftermath. It was as guardian of the domestic sphere. It should remind us of Hitler's *Kinder, Küche, Kirche* (Children, Kitchen, Church); and, of the women Hitler extolled, Louisa was among the first.

The Grand Duchy of Berg: From Murat to Napoleon

by Romain Buclon

On 9 March 1806 Napoleon wrote to Murat: “You will go to Düsseldorf [...] and you will notify my imperial decree in the duchy of Berg and in the duchy of Cleves, which names you as prince of Berg and Clèves.”¹ Thus Murat learned directly from Napoleon of his appointment, without himself or the inhabitants of the region having been consulted. In the aftermath of Austerlitz, Napoleon redrew the map of Europe by placing members of his family on thrones or by creating buffer states (or marches) for his empire in the manner of Charlemagne. The Emperor imposed his system throughout Europe by appointing administrators with different titles: governors, administrators, Grand-dukes, viceroy and even kings.

On 12 July 1806, Napoleon created the Confederation of the Rhine which places West Germany under French influence. Berg was one of the preeminent elements of this confederation and Napoleon was the protector. The French retreat of 1813 led to the collapse of the state. Actually during the German campaign, the Germanic territories were plagued by various riots, and the right bank of the Rhine was handed over to the allies. The French troops retreated on the Rhine at

¹ Napoleon to Murat, 9 March 1806, Napoleon Bonaparte, *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier publiée par ordre de l'Empereur Napoléon III* [hereafter *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*] (Paris: Plon, 1858-1869), No. 9948, XII, 170-171.

the end of the year. The Grand Duchy of Berg was lost. This Grand Duchy, with Düsseldorf as its capital, remained a small state from 1806 to 1813. But the importance of a State is not only limited to its geographical area. What place did the Grand Duchy of Berg hold in the Napoleonic Empire? We will study the Grand Duchy of Berg under Murat from 1806 to 1808, then Napoleon's supremacy on Berg and the whole of Germany from 1808 to 1813.

The Nomination of a “Napoléonide”: The Grand Duchy of Berg under Murat 1806-1808

The Grand Duchy of Berg was created from the duchy of Cleves (formerly Prussian) and from the duchy of Berg, ceded by Bavaria in exchange for the Marquisate of Ansbach (also taken from Prussia). Meanwhile, Prussia received Hanover. The formation of the Grand Duchy of Berg and the government of Murat was fixed by a decree² by Napoleon from the 30 March 1806. The Grand duke was helped by two ministers including Agar, a French relative of Murat. He was Secretary of State, with responsibilities in Finance and Diplomacy. Agar was actually Chief Minister. On the other hand, Murat worked with indigenous staff

² Jean Tulard, *Murat* (Paris: Fayard, 1999), 158.

including Nesselrode, who was francophone. Nesselrode was in charge of the Internal Affairs. Local governance was in the hands of indigenous notables.

Here we see an interesting parallel with the Kingdom of Italy. Eugene de Beauharnais was appointed viceroy on 7 June 1805 by Napoleon who was already king of Italy. As Murat, Eugene ruled following orders from Napoleon with French and Italian francophone staff. Local administration was also left to indigenous notables. As well as Berg, the Kingdom of Italy was a march against a strong enemy (Austria), and was too small to defend itself (without French or Austrian support). But Northern Italy belonged to the French, highly under the influence of the victory at Marengo and even before, during the first victorious campaign in Italy in 1797. During those times, Italians (especially patriots) were more hopeful than happy to belong to the Napoleonic system. Despite Murat describing to Napoleon the happiness of the crowd during his entry in Düsseldorf and his reviews, French influence was not as strong as it was in Italy and the Grand Duchy was above all, a military march.³

A Military March . . .

In a letter to Talleyrand on 30 January 1806, Napoleon wrote: “Prussia is a great power, and [...] it would be a great fault to

³ Tulard, *Murat*, 164.

let it increase.”⁴ For the Emperor, the solution was to create buffer states in Germany under his influence. The Grand Duchy was one of them. It also made the roads from France towards the East of Europe safer. To rule Berg, Murat, as the best soldier of the family, seemed to be perfect. That’s why Napoleon made him Grand Duke of Berg by the letter (which sounds as a military order) quoted in introduction. The inhabitants were surprised by the arrival of French troops and Murat, but they did not protest. We can imagine that the presence of the civilian and military administrations helped to maintain calm.

French law was put into application by one person. Napoleon’s purpose was to make Berg, as he later would make Westphalia, a German window of the French administration⁵. During war times, the military characteristics of Berg were obvious. No changes in administration, but the Duchy was under protection of Louis, king of Holland, as Murat took the head of the cavalry. Nevertheless Berg was not only important for its military aspect. Charles Schmidt has described it as the “main industrial center of the continent.”⁶ It produced fabrics such as cotton and wool, metallurgy, iron and coal mines, cutlery industry (who made the blades for the Imperial Guard). In 1808, there were

⁴ Napoleon to Talleyrand, 30 January 1810, *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, No. 9716, XI, 562.

⁵ Jean Tulard, *Le Grand Empire 1804-1815* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2009), 166.

⁶ Charles Schmidt, *Le Grand Duché de Berg 1806-1813* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1905), 342.

27 blast furnaces for iron and steel. Traders of Berg hoped for an entrance in the continental system. But that never happened because of the interest of traders of the left bank of the Rhine, and also the limits of the French Empire, which were settled on the Rhine. There were no commercial treaties either: Berg was poorly integrated into the Napoleonic system, and suffered of customs tariffs with France and Italy.

The Grand Duchy was reinforced by the Treaty of Tilsit. It grew with territories taken from Prussia, in particular Münster, Dortmund, in exchange for the

cession to France of the town of Wesel whose massive fortifications were to ensure the control of the Grand-Duchy and the passage of the Rhine. This was the first evolution of the territory: The Grand Duchy of Berg was enlarged, but saw the French influence increase, more particularly by the military presence in the fort of Wesel.

Towards Monarchy

As early as 1806, Murat had money struck with his effigy, which was seen as a sovereign act (see **Error! Reference source not found.**). It is a very rare piece made of

about 19 grams of silver. In 1806 we minted 8356 copies and only 787 issued in 1807.⁷ We find similar characteristics with the 5 frank Napoleon (25g), in conformity with the decree of the 7 Germinal year XI regarding money, especially the silver coins. This decree was inspired by roman emperors. On the obverse one can notice that the head looks to the right, and the name and title of the character, as well as the signature of the artist under the

portrait. On the reverse side we can see two olive branches (symbol of peace). In the center of which is engraved the value of the coin. Around the branches we can read the titles of



One Thaler Murat, 1806.

the duke of Berg and Cleves. On the bottom is minted the year of coinage. Stephane Desrousseau writes in his PhD dissertation that: “Currency is certainly a mean of payment ... but it is also ... a manifestation of the regal power ... a political document.”⁸ Indeed if the money has an economic purpose (giving values to

⁷ Comptoir des Monnaies, http://www.comptoir-des-monnaies.com/product_info.php/allema-gne-berg-et-cleves-joachim-murat-thaler-1806-km-11-p-29139?language=fr, viewed 1 November 2017.

⁸ Stéphane Desrousseau, *La monnaie en circulation en France sous Napoléon* (Paris: Editions Les cheveau-légers, 2012), 5. See also a letter from Mollien to Gaudin, 23 November 1809, France, Archives Nationales, AF IV, Carton 1864, No 35.

exchanges), it also was a propagandist medium. It represents the power and is also an opportunity for the people who deal with the money on a daily basis to see their sovereign. In an article, Martin Wrede has written about “the three bodies of the king.”⁹ As well as the two bodies seen by Kantorowitz in its classical study (immortal body that represents the sovereignty and mortal body of the king who receives this sovereignty), Wrede submits the idea of a third body of the king: the diffused image which participates in the perception and then in the memory of this king by the subjects.¹⁰ Thus Murat created a political existence settled by the coin.

To compare with the Kingdom of Italy, Eugene never minted coins, which represented him. On the other hand, Eugene only ruled Italy, as delegated by the king, Napoleon, who held directly the sovereignty of Italy. Theoretically Murat was the only prince of Berg. Such privileges allowed him to do such a thing. According to J. Tulard, Murat and above all, his wife Caroline aspired to a crown. Therefore, the marshal spent a lot of time in the court of Napoleon, Agar being good enough to rule the Grand Duchy. In 1808, Murat became king of Naples. But as for Berg, Napoleon considered himself as the

⁹ Martin Wrede, « Königmord, Tyrannentod. Wie man sich der drei Körper des Königs entledigt – oder es zumindest versucht (16.–18. Jahrhundert) », *Historisches Jahrbuch*, No 133, 2013.

¹⁰ Ernst Kantorowitz, *Les deux corps du roi* (Paris: Gallimard, 1957), *passim*.

true sovereign, and Murat as his viceroy with a king title. He meant it by a letter: "For the Neapolitans, be king; For the Emperor, be viceroy", ordered Berthier to Murat on 1 August 1808.¹¹

The Grand Duchy of Berg under Napoleon 1808-1813

The Confederation of the Rhine (Germany without Prussia) was enlarged from 1806 to 1812. But in the “Napoleonic system,” this Confederation and therefore the Grand Duchy, is excluded from the French Customs Union.¹² From Tilsit, a new state was created in Germany: The Kingdom of Westphalia. Napoleon gave the crown to his brother Jerome. From this moment Westphalia became the strongest march against Prussia in Germany. Napoleon followed his geopolitical mind like Charlemagne. The Grand Duchy of Berg didn’t disappear, it stayed quite small, with its economical and strategical strength, out of the limits of the French Empire. As the population suffered economically, Napoleon himself went to

¹¹ Berthier to Murat, 5 mai 1809, Archives Murat, quoted in the *Revue des deux mondes*, 1910, No 55, 484, and Romain Buclon, “Naples et Murat. Construire une capitale, représenter le pouvoir”, in Pierre-Marie Delpu, Igor Moullier, Mélanie Traversier (dir.), *Le royaume de Naples à l’heure française. Revisiter l’histoire du decennio francese 1806-1815* (to be published in 2018).

¹² Napoleon himself used the word “system” to define the entity made up by the French Empire, the Satellite States, and allies, a number of times including in a letter to Murat, quoted in Tulard, *Grand Empire*, 398. It was the main idea for Thierry Lentz’s study, *Nouvelle Histoire du Premier Empire* (Paris, Fayard, 2002-2010), 4 vol.; and Schmidt, *Le Grand Duché*, 72

Düsseldorf in 1811, met the political and economic elites of the country, and organized a regional fair. He also ordered an “Embellishment of the city”: under the direction of the country's architects, foremost among them Maximilian Friedrich Weyhe, by creating esplanades, landscaped parks and a network of boulevards. This was the same politic of “Embellishment” that he led in Milan, then in Rome in the end of the empire; Rome was indeed the “second capital of the empire.”¹³ The idea was to win over people through town planning.

The Napoleonic Regency of Napoleon-Louis

The Napoleonic domination was more or less direct. From July 1808 to March 1809, Napoleon took the title of Grand Duke of Berg. Then he passed it down to Napoleon-Louis, the son of the King of Holland, born in October 1804. Even though regency is entrusted to Napoleon until his majority. We do not find any coins of Napoleon-Louis. Without any further research, we can suppose that people of the Duchy used coins with representation of Napoleon.

In March 1809: Düsseldorf organized great celebrations to celebrate the Grand Duke Napoléon-Louis.¹⁴ The French organized a

¹³ Gilles Montègre, “Roma: la politica urbanistica di Napoleone,” Maria Pia Donato, David Armando, Massimo Cattaneo and Jean-François Chauvard (dir.) *Atlante storico dell'Italia rivoluzionaria e napoleonica* (Roma: École française de Rome, 2013), No 477, 344.

¹⁴ Schmidt, *Le Grand Duché*, 76

royal household for the prince, with the help of Nesselrode and Beugnot (imperial commissioner). Then, on 23 September 1810, Napoleon made Roederer Minister and Secretary of State, placed under his direct orders. The Emperor wrote to him: “This administration must be the model for the other states of the confederation of the Rhine.”¹⁵ In the Kingdom of Italy, Napoleon did quite the same, with his viceroy Eugene and Melzi d’Eril, a Milanese minister. But he did not send an imperial commissioner or a Minister to Milan; all the whilst having the Kingdom of Italy’s Secretary of State (Aldini) with him in Paris.¹⁶

The Berg celebrations were given to demonstrate the Napoleonic power, show the real king. It was also an occasion to demonstrate “unity and uniformity” in the satellite states, as Marco Emanuele Omes explained in his paper.¹⁷ By the way, the visit of Napoleon in 1811 showed perfectly who was in charge of the Duchy. Charles Schmidt insists on the provisional nature: Napoleon governs indirectly with his commissioners.¹⁸ Indeed, the Emperor even refused that the constitution of the

¹⁵ Napoleon to Roederer, 24 September 1810, France, Archives Nationales, AF IV, Carton 3692.

¹⁶ Alain Pillepich, *Milan capitale napoléonienne 1800-1814* (Paris: Lettrage Distribution, 2001), 95.

¹⁷ Marco Emanuele Omes, “Italy, Napoleonic Festivals in German Countries: Symbolic Domination, Cultural Hegemony and Ceremonial Diplomacy” a paper presented at the Congress of the International Napoleonic Society, Trier, Germany, 10-14 July 2017.

¹⁸ Schmidt, *Le Grand Duché*, 91.

Kingdom of Westphalia be applied to Berg: he wanted to keep the high-hand.

The Territorial Decrease of 1810

In 1810, the territory of Berg decreased: The North was given to Holland, then to France as Napoleon annexed Holland.¹⁹ This annexation was done to reinforce the continental blockade, but there were consequences in Germany. According to King Jerome, in a letter to Napoleon, these consequences were that the Napoleonides and the small States seemed very weak in front of France, and people realized that every State owned its existence to the good will of the Emperor. The influence of France was thus further reinforced on the Grand Duchy. Berg was also a “march” integrated inside a bigger entity: The Confederation of the Rhine, itself a march against Prussia and Austria. For Napoleon, the French border was on the Rhine, and went as far as Hamburg for blockade’s matters. Germany stayed divided, confirming Napoleon as “protector” of this entity.

Conclusion

To conclude, the place of the Grand Duchy of Berg in the Napoleonic Empire was relatively constant. It remained a small state, important for Napoleon more on the military plan than on the economic plan, despite mineral and industrial wealth. The Duchy marked the frontier between France and Germany. It was never

integrated to the Empire despite the personal union (Emperor, Protector of the Rhine and Regent of Berg). Napoleon wanted Berg to stay in the Confederation of the Rhine. Berg also crystallized tensions with Prussia. Under Napoleon, the Grand Duchy went from being a military march given to a marshal to become a part of the Confederation of the Rhine ruled by Napoleon from Paris, and therefore integrated into the continental system. Berg was thus integrated into a larger entity whole which favors the radiance of Napoleonic France and also remained a march against Prussia and Austria.

¹⁹ Schmidt, *Le Grand Duché*, 127.

Paris to Kassel: Adaptation and Transformation of French Empire Style in Silver from the Kingdom of Westphalia (1807-1813)

by Karolina Stefanski

To this day the Empire style is a representative style that stands for the administrative power of a nation. The Empire style spread widely from Paris to Munich, Moscow, St. Petersburg and other regions throughout the world. This style so effectively embodies dignity, splendor and tradition that its origin appears detached from its initiator, Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821).¹ After the French Revolution and the intensified study of antiquities that began with the archeological expeditions in Egypt and Italy, the Empire style was introduced 1797 in France and was completed in its characteristics around 1800.²

It was decisively formulated by the architects Charles Percier (1764-1838) and Pierre-François Léonard Fontaine (1762-1853) who both studied architecture in Rome. In 1797, they had already made a name for themselves by decorating the

¹ Sabine Thümmeler, "Von Paris nach Kassel: Der Style Empire und seine Verbreitung in Detuschland", in: *Architektur- und Ornamentgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit: Migrationsprozesse in Europa. Gravures d'architecture et d'ornement au début de l'époque modern: processus de migration en Europe*, ed. Sabine Frommel and Eckhard Leuschner (Rome: Campisano Editore, 2017), 383-98, here p. 383.

² Hans Ottomeyer, *Das frühe Oeuvre Charles Perciers (1782-1800). Zu den Anfängen des Historismus in Frankreich* (Munich: Gräbner, 1981), 195.



Figure 1. The Vermeil service of King Jérôme of Westphalia (1807-1813) is located in the Münchener Residenz in Munich. It was acquired by the Bavarian court of Emperor Maximilian I on 26 August 1816.

interiors of a villa for Napoleon and his first spouse Joséphine de Beauharnais (1763-1814), located in the rue de la Chanteraine No. 6 in Paris.³ Two years later, they were appointed the official architects of the First Consul Bonaparte. In the following decades, the Empire style was circulated by Percier and his pupils and thus became known throughout Europe.⁴

In addition to Percier and Fontaine's office and government contracts, the two architects compiled a collection of copper

³ Hans Ottomeyer, "Die Erfindung des style Empire", in: *König Lustig? Jérôme Bonaparte und der Modellstaat Königreich Westphalen*, ed. Michael Eissenhauer et al., exp. cat. (Kassel: Hirmer, 2008), 53-58, here 53.

⁴ Ottomeyer, *Das frühe Oeuvre Charles Perciers*, 195.

engravings and published them 1801 in the “*Récueil des décorations intérieures...*”⁵ This important publication exercised an unprecedented influence worldwide. Their designs were not only confined to interior architecture, but displayed details of interior decoration, including furniture, lighting, fireplaces, mantle clocks and, of course, silver.⁶ This book was used as a reference manual for artists, artisans and silversmiths that guided them in the formation of their taste. Even advertisements made references to the use of the “*Récueil*” as the one and only true source for the new aesthetic of the Empire style. This confirms an advertisement from the “*Journal du Commerce*” from 1805, which calls on all artisans to use Percier’s work.⁷ Percier and Fontaine used

⁵ Charles Percier and Pierre-François Léonard Fontaine, *Recueil de décorations intérieures comprenant tout ce qui a rapport à l’ameublement, comme vases, trépièdes, candélabres, cassolettes, lustres, girandoles, lampes, chandeliers, cheminées, feux, poêles, pendules, tables... etc., composé par C. Percier et P.-F.-L. Fontaine, exécuté sur leurs dessins* (Paris, 1808, 1812, 1827).

⁶ Iris Moon, “Documenting the *Recueil de décorations intérieures*,” in *Charles Percier, Architecture and Design in an Age of Revolutions*, ed. Jean-Philippe Garric, exp. cat. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), 122-34.

⁷ *Journal du commerce*, 16 vendémiaire year XIV, 7. October 1805. “Joailliers, orfèvres, ciseleurs, ébénistes, fabricants de papier, puisent dans l’oeuvre de Percier, en sorte qu’il n’est pas rare que dans le même appartement, la tapisserie, la pendule, le service de table et la parure des dames offrent les mêmes dessins.” Translation of quote: “Jewelers, goldsmiths, chisellers, cabinet-makers, and paper-makers draw on Percier’s work so that it is not uncommon for tapestry, clock, table service and ladies’ sets to offer the same designs.” Quoted after Anne Dion-Tenenbaum, “Designs for the Manufactories and the Garde-

traditional forms, motifs and symbols from Antiquity, the Egyptian, Roman and Greek Empires, transformed and refined them in the French high-neoclassical style. With this specific iconography they succeeded in establishing a signature for Napoleon’s new government.

As previously indicated, Napoleon’s expansion policy spread the Empire style to other cities in Europe and beyond. The Kingdom of Westphalia with its capital city of Kassel was one of them. Westphalia was created by consolidating partial areas of the Kingdom of Prussia, the Duchy of Magdeburg (west of the Elbe) and the Brunswick-Lüneburg territories of Hanover as well as the Electorate of Hesse. Although officially independent, the kingdom was a vassal state of Napoleon’s French Empire, and therefore under French rule. Napoleon’s youngest brother, Jérôme Bonaparte (1784-1860), along with his spouse Katharina Frederica of Württemberg (1807-1813), lead the Kingdom of Westphalia after the model of the French state. Although the Kingdom of Westphalia only existed from 1807 to 1813, the political, economic and social reforms that were carried out during this period changed the region’s history forever.

Meuble. A Model for the Industrial Arts,” in *Charles Percier, Architecture and Design in an Age of Revolutions*, ed. Jean-Philippe Garric, exp. cat. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), 188-200, here 188.

Jérôme I succeeded in introducing the French Empire style in the Kingdom of Westphalia and established it as the state's style for a modern constitutional monarchy. When Jérôme and his spouse entered Kassel in December of 1807 the individual palaces were in a dreary state: empty, cold and dull. The dethroned Elector of Hesse, Wilhelm I (1743-1821) escaped and was able to take only very few of his possessions as most of the furniture and other private possessions of the royal family had been expropriated to Mainz, at the command of Napoleon.⁸ The majority of Wilhelm's smaller and more valuable possessions, such as the fine and decorative arts, sculptures, antiquities and precious gems were missing due to Napoleon's pillage.⁹ This situation left an open door to redecorate and refurnish the palaces and court buildings in the taste and comfort of Napoleon's brother Jérôme, the new King of Westphalia.

The obligatory furnishing of a European court included the ceremonial display of the public table. Like Napoleon, Jérôme adapted the ceremonial rules of the European courts and through this

⁸ Sabine Thümmler, "Von Paris nach Kassel: Der Style Empire und seine Verbreitung in Detuschland," in *Architektur- und Ornamentgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit: Migrationsprozesse in Europa. Gravures d'architecture et d'ornement au début de l'époque modern: processus de migration en Europe*, ed. Sabine Frommel and Eckhard Leuschner (Rome: Campisano Editore, 2017), 383-98, here 383.

⁹ As far as the silver collection of the House Hesse, compare: Hugo Brunner, *General Lagrange als Gouverneur von Hessen-Kassel (1808-1807) und die Schicksale des Kurfürstlichen Haus- und Staatsschatzes* (Kassel: L. Döll, 1897), 10-11.

traditional adaptation of representative court manners, Jérôme legitimized his rule and the sovereignty of the new state of Westphalia. For this most important ceremony an extensive gilded-silver service (also called "le Grand Vermeil") was used as a custom. For Napoleon's coronation in 1804 the city of Paris presented the Emperor with a gift of the "Grand Vermeil," a luxuriously crafted vermeil service with over a thousand pieces of gilded-silver.¹⁰

Accordingly, Jérôme ordered a Vermeil service, consisting of hundreds of pieces made of silver gilded with gold, in keeping with the new modern taste in Paris for his court in Westphalia.¹¹ The commission for this grand order went to the two most

¹⁰ In 1858, Napoleon III decided to melt down most of the vermeil service in order to finance the commission of a new service, commissioned to Christofle. What's left of Napoleon's "Grand Vermeil" service today has been distributed between several European museums, including the Louvre, le Château de Fontainebleau, both in Paris, the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh and private collections, such as the Fondation Napoléon, among others. For more information about this service see: Anne Dion-Tenenbaum, *L'orfèvre de Napoleon. Martin-Guillaume Biennais* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2003).

¹¹ Today the Vermeil service is located in the Münchener Residenz in Munich (fig. 1), as it was acquired by the Bavarian court of Emperor Maximilian I after Jérôme's fall (1813) on August 26th, 1816. For more information about this service see work by Hans Ottomeyer and Lorenz Seelig, especially Lorenz Seelig, "Pariser Silberservice König Jérôme von Westphalen und deren Ergänzung durch Heinrich Wilhelm Kompff", in: *Kasseler Silber*, ed. Reiner Neuhaus und Ekkehard Schmidberger (Eurasburg: Edition Minerva, 1998), 174-85.

renowned Parisian silversmiths of that time, Martin-Guillaume Biennais (1764-1843) and Jean-Baptiste Claude Odiot (1785-1827). Biennais, who was a *tabletier*, an artisan of small wood and ivory works, originally, was especially familiar with the repertoire of the Empire decorative motifs and forms through the numerous designs that Percier furnished him with. For Jérôme's "Grand Vermeil" service, Biennais first supplied pieces of a gilded-silver dining service, which were combined with the works of Odiot's monumental service.



Figure 2. Johann Heinrich Eisenträge, *The palace in Kassel (Das Landgrafenschloss in Kassel)*, Oil on canvas, 108 x 133 cm, Kassel, c. 1780. Eichenzell, Hessische Hausstiftung, Fasanerie Palace, Inv. No. FAS B 254.

Jérôme commissioned another silver service shortly afterwards in Biennais's workshop.¹² While the Vermeil service was

¹² Lorenz Seelig, "Pariser Silberservice König Jérôme von Westphalen und deren Ergänzung durch Heinrich Wilhelm Kompff," in *Kasseler Silber*, ed. Reiner Neuhaus and Ekkehard Schmidberger (Eurasburg: Edition Minerva, 1998), 174-85, here 174.

used for the so-called "Grand Couvert" of public ceremonial meals, a second service he ordered, not gold-gilded, served for everyday and larger dinners at court.¹³ In Jérôme's court seat in Kassel, the local court silversmith Heinrich Wilhelm Kompff (1751-1825) created further additions to this silver service.¹⁴ As early as 1806, Kompff had crafted a silver service for the Elector Wilhelm I, of which, as mentioned already, hardly anything had been preserved in Kassel. Kompff had a proven great potential and experience working for Wilhelm's I court and Jérôme kept him as a court silversmith during his reign in Kassel.

In 1811, a fire broke out in one of the wings at Jérôme's Kassel palace (fig. 2). While the large Vermeil-service suffered no damage, parts of the non-gilded silver service were lost, so that once again, considerable expense was required to complete this service.¹⁵ Jérôme placed an order with local silversmith Kompff to replace the missing pieces and enlarge the service in 1812 and again in 1813. Among other pieces, Kompff created copies (fig. 3) of Biennais' plate-covers ("cloche") (fig. 4). As per Jérôme's instructions and wishes, Kompff exactly duplicated most parts according to the French models, adapting the form and decorative motifs of Napoleon's Empire style. This work shows that the local silversmiths of Kassel had the potential and were capable of

¹³ Seelig, 174-85.

¹⁴ Seelig, 174-85.

¹⁵ Seelig, 174-85.

replicating the highly sophisticated Empire style.¹⁶



Figure 3. Heinrich Wilhelm Kompff (1751-1825), *Cloche*, Silver, Kassel, c. 1811/12, Height: 20.7 cm. Diameter: 26.6 cm. Inv. No. Res.Mü. SK 2186 WAF.

At the end of 1813, after the defeat of Napoleon at the battle near Leipzig and when the dissolution of the Kingdom of Westphalia began, a systematic flight and the safeguarding of both silver services were undertaken by Jérôme and Katharina.¹⁷ The king and his spouse fled from the Russian Coassack troops and brought the services with them. Later, due to Jérôme's large financial debts, he was forced to sell the Vermeil service in 1816.¹⁸ It was at this time that the silversmith Johann Alois Seethaler (1796-1835) from Augsburg bought most of it and, in-turn, sold it to the king of Bavaria, Maximilian I Joseph (1756-1825), who instructed

¹⁶ *König Lustik!? Jérôme Bonaparte und der Modellstaat Königreich Westphalen*, exp. cat. (Kassel and Munich: Hirmer, 2008), 344.

¹⁷ Seelig, 175.

¹⁸ Seelig, 175.

Seethaler to remove Jérôme's coat of arms and replace it with the coat of arms of the king of Bavaria.¹⁹



Figure 4. Martin-Guillaume Biennais, *Plate-cover* (for Jérôme I), Paris, 1807, Silver, Height: 20.7 cm. Diameter: 26.6 cm.

From the introduction of the Empire style in Kassel, to its copying by local silversmiths and Percier and Fontaine's design reference book, the Empire style spread from the court to the nobles and the aristocracy. The fashion of grand dining in Empire style spread also to the bourgeoisie who, through imitation of the aristocracy, served as a reference for other social classes (this phenomenon is also known as the "trickle-down effect," a term coined by Rudolph von Jhering at the end of the 19th Century).²⁰ The use of silver for dining was staged on a smaller scale by the bourgeoisie when the auspices of grand dining shifted from the public into the private sphere at the beginning of the 19th

¹⁹ Seelig, 176.

²⁰ Rudolph, von Jhering, *Der Zweck im Recht*, Vol. II (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1883), 227-38.

Century. This newly emerged social class used silver primarily as a display of social status well throughout the entire 19th century.



Figure 5. Carl Heinrich Kördell, *Silver Service of Elector Wilhelm II of Kassel*, Silver, Kassel, 1822-1836, Museum Palace Fasanerie, Inv. No. FRDH S 4478.

Unlike most of the aristocracy who purchased their silver directly in Paris, the bourgeoisie placed orders with local and regional silversmiths, such as Johannes Adam Kördel (1741-1814) and George Friedrich Weigel (1789-1861), both also silversmiths to the court of the Elector of Kassel Wilhelm I and Wilhelm II. Even after Napoleon's Empire came to an end, the Empire decorative style continued to flourish in silver. Kördell crafted a silver service around 1822 (fig. 5), still in the French taste of the early Empire style for the Elector Wilhelm II of Kassel (1821-1847).²¹

Kasseler silversmiths Kördel and Weigel continued crafting silver for the aristocracy and bourgeoisie in the

representative Empire style. Kördell and his collaborators worked often with pre-fabricated decorative motifs supplied by other regional firms, such as Bruckmann & Söhne from Heilbronn, a town about 300 km (186 miles) south of Kassel. Bruckmann & Söhne, established in 1806, was a silver manufacturer especially known for its pre-fabricated decorative motifs that began circulating on European grounds during that time and well into the 20th century. Decorative motifs from sample drawings, such as from this Bruckmann & Söhne pitcher (fig. 6), were also applied in



Figure 6. Peter Bruckmann & Söhne, *Sample drawing of a milk jug* (drawing and decorative pieces), Heilbronn, c. 1850.

Westphalian silver. This is evident when observing the pitcher by Kasseler silversmith Friedrich Proll (1797-1864) who applied the Bruckmann & Söhne decorative motifs (fig. 7).

²¹ *König Lustik!?*, 22.



Figure 7. Completed and sold by silversmith Friedrich Proll, Kassel, c. 1850, Silver, gilded interior. Height: 12 cm. Private Collection.

A coffeepot by Westphalian silversmith Kördel represents pre-fabricated decorative motifs from the firm Bruckmann & Söhne and from France (fig. 8). It includes the side ornament of waterleaves, which are taken from the Bruckmann & Söhne ornament repertoire.²² The eagle, which was fabricated by the method of lost was casting in France and England is found in Westphalian silver also (see knob of Kassel produced coffeepot, fig. 8). The spout of the vessel, representing a head of a lioness, as well as the rosette on the handle, are both imported motifs from France.²³ When comparing Kördel's coffeepot to French Empire silver, it is almost a complete adaptation of the French Empire style with small adjustments of decorative motifs, as compared with a coffeepot by

²² Reiner Neuhaus: "Geräte für Schokolade, Tee, Kaffee und heiße Milch," in *Kasseler Silber*, exp. cat. (Eurasburg: Ed. Minerva, 1998), 84-163, here 161.

²³ Neuhaus), 161.

Parisian silversmith Odiot (fig. 9). The Kassel pot is missing the center applique and the peripheral ornament, such as the chased water leaves around the lower part of the vessel's body and the spout.



Figure 8. Johannes Adam Kördel, *Coffeepot*, Kassel, c. 1809-13, Silver, Ebony. Height: 24.8 cm. Diameter: 9.2 cm. Citymuseum Kassel, Inv. No. S 253.

By the mid-1820s the manufacturing of Kassel silver reached its height. By that time the middle-class emancipated itself in the German-speaking regions. Imitating the upper classes, the bourgeoisie from the Westphalia region placed orders for entire silver services in the fashionable Empire style. Compare, for example, a pitcher crafted by a Kassel based silversmith (fig. 10) and one crafted by a Parisian based silversmith (fig. 11). The forms and handles of the vessels are very similar and the placement of the decorative motifs is

the same. The obvious difference is in the gilding that's visible in the French Empire pitcher, while the Kassel vessel rejects it. The full-gilding of an object was used mostly for representative purposes, and mainly the aristocracy commissioned it. The transformation of decorative motifs is also visible in the fret around the body of the vessel. A classic somewhat thin laurel leaf fret adorns the Parisian pitcher, while a thicker more pronounced fret of vines and grapes graces the Westphalian pitcher. These transformations go back to the



Figure 9. J. E. Coffinet, *Coffeepot*, Paris, early 19th c., Silver, Wood, Private Collection.



Figure 10. George Friedrich Weigel, *Milk Jug*, Kassel, 1822-1836, Silver, gilded interior, wood, Height: 21.3 cm. Diameter: 7.5 cm. City Museum Kassel, Inv. No. 89/450.

customer who although at the same society level, a consumer of bourgeois origin, differed in political views and economic power in both cities.

Another comparison of teapots shows a similar result: The adaptation is visible, yet it occurs with a slight transformation of decorative motifs. Although the shape of the vessels is similar and the placement of the decorative motifs is the same, they differ in their application. Both teapots portray the spout in shape of an animal's head. The Kassel teapot features a bird's head (fig. 12), the Parisian teapot features a swan's head (fig. 13). Both present a sculpted knob: The Kassel teapot shows a



Figure 11. Jean-Baptiste Claude Odiot, *Milk Jug*, Paris, 1815, Vermeil, Ebony, Height: 24.5 cm. Diameter: 7.5 cm. Cooper Hewitt Accession No. 1946-76-2.

leaf bud, the Parisian teapot a swan. In addition, the Parisian teapot offers more peripheral ornaments, such as frets and medallions, while they are completely missing in the Kassel teapot. The lack of the peripheral motifs gives the Kassel teapot a more austere look. Through its refined and detail-oriented decorative motifs, the Parisian teapot has more of a representative nature than the simpler structured and less ornamental Kassel teapot, which was produced for that same social class but in a different region.



Figure 12. Johannes Ostheim, *Teapot*, Kassel, early 19th c., Silver, wood, Height: 13.5 cm. Diameter: 25 cm. City Museum Kassel, Inv. No. S 283.

By comparing another Westphalian teapot (fig. 14) with a Parisian one (fig. 15), it becomes clear that the decorative motifs are placed in the same manner as in the French Empire style, however transformed to the taste of its owner. The Kassel version (fig. 14) features the spout as a dragon's head, while the Paris spout (fig. 15) presents itself as a traditional head of a lioness. The central fret differs in both vessels: The Parisian teapot applies a classic bay leaf fret, the Kassel teapot features a wider more intricately worked fret of vines and grapes. The third difference is the sculpted squirrel that takes on the function of the vessel's knob in the Westphalen version, while the French version applies a simple wooden knob. The major transformation, as seen before, is the negation of vermeil or gold-gilding in the Kassel teapot. This was often the case as generally only representative pieces were



Figure 13. Unknown silversmith (L. R.), *Teapot*, Paris, 1819-1838, Silver, Ebony, Height: 15.3 cm. Private Collection



Figure 14. George Friedrich Weigel, *Teapot*, Kassel, 1825, Silver, wood, Height: 17 cm. Private collection.

worked in vermeil, while silver vessels for private use were left in silver.

More adaptations and transformations of French Empire style in Westphalian silver are evident. The in Kassel created coffeepot (fig. 16) takes on the form and placement of the French Empire decorative motifs as seen in the Parisian coffeepot (fig. 17). The Westphalian coffeepot created by Friedrich Proll (fig. 16) features an animal's head as the spout, similar to the lioness head of the Parisian coffeepot (fig. 17). A transformation of

motifs occurs in Proll's choice of the rooster that serves as the knob of the lid, while the sculpted swan worked by Odiot is a classic motif for any vessels pertaining to water, as seen in his coffeepot (fig. 17). The finely worked peripheral motifs differ also: Proll's coffeepot displays a wide fret of vines and grapes in addition to the classic pearl, dental molding and water leaf frets that adorn both vessels. As evidenced with numerous examples, although silversmiths from Kassel copied the French Empire style faithfully for the Westphalian court, the bourgeoisie placed orders based on Empire style but with slight transformations, resulting in hybrid objects in a much simpler, more austere and bourgeois driven nature.



Figure 15. Jean-Baptiste Claude Odiot, *Teapot*, Paris, 1815-1819, Vermeil, Wood, Height: 17.5 cm. Cooper Hewitt Accession No. 1946-76-1a,b.

In conclusion, Jérôme implemented Napoleon's Empire style at the court in Kassel in the Kingdom of Westphalia, which was staged and directed by Napoleon himself. Through cultural and technological transfer, the Kingdom of Westphalia became a center and an

epitome of French Empire style on German-speaking soil. Napoleon's brother accomplished this not only by importing silver, but also by bringing as much of the necessary decorative equipment, including furniture, porcelain, textiles and fire-gilt bronzes from Paris directly. He appointed renowned Parisian silversmiths such as Martin-Guillaume Biennais and Jean-Baptiste Claude Odiot and other artisans to fulfill his commissions. As a result, the Empire silver objects and designs by Percier and Fontaine were also known in Kassel and adapted by local craftsmen and silversmiths, as proven by works of George Friedrich Weigel, Johannes Adam Kördel and Heinrich Wilhelm Kompff. Finally, orders were placed with local artists and craftsmen. Local silversmiths were also employed by the Westphalian court and due to their abilities to craft silver in the French taste, inspired other local artisans.

This study shows the adaptation and transformation of French Empire style in Westphalian silver during Napoleon's reign that took place as part of an important cultural transfer. The off-spring of Empire style adaptations and transformations in Westphalian silver was a new stylistic composition of silver objects with a new identity. While the nobility and aristocracy were oriented towards the representative French Empire style, the bourgeoisie followed as best as it could, however with more transformations that are visible as a result of the socio-economic and political changes of that time.



Figure 16. Friedrich Proll, *Coffee pot*, Kassel, 1828-1840, Silver, wood, Height: 32 cm. Diameter: 12.8 cm. City Museum Kassel, Inv.



Figure 17. Jean-Baptiste Claude Odiot, *Pair of coffee pots*, Paris, 1819, Vermeil, Wood, Height: 33 cm and 28 cm. Art Market, Helga Matzke, Item No. 501.

Reorganization of the French Army under Napoleon

by Eugene Chalvardjian

The wars of the French Revolution (1792-1795) were in fact revolutionary only in their political causes and objectives. Their military tactics and strategy were quite similar to those of a past era and particularly to those of Frederic II of Prussia. Only from 1796 onwards were they modernized when a young general named Napoleon Bonaparte introduced a battle and operation system geared to the new conditions of warfare.¹ As soon as he assumed command of the Army of Italy in 1796, he directed his attention to certain aspects of its organization and took the necessary steps to improve the conduct of its operations. These steps, which were also taken during his most important campaigns, were to serve as a basis for a Napoleonic system of war that was adopted by the armies of several nations for nearly a century after the downfall of the Emperor.² Let us first consider Napoleon's innovations to his army before 1800.

¹ Eugène Chalvardjian, *Impact de l'Art de la Guerre Napoléonien dans la Seconde Moitié du XIXe Siècle*

(Paris: Publibook, 2014), 87-98. All translations are the author's.

² Jean Perré, *Les Mutations de la Guerre Moderne: de la Révolution Française à la Révolution Moderne*; (Paris: Payot, 1962), 40.

Organization of the Three Arms: Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery

Following the considerable increase of troops resulting from the 1793 *levée en masse*, the reorganization of the French army became an absolute necessity. The same year, Carnot had already figured that a convenient way to reorganize the infantry would be to combine volunteers and recruits requisitioned from regular troops in order to form new units. A first *amalgame* was formed in 1794 and another two years later when Bonaparte assumed command of the Army of Italy.³ The then young general rearranged the cavalry by regrouping it into two divisions, each composed of five to six regiments. He also modified their composition, depending on the type of field operations they were to perform.⁴ Since the cavalry was not to intervene *en masse* in none of the operations of this campaign, however, it had to give way to the infantry.⁵ It is only in subsequent Napoleonic campaigns that its role was enhanced, and in particular

³ Gunther Rothenberg, *The Art of Warfare in the Age of Napoleon* (Gloucestershire: Spellmount, 1988), 108-09.

⁴ Émile Wanty, *L'art de la Guerre de l'Antiquité Chinoise aux Guerres Napoléoniennes* (Verviers: Gerard et Cie, 1962), I: 347.

⁵ "Étude historique de la campagne de 1796 dans les Alpes maritimes de l'Apennin, par le capitaine Godar," mai 1893, France, Archives de l'Armée de terre, Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, SHAT, Château de Vincennes, 1M 2365, 19-20.

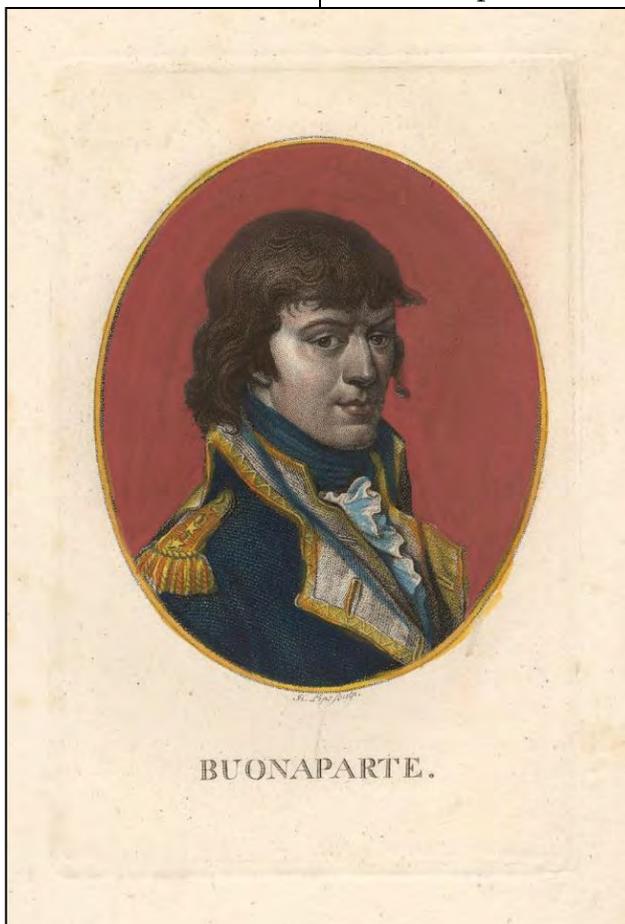
during reconnaissance missions and during the pursuit of the enemy—the final phase of a victorious campaign.⁶

Bonaparte also reorganized the artillery in 1809 at the battle of Wagram: He regrouped a great many cannons into large batteries in order to compensate for the progressive weakening of his infantry which was being increasingly composed of recruits often devoid of motivation—a situation caused by an increase of firepower on the battlefield.⁷ In short, he showed great flexibility in reorganizing all of the arms, as he realized that their liaison was indispensable during combat operations. He figured that this interdependence was an absolute necessity that the three arms ought to be so positioned as to be able to assist each other at all time. Indeed this kind of close

coordination had often been the key to successful Napoleonic campaigns.⁸

Development of Staff

During the *ancien régime*, a unique order was drafted for the whole of the army whose operations were taking place under



the very eyes of the commander-in-chief. As soon as Napoleon assumed command of the Army of Italy, he exploited to the full the reforms of infantry and artillery previously carried out by military theorists and officers. But it was the articulation of the formerly unitary and unwieldy mass armies into autonomous divisions (the divisionary system implemented in the

1760s) which proved to be his most valuable inheritance: It favoured the development of staff services.⁹ The increased importance of staff work was confirmed in 1790 with the creation of the

⁶ Perré, 57.

⁷ Jean-François Brun, “L’artillerie française dans la campagne de 1809,” *Revue du Souvenir Napoléonien* 481 (October-December 2009): 5-6.

⁸ Bruno Colson, *Napoleon. de la Guerre* (Paris : Perrin, collection “Documents historiques,” 2011), 251.

⁹ Brian Bond, *The Pursuit of Victory from Napoleon to Saddam Hussein* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 30.

scheme *adjudants généraux* whose charge was to assist the chief of staff. Bonaparte had inherited it from the Revolutionary Government but did not have the time to create a true *corps d'officiers d'État-Major*.¹⁰ Nevertheless, in order to provide for every contingency and go on the offensive as planned, he made sure at the start of the campaign that a sufficient number of aides-de camp and assistants was available for staff services. In 1796, General Berthier was appointed chief-of-staff to the French Army of Italy. By appointing an *adjutant général* as second-in-command as well as a few generals in charge of the staff's daily details, Bonaparte freed himself of these worries, thereby allowing him to pay full attention to the conduct of field operations.¹¹

It is only a few years later when he became Emperor that Napoleon could truly have a *corps d'officiers d'État-Major*. This corps called *le Grand Quartier Général* (G.Q.G) consisted first of the staff "proper" still headed by Berthier who had been promoted to *Maréchal de France* after the Italian campaign. Besides this body, the Emperor also had on hand his personal staff ready for action on the battlefield: It was Napoleon's *Maison de l'Empereur* which consisted of aides-de camp, a

Cabinet and a "General Officer near His Majesty."¹²

First Applications of Combined Frontal and Flank Attacks

12 April 1796 was an important day in warfare history: It marked the day when Bonaparte won his first battle of the Italian campaign. The engagement at Montenotte (a town in the Northern Italy area of Liguria) was characterized that day by a strategy which became the hallmark of subsequent great Napoleonic battles: The combined frontal and flank attack. The general used to his advantage the flexibility of the divisionary system to outmanoeuvre and surprise the enemy. But in conducting the entire operation, he was particularly keen on keeping his divisions under his direct control by deploying them only to points within his personal reach.

Shortly before the arrival of an Austrian corps at Montenotte, Bonaparte ordered General Laharpe to attack it frontally with 9,000 men. At sunrise, as soon as General Masséna—who was posted nearby on a neighbouring ridge—heard the Laharpe division's first gunshots, he launched, as Bonaparte had ordered him on the eve of the battle, an attack against the Austrians, falling on their rear before they could reach Montenotte. Under constant fire and surprised by so many

¹⁰ Stéphane Bériaud, *La Révolution Militaire Napoléonienne* (Paris : B.Giovangeli, 2007), 19-20.

¹¹ "Étude historique de la campagne de 1796 dans les Alpes maritimes de l'Apennin," Archives de l'Armée de Terre, SHAT, 1M 2365, 19-20.

¹² Buocquoy (commandant), *Les Uniformes du Premier Empire* (Paris: Jacques Groucher, 1977), 84-85.

attacks, they were unable to manoeuvre effectively. Their battalions fell back in great disorder and fled.¹³

In that battle, Napoleon had applied one of his most important principles, the massing of forces followed by their dispersion. Under his command, all of his troops had fought in a restricted area and for the sole purpose of destroying the enemy army. But he had assigned each division a particular move. The manoeuvre was the result of the combination of all these moves. The combined action of massing and dividing the forces convinced Bonaparte that it was the attack against the enemy's flank or rear that won battles.¹⁴ Four months after Montenotte, at the Battle of Castiglione, Bonaparte dispatched General Sérurier's division—which was posted nearby—to the Austrian's right flank, and at the sound of the cannons, ordered General Joubert to attack frontally the center of the enemy army.¹⁵

In general, in a Napoleonic battle, the attack on the enemy's flank had to be used only when the foe was compelled to engage all of his forces, including his reserves, on the front. Then part of the French army would move on the flank or rear, ideally as near as possible to the enemy line of retreat. As the foe would turn to meet this fresh threat, and in order to oppose this

¹³ Jean Colin (capitaine), *Les Transformations de la Guerre* (Paris: Économica, 1989), 101.

¹⁴ Colin, 102.

¹⁵ Castiglione is a town in the Lombardy area of Northern Italy.

manoeuvre tournante/débordante, he would move troops from the front to the flank or rear, thus upsetting his frontal equilibrium and exposing himself to the devastation of an attack on the hinge between front and flank.¹⁶ Added to the disruption of his order of battle, panic caused by the sound of gunfire at the rear would set in among soldiers and officers alike. Taking advantage of the general confusion, a massive frontal attack would then be launched in order to chase the enemy from his positions and, if possible, the attacking forces would immediately move on to the final phase of the battle, the pursuit.¹⁷

Use of the Offensive in Mountain Warfare

In battle, Bonaparte's preferred strategy was the offensive rather than the defensive approach. The Italian campaign of 1796-97 which took place partly on mountainous terrain in Northern Italy, illustrates how important this kind of warfare was for him in the conduct of his operations. In fact we note that the use of the offensive on either the French or the Austrian side had almost always been rewarded with success, but most of the time, this outcome could only be achieved when combining flank and frontal attacks. Indeed it seems that nowhere had the benefits of taking the initiative in battle been more obvious than in mountain warfare because of all the difficulties

¹⁶ Hew Strachan, *European Armies and the Conduct of War* (London: Allen and Unwin, Boston, 1983), 50.

¹⁷ Colin, 106.

experienced by the defensive side in a land fraught with obstacles and where the scarcity of communication means considerably slowed down troop movements.¹⁸

Although Bonaparte had claimed that in mountain warfare, sometimes the art of war was to conduct defensive operations in order to force the enemy to attack, he himself had fought for the most part only offensive battles in this phase of the Italian campaign.¹⁹ Most of the time he only had to threaten the enemy line of retreat to force him out of his positions. Therefore, in mountainous terrain it was essential for the defender not to fight a passive fight. He had to act swiftly in order to fend off the opponent's frontal attack and *mouvements tournants* alike for, on mountains he was more dependent on his line of communication than in flat country. Let us now consider the innovations that Napoleon brought to his warfare after 1800.

Evolution of the Divisionary System to the Army Corps Concept

The principle of the *nation armée* imposed under the Jourdan Law of 1798—which institutionalized mass conscription in particular the *levée en masse* of 1793—gave rise once again to large armies. Napoleon

¹⁸ “Ordre de la campagne de 1799, guerre de montagnes,” France, Archives de l’Armée de Terre, Service Historique de l’Armée de Terre, SHAT, Château de Vincennes, 1M 2325, 1-2.

¹⁹ Colson, 336-37.

allowed for only one line of operations²⁰ and would run and manoeuvre armies of nearly 200,000 men on restricted areas of the main theatre of war.²¹ That necessitated further reorganization of his army.

Before 1800, each army was divided into permanent divisions of 12-15,000 troops, each moving and operating separately for a few days. Due to a lack of high command, however, these divisions would perform sluggishly, giving rise to wars of skirmishes. In 1800, Bonaparte decided to organize the *Armée du Rhin* differently by dividing it into four large army corps. These corps were in fact conglomerates of autonomous divisions.²² The notion of *corps d’armée autonome* was still so vague in Bonaparte’s mind that he designated the whole of these army corps as the *corps d’Armée du Rhin*. From 1805 on, the very Napoleonic concept of army corps had materialized. A corps typically comprised 20-30,000 troops including:

- Two or three infantry divisions,
- A cavalry division,
- A reserve of artillery,

²⁰ The lines of operations were routes allocated to army troops once a campaign had started. It was along these paths that ammunition depots and supplies were lined.

²¹ Dennis Showalter, “The Retaining of Bellona: Prussia and the Institutionalization of the Napoleonic Legacy, 1815-1876” *Military Affairs* 25 (1961): 58.

²² The *Armée du Rhin* was the whole of the revolutionary armed forces allocated to the Germanic theatre of operations in the vicinity of the Rhine.

- A detachment of Sappers, and all services similar to those of an army.

The *Grande Armée* comprised all of these army corps as well as an artillery reserve and engineers.²³

How to Operate the Grande Armée

Under the Revolution, foreign armies were generally split into a center (30,000 troops) and wings (25,000 troops). These armies with geographically different objectives had also different communication and operation lines and were marching on a front of 200 or more kilometres.²⁴ In 1800, the *Armée du Rhin* was also composed of a centre and wings, but was marching on a single line of operations and on a front of fewer than 80 kilometres. In 1805, Napoleon stretched the front of his army to 120 kilometres, thus marching his troops in a *corps d'armée accolés* line system.²⁵

But how would the *Grande Armée* march towards an enemy still so far away and still free to move around, and, therefore, likely to show up in any direction? The answer was given by moving troops in a formation called the “battalion square.” Napoleon brought the strategic system of

inter-arm formation to the pinnacle of perfection during the Jena campaign of 1806 by assembling his army corps in a huge offensive body, the *bataillon carré*. This formation generally comprised three columns of one or two army corps was very flexible. The Emperor could direct it wherever he wanted and deploy it only when carrying out a manoeuvre based on the most recent gathering of intelligence. Moreover, this army formation in a *grand bataillon carré*, composed of nearly 200,000 men, enabled the troops to ward off enemy attacks coming from any direction.²⁶ This *bataillon carré*, however, had to execute a strategic deployment prior to the battle: It was a manoeuvre aimed at massing all the forces on a single battlefield. In 1805, during the Austerlitz campaign, Napoleon had assigned to his right wing a covering role, as it would give him enough time to perform his *mouvement tournant*. But such was not the case when marching in a *bataillon carré* formation in 1806. This called for a strategic advance-guard interposed between the square and the assumed direction the enemy would take.

The role of this advance-guard was to identify the enemy and, if need be, to hold him back in order to give the generalissimo time to execute the strategic move. In short, his role was:

- To let the generalissimo decide whether or not he was accepting the

²³ La Grande Armée, considérations préliminaires, France, Archives de l'Armée de Terre, Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, SHAT, Château de Vincennes, 1M 2365, 1.

²⁴ The lines of communication were those passable roads which were allocated to troops and convoys.

²⁵ La Grande Armée, considérations préliminaires, Archives de l'Armée de Terre, SHAT, 1M 2365, 2.

²⁶ Eugène Chalvardjian, *Étude Comparative de Deux Campagnes Napoléoniennes; Iéna et Waterloo* (M.A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 2006), 42.

confrontation,

- To allow him, if need be, enough time to execute the deployment, pinning down the enemy, for it is not possible to manoeuvre against a mobile adversary.²⁷



Crystal snuffbox with etched bust of Napoleon as Mars. The David Markham Collection

The Science of Marching Napoleonic Troops

The Emperor would manage his armies based on two fundamental principles: The first was to use all the means at his disposal in leading his troops while taking the initiative in the conduct of operations; the second was to take advantage of the adversary's weakness in order to strike him at his most vulnerable point. This way of marching troops was aiming essentially at their eventual concentration on the battlefield; however, being far away from

²⁷ La Grande Armée, considérations préliminaires, Archives de l'Armée de Terre, SHAT, 1M 2365, 3-4.

the enemy, they had to march on as wide a front as possible. Around the middle of the Eighteenth Century, the military theorist Bourcet suggested that an increase in column numbers would distract the adversary and fool him. This dispersion would also allow the troops to advance comfortably and easily live off the land. With considerable efforts, the troops would concentrate only when the moment for the all-important battle would draw near.²⁸

During his campaigns, Napoleon illustrated the alternate use of wide movements and concentric movements on several occasions: The most important ones were the massing of the French army at the Battle of Jena in 1806,²⁹ the convergence of the Elbe and Mein armies towards Leipzig during the 1813 campaign,³⁰ and the creation of the *Armée du Nord* in 1815.³¹ In these famous campaigns, the Emperor excelled, in particular, in the science of moving troops, for he was able to give to enormous masses a flexibility hitherto unknown. Long after his death, his strategy served as a model to various armies throughout the world in the art of dividing and massing for a battle.

²⁸ Escalle (lieutenant), C.P. *Des Marches dans les Armées de Napoléon* (Paris: Éditions Tesselèdre, 2003), 244.

²⁹ Chalvardjian, *Deux Campagnes*, 62.

³⁰ These two armies converged towards Leipzig (Germany) to oppose the sixth anti-Napoleonic coalition.

³¹ To face increasingly strong coalitions, Napoleon quickly reorganized French troops in 1815 in order to form a homogeneous national force under the name *Armée du Nord*.

This essential military principle can be drawn directly from the study of Napoleonic wars. But what were the rules underlying its applications and how did the Emperor carry out the alternate dispersion and massing of all of his forces? A closer examination of these few examples would suggest on first sight that the various aspects of the Napoleonic method, concerning as much the overall plan of action as the columnar march order, were not fixed. Napoleon had not derived any particular system for his army, be it in its approach march or its preparation for battle. In any case, over a long course, this march would not have been possible, especially for such a big army. The beautiful ordnance of lines and columns would have been constantly disrupted by terrain obstacles and the troops would have advanced at an extremely slow pace.

Ignoring all clichés, Napoleon would only draw on the general aspects of the fundamental principles of his warfare. In view of unexpected events, the attacks could be directed to the front or to the flank of the enemy and the columns were not to be too wide or too deep. Thus, the ideal form of deployment was a square which would meet all the requirements for battle, especially since the *ordre linéaire* was supplemented by the *ordre profond* or more precisely the *ordre mixte*.³² When marching nearby the enemy, where a confrontation seemed imminent or just

³² Escalle, 243-46.

possible, the eventual concentration of forces preparing for battle would become more imperative. The massing of the French troops at Brescia during the Italian campaign of 1796, and the battle of Jena during the Prussian campaign of 1806 are only two examples of armed forces concentrating before a major confrontation.³³

Troops would usually use existing communication routes before arriving on the battlefield. Nonetheless, road scarcity could force them to reduce their numbers of columns, thereby adding more troops to each one of them. That would increase their depth as well, thus threatening to slow down their overall deployment. In an effort to avoid this danger, Napoleon tried to make the best possible use of these roads by taking advantage of their width,³⁴ thereby giving the columns the appearance of a close order formation.³⁵ In some of his campaigns, he even marched his troops through fields in order to speed their arrival on the battlefield. And in order to decrease the depth of these columns, Napoleon also considered increasing their number. Adopting a flexible approach to this particular aspect of a military campaign, he figured that troops should march in some cases in one column and in other cases in several.³⁶ The

³³ Brescia is a town of Lombardy in Northern Italy.

³⁴ Escalle, 248.

³⁵ Bonaparte had already started using the close order formation in the Italian campaigns of 1796 and 1800.

³⁶ Colson, 283.

possibility of an army advancing on both sides of a roadway allowed the troops to move in more than one column.

When it was possible for the army to march on more than one road, however, he would strongly advise the columns to keep close to each other, as was the case during one of the phase of the 1812 Russian campaign: After the Napoleonic victory at Smolensk,³⁷ the part of the *Grande Armée* that was heading towards Moscow was split into:

- a main column marching in the specified direction,
- two lateral columns moving on parallel roads, a league or two from the center column,
- and an elite corps following that center column and which was to be used as a reserve.³⁸

Security Service in Napoleon's Army

Let us consider now the importance that Napoleon attached to the protective role of the advance-guard and, above all, to the meticulous arrangement of his troops in order to provide his army with maximum protection. First and foremost, let us stress that all great men of war had historically expressed deep concern for the continued protection of their troops against surprise attacks. Well before the First Empire, precise ideas had emerged about the need

³⁷ Smolensk is a Russian town near the Belorussian border.

³⁸ Escalle, 250.

to distinguish between “troops immediate protection” and a more distant security system (*sûreté éloignée*), and, in particular, about the tactical role of the advance-guard charged with: securing the roads, secretly setting the bulk of the forces into battle, identifying the enemy or even engaging men in combat. But it seems that no one before Napoleon had thought of ensuring security by setting a *système à échelonnement* that allowed the commander-in-chief to carry on his manoeuvre and to deal with the various contingencies of a confrontation at the same time.³⁹

For Napoleon, a commander-in-chief who was above all concerned with the protection of his troops, intelligence gathering was extremely important in his method of war, particularly when he was aiming at destroying the enemy or just conducting an operation that his adversary could counter-attack. This intelligence was obtained by means of spies, prisoners' interrogation and cavalry. Spying used to be the only way of delivering information to the leader; it is only in the Seventeenth Century that the role of the cavalry in the *sûreté éloignée* became increasingly evident. Indeed, the Emperor attached great importance above all, to spying as well as to cavalry for the collection of strategic intelligence.⁴⁰ The

³⁹ Section historique de l'État-Major, *Études sur l'Avant-garde* (Paris: Librairie Chapelot, 1914), 469-70.

⁴⁰ The cavalry would often capture enemy soldiers, and their interrogation could provide precious information.

role of all the front line corps (which constituted the *sûreté éloignée*) was to provide the Emperor with all the information they could collect from far away, and were, to that effect, well-equipped with cavalry. But later, Napoleon often encouraged the use of an advance-guard (with a general-in-chief) from where he could direct his army movements. The advance-guard had also to be supplied with light and heavy cavalry, elite infantry corps and a great deal of artillery in order to be able to manoeuvre, contain the enemy and allow the army enough time to arrive and position itself.⁴¹ Moreover, the Emperor required—as much from the advance-guards as from the rearguards—outstanding skills in the art of manoeuvring: He needed them to move on or back off in a chessboard fashion (*en échiquier*) to form several lines or columns, and to modify quickly the front in order to outflank the entire enemy wing. These combinations prevented an outnumbered advance-guard or rearguard to react too vividly to superior forces, and yet would delay the enemy long enough to enable the army to arrive, the infantry to deploy and the general-in-chief to position his troops.⁴²

Napoleon would always mass his army before starting his operations. He would ensure the immediate protection of his

army by concentrating his troops in a system that would:

- Enable them to operate secretly and safely,
- Quickly let them execute the pre-planned manoeuvre,
- Allow them to counter-attack, should the enemy decide to go on the offensive.

Regardless of whether he was carrying out his operations on land, mountains, forests or watercourses, the Emperor would often use their uneven or rugged terrain conditions to conceal his preliminary moves. In 1805, the massing of the army was partly concealed by the Rhine and the Black Forest, and in 1806 by the Thuringian Forest. In 1800, the Rhine was used to cover the concentration of troops in Schaffhower, a village in Alsace.⁴³ Furthermore, he figured that the massing of his army should be taking place far enough from the bulk of enemy positions to remain untroubled. And, if need be, security was to be completed by forming a system of *couverture* made up of inter-arm corps.⁴⁴ Speed, an important element in Napoleon's war principles, was demonstrated by the Emperor's rapidity to overcome unexpected difficulties. And secrecy, another essential criterion of Napoleonic warfare was illustrated by the immediacy of operations after the massing

⁴¹ Escalle, 246-47.

⁴² Section historique de l'État-Major de l'armée, 246-47.

⁴³ Colin, 235.

⁴⁴ "La Grande Armée, considérations préliminaires," Archives de l'Armée de Terre, SHAT, 1M 2365, 3.S

of troops or by the quick adaptation of manoeuvres to the particularities of terrain. Although the formation of a *couverture* was undoubtedly the best way to achieve troop security, it is evident that Napoleon also made extensive use of detachments and advance-guards. They had various functions such as: covering the concentration of the entire army or just part of it, guarding it from attacks from enemy secondary forces and holding the attention of the adversary in a given zone.

Furthermore, Napoleon was always careful to avoid any setbacks that would likely damage his moral supremacy over the enemy. He would always supply the detachments with enough troops (set at a minimum of 25,000 men in 1809) to allow them to manoeuvre without being hampered by superior enemy forces. He avoided missions involving heavy troop sacrifices and most often advised his generals to proceed with caution. That explained the frequent retreats in manoeuvring and in combat, which shows once more that the Emperor had indeed elevated the security of his army to a very high level.

Spearhead to Victory: Marshal Jean Lannes and the Reserve Corps at the Battle of Friedland, 14 June 1807

by Kevin Broucke

“I found him a pygmy, but I lost him a giant.”¹

Marshal Jean Lannes, Duke of Montebello and Prince of Sievers (1769-1809) was born in Lectoure a small town of the *département du Gers* nestled in the beautiful region of Gascony. A region renowned as the birthplace of Alexandre Dumas’s famous musketeer d’Artagnan, for its succulent cuisine, and its celebrated Armagnac. With Masséna and Davout, Lannes was one of Napoleon’s most able marshals, and with Murat and Ney, undoubtedly one of the bravest. The emperor always assigned to Lannes the most difficult missions of leading his advance-guard into combat, a task that Lannes consistently executed with courage and success until his death in 1809. Invariably at the tip of the spear, the fiery Gascon repeatedly found himself fighting against numerically superior enemy forces and valiantly held them in check, to provide enough time for Napoleon and the bulk of the *Grande Armée* to arrive in the combat zone to finally deliver the *coup de grâce*. Lannes was a man of legendary courage who constantly led his men into the fray, in the process, he received multiple wounds: Three times at



François Antoine Gérard (1760-1843), *Le Maréchal Lannes (1769-1809)*. Oil on canvas. Paris: Musée de l'Armée.

Arcole in the First Italian Campaign; a few years later, he was hit in the leg at the Battle of Abukir, during the Egyptian Expedition. Lannes was the first of only three marshals to be killed in action, alongside Jean-Baptiste Bessières, and Józef Poniatowski who both died in 1813 during the German Campaign. Despite his bravery, Lannes confessed that he was not immune to fear:

¹ Emmanuel-Auguste-Dieudonné, *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie de Lebègue, 1824), 42.

Those who pretend that they have never been afraid, are only liars, brutes or some tossers! I fear war, I told it to the Emperor, the first noise of it makes me shiver, but as soon as I have taken the first step, I only think of the job. You hear the music of this regiment... It is to make the men dizzy and lead them to death without them even figuring it out... To the soldier on the battlefield, all the officers must pretend, like they were at a wedding.²

Throughout his prestigious military career, Lannes went from humble beginnings as the son of a farmer from South-West France to the pinnacle of the imperial court and the personal friendship of the Emperor. Napoleon and Lannes had a unique friendship, whereby the Gascon was one of the very few who kept on *tutoyer* the Corsican, even after the latter became emperor of the French.³ During the French Revolutionary Wars, Lannes started as a non-commissioned officer: on 20 June 1792, he became a second lieutenant; by Christmas Day 1793, due to his valor and leadership in combat, Lannes received the rank of colonel. On 7 September 1796, after the Battle of Bassano where he was wounded, Napoleon nominated him a

brigadier general. On 10 May 1799, during the siege of Saint-Jean-d'Acre, after he received a bullet wound in the neck, Napoleon granted him the rank of major general. Back from Egypt, Lannes with officers such as Berthier, Marmont, and Murat took part in the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire (9 November 1799) which legitimized Napoleon's control of France as First Consul. Lannes participated in the Second Italian Campaign, in which he gained further glory when on 9 June 1800, he gallantly led his troops to victory at the Battle of Montebello.

On 14 June, Lannes played a crucial role in the decisive Battle of Marengo, where with his good friend future Marshal Victor, he held firm in front of repeated Austrian assaults, just before General Desaix rescued Napoleon from defeat and offered the latter, one of his most illustrious victories. On 14 November 1801, Napoleon appointed Lannes ambassador of France to Portugal.⁴ On 26 March 1802, Lannes reached Lisbon where he spent the next two years sapping English diplomatic ascendancy over the Lusitanian Kingdom.⁵ In May 1804, Napoleon named Lannes among the first eighteen marshals of the empire. During the War of the Third Coalition, Lannes became

² Quoted in Charles Lannes's biography of his grandfather. According to the author, in 1808, the marshal acknowledged to his wife Louise de Guéhéneuc, how he dealt with fear. The second part of this excerpt was provided by Doctor Lanfranc, just a few days before the Battle of Aspern-Essling. Charles Lannes, *Le Maréchal Lannes, Duc de Montebello* (Tours: Alfred Mame et fils, 1900), 13.

³ In the French language, there is an official distinction in the use of the English 'You': *Tu* being the most familiar and informal way, whereas *vous* is much more polite and formal.

⁴ Lannes, *Le Maréchal Lannes*, 58.

⁵ Jean-Claude Damamme, *Lannes: Maréchal d'Empire* (Paris: Payot, 1987), 119.

the commander of the *Grande Armée*'s V Corps. In December 1805, during Napoleon's greatest triumph at Austerlitz, Lannes distinguished himself on the left wing of the French army where he vanquished his direct opponent, Russian commander Prince Pyotr Bagration. In 1806, when the War of the Fourth Coalition started, Lannes still directed the V Corps and led the French advance-guard which on 10 October at the Battle of Saalfeld, then on 14 October at the Battle of Jena, destroyed the Prussian army. Like Marshals Augereau, Davout, Ney and Soult, Lannes acquitted himself exceptionally. On 26 December 1806, in the terrible conditions of the Battle of Pultusk, Lannes, despite being dangerously outnumbered by General Benningsen and his 50,000 Russians, obliged the latter to retreat.⁶ Seriously injured during the fighting, Lannes recovered during the

winter and missed the butchery of Eylau of 8 February 1807. On 14 June 1807, at the Battle of Friedland, Lannes and the Reserve Corps earned further acclaim when they held their line against Benningsen and his 60,000 soldiers. For more than eleven hours, and despite several furious attacks, Benningsen could not dislodge Lannes from his position, providing enough time for Napoleon to arrive and win a resounding victory against the elusive Russian general.⁷ For his exceptional performance at Friedland, on 30 June 1807, Napoleon bestowed Lannes with the title of Prince of Sievers; further Imperial accolades soon followed as on 19 March 1808, Lannes officially became Duke of Montebello. Following Napoleon's invasion of Spain, at the Battle of Tudela, on 23 November 1808, Lannes defeated Spanish General Castanos.⁸ Between 8 January and 20 February 1809, Lannes directed the bloody

⁶ Regarding Pultusk and its terrible conditions, Lannes stated that "the battlefield was a veritable sea of mud, extremely difficult for both men and horses." Quoted in Margaret Scott Chrisawn, *The Emperor's Friend: Marshal Jean Lannes* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 161-63. Thoumas gave the figures of four divisions, 45,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, and thousands of Cossacks. Thoumas placed the Fifth Corps strength at no more than 18,000 men. See Charles Thoumas, *Le Maréchal Lannes* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1891), 185-86, as well as Lannes à Berthier, 27 décembre 1806, Service Historique de la Défense, Correspondance Grande Armée: Carton 2c34 and Tranchant de Laverne, "Campagne de Prusse et de Pologne 1806-1807," Service Historique de la Défense: mémoires reconnaissances: Carton MR 659. Hereafter abbreviated to SHD. For the Russian version of this ferocious encounter, see Levin August von Benningsen, *Mémoires du général Benningsen* (Paris: Chapelot Lavauzelle, 1907-1908), II: 247-48.

⁷ Chrisawn, 170-75.

⁸ Damamme, 242.

siege of Saragossa, during which he crushed a fanatical Spanish resistance. On 26 March, Lannes left Spain for Austria where he arrived on 18 April. Lannes participated in his last conflict, the War of the Fifth Coalition. On 23 April, Lannes and his men stormed the walls of Regensburg in one of the Duke of Montebello's most celebrated feat of arms. On 22 May, at the Battle of Aspern-Essling, Lannes was gravely wounded by a cannonball, and after being amputated of his left leg, died of his injuries on 31 May 1809. A year after his death, on Friday 6 July 1810, Napoleon offered his close friend full state and military honors, when *le Roland de la Grande Armée* was entombed in the Panthéon.⁹

During the Campaigns of Prussia and Poland, Marshal Lannes's V Corps fought at Saalfeld, Jena, Pultusk, and Friedland. After the brutal Battle of Pultusk on 26 December 1806 Lannes and his troops were exhausted. Furthermore, as the *Bulletin de la Grande Armée* reported, the marshal had been sick for the last ten days, and had been hit by a musket ball. Despite being victorious, Lannes could not pursue the Russians as they withdrew at nightfall. Overall, V Corps was too weary to move anywhere, therefore, "Lannes stayed with

his troops at Pultusk until 31 December when Napoleon sent for him."¹⁰

After this hard-fought encounter in the snow, Napoleon ordered Lannes to Warsaw, directing him to pursue Russian General Jean-Henri Essen's corps who was located between the Narew and the Bug and could potentially threaten communications between Warsaw and the *Grande Armée*. Lannes and his chief-of-staff General Compans argued that horrendous winter conditions, the poor health of their men, a dire lack of food and appalling Polish roads would render any troop movements impossible.¹¹ Napoleon was in no mood to accept any excuses, and ordered Lannes to give chase to the Russians, accordingly the V Corps departed Warsaw on 28 January 1807.¹²

In a letter dated 31 January 1807, Lannes wrote to Napoleon informing him that due to his very poor health and a high fever, he could no longer assume his duty. He informed the Emperor that he was unable to leave his bed, and relinquished V Corps' command to General Suchet. On behalf of the Emperor, Marshal Berthier reassured Lannes that Napoleon fully understood and ordered him to take some much-needed

⁹ Damamme, 298-302.

¹⁰ Chrisawn, 163. Also see 47th Bulletin de la Grande Armée, 30 décembre 1806, *Correspondance de Napoléon I^{er}*, vol. 14, N^o. 11521, 121-22. Hereafter abbreviated to *Correspondance de Napoléon*.

¹¹ On 13 January 1807, from the town of Sierock, General Campana wrote to Lannes: "We have one man out of eight who is sick; but these are only some light illnesses that some rest and good

food heal." Thoumas, *Le Maréchal Lannes*, 191-92. About health conditions within French troops in Poland at the end of 1806, see mémoires reconnaissances, Journaux d'opérations, décembre 1806, Carton SHD, MR 655; V^{ème} Corps, 28 janvier 1807, SHD, Correspondance Grande Armée: Carton 2c39; and Napoléon à Lannes, 28 janvier 1807, SHD, Correspondance Grande Armée: Carton 2c39.

¹² Chrisawn, 163-64.

rest. For the time being, Napoleon ordered General Jean Savary to take over V Corps.¹³

From the beginning of February to mid-April 1807, Lannes grudgingly accepted to spend time to recover. In mid-March, he was happily surprised when his wife Louise came to look after him for two weeks while he recuperated in Warsaw.¹⁴ On 14 April, when Lannes returned to Imperial headquarters located in Finkenstein Castle, he found out that Marshal Masséna now commanded V Corps.¹⁵ To give Lannes a new command, the emperor created *le Corps de Réserve de la Grande Armée* on 5 May.¹⁶

When Marshal Lannes resumed his duties, Napoleon assigned him to assist Marshal Lefebvre who directed the siege of Danzig. Napoleon's patience with the old marshal was running thin as, since the end of

February 1807, the latter made little progress and did not speedily capture the city as Napoleon wished it.¹⁷ Napoleon instructed Lannes and Oudinot to block Russian General Kamensky's 7,000 troops which recently disembarked on the peninsula to relieve the garrison commanded by Prussian General Friedrich Kalkreuth.¹⁸ In his orders to Lannes, Napoleon made clear that the hero of Montebello was not to let his men take part in the siege works, his sole mission was to stop Kamensky's relief force.¹⁹

On 15 May 1807, Russian troops, which under Kamensky came from the Fort of Weichselmünde located at the mouth of the Vistula, attacked French General Schramm who with his troops guarded Holm Island. Rapidly appraised of the situation, Lannes with Oudinot's four battalions crossed the Vistula, engaged the Russians, and threw

¹³ Thoumas, 194-950 and Chrisawn, 164.

¹⁴ Thoumas, 195-96.

¹⁵ Finkenstein is located 120 miles northwest of Warsaw, between Danzig and the Russian army concentrated at Königsberg. Quoted in Chrisawn, 165.

¹⁶ The newly created Reserve Corps comprised Oudinot's division formed with four brigades, Verdier's division made of four regiments, and the *division italienne* composed of four infantry and one cavalry regiments, this division was only going to join the Reserve Corps by the end of May.

Altogether, Napoleon estimated that Lannes disposed of about 20,000 men. Napoléon à Berthier, 5 mai 1807, *Correspondance de Napoléon*, vol. 15, N°. 12536, 193-94. See also Situations, Corps de Réserve, mai 1807, SHD, Carton 2c485.

Contemporary sources estimated the true strength of Lannes's Reserve Corps at 17, 683 men. See Jacques Garnier, *Friedland 14 juin 1807: Une victoire pour la paix* (Saint-Cloud: Éditions Napoléon 1er-Soteca, 2009), 23.

¹⁷ Regarding the siege of Danzig, see the account left by the Engineers Corps' general in charge of the siege works, François-Joseph Kirgener, *Précis du Siège de Dantzick fait par l'Armée Française en avril et mai 1807* (Paris: Imprimerie de Migneret, 1807); Camille St-Aubin, *Siège de Dantzick en 1807* (Paris: Chez Plancher, 1818); and *Le siège de Danzig* from Frédéric Naulet, *Friedland (14 juin 1807). La campagne de Pologne, de Danzig aux rives du Niémen* (Paris: Économica, 2007), 5-52.

¹⁸ On 10 May 1807, eleven Allied ships moored in front of Danzig, to allow Major General Kamensky's Corps to relieve the city. His corps was made of five infantry regiments and one Cossack regiment, altogether about 7,000 men. See Naulet, 41.

¹⁹ Chrisawn, 165-66. See also Berthier à Lannes, 11 mai 1807, SHD, *Correspondance Grande Armée*: Carton 17C165; and Napoléon à Lannes, 12 mai 1807, *Correspondance de Napoléon*, vol. 15, N°. 12580, 275-76.

them back. At the end of the fighting, French casualties were 25 dead and 200 injured, Russian casualties amounted to 900 dead, 1,500 wounded and 200 prisoners.²⁰ After this last Allied attempt to relieve the city, hopes of saving Danzig were all but gone. On 24 May, Lefebvre announced to Napoleon the surrender of the city which became official at midday on 26 May. "After a blockade of nearly three months, and fifty-four days of siege, Danzig, and its forts were all within French hands. As a reward, Lefebvre received the title of Duke of Danzig."²¹

After the fall of Danzig, Lannes and the Reserve Corps returned to their Marienburg's headquarters and readied themselves for the forthcoming campaign. They did not wait long as on 5 June 1807, Berthier wrote to Lannes confirming that the Russians started their offensive and the Reserve Corps had to leave Marienburg immediately to march toward Christburg.²² In the early hours of 5 June, General Benningsen launched a front-wide offensive that put Napoleon on the defensive. As the fighting resumed, the Russians launched diversionary attacks against all French Corps, yet Benningsen's specific objective was the destruction of Marshal Michel

Ney's VI Corps. The 'bravest of the brave' held the line in a dangerously exposed salient that Benningsen intended to reduce. During the two days of the Battle of Guttstadt, Ney and his men, undeterred by their numerical inferiority and by the threat of being cut off from the rest of the French army, managed to extract themselves while stubbornly fighting their way back to safety.²³

Benningsen's gains at Guttstadt did not allow him to further menace French forces, always prompt to evade his responsibilities the Russian commander placed the blame for his strategic failure solely at the feet of his most despised subordinate, Sacken. Benningsen wrote:

I am so unfortunate to have under my command General Sacken, who is ruining all my combinations for motives that I hesitate to expose to you. If the combats of the fifth and the sixth of June did not offer the results that we could have expected, the responsibility falls uniquely on General Sacken who executed movements contrary to the orders that I gave.²⁴

²⁰ 74th Bulletin de la Grande Armée, 16 mai 1807, *Correspondance de Napoléon*, vol. 15, N°. 12593, 290-91.

²¹ Garnier, 18; Naulet, 47-49; and Lefebvre à Napoléon, 24 mai 1807, SHD, *Correspondance Grande Armée*: Carton 2c47.

²² Berthier à Lannes, 5 juin 1807, SHD, *Correspondance Grande Armée*: Carton 17C165, Naulet, 94.

²³ At the Battle of Guttstadt, Ney had 17,000 men and fought against about 63,000 Russians. In the process, Ney lost about 3,000 casualties, 1,600 prisoners and two guns, but denied Benningsen the ability to take advantage of his superior numbers. Strategically, even though he retreated to safety, victory was Ney's. Garnier, 25-28.

²⁴ Benningsen, *Mémoires du Général Benningsen*, quoted in Naulet, 96-97.

Due to the imminent threat of a French counter-offensive, Benningsen decided to withdraw from Guttstadt. On the evening of 6 June 1807, Davout's III Corps and Lannes's Reserve Corps both settled in the town abandoned by the Russians. Lannes wrote to the emperor that "the enemy retreated in the greatest disorder."²⁵ After the Battle of Guttstadt where he chose to attack the French without success, Benningsen decided to retreat to Heilsberg, where since the beginning of the campaign, he had prepared excellent defensive positions to give battle against Napoleon.

On 10 June 1807, at Heilsberg, notwithstanding Napoleon's orders that only requested him to fix the enemy and wait for the rest of the army, Marshal Joachim Murat ordered useless attacks against strong Russian earthworks. The King of Naples ordered the cavalry divisions, Lasalle, Latour-Maubourg, Espagne and Soult's IV Corps to advance against impregnable Russian positions. Despite several attempts, French troops could not breach the Russian lines. At 22:00, in a last desperate attempt, Lannes ordered Verdier's division to attack the Russian right wing. Russian artillery pounded Verdier's men, just before General Gortchakov's 14th division and General Uvarov's cavalry repelled them; Lannes's

attack had failed at the cost of more than 2,000 men.²⁶ Altogether at Heilsberg, the French lost about 9,000 men.²⁷ About 23:00, as darkness fell, a storm broke out, and a cold rain fell upon the battlefield, many French officers were extremely irate against the Grand Duke of Berg. "This prince who wanted to command everywhere."²⁸ As fighting ended for the night, resentment against Murat was high. The Emperor berated Savary who earlier in the evening, refused to obey Prince Murat's orders to attack a Russian redoubt which peppered his men with murderous artillery and musket fire. Savary, not impressed by the orders received, impudently replied to Napoleon: "That Murat was an extravagant who one day will make us lose some good battles. And for us, it would be better if he was less brave and possessed a little bit more of common sense."²⁹ The emperor told Savary to shut up, and ended the discussion, but according to the Duke of Rovigo, he was not far to agree with him.³⁰ On the Russian side, Benningsen despite losing 6,000 men including Generals Kogin and Warneck, won the Battle of Heilsberg,

²⁵ Lannes à Napoléon, 9 juin 1807, SHD, Correspondance Grande Armée: Carton 2c48.

²⁶ Naulet, 106; and Garnier, 34-35. Lannes wrote that Verdier's division lost 2,286 killed and wounded. Lannes à Napoléon, 23 juin 1807, SHD, Correspondance Grande Armée: Carton 2c48.

²⁷ Damamme, 232.

²⁸ Anne-Jean-Marie-René Savary, *Mémoires du Duc de Rovigo: pour servir à l'histoire de l'empereur Napoléon* (Paris: A. Bossange, 1828), 82.

²⁹ Savary, 83.

³⁰ Naulet, 106.

he declared, "It was a defensive victory, but a victory nevertheless."³¹

In the night of 11-12 June 1807, the Russian army divided into four columns left Heilsberg, to cross the Alle River, and through the right-bank proceeded north. Only three Cossack regiments stayed on the left bank to observe the *Grande Armée*.³² In the morning of 12 June, Napoleon visited the battlefield and the Russian redoubts; he realized that French troops which had attacked along the river received a murderous Russian cross-fire, and that they had no chance to succeed. The overall attack had been a fiasco and Napoleon was extremely angry with Murat and Soult, realizing that they should have never let the attack begin. Nevertheless, Napoleon was also responsible as he did not reconnoiter the terrain before the assault and left Murat carried on with it.³³

Once more, Napoleon had not been able to conclusively defeat his tenacious opponent. Besides, due to the lack of intelligence on the whereabouts of the Russian army, he had to anticipate what Benningsen's next move was going to be. Napoleon believed that the Russian commander would defend Königsberg at all costs, as not doing so,

would have left the city open to French troops and confirmed that politically Russia had abandoned Prussia. Likewise, strategically, as most Russian supplies came from Königsberg, Benningsen could simply not afford to lose it.³⁴ Napoleon believed that Benningsen would march toward Königsberg, and cross the Alle to reach the Pregel. By doing so, the Russians would also be closer to their retreat line on the Niemen, consequently the emperor's goal was to reach the Pregel before them and block their path to Königsberg. Brigadier General de Lorencez who served in Soult's IV Corps wrote in his memoirs

As soon as the Russians abandoned Heilsberg, the emperor marched his army in the direction of Preussisch-Eylau, and convinced that the enemy would only wait for us behind the Pregel, he decided to go there before the enemy. All the troops received the order to move toward Königsberg. This combination was nearly fatal to us. The Russians placed the Alle between them and us and walked parallelly to our right flank; their road was longer than ours, we should have arrived before them on the Pregel. Thus, under this report, our

³¹ Quoted in Naulet, 107. Von Höpfner, placed Russian casualties at 3,000 killed and 6,000 wounded. Friedrich von Höpfner, *Krieg von 1806 und 1807*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Simon Schropp, 1855), 615. See also Denis Davidov, *In the service of the Tsar against Napoleon: the memoirs of Denis Davidov, 1806-1814* (London: Greenhill Books, 1999).

³² The first column was led by the Reserve Corps, the second one was under the orders of

Prince Gortchakov, reinforced by the left-wing cavalry. General Uvarov commanded the third column, made up from the right-wing cavalry, and the 7th and 8th divisions. The fourth column under General Sukin was made of the 2nd, 3rd and 14th divisions. Prince Bagration and his rear-guard covered the retreat of the Russian army. Naulet, 111.

³³ Naulet, 112.

³⁴ Naulet, 112

calculations were not bad; but either they appreciated that they would unnecessarily try to be faster than us, or that such a hazardous move like ours would tempt them, they presented themselves on 14 June to Friedland to cross the Alle. We had at that moment, at this point only two infantry divisions under Count Oudinot's orders; all the rest of the army would arrive on the same day in front of Königsberg or was walking toward it.³⁵

Napoleon recognized the utmost importance that Königsberg played within both French and Russian strategic designs. "He sent Murat and Soult toward Königsberg, with Davout on their right, and ordered Lannes to Friedland to capture the bridge on the Alle so Benningsen could not retreat further east."³⁶ As Lannes's mission was to take Friedland and hold it in front of superior forces, he needed reinforcements. To that effect, Napoleon wrote to Lannes that General Emmanuel Grouchy's division was on its way toward Friedland and that Grouchy would also command Lannes's cavalry. The emperor further confirmed that Marshal Mortier's corps was already on the move and that his cavalry too, would provide support to Lannes. Ultimately, Napoleon stated that

on 14 June, at 01:00 Marshal Ney's corps would depart to reinforce Lannes's troops at Friedland. At the end of his letter, Napoleon requested Lannes to write to him every two hours, as he wanted to know what the enemy was doing.³⁷ Lannes erroneously believed that the Russians would not come in force to cross the Alle at Friedland, he wrote to Napoleon, "I do not see in the case where the enemy would come out of Friedland that it may have enough strength that I may not crush it."³⁸ Lannes's cavalry regiments, the *Cuirassiers du roi* and *chevaux-légers saxons* rapidly moved into the village as the Russians were not yet there.³⁹

On 13 June 1807, between 12:00 and 2:00, from his headquarters, Benningsen dispatched 33 cavalry squadrons and 20 canons under Prince Andrei Gallitzin to reconnoiter Friedland. When they arrived in Friedland, Gallitzin's men met a small French cavalry detachment that they easily drove away, they then moved onto the bridge, entered the town and chased away the 9th Hussards. Following these encounters, the Russians deployed in the plain of Friedland from Sortlack in the south to Heinrichsdorf in the north, allowing them to observe the roads going to Schippenbeil, Eylau, and Königsberg.⁴⁰

³⁵ General de Lorencez, *Souvenirs militaires du général de Lorencez*, ed. Baron Pierre de Bourgoing (Paris: Émile-Paul, 1902), 49.

³⁶ Chrisawn, 169, Naulet, 114-15.

³⁷ Napoléon à Lannes, 13 juin 1807, *Correspondance de Napoléon*, vol. 15, N^o. 12753, 414.

³⁸ Lannes à Napoléon, 13 juin 1807, SHD, Correspondance Grande Armée: Carton 2c49.

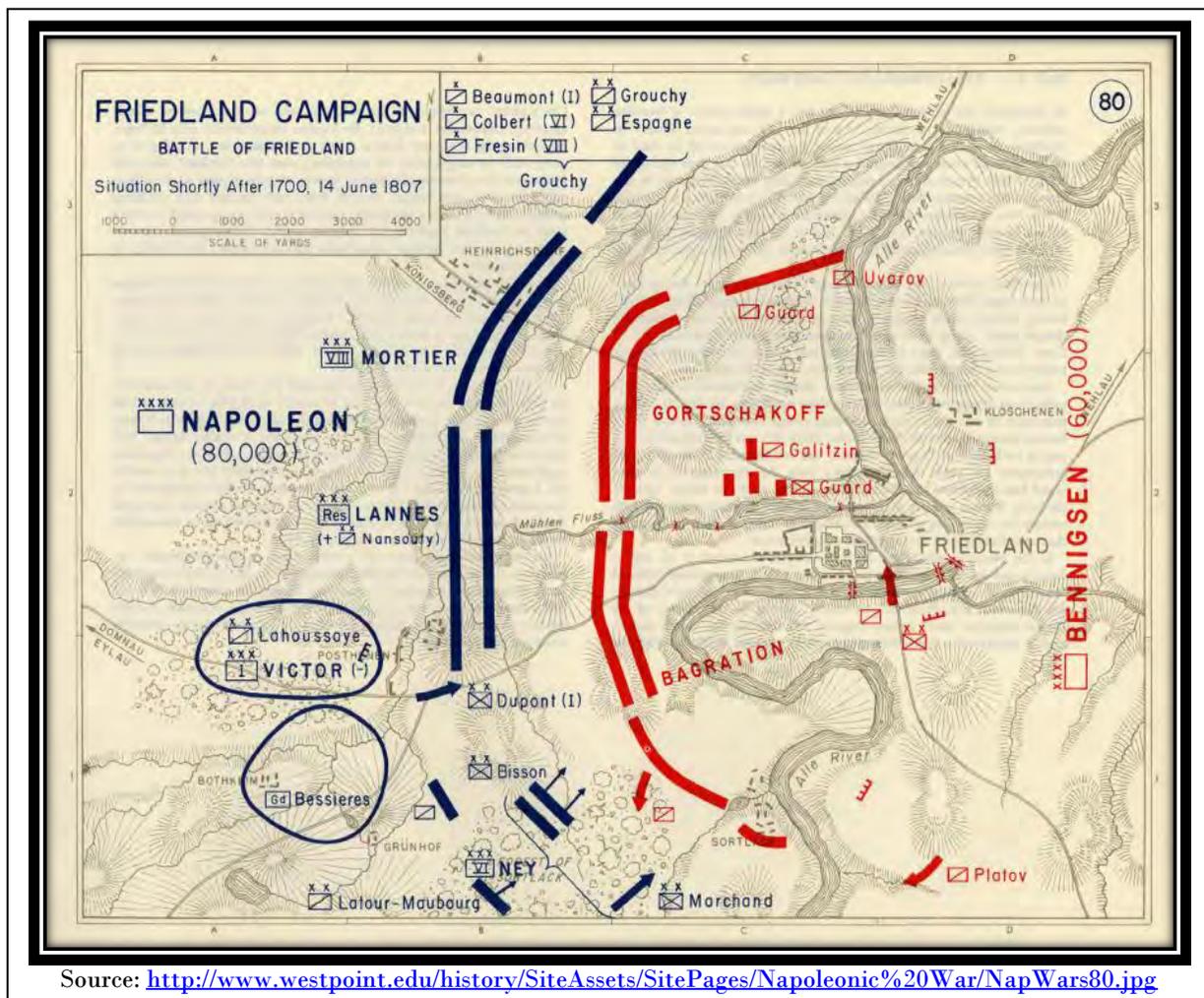
³⁹ Naulet, 117.

⁴⁰ Aimé Derode, *Nouvelle relation de la bataille de Friedland (14 juin 1807)* (Paris: Anselin et Laguionie, 1839), 12.

Later in the afternoon, Lannes received news that the Russians had entered Friedland, he immediately ordered French troops to move into the village and take it back. Lannes reported to Napoleon, “I ordered two brigades of General Oudinot to seize Friedland. The first (the one from Ruffin) must be quite close right now. In the case where it would meet resistance, I will walk with the rest of my army corps.”⁴¹ When Napoleon read this message, he was puzzled about Benningsen’s intentions. Where would the Russians go? Toward

Königsberg or would they stay in the proximity of Friedland? The Emperor knew that if the Reserve Corps had encountered the whole of the Russian army, Lannes’s divisions would not be enough to defend the roads of Eylau and Königsberg.⁴²

At 23:00, the Emperor called upon Grouchy and briefed him; Napoleon grasped the danger facing the Reserve Corps and that knew that Lannes needed immediate assistance. Accordingly, the 2nd Dragons



⁴¹ Lannes à Napoléon, 13 juin 1807, SHD, Correspondance Grande Armée: Carton 2c49.

⁴² Naulet, 120.

and Nansouty's heavy cavalry division immediately left, Grouchy therefore commanding all cavalry available at Friedland. Mortier's VIII Corps marched toward the Alle. At 05:00 Ney's VI Corps also departed, closely followed by Victor's I Corps and the Imperial Guard.⁴³ As Ruffin came to the village's outskirts, he was surprised to face vastly superior Russian forces. When Oudinot joined his troops, he grasped the seriousness of his position and decided to protect the Domnau's road leading to Eylau where Napoleon's forces were. Located in Posthenen, three kilometers away from Friedland, Oudinot placed two artillery batteries on the village's heights to protect his infantry.⁴⁴ Throughout the night, Oudinot spread his six battalions on the left between Posthenen and Heinrichsdorf, knowing that darkness would hide his numerical inferiority. "Well positioned in the woods covered by darkness, and efficiently protected by the terrain's features, Oudinot's men and 18 artillery pieces were waiting for the Russians to advance."⁴⁵ The battlefield itself did not favor the Russians, as they had to advance on a ground which proved to be disadvantageous to them in the outcome of this battle.

The battlefield at Friedland is delimited on the east by the Alle River's meanders, in one of them laid the village of Friedland. The southern edge of the battlefield was the hamlet of Sortlack and its woods. French

troops were deployed from Heinrichsdorf in the north through Posthenen in the center to Grünhof in the south. One important feature was the Mühlen Fluß a little brook which bisected the battleground. Benningsen in his memoirs described the deployment of his army.

The 14th of June at 04:00 a.m. the troops that I ordered across through the left bank of the Alle were now in front of the town in battle order arranged in two lines in the following manner: to our right, Lieutenant Generals Uvarov and Kologrivov with the cavalry, across the village of Heirichsdorf, and, in front of them some batteries. Followed our infantry by division: the 3rd, commanded by General Titov; the 7th and 8th under the orders of General Sukin II; the Corps of Lieutenant General Prince Gortchakov; the advance-guard part of the left-wing, under the orders of Lieutenant General Prince Bagration; the cavalry of Lieutenant General Prince Gallitzin. To support our center and our left wing; some of our artillery in batteries; behind the two lines, the reserve, in which were the Semenovsky, Ismailovsky Guards, and the Horse Guards.⁴⁶

With hindsight, Benningsen's decision to fight at Friedland was the worst possible one. He did not hold any commanding ground to dominate the enemy, and unlike

⁴³ Naulet, 120-21.

⁴⁴ Garnier, 47.

⁴⁵ Derode, 15.

⁴⁶ Benningsen, 195-96.

at Heilsberg, he did not have time to prepare defensive positions. Moreover, the Mühlen Fluß cut his army in two halves, and no bridges had been constructed to allow movements from one wing to the other. Last but not the least of Benningsen's mistakes at Friedland, his army was going to fight with its back to the river, which ultimately had devastating consequences. If Benningsen's forces had to retreat into Friedland, they had only one bridge to do so, a bridge which in time became the perfect bottleneck.⁴⁷

Meanwhile, Lannes for the second time in this Campaign of Poland braced himself to square off with Benningsen and face the bulk of the Russian army. Only this time, he was not going to fight in the mud and snow like in Pultusk. Also, and unlike 26 December 1806, Lannes held much better intelligence about the enemy and knew that he would receive large reinforcements provided by three army corps (I, VI, and VIII), four cavalry divisions (Grouchy, Nansouty, Latour-Maubourg, La Houssaye) and the Imperial Guard. Fully assembled Napoleon's forces amounted to 85,000 men.⁴⁸ Lannes's primary objective was to fix the enemy and block the road to Königsberg. He had to stop the Russians to cross back the right bank of the Alle, an arduous task considering his largely inferior numbers. For the moment, Lannes was on his own and could rely only on two infantry

brigades of Oudinot's division, three cavalry regiments, and very little artillery, the rest of his Corps was on its way, but would not arrive before sunrise.⁴⁹

Even though Lannes and Oudinot faced a massive Russian concentration, they used all their experience and craftiness to thwart the Russians, using every possible terrain features to dissimulate their men. They shifted their men around to lure the Russians thinking that they faced much larger French forces. Despite cleverly hiding his true strength, Lannes knew that he had his back against the wall, and accepted as Margaret Chrisawn put it, "that he had been ordered to fight, and fight he would."⁵⁰ At 03:00 with the sun rising, Grouchy's dragoons linked with the Reserve Corps' cavalry, at the same time, Russian artillery opened fire on the French lines. Despite inferior numbers of guns, French artillery answered, but paid a heavy price. General Paulin wrote that "For only a two guns battery, two gunners were killed, eleven wounded and ten horses lost."⁵¹

By 06:00 the rest of Oudinot's division turned up and Lannes deployed it on two lines between Sortlack woods on the right and slightly beyond the Mühlen Fluß on the left. French artillery which now comprised six 8-pound pieces, six 4-pound pieces, and one howitzer, started a violent duel with its

⁴⁷ Naulet, 122; and Chrisawn, 170.

⁴⁸ Garnier, 48; and Naulet, 122.

⁴⁹ Naulet, 122.

⁵⁰ Chrisawn, 170.

⁵¹ Jules-Antoine Paulin, *Les souvenirs du général baron Paulin (1782-1876)* (Paris: Plon, 1895), 66.

Russian counterpart. Simultaneously, Russian cavalry and infantry closed on Lannes's men, but got repulsed as devastating French fire created high casualties in their ranks. As the situation became more threatening on his right wing, Lannes sent three more guns and ordered Grouchy to charge the Russians. The Saxon Cuirassiers fell on the enemy and pushed it back to its starting point. To Grouchy's surprise, the Russians did not renew their offensive, and left him in control of the area.⁵² When Lannes examined the Russian lines, he perceived their intentions to attack on the right, he further realized that Heinrichsdorf was under threat as they tried to outflank his left. Reacting to the enemy's maneuver, Lannes sent Grouchy's cavalry division to clear the Russians. "When Grouchy appeared, he saw that Nansouty's carabiniers and cuirassiers were all waiting in the woods without engaging the enemy. At this point, a furious Grouchy approached them, and with a few chosen words, ordered them to charge. Nansouty's men immediately obeyed and attacked the Russians."⁵³ Grouchy knowing the importance of holding Heinrichsdorf, and protecting the road to Königsberg, led his *Dragons* and Millet's brigade into a frontal attack against the Russians, in the process, he cleared Heinrichsdorf, and seized seven guns. The Russians surprised by this dashing move fled, fell on Carrié's brigade

which had moved around the village and lost 1,500 prisoners. Russian cavalry under Uvarov and Kologrivov soon counter-attacked but was driven off from the village by Nansouty's cuirassiers. Only after the arrival of Beaumont and Colbert's light cavalry brigades was the plain in front of Heinrichsdorf ultimately cleared of Russians.⁵⁴ Through his quick thinking, a sharp tactical understanding and strong leadership, Grouchy, in defiance of his numerical inferiority, had won an important success, had captured a key position which closed the road to Königsberg to the Russians, and had secured Lannes's left for the time being.⁵⁵ Lannes knew that he needed the emperor to show up with the rest of the army, he sent his aide-de-camp Saint-Mars and told him, "Ride your horse to death Saint-Mars to tell as soon as possible to the emperor that we face the entire Russian army!"⁵⁶

At 09:00 with the battle raging for already six hours, Mortier and the men from Dupas' division finally took their place in the French line. Mortier's VIII Corps had left Lampasch at 01:00 and covered 28 kilometers in eight hours! As soon as they joined their comrades, Lannes sent them on the left of Oudinot's division between Posthenen and Heinrichsdorf, additional troops from the 2nd Polish Division under General Dombrowski positioned

⁵² Naulet, 123.

⁵³ Garnier, 50, Naulet, 123.

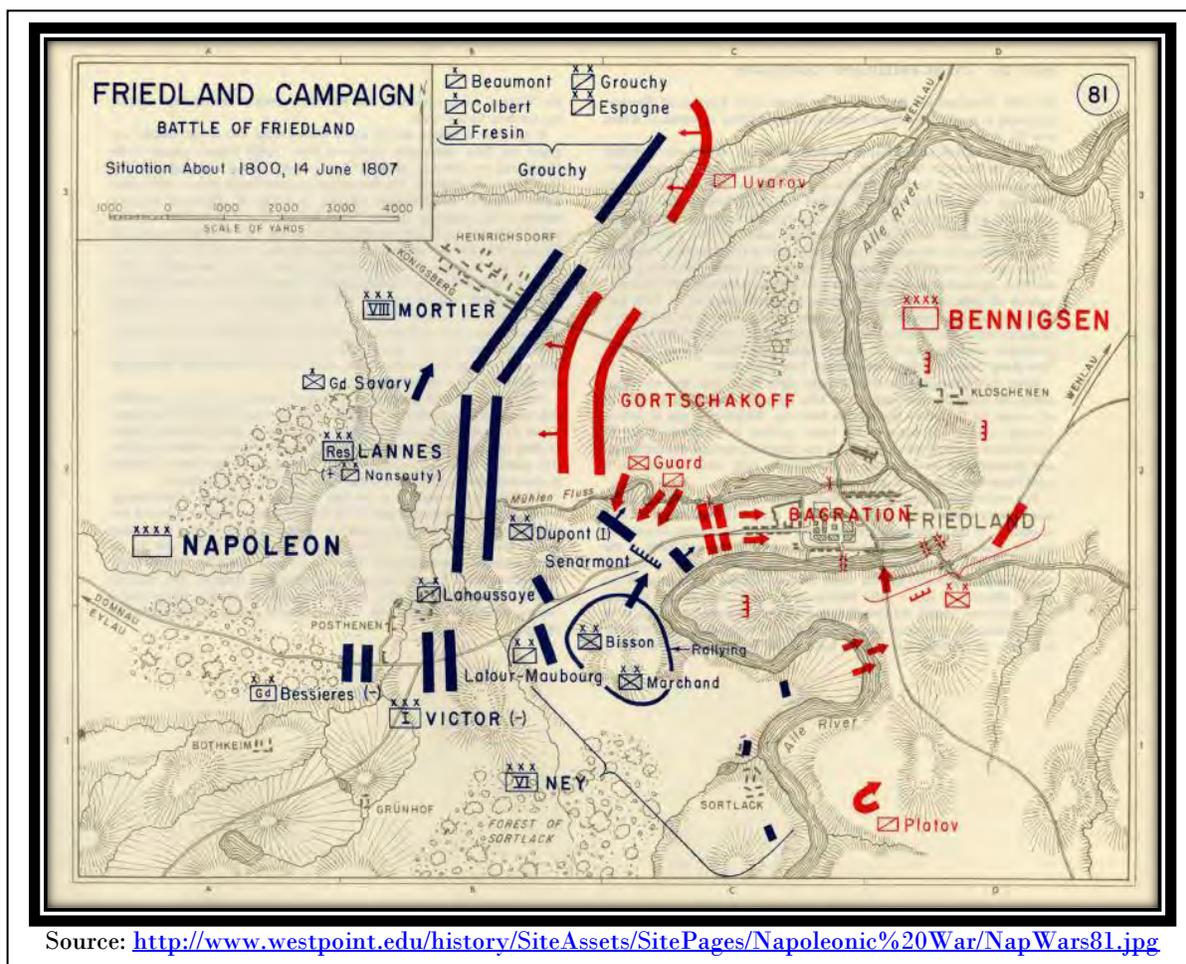
⁵⁴ Derode mentioned it took fifteen charges before French cavalry finally managed to clear the Cossacks from Heinrichsdorf. Derode, 22.

⁵⁵ Naulet, 124.

⁵⁶ Derode, 36.

themselves on Dupas' left to protect a battery of thirty-two guns from the VIII Corps.⁵⁷ When Lieutenant General Dokurov saw these French columns, he ordered his artillery to fire in their direction, hence provoking an intense counter-barrage from French gunners. Benningsen acknowledging that the road to Königsberg was getting shut, launched Dokurov's infantry against Mortier's regiments. Russian regiments from the 7th and 8th divisions assaulted the French defenses and despite repeated bayonet charges and violent hand-to-hand fighting,

the Russians were pushed back one more time.⁵⁸ In this hard-fought encounter, French casualties swiftly mounted from the effect of both Russian artillery fire and repeated infantry attacks. The fighting took a huge toll on their opponents as well. Frédéric Naulet mentioned that “during the first phase of the battle, General Essen had to leave the battlefield wounded, a cannon ball took off General Sukin's leg, and Bagration had to do without two of his main officers, Generals Markov and Baggowouth who both got wounded.”⁵⁹ So far, Lannes's left wing held firm, however



⁵⁷ Garnier, 52.

⁵⁸ Derode, 28.

⁵⁹ Naulet, 125.

his right wing was in danger, since in Sortlack woods, under the energetic leadership of Prince Bagration, Russian troops following General Raïevsky led as many as four bayonet charges before expelling Oudinot's Grenadiers.⁶⁰

At 10:00 the other division from the Reserve Corps under General Verdier arrived. Lannes, despite receiving constant reinforcements was still greatly outnumbered by Benningsen's forces. As soon as Verdier's men entered the line, Lannes put them to good use, and deceived the enemy about his real strength, using the terrain's ripples to mask his soldiers' movements and asking them to lay low in the rye fields. Lannes used another stratagem to dupe the Russians: he formed Verdier's division into two mobile columns and shifted them from left to right, and *vice versa*. Using all his Gascon's guile, Lannes thus fooled the Russians who believed that he kept on getting fresh troops when he did not.⁶¹

After seven hours of non-stop combats and bombardment, men from the Reserve Corps, and especially Oudinot's grenadiers started to wane. To stem Russian efforts in Sortlack woods, Oudinot weakened his left, a decision that the Russians were quick to exploit as they concentrated their artillery fire on this specific position. Lannes could not afford to have Oudinot's line to break,

and therefore dispatched a half battery to support him. Another intense artillery exchange started, and French gunners stopped this renewed Russian offensive, at the cost of twenty casualties.⁶² Benningsen persisted in his efforts to dislodge the French from Heinrichsdorf, and launched a new attack led by Generals Uvarov, Kologrivov, and Titov's 3rd division. Grouchy and Nansouty despite being severely outnumbered by Russian cavalry squadrons deployed boundless energy to rally their carabinieri, cuirassiers and dragoons and one more time repulsed the Russians. Despite high losses on the French side, Heinrichsdorf remained in French hands.⁶³

Around noon, the emperor finally arrived on the battlefield, Lannes's troops were worn out. After the battle, Lannes paid them tribute when he wrote to Napoleon, "The efforts of courage and this obstinacy of your troops in front of such a formidable army, which had three times more cavalry than us, and at least two hundred cannons in battery are essentially due to the critical importance of the position they defended and to the trust that inspired them the imminent arrival of your Majesty at the head of his army."⁶⁴ For nine long hours Lannes had performed admirably, he had not only attracted the bulk of the Russians army, but had also repulsed all of Benningsen's attempts to break through

⁶⁰ Derode, 29.

⁶¹ Derode, 29-30.

⁶² Naulet, 125.

⁶³ Naulet, 125.

⁶⁴ Lannes à Napoléon, 26 juin 1807, SHD, Correspondance Grande Armée: Carton 2c49.

French defenses. Lannes could now let Napoleon take over and finish the job.

On his way to Friedland, Napoleon met Marbot, one of Lannes's staff-officers who had been sent to request urgent reinforcements. The Emperor listened to Marbot's report, then with a smile asked him: "Do you have a good memory? – Passable, Sire. – So, what anniversary is it today, 14th of June? – The one of Marengo. – Yes, yes, said the emperor, the one of Marengo, and I am going to beat the Russians just like I beat the Austrians!"⁶⁵ As he surveyed the battlefield, Napoleon appreciated that Lannes, Oudinot and Grouchy did an excellent job to keep the Russians at bay. When the Emperor met Oudinot, the latter was a frightening sight: He had exposed himself all morning to enemy's fire, was without his hat, his uniform torn by bullets, and his horse covered in blood. Oudinot told the emperor: "Please hurry Sire, my Grenadiers can no longer hold, but give me some reinforcements and I throw all the Russians in the water!"—Napoleon answered him: "You have outdone yourself; when you are somewhere, there is no need to worry but for you, but it is up to me to finish the day."⁶⁶ Both armies were extremely tired after ten hours of unrelenting combat, thus

no more attacks were launched until 18:00, only the guns kept firing.⁶⁷

To better grasp Russians' intentions, Napoleon dispatched General Savary to reconnoiter, the latter went around Sortlack woods and saw the pontoons that numerous Russians regiments crossed to reinforce the left bank. Savary explained to the emperor that Russian reinforcements would be ready in an hour, Napoleon replied "Eh, well! I, am; so, I have an hour on them, and, since they want it, I will give them some; just as well it is today the anniversary of Marengo; it is a day where fortune is with me."⁶⁸ Napoleon knew that to defeat Benningsen he had to seize Friedland, the village being the battlefield's key position. The emperor gave Ney's VI Corps the honor to lead the attack, which started at 18:00. The reason why Napoleon delayed his action was first because VI Corps had arrived in the early afternoon, Victor's I Corps had only followed at 16:00. Second, the emperor wanted men who were rested to launch his decisive move, which in mid-afternoon was not the case. Third and more importantly, Napoleon's success hinged upon a perfect coordination between his various units.⁶⁹ Napoleon gave his battle orders:

⁶⁵ Marcellin de Marbot, *Mémoires du général baron de Marbot*, vol. 1 (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1891), 364.

⁶⁶ To reward Oudinot for his outstanding performance at Friedland, Napoleon made him a Count with a one million Francs dotation, and twenty thousand Francs for the *Légion d'Honneur*, he also offered him a pipe on which the following

message was engraved: "When he is somewhere, there is to fear just for himself, June 1807." See François Pils, *Journal de marche du grenadier Pils, (1804-1814)* (Paris: Ollendorf, 1895), 51; and Derode, 40.

⁶⁷ Naulet, 130.

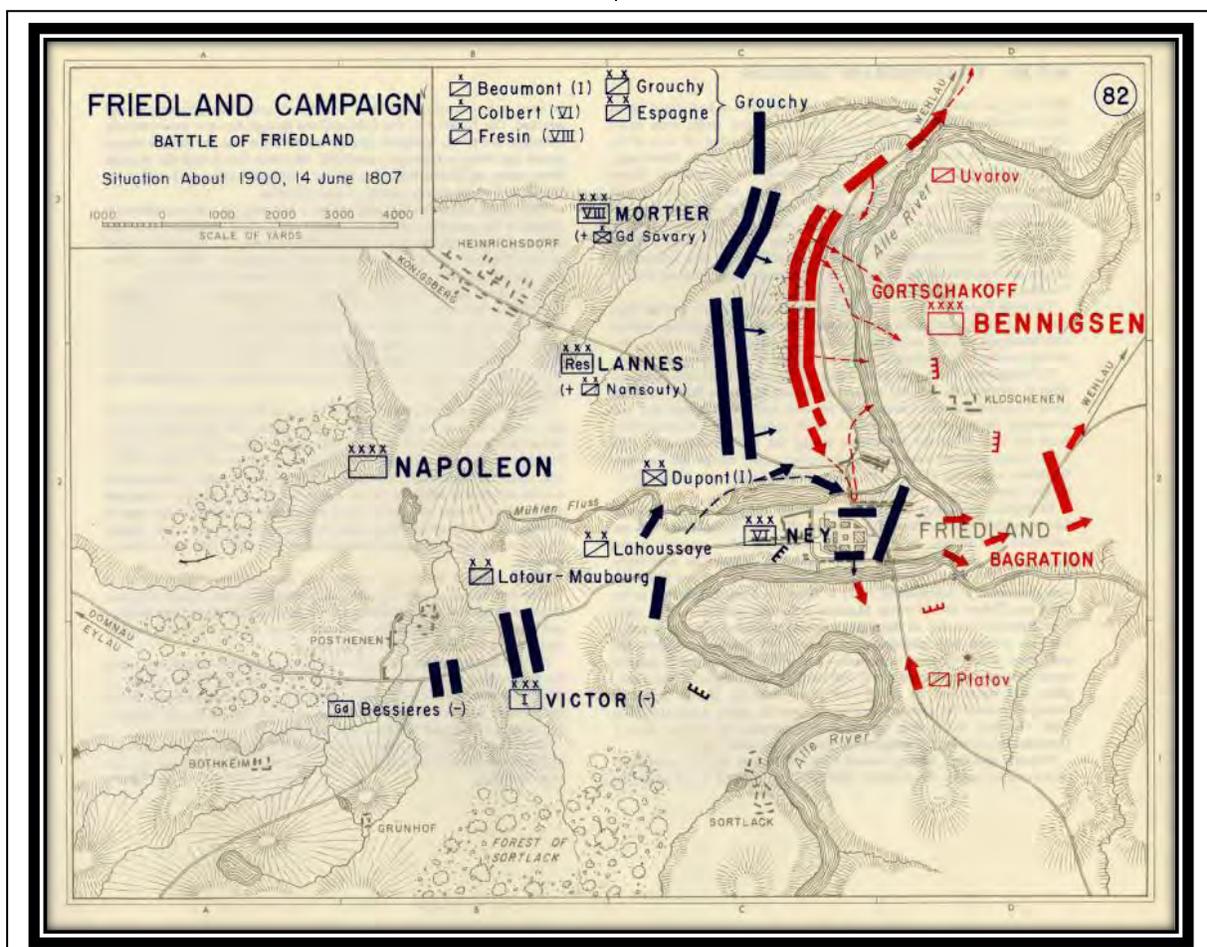
⁶⁸ Savary, 88.

⁶⁹ Naulet, 130-31.

Marshal Ney will take the right from Posthenen up to Sortlack; and he will lean on General Oudinot's current position. Marshal Lannes will be the center, which will start on the left of Marshal Ney, from Heinrichsdorf up to around the village of Posthenen. Oudinot's *Grenadiers* who right now constitute the right of Marshal Lannes will gradually lean on the left to attract the attention of the enemy. Marshal Lannes will deploy his divisions as much as he can, and by this movement, he will have the opportunity to place himself on two

lines. The left will be made by Marshal Mortier, who will hold Heinrichsdorf and the road to Königsberg, and from there will spread in front of the Russians' right wing.

Marshal Mortier will never advance, the movement must be made by our right, which will pivot on the left. General Espagne's cavalry and General Grouchy's *Dragons*, reunited with the left wing cavalry, will maneuver as much as possible to hurt the enemy, when this one, pressured by the vigorous attack of our right wing, will feel the necessity to retreat.



Source: <http://www.westpoint.edu/history/SiteAssets/SitePages/Napoleonic%20War/NapWars82.jpg>

General Victor and the Imperial Guard will form the reserve and will be positioned at Grünhof, Bothkeim and behind Posthenen. Lahoussaye's *Dragons* division will be under General Victor's orders; the Latour-Maubourg's *Dragons* division will obey to Marshal Ney; General Nansouty's heavy cavalry division will be at the disposal of Marshal Lannes, and will fight with the Reserve Corps cavalry in the center. I will be in the center. We must always progress by the right, and we must leave movement's initiative to Marshal Ney, who will wait my orders to begin. From the moment that the right will advance against the enemy, all cannons of the line will concentrate their fire in the prescribed direction, to protect the attack on this wing.⁷⁰

Before launching his troops against the Russians, Ney observed the ground where his men would fight, and realized that 25,000 Russians faced him, protected by a strong artillery which could sweep the battlefield from any directions. To succeed, the French attack had to be supported by all available artillery. Once Ney's infantry was ready, VI Corps artillery commanded by General Jean-Nicolas Seroux placed ten guns on Ney's right, and four on his left, where they were adjacent to I Corps artillery under General Sénarmont. Sénarmont divided his artillery in two

batteries: Fourteen on his left under Major Raulot, and fifteen on his right commanded by Colonel Forni. These two batteries used crossfire to cover the attack front of I Corps, they were also tasked to destroy Russian guns. During the battle, these batteries greatly facilitated French troops' progression, by steadily following the advance of the infantry, thus enabling it to reach its objectives and attenuating its casualties.⁷¹

At 18:00, the second phase of the Battle of Friedland started, with the shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* and *En avant!* The two divisions of VI Corps started to march forward. In spite of the smoke billowed by both French and Russian guns, General Marchand's division quickly conquered Sortlack. On their right, Seroux's battery of ten guns was now divided in two groups of five and kept an aggressive rolling fire to follow the infantry's progression. On the left, Sénarmont first fired on the Russians at 500 meters, then after two salvos, judging that he was still too far, he pushed his guns at 200 meters from the Russians. The duel between the two artilleries became so intense, that one soldier of the 9th *Léger*, tasked to protect Sénarmont's batteries declared that "we entered the region of the cannonballs, to only exit it at the end of the day."⁷²

The battle was still raging when Ney's infantry aptly supported by artillery

⁷⁰ Ordres, 14 juin 1807, *Correspondance de Napoléon*, vol. 15, N°. 12756, 416-417.

⁷¹ Naulet, 132-33.

⁷² Jean-Marie-Félix Girod de l'Ain, *Dix ans de mes souvenirs militaires de 1805 à 1815* (Paris: Librairie militaire de J. Dumaine, 1873), 56.

progressed toward Friedland, In the meantime, the Russians launched multiple cavalry charges to stem the French advance. With smoke obscuring the battlefield, men from the Bisson division veered right too much, and were surprised when Russian cavalry squadrons bolted from the left and routed them. In a matter of minutes, the Second Battalion from the 9th *Léger* lost 300 men, sensing the gravity of the situation Victor pushed the Dupont's division in the gap left by Bisson's men, while Ney rallied his battalions shouting *Vive l'Empereur!*⁷³

Pursuing its efforts, Russian cavalry rushed upon French artillery to clear it out, Sénarmont instantly ordered two grapeshot salvos which stopped the Russians right in their tracks. Trying to gain the upper-hand in this decisive phase of the battle, Victor pressed forward the Frère's brigade from the Villatte's Division and la Houssaye's *Dragons* to protect his gunners. As his artillery battered the Russians, Sénarmont feeling that the battle's momentum was going the French way, successively pushed his guns forward, from 200 to 120 meters from the enemy's lines. Sénarmont hit them multiple times with grapeshot, thus pressing home the French advantage. The Russians started to break, but still fought valiantly; during these combats,

Sénarmont lost his horse and a cannonball killed Colonel Forni.⁷⁴

The tide was decisively turning in favor of the French, but even as they retreated toward Friedland, Russian artillery wreaked havoc in French infantry. Ney's aide-de-camp Octave Levassasseur sent to re-direct the advance of one regiment, witnessed first-hand the carnage inflicted by Russian guns. He wrote in his memoirs, "I am running toward the regiment, and I said to the colonel, press on the left! While I was talking to him, a cannonball took him away. A major instantly took over, placed his hat on top of his sword while shouting: *Vive l'Empereur! En avant!* A second cannonball fired, and the major fell on his knees, both legs cut."⁷⁵ Once at fifteen meters from the Russian gunners, Ney stopped his men and ordered them to fire, "killing nearly all the gunners at their cannons."⁷⁶ Suddenly, the Russians broke and fled, they tried to reach the bridges to escape the French onslaught.

It was 20:00 when Ney's men entered a village of Friedland in flames. They pursued the Russians, and the fight turned into a bloodbath. VI Corps artillery ran out of ammunition, leaving only I Corps which closely followed behind the infantry's advance. Sénarmont ordered his gunners to target the pontoons on the Alle, and they executed the order and provoked

⁷³ Girod de l'Ain, 56-57.

⁷⁴ Naulet, 135.

⁷⁵ Octave Levassasseur, *Souvenirs militaires d'Octave Levassasseur, officier d'artillerie, aide-de-*

camp du maréchal Ney (1802-1815) (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1914), 110.

⁷⁶ Levassasseur, 110.

“horrendous carnage.”⁷⁷ From that moment onward, all discipline evaporated and Russian soldiers started to swim to reach the right bank of the Alle.⁷⁸ Cavalry General d’Hautpoul commented, “It was truly a regrettable show to see this crowd of man rushing pell-mell, loaded with their bags and weapons, in a river in which they were sure to die...The one who reached the right bank were in very small numbers.”⁷⁹

While Ney and Victor were routing the Russian left wing, Lannes kept his position in the center allowing Grouchy to harass the Russian’s right wing and fix as many regiments as possible, ultimately denying Benningsen the opportunity to reinforce his crumbling left wing. Once the battle was over, Grouchy reported that “It had been recommended to silence, by frequent and audacious charges the numerous batteries that they had on their right, their fire catching French troops in a difficult position.”⁸⁰ Once victory gained by Ney, Grouchy and Mortier assaulted Gortchakov’s regiments which were already trying to retreat toward Friedland. Many Russian soldiers could only try to cross the Alle in front of the village of Kloschenen. As Russian troops ran for their lives, French artillery was hot on their heels

and kept firing at close range which caused further enormous casualties. The last combats of the day were amongst the most violent as Gortchakov’s retreating troops desperately tried to fight their way out from Ney’s infantry which had just entered the burning village of Friedland.⁸¹ As Napoleon knew all along, the narrow streets of Friedland became a graveyard for the retreating Russians. At 22:00 fighting ceased, “the emperor was exhausted, he sat to rest while his Mameluke took off his boots, he finished some stock, drank a glass of wine and fell asleep in a little shack made of planks that the engineers hastily built for him.”⁸²

After a very long day of fighting, Lannes, just like the Emperor was drained, he could however be proud as he kept most of the Russian army at bay for eleven long hours. The price of his resistance was high, as French casualties ranged between 9,000 and 10,000 men killed, wounded and missing.⁸³ Russians casualties were even higher, and varied between 10-15,000 killed. Colonel Bourdeau mentioned 10,000 dead and 15,000 wounded.⁸⁴ The 79th *Bulletin de la Grande Armée* announced 15-18,000 Russians dead.⁸⁵ These figures must be considered with utmost caution, as the

⁷⁷ Savary, 91.

⁷⁸ Naulet, 135.

⁷⁹ Alphonse Henri d’Hautpoul, *Mémoires du général marquis Alphonse d’Hautpoul, pair de France, 1789-1865* (Paris: Librairie académique Didier, 1906), 143.

⁸⁰ Rapport de Grouchy à Berthier, 15 juin 1807, SHD, Correspondance Grande Armée: Carton 2c49.

⁸¹ Naulet, 136.

⁸² Pierre-François Percy, *Journal des campagnes du Baron Percy, chirurgien en chef de la Grande Armée (1754-1825)* (Paris:Plon, 1904), 293.

⁸³ Naulet, 136, Garnier, 68.

⁸⁴ Émile Hippolyte Bourdeau, *Campagnes modernes*, vol. 2, *L’Épopée impériale 1804-1815* (Paris: Henri Charles-Lavauzelle, 1916), 235.

⁸⁵ 79th Bulletin de la Grande Armée, 17 juin 1807, *Correspondance de Napoléon*, vol. 15, N^o. 12767, 343.

Bulletins often embellished the enemy's casualties. Frédéric Naulet mentioned that at Friedland, the French only seized 23 guns, which by the margin of success does not seem much. Naulet further explained that by 17:00 when Benningsen understood that he now faced the vast majority of Napoleon's *Grande Armée*, he grasped the danger he was in, and ordered his artillery away. Most of the heavy artillery was withdrawn first, which explained why the French only seized a limited number of guns.⁸⁶

Lannes, who had fought so hard all day, felt slightly deflated when the 79th *Bulletin* ignored the Reserve Corps' contribution in the critical hours of the battle. Margaret Chrisawn rightly stated that Napoleon never mentioned Lannes's tenacious resistance, and that only Ney received lavish praise for delivering the knock-out blow.⁸⁷ The *Bulletin* above simply provided blanket praise such as "Cavalry, infantry, artillery, everybody distinguished itself."⁸⁸ Lannes knew he did not receive the laurels he deserved; nevertheless, he emphasized the role that his troops had played during the battle and praised his generals and staff officers who all acted gallantly throughout the day. Lannes wrote to the King of Saxony to congratulate him regarding the conduct of the Saxon light cavalry

regiments and their exemplary bravery in combat.⁸⁹

After Friedland, Lannes, Oudinot and the Reserve Corps all headed toward Königsberg. Later on, even though Lannes was in Tilsit, he did not participate in this diplomatic extravaganza that Napoleon organized for the two emperors to decide the fate of Europe. On 20 June, Lannes wrote to his wife informing her that the emperor would soon reward his valor at Friedland,

Everything announces that we will have peace in eight days and I hope to kiss you in two months. I saw the Emperor today who told me: 'Lannes, I will soon give you a proof of my friendship...' I am happy when he says to me that finally he has some friendship for me. What a beautiful battle, especially as it gives us peace! I won't talk to you of the conduct of my army corps. It did so many beautiful things that it is not up to me to sing its praises.⁹⁰

Napoleon kept his word, and on 30 June 1807, Lannes, and his fellow marshals received domains and new titles carved out from recently conquered Polish territories. Lannes received the principality of Siewierz (Sièvres in French, Sievers in English) with an annual reported income of

⁸⁶ Naulet, 139-40.

⁸⁷ Chrisawn, 175.

⁸⁸ 79th Bulletin de la Grande Armée, 17 juin 1807, *Correspondance de Napoléon*, vol. 15, N°. 12767, 343.

⁸⁹ Lannes au Roi de Saxe, 23 juin 1807, SHD, Correspondance Grande Armée: Carton 2c50.

⁹⁰ Thoumas, 217.

2,674,280 francs, a very handsome compensation for the time. Only Davout, received a higher amount which reached 4,831,238 francs!⁹¹ On 19 March 1808, Lannes officially became *Duc de Montebello*.⁹² Lannes did not unfortunately live long enough to enjoy his various titles, high imperial income and estates in Poland, Westphalia, and Hanover.

During the War of the Fifth Coalition, Lannes served his country for the last time. On 22 May 1809, during the Battle of Aspern-Essling, Lannes as he rested to mourn his good friend General Pouzet (who had just died a few hours before) was hit by a small cannonball. With his condition rapidly deteriorating and after a heated debate, surgeons Larrey and Yvan decided to amputate his left leg. On 23 May, medical orderlies transported Lannes from Lobau Island to Ebersdorf, where for a few days he regained a semblance of strength. On 29 May, Lannes's condition worsened and a high fever affected him, and Napoleon who came to visit him every day, saw his friend for the last time. On 31 May at 05:45, Lannes died.⁹³ Lannes's death deeply affected the emperor, who the same day wrote to the Duchess of Montebello:

My cousin, the marshal has died of his wounds this morning, following the injury he sustained on the field of honor. My grief equals yours; I lose the

most distinguished general of my armies, my brother in arms for sixteen years, the one that I considered like my best friend. His family and his children will always have particular rights to my protection: this is to give you this assurance, that I wanted to write to you this letter, because I feel that nothing can alleviate the justified sorrow that you feel.⁹⁴

Napoleon lost his friend, his best general and a soldier who proved that a simple man coming from rural Lectoure could indeed become a true French legend. Everlasting fame awaited this warrior who, since his glorious death repose in the Panthéon and whose name proudly adorns the East pillar of the Arc de Triomphe. His statue dominating the Rohan wing of *the* Palais du Louvre on the prestigious Rue de Rivoli, and who has a boulevard from the posh 16th district of the French capital still commemorating his name. Quite a destiny for this modest Gascon who befriended one of the world's most celebrated characters. Jean Lannes lived, fought and died in an exceptional era, always at the tip of the sword, to become a man that French history will forever remember and cherish.

⁹¹ Décret, 30 juin 1807, *Correspondance de Napoléon*, vol. 15, N°. 12839, 377-78.

⁹² Damamme, 178.

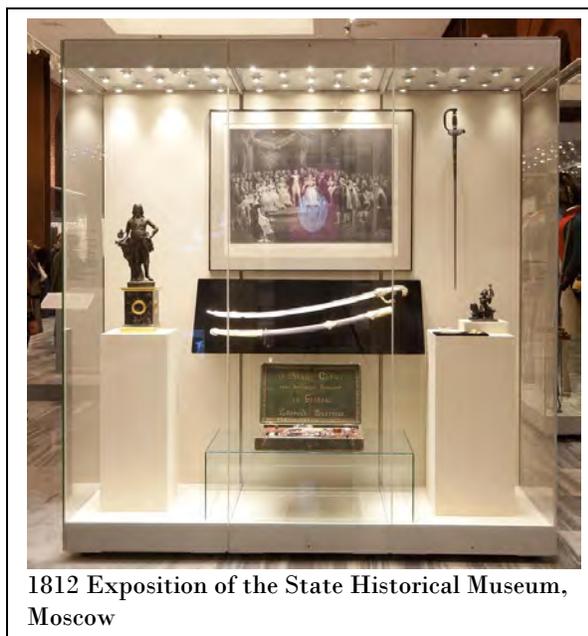
⁹³ Damamme, 290.

⁹⁴ Napoléon à la Duchesse de Montebello, 31 mai 1809, *Correspondance de Napoléon*, vol. 16, N°. 15282, 72.

The Saber of Napoleon

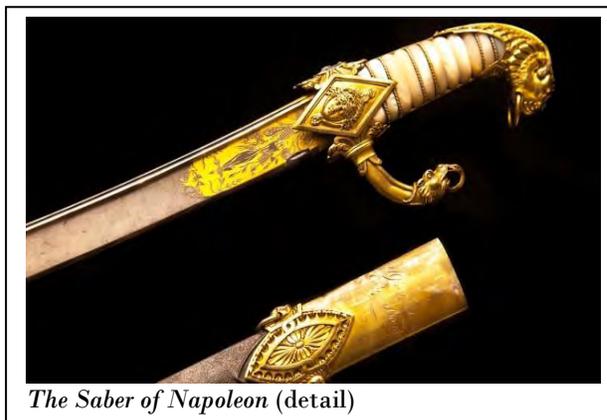
by Liudmila Sakharova

The State Historical Museum is a major depository of documents and relics of the time of Napoleon. In this collection there are many weapons, uniforms, medals, oil paintings, water-colours, historical documents. Some of the relics were kept in the families of war heroes, others came from two large private collections—that of Shchukin, a Russian merchant, and of Baron de Bay from France. Among them is the saber of Napoleon, which is exhibited at the Museum of 1812. It has an interesting history.



This officer's saber and the sheath were created in 1799 by the famous French master Nicolas Noël Boutet (1761-1833). He lived and worked in the period of the Empire. The Empire style was the style of military glory of France. Boutet, himself a

talented artist, found his own way to embody new trends in decorating weapons. He became an outstanding master of this style in the art of arms making in France.



The subjects of his drawings and artistic compositions became images of classical art discovered during excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii. In the period of the First Empire, the language of allegories and symbols, was filled with a new meaning. For example, the eagle became one of the most popular symbols of Napoleon and his Empire. Napoleon decided to adorn the banners of the Guard with representations of this noble bird. Napoleon Bonaparte's ceremonial saber is one of the finest masterpieces of the weaponsmith Boutet. This type of saber came to be known as the saber "à la Marengo." Napoleon used it in the battle of Marengo in June 1800. Its blade has the inscription: "N. Bonaparte Premier Consul de la République Française" (Napoleon Bonaparte First Consul of the French Republic). The spine of the blade,

“Manufacture de Klingenthal Caulaux Frères” (Manufactory of the Brothers Caulaux of Klingenthal) and the scabbard “Mfre à Versailles Entrep Boutet” (Manufactory at Versailles, Boutet's Enterprise). The hilt, scabbard and saber assembly were produced at Boutet's Versailles manufactory and the blade at the manufactory of the Brothers Caulaux of Klingenthal.



The grip is made of mother-of-pearl. The guard on the crossbar is decorated with Heracles' head covered with the Nemean lion's hide, a laurel wreath and the all-seeing eye. Each detail of this composition has a symbolic meaning: Heracles is an embodiment of strength, courage and valor; the laurel wreath is a symbol of the divine origin of supreme power and the all-seeing eye is the symbol of the superhuman of the divine. Everything in this allegorical combination is aimed at glorifying the grandeur of the Emperor and imperial power. Nicolas Noël Boutet

became a popular weaponsmith at the time of Napoleon. He received many orders from nobles, generals and marshals of France.



Painter unknown painter (19th Century), *Capitulation of Paris. March 31, 1814.* Water-colored etching on paper.

This saber was presented to Napoleon Bonaparte by the French Republic, when he returned from the Egyptian campaign in 1799. Napoleon loved this saber and took it into military campaigns. This saber was with him up to dramatic events of 1814. In March 31, 1814, Paris capitulated. The Marshals of the Empire demanded that Napoleon abdicate. The act of abdication was signed by Napoleon at Fontainbleau on April 11, 1814. A touching farewell ceremony was held at Fontainbleau on April 20, 1814. Bonaparte was saying good-bye to his companions-in-arms: “Soldiers! You are my old comrades-in-arms. It was with you that I’ve travelled a road of honour! I wish I could embrace you all, but let me kiss this banner, for it embodies all of you.” The soldiers were crying.



G. Cain after the original by H. Ross (19th Century), *Napoleon leaving Fontainebleau*.
Lithograph

But how did the Emperor's favorite saber appear in Russia? The fact is that Napoleon presented it to Count Pavel Shuvalov, who accompanied the abdicated Emperor to his exile to Elba Island. But why? Who is Shuvalov? Pavel Shuvalov (1776-1823) was a participant in the wars with Napoleon. He became a general at the age of 25. He took part at Kulm, under Leipzig, in the capture of Paris. He was the adjutant of the Emperor Alexander I.

Shuvalov was appointed commissar of the Russian army, who accompanied the defeated Emperor Napoleon to the place of his exile. And he had to guard Napoleon. This task was difficult. During the transfer of escort in different areas of France the relation towards Napoleon was different. Someone greeted "Long live the Emperor!" and someone aggressively

threatened him. At a difficult moment, Shuvalov suggested that Napoleon exchanged clothes with him. Such camouflage was a precaution against hostile people. Of course, Shuvalov risked his life. Later, Napoleon appreciated the noble action of the Count. He thanked him and gave him his saber as a memory of these days.

For a long time, the Napoleon's was in the estate of the Shuvalov's family, which preserved it as a relic of Napoleon. In 1912, the centenary of 1812 was celebrated in Russia. There was a separate hall devoted solely to Napoleon. The saber of Napoleon was presented at an exhibition dedicated to these events. After the exhibition, it was returned to the owners.



George Dawe (1819-1825), *Shuvalov Pavel*,
oil on canvas.

In 1917, a revolution took place in Russia, and then a civil war began. The noble estates were burned. The Shuvalov estate

was ruined and the saber disappeared. But it was not lost. Later it became known that in 1918 a soldier of the Red Army took this saber and used it as a combat weapon in battles. Therefore, the part of the guard was lost. In 1926 a museum of Red Army was established in Moscow. The saber of Napoleon as a sword of a Red Army soldier was transferred to this museum. Later, the museum staff read the inscription on a saber that it belonged to Napoleon and handed it to the Historical Museum. Today, every visitor can see the saber of the Emperor Napoleon at the Museum of 1812 in Moscow.



Nicolas Noël Boutet, *Saber "à la Marengo,"* Steel, leather, mother of pearl, silver, gold plating. Saber length-98.2 in.; Scabbard length-102.0 in.

Historic Documents

Fouché Justifies Bonaparte's Brumaire Coup

Translated by Dr. Bill Chew III

The Treaty of Lunéville 1801

Translated by La Fondation Napoléon

Ode on the Occasion of the Peace of Lunéville

Translated by Dr. Bill Chew III

Ode on the War Between France and England

Translated by Ms. Bernadette Workman

Nouvelles Officielles 31 March 1814

Translated by Dr. Bill Chew III

Lyon Journal 16 April 1814

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Lyon Journal 17 April 1814

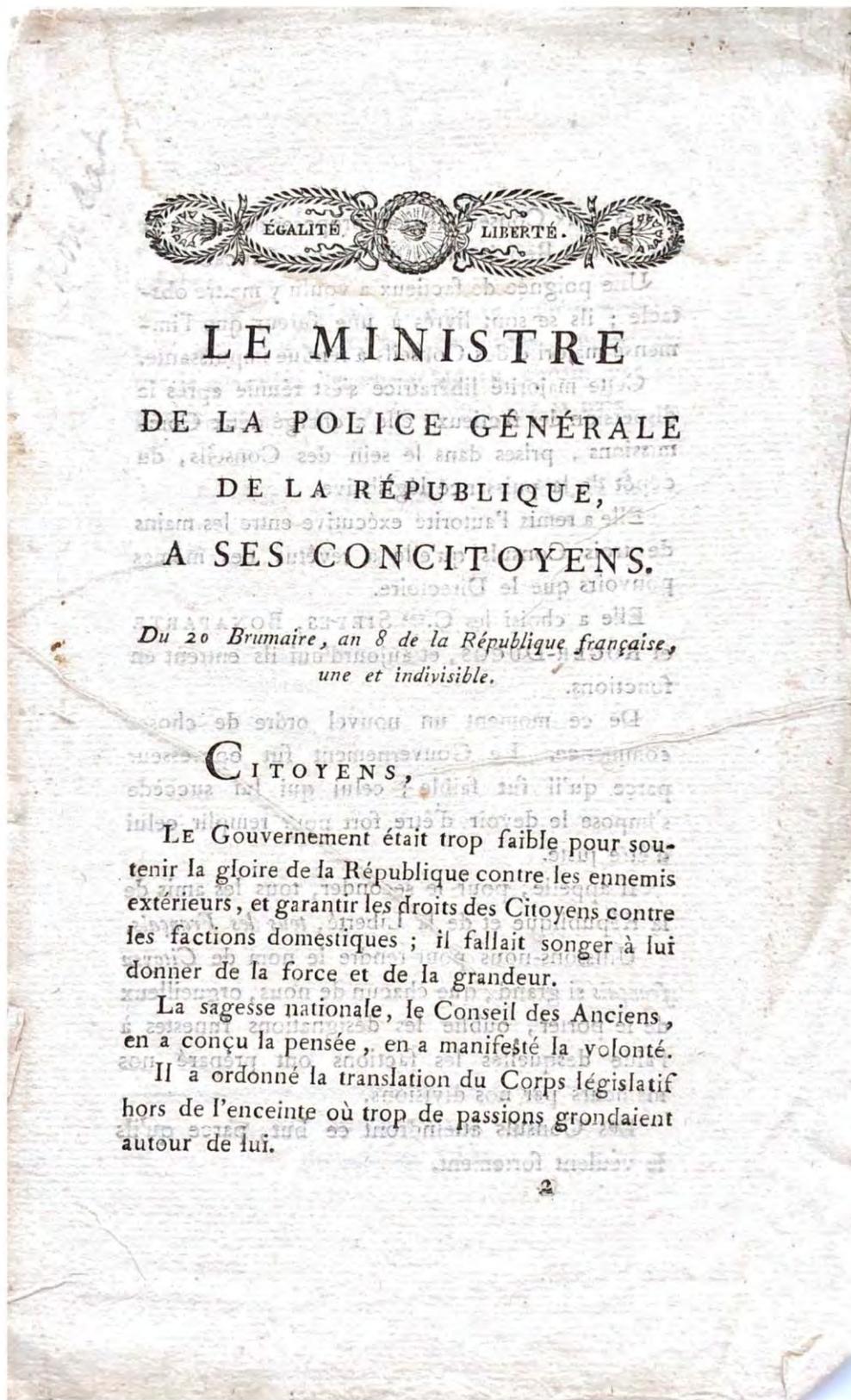
Translated by Dr. Bill Chew III

Fouché Justifies Bonaparte's Brumaire Coup

J. David Markham

When General Bonaparte returned from Egypt in October of 1799, he found a France in political turmoil. The ruling Directory was corrupt and very unpopular. Talk of a coup was in the air and there were at least two being planned. The more important group plotting a coup included Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, Roger Ducos, Lucien Bonaparte among others. Among the 'others' was one Joseph Fouché, who was minister of police at the time. To be successful, the coup needed support of the army, and Bonaparte, who had known republican leanings, was the ultimate choice. Once the coup took place on 18 Brumaire (8-9 November 1799), Napoleon was installed as First Consul and the period of France known as the Consulate began. It fell upon Fouché to provide a public explanation and justification for what had happened. This very rare document is that explanation and justification, distributed to the French Public on 11 November, 1799. The scan of the document is followed by the translation by Dr. Bill Chew III. The engraving is from my personal collection, as is the document.





Les deux Conseils allaient proposer des mesures dignes des Représentans du peuple français.

Une poignée de factieux a voulu y mettre obstacle ; ils se sont livrés à une fureur que l'immense majorité des Conseils a rendue impuissante.

Cette majorité libératrice s'est réunie après la dispersion des factieux ; elle a chargé deux Commissions , prises dans le sein des Conseils , du dépôt de la puissance législative.

Elle a remis l'autorité exécutive entre les mains de trois Consuls qu'elle a revêtus des mêmes pouvoirs que le Directoire.

Elle a choisi les C.^{ens} SIEYES, BONAPARTE et ROGER-DUCOS, et aujourd'hui ils entrent en fonctions.

De ce moment un nouvel ordre de choses commence. Le Gouvernement fut oppresseur parce qu'il fut faible ; celui qui lui succède s'impose le devoir d'être fort pour remplir celui d'être juste.

Il appelle, pour le seconder, tous les amis de la République et de la Liberté, *tous les Français*.

Unissons-nous pour rendre le nom de *Citoyen français* si grand, que chacun de nous, orgueilleux de le porter, oublie les désignations funestes à l'aide desquelles les factions ont préparé nos malheurs par nos divisions.

Les Consuls atteindront ce but, parce qu'ils le veulent fortement.

Bientôt les bannières de tous les partis seront détruites ; tous les Français seront ralliés sous l'étendard républicain.

Bientôt les travaux du Gouvernement assureront le triomphe de la République, au dehors par la victoire, sa prospérité au dedans par la justice, et le bonheur du peuple par la paix.

Le Ministre de la Police, FOUCHÉ.

PARIS, DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE.
Brumaire an VIII.

EQUALITY – LIBERTY

The Minister
of the General Police
of the Republic,
to His Fellow Citizens.

*Of the 20th Brumaire, Year 8 of the French Republic,
one and indivisible.*

Citizens,

The Government was too weak to sustain the glory of the Republic against the external enemies, and guarantee the rights of Citizens against the domestic factions: it had become necessary to consider giving that government power and greatness.

The national wisdom, the Council of Ancients, conceived of this thought, and manifested the necessary will.

It has thus ordered the moving of the Legislative Body outside of the precinct marked by the presence of too many roaring passions.

The two Councils went on to propose measures worthy of the Representatives of the French people.

A handful of factious individuals wanted to block this; they gave themselves up to a fury that the great majority of the Councils rendered powerless.

This liberating majority came together after the dispersion of the faction; it has charged two commissions, formed from amongst the Councils, with the lodgement of the legislative power.

It has returned the executive authority into the hands of three Consuls which it has endowed with the same powers as the Directory.

It has chosen the Citizens SIEYES, BONAPARTE and ROGER-DUCOS, and they enter into their functions today.

From this moment on a new order of things begins. The Government was oppressive because it was weak; that which succeeds it takes upon itself the duty of being strong so as to fulfil that of being just.

For their support, it calls upon all the friends of the Republic and of Liberty, *all Frenchmen.*

Let us unite to make the name of *French citizen* so great that each of us, proud of bearing it, will forget the deadly designations through which the factions prepared our misfortune by dividing us.

The Consuls will attain this goal, because they desire it strongly.

Soon the banners of all the parties will be destroyed; all Frenchmen will be rallied under the Republican standard.

The works of the Government will soon assure the triumph of the Republic, outside by victory, its prosperity inside by justice, and the well-being of the people by peace.

The Minister of Police, FOCHÉ

PARIS, BY THE PRINTING OFFICE OF THE REPUBLIC,
BRUMAIRE, YEAR VIII

The Treaty of Lunéville

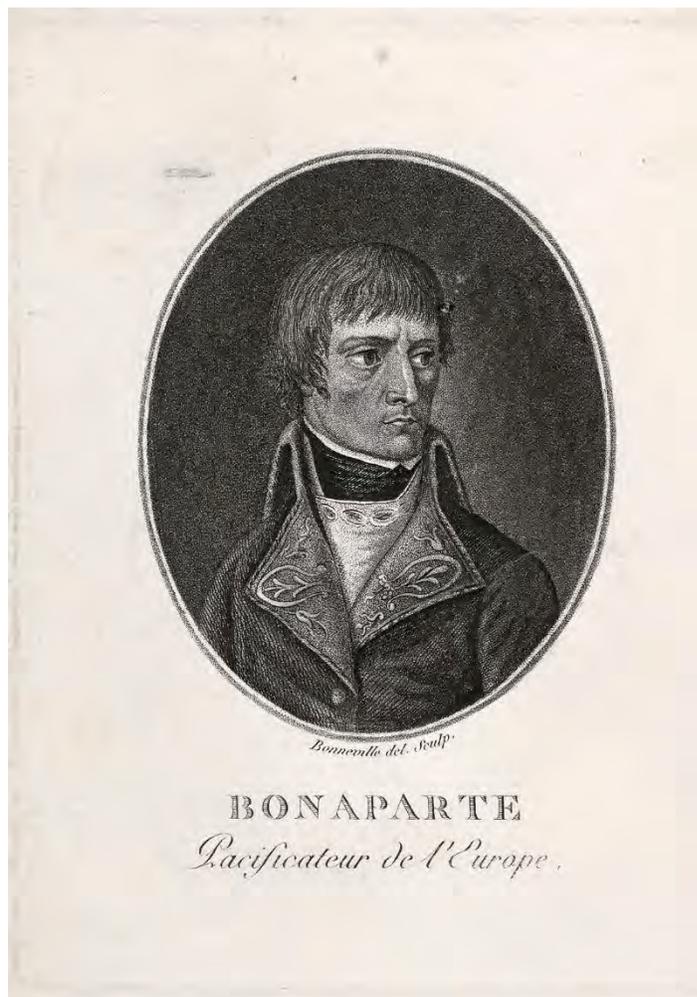
J. David Markham

When Napoleon became First Consul in 1799, his first order of business was to defend France against the so-called Second Coalition. This coalition was made up of a number of smaller countries led by Austria, Russia and Britain. The Austrians had armies in Germany and in Piedmont, Italy. Napoleon sent General Jean Moreau to Germany while he, Napoleon, marched through Switzerland to Milan and then further south, toward Alessandria. As Napoleon, as First Consul, was not technically able to lead an army, the French were technically under the command of General Louis Alexandre Berthier. There, on 14 June 1800, the French defeated the Austrian army led by General Michael von Melas. This victory, coupled with Moreau's success in Germany, led to a general peace negotiation resulting in the Treaty of Lunéville (named after the town in France where the treaty was signed by Count Ludwig von Cobenzl for Austria and Joseph Bonaparte for Austria. The treaty

secured France's borders on the left bank of the Rhine River and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. France ceded territory and fortresses on the right bank, and various republics were guaranteed their independence.

This translation is taken from the website of the *Fondation Napoléon* and can be found at the following URL:

<https://www.napoleon.org/en/history-of-the-two-empires/articles/treaty-of-luneville/>. I am deeply grateful for the permission granted to use it by Dr. Peter Hicks of the *Fondation*. That French organization does an outstanding job of promoting Napoleonic history throughout the world. They used a slightly later printing of the treaty. I have made minor formatting changes to more closely match the format of the document in my collection. The engraving of Bonaparte is from my collection as well, and was made either in 1801 to celebrate this treaty or the following year to celebrate the Treaty of Amiens.



1801

TRAITÉ DE PAIX

*Conclu à Lunéville, le 20 Pluviôse an 9, entre
la République Française, l'Empereur et le
Corps germanique.*

Sa Majesté l'Empereur, roi de Hongrie et de Bohême, et le premier Consul de la République française, au nom du peuple français, ayant également à cœur de faire cesser les malheurs de la guerre, ont résolu de procéder à la conclusion d'un traité définitif de paix et d'amitié.

Sadite majesté impériale et royale ne désirant pas moins vivement de faire participer l'Empire germanique aux bienfaits de la paix, et les conjonctures présentes ne laissant pas le temps nécessaire pour que l'Empire soit consulté et puisse intervenir par ses députés dans la négociation; Sadite Majesté ayant d'ailleurs égard à ce qui a été consenti par la députation de l'Empire au précédent congrès de Rastadt, a résolu, à l'exemple de ce qui a eu lieu dans des circonstances semblables, de stipuler au nom du Corps germanique.

En conséquence de quoi les parties contractantes ont nommé pour leurs plénipotentiaires, savoir:

S. M. I. et royale, le sieur Louis, comte du St. Empire Romain, de Cobenzel, chevalier de la Toison d'or, grand-croix de l'ordre royal de St. Etienne et de l'ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem, chambellan, conseiller intime actuel de sadite Majesté impériale et royale, son ministre des conférences, et vice-chancelier de cour et d'état;

Et le premier Consul de la République française, au nom du peuple français, le citoyen Joseph Bonaparte, conseiller d'état.

Lesquels, après avoir échangé leurs pleins pouvoirs, ont arrêté les articles suivans:

ART. I^{er}. Il y aura à l'avenir et pour toujours, paix, amitié et bonne intelligence entre S. M. l'Empereur, roi de Hongrie et de Bohême, stipulant tant en son nom qu'en celui de l'Empire germanique et la République française; s'engageant sadite Majesté à faire donner par ledit Empire sa ratification en bonne et due forme au présent traité. La plus grande attention sera apportée, de part et d'autre, au maintien d'une parfaite harmonie, à prévenir toutes sortes d'hostilités par terre et par mer, pour quelque cause et sous quelque prétexte que ce puisse être, en s'attachant avec soin à entretenir l'union heureusement rétablie. Il ne sera donné aucun secours et protection, soit directement, soit indirectement, à ceux qui voudraient porter préjudice à l'une ou à l'autre des parties contractantes.

II. La cession des ci-devant Provinces belgiques à la République française, stipulée par l'article 3 du traité de Campo-Formio, est renouvelée ici de la manière la plus formelle, en sorte que S. M. I. et R., pour elle et ses successeurs, sont en son nom qu'au nom

(2)

de l'Empire germanique, renonce à tous ses droits et titres aux susdites provinces, lesquelles seront possédées à perpétuité, en toute souveraineté et propriété, par la République française, avec tous les biens territoriaux qui en dépendent.

Sont pareillement cédés à la République française, par S. M. I. et Royale, et du consentement formel de l'Empire :

1°. Le comté de Falkeinstein avec ses dépendances :

2°. Le Fricktal & tout ce qui appartient à la maison d'Autriche sur la rive gauche du Rhin, entre Zurzach & Bâle; la République française se réservant de céder ce dernier pays à la République helvétique.

III. De même, en renouvellement et confirmation de l'art. 6 du traité de Campo-Formio, S. M. l'empereur et roi possédera en toute souveraineté et propriété les pays ci-dessous désignés; savoir :

L'Istrie, la Dalmatie et les îles ci-devant vénitiennes de l'Adriatique en dépendantes, les Bouches du Cattaro, la ville de Venise, les lagunes et les pays compris entre les États héréditaires de S. M. l'empereur et roi : la mer Adriatique et l'Adige depuis sa sortie du Tyrol jusqu'à son embouchure dans ladite mer; le Thalweg de l'Adige servant de ligne de délimitation; et comme, par cette ligne, les villes de Vérone et de Porto-Legnago se trouveront partagées, il sera établi sur le milieu des ponts desdites villes des ponts-levis qui marqueront la séparation.

IV. L'art. 18 du traité de Campo-Formio est pareillement renouvelé, en cela que S. M. l'empereur et roi s'oblige à céder au duc de Modène, en indemnité des pays que ce prince et ses héritiers avaient en Italie, le Brisgaw, qu'il possédera aux mêmes conditions que celles en vertu desquelles il possédait le Modénais.

V. Il est en outre convenu que S. A. R. le grand-duc de Toscane renonce, pour elle et ses successeurs et ayant cause, au grand-duché de Toscane et à la partie de l'île d'Elbe qui en dépend, ainsi qu'à tous droits et titres résultant de ses droits sur lesdits États, lesquels seront possédés désormais, en toute souveraineté et propriété, par S. A. R. l'infant duc de Parme. Le grand-duc obtiendra en Allemagne une indemnité pleine et entière de ses États d'Italie.

Le Grand-Duc disposera à sa volonté des biens et propriétés qu'il possède particulièrement en Toscane; soit par acquisition personnelle, soit par hérité des acquisitions personnelles de feu S. M. l'empereur Léopold II, son père, ou de feu S. M. l'empereur François I, son aïeul. Il est aussi convenu que les créances, établissemens et autres propriétés du grand duché, aussi bien que les dettes dûment hypothéquées sur ce pays, passeront au nouveau Grand-Duc.

VI. S. M. l'empereur et roi, tant en son nom qu'en celui de l'Empire germanique, consent à ce que la République française possède désormais en toute souveraineté et propriété, les pays et domaines situés sur la rive gauche du Rhin, et qui faisaient partie de l'Empire germanique; de manière qu'en conformité de ce qui avait été expressément consenti au congrès de Rastadt, par la députation de l'empire, et approuvé par l'empereur, le Thalweg du Rhin, soit désormais la limite entre la République française et l'empire germanique, savoir : depuis l'endroit où le Rhin quitte le territoire helvétique jusqu'à celui où il entre dans le territoire batave.

En conséquence de quoi la République française renonce formellement à toute possession quelconque sur la rive droite du Rhin, et

consent à restituer, à qui il appartient, les places de Duffeldorf, Ehrenbreitstein, Philisbourg, le fort de Cassel et autres fortifications vis-à-vis de Mayence à la rive droite, le fort de Kehl et le vieux Brisach, sous la condition expresse que ces places et forts continueront à rester dans l'état où ils se trouveront lors de l'évacuation.

VII. Et comme par suite de la cession que fait l'Empire à la République française, plusieurs princes et états d'Empire se trouvent dépossédés, en tout ou en partie, tandis que c'est à l'Empire germanique collectivement à supporter les pertes résultantes des stipulations du présent traité, il est convenu entre S. M. l'empereur et roi, tant en son nom, qu'au nom de l'Empire germanique et la République française, qu'en conformité des principes formellement établis au congrès de Rastadt, l'Empire sera tenu de donner aux princes héréditaires qui se trouvent dépossédés à la rive gauche du Rhin, un dédommagement qui sera pris dans le sein dudit Empire, suivant les arrangemens qui, d'après ces bases, seront ultérieurement déterminés.

VIII. Dans tous les pays cédés, acquis ou échangés par le présent traité, il est convenu, ainsi qu'il avait été fait par les articles 4 et 10 du traité de Campo-Formio, que ceux auxquels ils appartiendront, se chargeront des dettes hypothéquées sur le sol desdits pays; mais attendu les difficultés qui sont survenues à cet égard, sur l'interprétation desdits articles du traité de Campo-Formio, il est expressément entendu que la République française ne prend à sa charge que les dettes résultantes d'emprunts formellement consentis par les états des pays cédés ou des dépenses faites pour l'administration effective desdits pays.

IX. Aussitôt après l'échange des ratifications du présent traité, il sera accordé, dans tous les pays cédés, acquis ou échangés par ledit traité, à tous les habitans ou propriétaires quelconques, main-levée du sequestre mis sur leurs biens, effets et revenus, à cause de la guerre qui a eu lieu. Les parties contractantes s'obligent à acquitter tout ce qu'elles peuvent devoir pour fonds à elles prêtés par lesdits particuliers, ainsi que par les établissemens publics desdits pays, et à payer ou rembourser toute rente constituée à leur profit sur chacune d'elles. En conséquence de quoi, il est expressément reconnu que les propriétaires d'action de la banque de Vienne, devenus Français, continueront à jouir du bénéfice de leurs actions et en toucheront les intérêts échus ou à échoir, nonobstant tout séquestre et toute dérogation qui seront regardés comme non-avenus, notamment la dérogation résultante de ce que les propriétaires, devenus Français, n'ont pu fournir les 30 et les 100 pour 100 demandés aux actionnaires de la banque de Vienne par S. M. l'empereur et roi.

X. Les parties contractantes feront également lever tous séquestres qui auraient été mis, à cause de la guerre, sur les biens, droits et revenus de S. M. l'empereur ou de l'Empire dans le territoire de la République française, et des citoyens français dans les états de sadite majesté ou de l'Empire.

XI. Le présent traité de paix, notamment les art. 8, 9, 10 et 15 ci-après, est déclaré commun aux Républiques batave, helvétique, cisalpine et ligurienne.

Les parties contractantes se garantissent mutuellement l'indépendance desdites Républiques, et la faculté aux peuples qui les habitent, d'adopter telle forme de gouvernement qu'ils jugeront convenable.

XII. S. M. I. et R. renonce, pour elle et ses successeurs, en sa-

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veur de la République cisalpine, à tous les droits et titres provenans de ces droits, que S. M. pourroit prétendre sur les pays qu'elle possédoit avant la guerre, et qui, aux termes de l'article 8 du traité de Campo-Formio, font maintenant partie de la République Cisalpine, laquelle les possédera en toute souveraineté et propriété, avec tous les biens territoriaux qui en dépendent.

XIII. S. M. I. et R. tant en son nom, qu'au nom de l'Empire germanique, confirme l'adhésion déjà donnée par le traité de Campo-Formio, à la réunion des ci-devant fiefs impériaux à la République Ligurienne, et renonce à tous droits et titres provenans de ces droits sur lesdits fiefs.

XIV. Conformément à l'article 11 du traité de Campo-Formio, la navigation de l'Adige servant de limites entre S. M. I. et roi, et ceux de la République Cisalpine, sera libre, sans que de part ni d'autre on puisse y établir aucun péage, ni tenir aucun bâtiment armé en guerre.

XV. Tous les prisonniers de guerre faits de part et d'autre, ainsi que les otages enlevés ou donnés pendant la guerre, qui n'auront pas encore été restitués, le seront dans quarante jours, à dater de celui de la signature du présent traité.

XVI. Les biens fonciers et personnels, non aliénés, de S. A. R. l'archiduc Charles, et des héritiers de feu S. A. R. Madame l'archiduchesse Christine, qui sont situés dans les pays cédés à la République française, leur seront restitués, à la charge de les vendre dans l'espace de trois ans.

Il en sera de même des biens fonciers et personnels de LL. AA. RR. l'archiduc Ferdinand, et madame l'archiduchesse Béatrix, son épouse, dans le territoire de la République Cisalpine.

XVII. Les articles 12, 13, 15, 16, 17 et 23 du traité de Campo-Formio, sont particulièrement rappelés, pour être exécutés suivant leur forme et teneur, comme s'ils étaient insérés mot à mot dans le présent traité.

XVIII. Les contributions, livraisons, fournitures et prestations quelconques de guerre, cesseront d'avoir lieu, à dater du jour de l'échange des ratifications données au présent traité; d'une part, par S. M. l'empereur, et par l'empire Germanique; d'autre part, par la République française.

XIX. Le présent traité sera ratifié par S. M. l'empereur et roi, par l'Empire et la République française, dans l'espace de trente jours, ou plutôt, si faire se peut; et il est convenu que les armées des deux puissances resteront dans les positions où elles se trouvent, tant en Allemagne qu'en Italie, jusqu'à ce que lesdites ratifications de l'Empereur et Roi, de l'Empire et de la République Française, aient été simultanément échangées à Lunéville entre les plénipotentiaires respectifs.

Il est aussi convenu que dix jours après l'échange desdites ratifications, les armées de S. M. I. et R. seront rentrées sur ses possessions héréditaires, lesquelles seront évacuées dans le même espace de temps par les armées françaises, et que trente jours après ledit échange, les armées françaises auront évacué la totalité du territoire dudit Empire.

Fait et signé à Lunéville, le 20 pluviôse an 9 de la République Française, 9 février 1801.

LOUIS COMTE DE COBRENZ; Joseph BONAPARTE.

Treaty of Peace

concluded at Lunéville, Feb. 9, 1801, between the French Republic and the Emperor and the Germanic Body.

His Majesty, the Emperor and King of Hungary and Bohemia, and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, having equally at heart to put an end to the miseries of war, have resolved to proceed to the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace and amity.

His said Imperial and Royal Majesty, not less anxiously desirous of making the Germanic Empire participate in the blessings of peace, and the present conjuncture not allowing the time necessary for the empire to be consulted, and to take part by its deputies in the negotiation; his said Majesty having, besides, regard to what has been agreed upon by the deputation of the empire at the preceding congress at Rastadt, has resolved, in conformity with the precedent of what has taken place in similar circumstances, to stipulate in the name of the Germanic body.

In consequence of which the contracting parties have appointed as their plenipotentiaries, to wit,

His Imperial and Royal Majesty, the sieur Louis Cobentzel, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Royal Order of St Stephen and of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, chamberlain, and privy counsellor of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, his minister for conference, and vice-chancellor of court of state;

And the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, has appointed citizen Joseph Bonaparte, counsellor of state; who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be henceforth and for ever, peace, amity, and good understanding, between his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, stipulating, as well in his own name as that of the Germanic Empire, and the French Republic, his said Majesty engaging to cause the empire to give ratification in good and due form to the present treaty. The greatest attention shall be paid on both sides to the maintenance of perfect harmony, to preventing all hostilities by land and by sea, for whatever cause, or on whatever pretence, and carefully endeavouring to maintain the union happily established. No assistance or

protection shall be given, either directly or indirectly, to those who would do any thing to the prejudice of either of the contracting parties.

II. The cession of the ci-devant Belgic provinces to the French Republic, stipulated by the 3d article of the treaty of Campo Formio, is renewed here in the most formal manner, so that his Imperial and Royal Majesty, for himself and his successors, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic Empire, renounces all his right and title to the said provinces, which shall be possessed henceforth as its sovereign right and property by the French Republic, with all the territorial property dependant on it.

There shall also be given up to the French Republic by his Imperial and Royal Majesty, and with the formal consent of the empire:

1st, The comté of Falkenstein, with its dependencies.

2d, The Frickthall, and all belonging to the house of

Austria on the left bank of the Rhine, between

Zarzach and Basle; the French Republic reserving

to themselves the right of ceding the latter country to the Helvetic Republic.

III. In the same manner, in renewal and confirmation of the 4th article of the treaty of Campo Formio, his Majesty the Emperor and King shall possess in sovereignty, and as his right, the countries below enumerated, viz. Istria, Dalmatia, and the ci-devant Venetian isles in the Adriatic dependant upon those countries, the Bocca de Cattaro, the city of Venice, the canals and the country included between the hereditary states of his Majesty the Emperor and King; the Adriatic sea, and the Adige, from its leaving the Tyrol to the mouth of the said sea; the towing path of the Adige serving as the line of limitation. And as by this line the cities of Verona and of Porto Legnano will be divided, there shall be established, on the middle of the bridges of the said cities, drawbridges to mark the separation.

IV. The 18th article of the treaty of Campo Formio is also renewed thus far, that his Majesty the Emperor and King binds himself to yield to the Duke of Modena, as an indemnity for the countries which this prince and his heirs had in Italy, the Brisgau, which he shall hold on the same terms as those by virtue of which he possesses the Modenese.

V. It is moreover agreed, that his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany shall renounce, for himself and his successors, having any right to it, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and that part of the isle of Elba which is dependant upon it, as well as all right and title resulting from his rights on the said states, which shall be henceforth possessed in complete sovereignty, and as his own property, by his Royal Highness the infant Duke of Parma. The Grand Duke shall obtain in Germany a full and complete indemnity for his Italian states. The Grand Duke shall dispose at pleasure of the goods and property which he possesses in

Tuscany, either by personal acquisition, or by descent from his late father, the Emperor Leopold II, or from his grandfather the Emperor Francis I. It is also agreed, that the credits, establishments and other property of the Grand Duchy, as well as the debts secured on the country, shall pass to the new Grand Duke.

VI. His Majesty the Emperor and King, as well as in his own name as in that of the Germanic Empire, consents that the French Republic shall possess henceforth in complete sovereignty, and as their property, the country and domains situated on the left bank of the Rhine, and which formed part of the Germanic Empire: so that, in conformity with what had been expressly consented to at the congress of Rastadt, by the deputation of the empire, and approved by the Emperor, the Thalweg of the Rhine will henceforth be the limit between the French Republic and the Germanic Empire; that is to say, from the place where the Rhine leaves the Helvetic territory, to that where it enters the Batavian territory.

In consequence of this, the French Republic formally renounces all possession whatever on the right bank of the Rhine, and consents to restore to those whom it may belong, the fortresses of Dusseldorff, Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsburgh, the fort of Cassel, and other fortifications opposite to Mainz, on the right bank, the fort of Kehl, and Old Brisach, on the express condition that these places and fortresses shall continue and remain in the state in which they were at the time of their evacuation.

VII. And as, in consequence of the cession which the empire makes to the French Republic, several Princes and states of the empire will be dispossessed, either altogether or in part, whom it is incumbent upon the Germanic Empire collectively to support, the losses resulting from the stipulations in the present treaty, it is agreed between his Majesty the Emperor and King, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic Empire, and the French Republic, that in conformity with the principles formally established at the congress of Rastadt, the empire shall be bound to give to the hereditary Princes who shall be dispossessed on the left bank of the Rhine, an indemnity, which shall be taken from the whole of the empire, according to arrangements which on these bases shall be ultimately determined upon.

VIII. In all the ceded countries, acquired or exchanged by the present treaty, it is agreed, as had already been done by the 4th and 10th articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, that those to whom they shall belong shall take them, subject to the debts charged on the said countries; but considering the difficulties which have arisen in this respect, with regard to the interpretation of the said articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, it is expressly understood, that the French Republic will not take upon itself any thing more than the debts resulting from the loans formally agreed to by the states of the ceded countries, or by the actual administration of such countries.

IX. Immediately after the change of the ratifications of the present treaty, the sequestration imposed on the property, effects, and revenues of the inhabitants or proprietors, shall be taken off. The contracting parties oblige themselves to pay all they may owe for money lent them by individuals, as well as by the public establishments of the said countries and to pay and reimburse all annuities created for their benefit on every one of them. In consequence of this, it is expressly admitted, that the holders of stock in the bank of Vienna, become French subjects, shall continue to enjoy the benefit of their funds, and shall receive the interest accrued, or to accrue, notwithstanding any sequestration, or any demand, derogatory to their rights, particularly notwithstanding the infringement which the holders aforesaid, become French subjects, sustained by not being able to pay the 30 and 100 percent demanded by his Imperial and Royal Majesty, of all creditors of the bank of Vienna.

X. The contracting parties shall also cause all the sequestrations to be taken off, which have been imposed on account of the war, on the property, the rights, and revenues of the Emperor, or of the empire, in the territory of the French Republic, and of the French citizens in the states of his said Majesty or the empire.

XI. The present treaty of peace, and particularly the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 15th articles, are declared to extend to, and to be common to the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian Republics. The contracting parties mutually guarantee the independence of the said republics, and the right of the people who inhabit them to adopt what form of government they please.

XII. His Imperial and Royal Majesty renounces, for himself and his successors, in favour of the Cisalpine Republic, all rights and titles arising from those rights, which his Majesty might claim on the countries which he possessed before the war, and which, by the conditions of the 8th article of the treaty of Campo Formio, now form part of the Cisalpine Republic, which shall possess them as their sovereignty and property, with all the territorial property dependant upon it.

XIII. His Imperial and Royal Majesty, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic Empire, confirms the agreement already entered into by the treaty of Campo Formio, for the union of ci-devant imperial fiefs to the Ligurian Republic, and renounces all rights and titles arising from these rights on the said fiefs.

XIV. In conformity with the 11th article of the treaty of Campo Formio, the navigation of the Adige, which serves as the limits between his Majesty the Emperor and King, and the navigation of the rivers in the Cisalpine Republic, shall be free, nor shall any toll be imposed, nor any ship of war kept there.

XV. All prisoners of war on both sides, as well as hostages given or taken during the war, who shall not be yet restored, shall be so within forty days from the time of signing of the present treaty.

XVI. The real and personal property unalienated of his Royal Highness the Archduke Charles, and of the heirs of her royal highness the Archduchess Christina, deceased, situated in the countries ceded to the French Republic, shall be restored to them on condition of their selling them within three years. The same shall be the case also with the real and personal property of their Royal Highnesses the Archduke Ferdinand and the Archduchess Beatrice, his wife, in the territory of the Cisalpine Republic.

XVII. The 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 27th articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, are particularly renewed, and are to be executed according to their form and effect, as if they were here repeated verbatim.

XVIII. The contributions, payments, and war impositions, of whatever kind, shall cease from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty on the one hand, by his Imperial Majesty and the Germanic Empire, and on the other by the French Republic.

XIX. The present treaty shall be ratified by his Majesty the Emperor and King, by the empire, and by the French Republic, in the space of thirty days, or sooner if possible; and it is agreed that the armies of the two powers shall remain in their present positions, both in Germany and in Italy, until the ratification shall be respectively, and at the same moment, exchanged at Lunéville.

It is also agreed, that ten days after the exchange of the ratifications, the armies of his Imperial and Royal Majesty shall enter the hereditary possessions, which shall, within the same space of time, be evacuated by the French armies; and thirty days after the said ratifications shall be exchanged, the French armies shall evacuate the whole of the territory of the said empire.

Executed at Lunéville, Feb. 9, 1801

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Ode on the Occasion of the Peace of Lunéville

J. David Markham

When Napoleon became First Consul in late 1799, he wanted to concentrate on making improvements to various aspects of French life, especially its economy. But first he had to deal with what is known as the Second Coalition against the French republic, led by Austria, Russia and Britain. In 1800, he sent General Jean Moreau to fight Coalition forces in Germany, while he led an army across the Great Saint Bernard Pass to surprise the Austrians in Italy. There, on 18 June, he defeated the Austrians, thanks in large measure to the actions of General Louis Desaix, who lost his life in the engagement. The Treaty of Lunéville, signed on 9 February 1801, was the immediate result of these actions, and it effectively left only Britain at war with France. That ended, briefly, with the Treaty of Amiens in 1802.

As can be imagined, the people of France (and, indeed, most of Europe) were delighted with the coming of peace. There were celebrations, commemorative medallions (such as the one from my collection included here), engravings and any number of other decorative arts celebrating Marengo and peace. The ode presented here is one of the best I have seen, with its frequent

references to ancient history and mythology. Of course it lavishes praise on First Consul Bonaparte, but also manages to give credit to Moreau and Desaix as well. It even describes a bit of the result of the treaty, mentioning the establishment of the so-called ‘natural borders’ of mountains, rivers and oceans. And, of course, it lays all blame for continued war on England. The translation and excellent annotation are by our friend and colleague, Dr. Bill Chew III.



O D E
A L'OCCASION DE LA PAIX

SIGNÉE A LUNÉVILLE

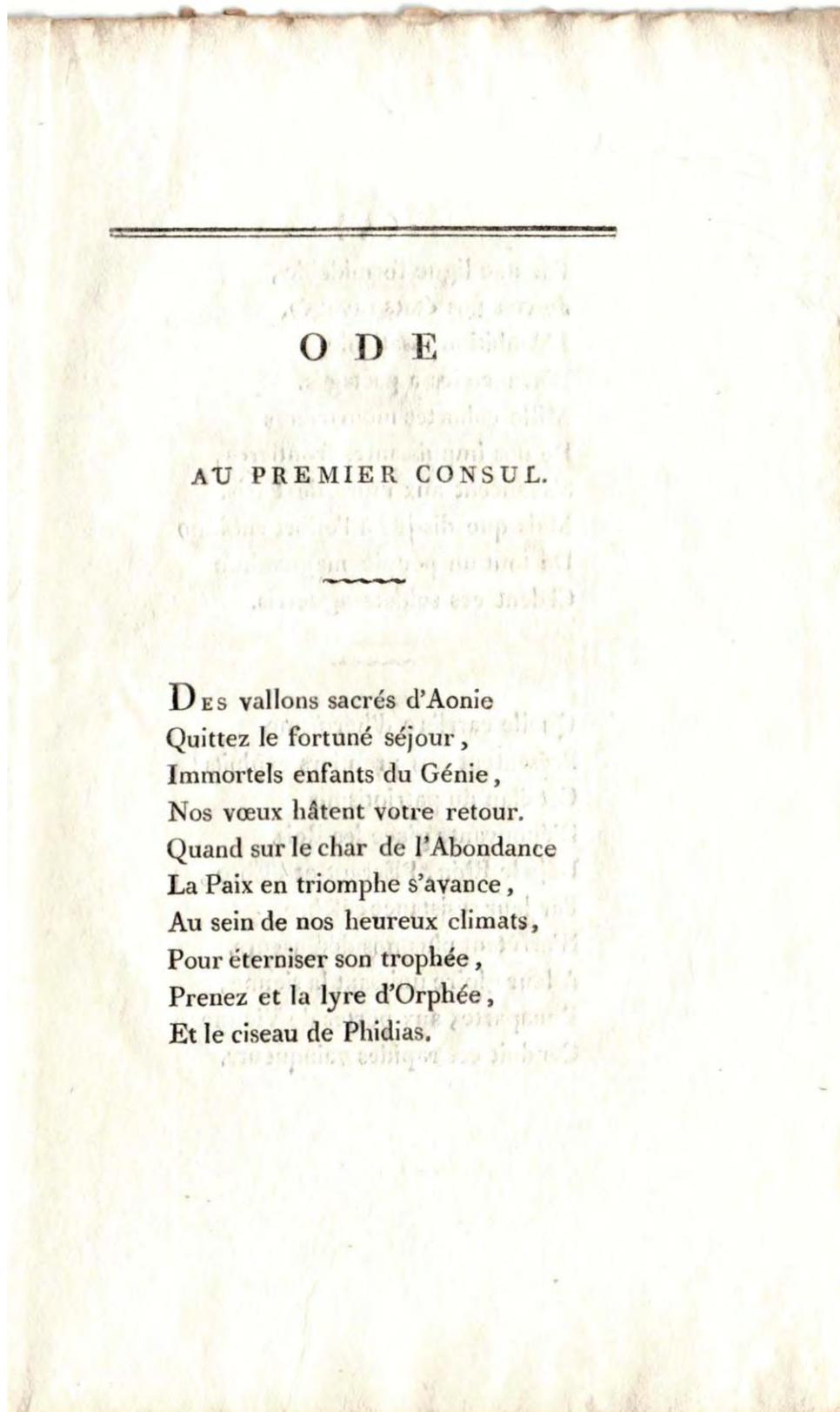
Le 20 Pluviôse an 9 de la République
Française,

AU PREMIER CONSUL.

Teque adeo, decus hoc ævi, te consule, inibit.,
VIRG.



A PARIS,
DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE DIDOT JEUNE.
AN IX. -- 1801.



O D E
AU PREMIER CONSUL.

DES vallons sacrés d'Aonie
Quittez le fortuné séjour,
Immortels enfants du Génie,
Nos vœux hâtent votre retour.
Quand sur le char de l'Abondance
La Paix en triomphe s'avance,
Au sein de nos heureux climats,
Pour éterniser son trophée,
Prenez et la lyre d'Orphée,
Et le ciseau de Phidias.

(4)

Par une ligue formidable ,
Je vois nos états ravagés.
L'Ambition insatiable
D'avance les a partagés.
Mille cohortes meurtrières
De nos impuissantes frontières,
S'avancent aux murs de Paris.
Mais que dis-je ? à l'effort sublime
De tout un peuple magnanime
Cèdent ces soldats aguerris.

Quelle carrière d'héroïsme
Présentent nos premiers exploits !
Cet élan du patriotisme
D'épouvante glace les Rois.
Déjà le Rhin, l'Escaut et l'Ebre ,
Par leur résistance célèbre ,
N'arrêtent plus nos défenseurs.
A leur gloire unissant la sienne ,
Bonaparte , aux portes de Vienne ,
Conduit ces rapides vainqueurs.

(5)

Mais quelle époque désastreuse
Vient à mes regards effrayés
Offrir l'image douloureuse
De nos destins humiliés !
France , aux tristes bords de la Seine ,
Dans ce trouble , quel dieu ramène
Des rives du Nil , ton héros ?
Sa tête féconde en miracles ,
En moyens change les obstacles ,
Pour te retirer du chaos.

~~~~~

En désarmant l'Intolérance ,  
Ce héros rapprocha les cœurs.  
Peuple , au fond de ta conscience ,  
Il alla rechercher les mœurs.  
Avec quel art , ses mains habiles ,  
De nos dissensions civiles  
Ont détruit le germe fatal !  
Dans nos régions désolées ,  
Les vertus longtemps exilées ,  
Reparaissent à son signal.

( 6 )

Mais sur un mont inaccessible ,  
Dont mon œil est épouvanté ,  
Quel est ce passage impossible ,  
Par les Français exécuté ?  
Alpes, au milieu des abîmes ,  
Bonaparte franchit vos cîmes ,  
Suivi de nos braves soldats.  
Le Piémont voit dans ses campagnes ,  
Ce torrent tomber des montagnes  
Sur les bataillons de Mélas.

~~~~~

Marengo ! la France éplorée ,
Au milieu de tant de succès ,
A vu , dans ta plaine illustrée ,
Succomber le jeune Desaix.
Son dévouement comble sa gloire.
De nos rangs fuyait la Victoire ;
Sa mort la fixe sur nos pas.
Ainsi , Grecs , aux bords du Scamandre ,
Le fils de Thétis vit dépendre
Vos triomphes de son trépas.

(7)

Moreau d'une invincible armée
Digne à jamais par ses vertus,
Poursuit de l'Autriche alarmée
Les nombreux bataillons vaincus.
Le Danube, à cet autre Alcide,
Oppose en vain son cours rapide;
Ses flots sont aussitôt soumis.
Dans votre course triomphale,
Français, il n'est plus d'intervalle
Entre vous et vos ennemis.

En ce jour, Bonaparte achève
D'immortaliser ses destins:
La balance succède au glaive
Dans ses victorieuses mains.
A ses premiers traités fidelle,
Sa Sagesse les renouvelle;
Le succès ne les change pas.
La Paix, au nom d'un Peuple libre,
Assied le nouvel équilibre
Que la Victoire offre aux Etats.

(8)

En rétablissant la barrière
Des monts, des fleuves et des mers,
La France avec la terre entière,
Fixe ses intérêts divers.
O Rhin ! éternelle limite
Que la nature avait prescrite
Au vaste empire des Gaulois,
Enorgueilli de nous défendre,
Avec pompe, tu vas étendre
Ton cours affranchi sous nos lois.

Egypte ! au Croissant asservie,
Tu renaîs à la liberté ;
Des arts dont tu fus la patrie.
Le feu sacré t'est rapporté :
Ses étincelles électriques,
Des plus anciens corps politiques,
Iront ranimer les débris.
Ciel, réalise ce présage !
Pour ces peuples, rends à notre âge
Les jours fortunés d'Osiris.

(9)

Quand la Paix console la Terre
Et met un terme à nos tourments,
L'Anglais, pour prolonger la Guerre,
Ebranle tous les éléments;
Son attente sera trompée :
Au piège, sa proie échappée,
Désormais brave son pouvoir ;
Pour reprendre un injuste empire,
Contre l'Europe, son délire
Tente l'effort du désespoir.

Angleterre ! par tes subsides,
Nos climats furent embrasés,
Sur l'objet de ces dons perfides,
Les Rois ne sont plus abusés.
L'or corrupteur que ta main verse,
Des communs bienfaits du Commerce
Sans partage, enrichit ton sein ;
Et, pour en fixer la balance,
Tu calcules, comme une chance,
L'effusion du sang humain.

(10)

L'Europe, pendant dix années,
Immense arène de forfaits,
Contre ses propres destinées,
Elle-même servit l'Anglais.
De ses flottes couvrant les Ondes,
Bientôt, sans retour, aux deux Mondes
Il alloit imposer des fers.
Mais du despotisme insulaire
L'Orgueil a trahi le mystère
Et soulevé tout l'univers.

Aux dons du sol, de l'industrie,
Pour réunir tous les trésors,
De son Héros notre Patrie
Exige de nouveaux efforts.
O Dieux, veillez sur Bonaparte !
Que de ses heureux jours s'écarte
Le fatal ciseau d'Atropos !
Au sort d'une tête si chère,
S'attachent, du double hémisphère,
L'indépendance et le repos.

Par le C.^{en} CAILLE.

ODE

on the Occasion of the Peace

Signed at Lunéville,

On 20 Pluviôse Year 9 of the French Republic,

For the First Consul

“It is in your consulship that this glorious age shall begin”
(Virgil)¹

Paris,
at the Printing House of Didot Jeune.
Year IX – 1801.

ODE

TO THE FIRST CONSUL

From the sacred valley of Aonia
Leave the happy sojourn,
Oh immortal children of the Genius!
Our ardent wishes hasten your return.
When on the chariot of Plenty
Triumphant Peace makes its way
To the bosom of our happy climes,
To render her trophy eternal,
Take up the lyre of Orpheus!
And the chisel of Phidias!

¹ The quote comes from the Eclogues, IV, lauding Gaius Asinius Pollio (Roman consul 40 BC), and not coincidentally a patron of Virgil, the author! It is not coincidental that the present author (of the Odes) chooses such an opening quote from Virgil, the ultimate Latin epic author ... At this stage in Napoléon’s career, an implicit comparison to Augustus would not only have been inappropriate, but politically dangerous. Indeed, Pollio was a Republican!

By a formidable league,
I find our states ravaged.
Insatiable ambition
Had already divided the spoils of our lands.
A thousand murderous cohorts
From our powerless frontiers
Advance on the walls of Paris.
But what am I saying? To the sublime effort
Of a united and magnanimous people
Those hardened soldiers must give way.

What a tale of heroism
Is told by our first exploits!
See how our invincible patriotism
Freezes the Kings with dread?
Already the Rhine, Scheldt and Ebro,
Famed as insurmountable ramparts
Can no longer stop the advance of our valiant defenders.
Uniting his glory with theirs,
Bonaparte, at the gates of Vienna,
Leads these swift victors.

But woe! Which disastrous epoch
Now passes before my frightened gaze
Presenting the painful image
Of our humiliated destiny!
Oh France! On the sad banks of the Seine,
In such troubled times, which god shall bring back,
From the banks of the Nile, your hero?
His head brimming with miracles,
And armed with the means to surmount all obstacles
And bring you back from chaos.

Disarming the bane of Intolerance,
This hero joins hearts in concord.
People of France! Into the depths of your conscience,
He will penetrate and seek out the moral core.
Behold with which skill his able hands,

Of our civil dissensions,
Have eradicated the fatal seed!
See how, in our desolated regions,
The long-exiled virtues,
Reappear at his clarion call.

Now raise your gaze, to an inaccessible mountain,
Terrifying to behold.
What do I see? A passage impossible
Conducted by the French?
Ye Alps, in the midst of your chasms,
Bonaparte crosses your peaks,
Followed by our brave soldiers.
And Piedmont witnesses, in his campaigns,
This military torrent gushing from the mountains,
Submerging the battalions of M^élas.

Oh Marengo! Where weeping France,
In the midst of success,
Witnessed, in your illustrious plain,
The death of young Desaix.
His devotion rendered his glory complete.
Victory was already deserting our ranks;
When his death fixed her in our midst.
As did the Greeks, on the banks of the Scamander,
When the son of Thetis saw how
Their triumphs depended on his death.

Moreau, with an invincible army
Rendered forever worthy through its virtues,
Pursues the numerous defeated battalions
Of an Austria alarmed.
The Danube, of this other Alcidas,
In vain opposes his rapid advance.
And her currents are at once overcome.
Ye Frenchmen! In your triumphant race,
Hot on their heels, you leave no space
Between yourselves and your enemies.

On this day then, Bonaparte rendered
His destiny ever immortal!
Scales of justice now replace the sword
In his victorious hands.
And always true to his first treaties,
In his wisdom, he has confirmed them;
His victories do not change them.
And Peace, in the name of a free people
Firmly anchors the new equilibrium
That Victory has presented to the States.

By re-establishing the barrier
Of mountains, rivers and oceans,
France, with the whole world,
Its various interests establishes.
Oh Rhine! eternal limit
That nature had prescribed
For the vast empire of the Gauls,
Proud to defend us,
You will extend, with pomp,
Your course, liberated under our laws.

Egypt! enslaved by the Crescent,
You are reborn to liberty;
The sacred fire of the arts, of which
You were the fatherland, are returned to you:
Its electric sparks,
Shall revive the debris
Of the most ancient bodies politic.
Heaven, let this omen come true!
For these peoples, give back to our age
The happy days of Osiris.

When Peace consoles the Earth
And puts an end to our torments,
The Englishman, so as to prolong the War,
Unsettles all the elements;
His hope will be disappointed:
His prey, escaped from the trap,

Henceforth defies his might;
To regain an unjust empire;
Against Europe, his madness
Attempts the effort of desperation.

England! with your subsidies,
You set our climes ablaze.
As for the object of these perfidious gifts,
The Kings no longer are abused.
The corrupting gold that your hand gives out,
Of the common benefits of Commerce,
Without sharing, enriches your bosom;
And, to firmly establish that balance,
You calculate, like a gamble,
The spilling of human blood.

Europe, for ten years,
An immense arena of serious crimes,
Contrary to her own destinies,
She, herself served the Englishman.
With his fleets covering the Waves,
Soon, forever, on both Worlds
He would impose chains of iron.
Yet the mystery of this insular despotism
Arrogance has betrayed
And roused the whole universe.

To the gifts of the soil and of industry,
To unify all treasures,
Of our Hero our Fatherland
Demands new efforts.
Oh Gods, watch over Bonaparte!
May the fatal scissors of Atropos,
Turn away from his happy days!
And the independence and repose
Of the double hemisphere
Be linked to the destiny of a head so dear.

Annotation of Historical Terms and References

1. *Pierre Didot* (1761-1853), likely author of the *Ode*, was a French printer, typesetter and poet, with printing offices established, by order of the French government, in the Louvre, where they remained, under the Consulate. He was already famous contemporaneously for his impeccably printed and lavishly illustrated editions of Virgil, Racine, Horace, and La Fontaine, for which work he was decorated by Napoleon with the *Ordre de la Réunion* (Tulard 1: 650 and 2: 586-92; Rudy).
2. *Aonia* is the historically somewhat debated but nevertheless highly likely literary synonym for the Greek region of Boeotia, including Mt Helicon, sacred to the Muses and birthplace of the poet Hesiod (*Kleiner Pauly* 1: 418, 920-21 and 2: 994).
3. *Triumphant Peace* refers to the Peace of Lunéville (9 February 1801), between France and the Holy Roman Emperor Francis II, signed by Joseph Bonaparte for France and Count Ludwig von Cobenzl, the Austrian Foreign Minister, for Francis II. The main terms included the confirmation of the Treaty of Campo Formio (17 October 1797, between France and Austria), which Austria is required to enforce; France gains control of the left bank of the Rhine but renounces any claims to territories to its East; and acquires the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, with compensation in Germany promised the Grand Duke. The independence of the Batavian, Cisalpine, Helvetic and Ligurian Republics, and Austria's possession of Venetia and the Dalmatian coast are confirmed. The peace held until 1805, when Austria resumed war with France (*Encyclopedia of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 1: 205 and 2: 585).
4. *Orpheus* was, in Greek mythology, the most famed poet, prophet and above all paramount musician in the ancient and later Western tradition. His powers of composition and delivery were deemed able to charm all living beings. Orpheus is typically depicted with a lyre and surrounded by wild beasts, tamed by his divine music (*Kleiner Pauly* 4: 351-56).
5. *Phidias* was doubtless the most renowned ancient Greek sculptor, painter, and architect (fl. c. 460 – 430 BC), best known for his Olympian statue of Zeus (one of the Seven Wonders of Antiquity), and for his Athena Parthenos on the Athenian Acropolis (*Kleiner Pauly* 4: 722-24).
6. The *Rhine*, *Scheldt* and *Ebro* were three key strategic rivers already historically significant since antiquity as a boundary between the Roman Empire and the German tribes, as a key commercial waterway of the Roman province *Belgica*, and as an early boundary between Roman and Carthaginian Spain. In Napoleonic times they constituted natural barriers dividing France from Germany and Spain and, in the case of the Scheldt, since the Thirty Years' War a much-disputed waterway connecting the North Sea with the Belgian interior via the port of Antwerp (*Kleiner Pauly* 4: 1330,

1394-95; *Encyclopedia of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 3: 815-18; Tulard 2: 645-46).

7. *Bonaparte at the gates of Vienna*. In 1797, during the Northern Italian Campaign, after the Battle of Tarvis, Napoleon advanced to Leoben, hardly 100km from Vienna, prompting the Austrians to sue for peace, first in the (preliminary) Treaty of Leoben, itself followed by the conclusive Treaty of Campo Formio, whereby Austria relinquished most of Northern Italy and the Low Countries to the French. (*Encyclopedia of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 1: 205, 2: 488-91, 567)
8. *From the banks of the Nile* makes reference to Bonaparte's Egyptian and Syrian campaign, 1798-1801, whence he returned to France on 7 Oct 1799, just a month before his coup of 18th Brumaire (10 November 1799) (*Encyclopedia of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 2: 634-37).
9. *This hero joins hearts in concord* alludes to the *Concordat* between France and the Papacy, signed on 15 July 1801 in Paris. Designed to reconcile deep divisions in France between secularized revolutionaries and Catholics provoked by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy of 12 July 1790, and to re-establish good terms with the Vatican, it did not however restore church lands secularized during the early Revolution. On balance, while restoring religious peace, it accorded much power to Napoleon, who henceforth appointed bishops and oversaw church finances (Tulard 1: 474-80).
10. *A passage impossible* alludes to Napoleon's famous (and fabled and propagandized in David's painting, *Bonaparte franchissant le Grand-Saint-Bernard*, painted 1800-1803) May 1800 crossing of the Alps, during the Italian Campaign of 1799-1800, in which the Frenchman famously emulated Hannibal's crossing in 218 BC during the Second Punic War. The "passage impossible" ushered in the conquest of Northern Italy from the Austrians (*Kleiner Pauly* 2: 934-37; *Encyclopedia of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 2: 491-93).
11. *Piedmont ... battalions of Mélas* makes reference to the forces of Michael Friedrich Benedikt, Baron von Melas (1729–1806) and field marshal of the Austrian Empire, who narrowly missed a great victory against Napoleon at Marengo, foiled by a successful counter-attack by the French General Louis Desaix. Marengo is near the north Italian town of Alessandria, in Piedmont (*Encyclopedia of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 2: 605-09, 627-28).
12. *Marengo*. Battle of Marengo, 14 June 1800, between France and Austria, won decisively by the French in a last-minute victory through the tactically brilliant intervention of Desaix. (*Encyclopedia of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 2: 605-09)
13. Louis Charles Antoine *Desaix* (1768–1800) was the valiant French Napoleonic general who clinched the French victory at Marengo in the face of imminent defeat by the Austrians, himself being killed by musket fire at the moment of victory (*Encyclopedia of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 2: 605-09).

14. *Greeks, the banks of the Scamander ... the son of Thetis* alludes to Scamander, the legendary Trojan hero who, during the Trojan war, tried to kill Achilles three times, the Greek only being saved by divine intervention. Scamander is seen as the mythological personification of the River Scamander, which flows across the plains before Troy – where the Greeks had, according to Homer, made camp, and where the battles with the Trojans were fought. Thetis was a Greek mythological sea nymph or goddess of the water, and the mother of Achilles, the central Greek hero of the Trojan war, victor over Hector, but felled by Paris' arrow to his vulnerable heel. (*Kleiner Pauly* 5: 220-21, 765-66; Bulfinch 211-27)
15. Jean Victor Marie *Moreau* (1763–1813) was a Napoleonic general and Commander of the Army of the Rhine-and-Moselle, first highly successful against Austrian forces, later famed for his textbook fighting retreat with numerous prisoners, in 1795. The author here conveniently forgets to mention the eventual defeat and retreat. (*Encyclopedia of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, 2: 657-58)
16. *Alcidas* was a Spartan *nauarch* (admiral) during the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC). (*Kleiner Pauly* 1: 265)
17. *Scales of justice* refers to the monumental legal *Code Civil des Français*, or *Code Napoléon*, not officially promulgated until 21 March 1804, but essentially complete in 1801. Intense work by a commission of four specialists, often chaired by Napoleon himself, had begun soon after 18. Brumaire. The Code completely reformed and modernized French law with vast repercussions throughout Europe and as far away as America. (Tulard 1: 449-51)
18. *He has confirmed them* alludes to the fact that the Peace of Lunéville largely confirmed the previous Treaty of Campo Formio. The author is implying Bonaparte's supposed magnanimity towards his again defeated foe, instead of imposing harsher terms.
19. *By re-establishing the barrier of mountains, rivers and oceans* is an allusion to French foreign policy – since the days of Louis XIV – of establishing and maintaining natural frontiers, again taken up during the French Revolution by the Girondins. The goal was to add, to the Pyrenées and the Atlantic, the Rhine, specifically referenced in this stanza as the *eternal limit*. This goal was achieved by the Treaty of Campo Formio and the Peace of Lunéville and would later be reflected in the redrawing of the map of Germany in the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss* of 1803.
20. The stanza beginning with *Egypt! enslaved by the Crescent, You are reborn to liberty* is, of course, a somewhat hyperbolic reference to Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition 1798-1801 which, while it ended in failure militarily, did bring to the region the infectious notions of liberalism and nationalism.
21. *The happy days of Osiris*, is a reference to the glorious days of Ancient Egypt, represented by the Egyptian god of the dead, brother and husband of *Isis* and father of *Horus*. (Bulfinch 292-94, 934)

22. *England! with your subsidies* is a clear reference to the British policy, since the 18th century, of subsidizing its Continental ally-of-the-moment (e.g. Austria during the Austrian Succession War, 1740-48) or Prussia during the Seven Years' War, 1756-63). That ally was always the underdog in the on-going contest, which Britain supported to restore the balance of power (ergo "balance-of-power politics") and since Britain, as the premier naval power, lacked strong land forces, subsidies replaced direct military support on land. The balance itself had to be maintained to ensure overseas – and therefore commercial – dominance. The English, as the stanza claims, will *gamble* and *spill human blood* to maintain the commerce that *enriches their bosom*.
23. *Europe, for ten years [...] She, herself served the Englishman*: this stanza continues the theme of the previous and lays the blame for the ten years of war since 1792 firmly at the feet of Britain which, in its arrogance and megalomania would, if permitted, using its fleet, dominate both the Old and the New World.
24. *Atropos* is, in Greek mythology one of the three Fates that determine the life span of a man. *Clotho* spun the thread of life, *Lachesis* measured its length, *Atropos* cut it off. (Bulfinch 180-81, 904)

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Ode on the War Between France and England

J. David Markham

While on a trip to Dinard, France, I found this document in a book and print shop. It is signed by the author (see the image of the first page) and is a classic representation of the strength of feelings as the Peace of Amiens fell apart. Most of France—and Continental Europe—believed that England had the primary responsibility for ending the peace.



In 1801, England found herself alone at war with France, as her allies had made an admittedly uneasy peace with the Treaty of Lunéville, signed on 9 February 1801. Both England and France were weary of war (as was all of Europe), and when the government of England changed to one led by Henry Addington, who was more accommodating toward Napoleon, peace finally seemed possible. The treaty was negotiated in Amiens, France, with Napoleon's brother, Joseph, representing the French Republic. Joseph had signed the Peace of Lunéville as well. The treaty was ratified on 25 March 1802, but trouble soon began. The treaty required the British to withdraw from the island of Malta, and they ultimately refused to do so, despite being given several favorable options by Napoleon. War again loomed, and on 18 May 1803 Great Britain declared war on France, beginning the War of the Third Coalition.

General Guillaume-Mathieu Dumas (1753-1837) was a French nobleman who got his start as an aide-de-camp to General Rochambeau, who led French ground forces in support of the American War of Independence. As a noble he fell in and out of favor for a number of years, both serving in government and serving time in exile. When Napoleon became First Consul in 1799, he recalled Dumas to service and he commanded the Army of the Reserve at Dijon. After Napoleon's 1814 abdication he served the king, but upon Napoleon's return he helped organize the National Guard. He remained active in the military and politics until his death.²

Bernadette Workman translated this document for me. Among other things, she also did the translation work for my book on Napoleon's military bulletins and the laws of the 100 days.

The engraving from my collection is dated February 12, 1802. It is typical of British imagery of Bonaparte during the period leading up to and during the Peace of Amiens.

² Six, Georges, *Dictionnaire Biographique des Généraux & Amiraux Français de la Révolution et de L'Empire (1792-1814)*. Préface par le Commandant André Lasseray. 2V. Paris: Librairie Historique et Nobiliaire, 1934 (Réimpression Photo-lithographique, 1971. Paris: Gaston Saffroy, 1971). I, 393-94.

*pour M. Espé, instituteur, Membre de la Société des Sciences
et des arts de Grenoble, de l'avis de l'auteur*



SUR LA GUERRE

ENTRE

LA FRANCE ET L'ANGLETERRE;

O D E

DÉDIÉE au Général MATHIEU DUMAS,

Membre du Sénat Conservateur.

LD

*Grenoble
an II*

25 juin 1803

DE la sanguinaire Bellone
Va-t-on déployer l'étendart ?
Le peuple s'émeut, l'airain tonne,
Le fer brille de toute part...
Ces Guerriers dont l'œil étincelle,
Ces chars que la fureur atelle,
Où courent-ils porter la mort ?
Qui souffle le feu de la guerre?...
Quel Démon fatal à la terre
Préside et commande à son sort ?

A

(2)

Anglais jaloux, Anglais perfide,
C'est toi qui brises les traités;
Ton ambition parricide
Provoque les hostilités.
Pour toi la Paix n'a point de charmes,
L'humanité n'a point de larmes
Qui touchent ton cœur sans pitié;
De l'olivier frappé du glaive,
A peine un rejetton s'élève
Que dans le sang tu l'as noyé!

En vain Neptune de ses ondes
Offre à tous l'immense trésor,
Seul du commerce des deux mondes
Tu veux ravir le sceptre d'or.
Quoi! ton avide politique
De la prospérité publique
Tarirait par-tout les canaux;
Et les Nations avilies
Verraient tes flottes ennemies
Fermer les mers à leurs vaisseaux!

Non... que les vagues orageuses
Engloutissent ton pavillon!
Que dans tes Chambres orgueilleuses
La Discorde jette un tison!

(3)

Que l'Irlande désespérée ,
De ses ports nous ouvrant l'entrée
S'arme contre ses oppresseurs !
Que les Indes qu'ils font esclaves ,
Que Thétis exempte d'entraves ,
Bénissent leurs Libérateurs !

Déjà vengeant la foi trahie ,
Les Cieux, de leurs justes fléaux ,
Dans Malthe qu'il tient asservie ,
Frappent l'usurpateur des eaux.
Déjà résonne la trompette...
Un cri menaçant se répète :
Des mers périsse le tyran !...
Tremble, sacrilège Angleterre ,
Guillaume franchit la barrière
Que nous oppose l'Océan.

Sur les rivages Britanniques ,
Français, livre au feu dévorant
Tes vaisseaux, tes barques civiques
A l'exemple du conquérant.
Que sert une retraite aux braves ,
Que sur leurs bords, aux champs Bataves
L'Anglais a vu se signaler ;
Et que la vaste Germanie ,

A 2

(4)

L'Europe même réunie,
Ne sauraient faire reculer !

D'un fort qui semble inaccessible,
Ainsi d'imprudens Bataillons
Insultent la Troupe paisible
Qui campe sous ses bastions.
Elle s'indigne de l'offense...
Le fort, malgré sa résistance,
Cède aux assauts victorieux...
Brûlant de la soif du carnage,
Le vainqueur lave son outrage
Dans le sang des audacieux.

Tels, à l'honneur non moins sensibles,
Tu verras, coupable Albion,
Dans ton sein les Français terribles,
Porter la désolation.
J'atteste, l'Europe allarmée,
Que si ma Patrie est armée,
Si des flots de sang vont couler,
Les Français ne sont point comptables
De ces victimes innombrables
Que Bellone doit immoler.

Veillé-je ! France ! est-ce un prodige
Que m'offre ton aspect guerrier ?

(5)

Ton sol, ce n'est point un prestige ;
Paraît le camp du monde entier !
Tes enfans nombreux, intrépides,
Suivis d'instrumens homicides,
Sement l'espoir ou la terreur...
Français, fiers amans des batailles,
Assez et trop de funérailles
Ont illustré votre valeur.

Cependant ils couvrent la plaine ;
Leur marche retentit au loin,
Depuis le Pô jusqu'à la Seine,
Des bords du Var aux bords du Rhin.
Retiens ces lions redoutables,
Suspends ces apprêts formidables,
~~CONSUL, arbitre des combats :~~
De sang la terre encore est teinte ;...
Mais déjà, répandant la crainte,
Sur Hanovre ils tournent leurs pas.

Quel Dieu calmera les tempêtes
Que soulève Eole en courroux ?
Quel Dieu préservera nos têtes
Des foudres qui grondent sur nous ?
Malheur à ceux qui, dans leur haine,
Sur les maux de l'espèce humaine,

(6)

Ne se sont attristés jamais !
Lauriers séducteurs de la gloire ,
Héros , garants de la victoire ,
Souffrez que j'implore la Paix.

Naguères, ô Vierge céleste,
Mon luth célébrait tes douceurs (1) ;
Pendant ton absence funeste
Il sera mouillé de mes pleurs.
Ah ! reviens consoler la terre.
A ton aspect si l'Angleterre
Deux fois détourne ses regards ,
Plus de trêve , plus de clémence ,
Moi-même appelant la vengeance ,
J'embouche le clairon de Mars.

*Par LAURENCE, ex - Legisteur ,
Membre de plusieurs Sociétés savantes
et littéraires.*

(1) Le citoyen Laurence est auteur de l'Ode intitulée :
Le Temps ramenant la Paix. V. le *Moniteur universel* ,
1.^{er} vendémiaire , après le traité d'Amiens. Le Lycée de
Grenoble arrêta qu'elle serait imprimée, etc. , et qu'il en
serait fait hommage à Bonaparte , etc.

A GRENOBLE, chez J. ALLIER, Imprimeur.

*For Mr. Espié, teacher, Member of the Society of the Arts and Sciences
Of Grenoble, from the author*

ON THE WAR

Between

FRANCE AND ENGLAND;

O D E

Dedicated to General Mathieu DUMAS,

Member of the Conservative Senate.

From the sanguinary Bellone
Will the Standard be deployed?
The nation stirs, the cannon thunders,
The iron shines on all sides...
These Warriors whose eyes sparkle,
These chariots harnessed by fury,
Where do they run to bring death?
Who fans the fires of war?
What Demon, deadly to this earth
Presides and orders its fate?

Envious English, perfidious English,
It is you who break the treaties;
Your parricide ambition
Provokes hostilities.
For you, Peace has no charm,
Humanity has no tears
With which to touch your pitiless heart;
From the olive branch stricken by the sword,
No sooner a sprout rises
Than in the blood you drown it.

In vain Neptune thru its waves
Offers to all the immense treasure,
Alone, of the trade of both worlds
You want to seize the gold scepter.
What! Your greedy politics
Of public prosperity

Would dry up all channels,
And the disgraced Nations
Would see your enemy fleets
Close the seas to their vessels!

No...may the stormy waves
Engulf your flag!
And in your arrogant Chambers
May discord throw some embers!
May desperate Ireland,
Opening to us her ports
Arm herself against her oppressors!
May India by them enslaved,
May Thétis unshackled
Bless their Liberators!

Already avenging the faith betrayed,
The Heavens, in their just calamities,
In enslaved Malthe,
Strike the waters usurper.
Already the trumpet resounds...
A menacing cry repeats itself:
Perish, tyrant of the seas!...
Tremble, sacrilegious England,
William reaches the barrier
The ocean had become.

Upon the British shores,
Frenchmen, engage upon the devouring fire
Your vessels, your civic barges
In the example of the conqueror.
What use is a retreat for the brave,
If on the edges of the Batavian battlefield
The English distinguished themselves;
And that the vast Germany,
Even all of Europe united
Could not repulse!

From a seemingly inaccessible fort,
Then some imprudent Batallions
Insult the peaceful Troop
Camped under its bastions.
The troop is shocked by the offense...
The fort, in spite of its resistance,
Surrenders under the victorious assaults...

Burning with the thirst for carnage,
The victor washes its outrage
In the blood of the audacious.

Just as, no less sensitive to honor,
You will see, culpable Albion,
In your midst, the terrible French
Bring desolation.
I attest, Europe alarmed,
That if my fatherland is armed,
If torrents of blood are going to flow,
The French are not responsible
For these innumerable victims
That Bellone must slay.

I watch! France! Is it a prodigy
That your warring aspect offers me?
Your soil, it is not a prestige,
Appears to be the camp of the world!
Your many children, fearless,
Followed by murderous implements,
Sow hope or terror...
Frenchmen, proud lovers of battles,
Enough and too many funerals
Have illustrated your valor.

Meanwhile they cover the plain;
Their march resounds afar,
From the Pô to the Seine,
From the banks of the Var to the banks of the Rhine.
Detain these redoubtable lions,
Suspend these formidable preparations,
Consul, arbitrator of combats:
Of blood the soil still is stained;...
But already, spreading fear,
On Hanover they turn their steps.

What God will calm the storms
Raised by the wrath of Eole?
What God will save our heads
From the thunder rumbling upon us?
Woe to those who, in their hatred,
Upon the ills of mankind
Never saddened themselves!
Laurels seducers of glory,

Heroes, guarantor of victory,
Suffer that I implore peace.

Not long ago, ô heavenly Virgin,
My lute celebrated your peacefulness (1);
During your deadly absence
It will be wet with my tears.
Ah! Come back and console the earth.
Upon seeing you if England
Twice turns away her eyes
No more truce, no more mercy,
Myself calling for vengeance,
I sound the bugle of Mars.

*By LAURENCE, ex-Legislator,
Member of several learned and literary Societies.*

(1) Citizen Laurence is the author of the Ode titled: *Le Temps ramenant la Paix*. [Time restoring Peace] V. The Universal Monitor, 1st vendemiaire, after the Amiens treaty. The Grenoble High School declared that it would be printed, etc., and that it would do homage to Bonaparte, etc.

At GRENOBLE, at J. ALLIER, Printer

Official News from Paris 1814

J. David Markham

The period of March and April of 1814 was chaotic to say the least. Napoleon raced unsuccessfully to defend Paris, the Allied Armies were destined to beat him there. The government left behind by Napoleon collapsed and Marie Louise left Paris with the King of Rome on 29 March. On 30 March, Napoleon's brother Joseph and the remaining loyal government officials left Paris as well. Coalition forces moved into Paris and Napoleon's fate was sealed.

During this time, the people of France were kept more or less informed of events through a variety of newspapers of varying sizes and quality. The document present here was probably produced in Paris and is clearly under control of the provisional government and the allies. It was produced in very early April and offers a very interesting look into what was happening during this time.

The engraving from my collection is dated June 24 1814. It was published in London and is said to be an engraving by Meyer after a painting by David.



This article was translated by Dr. Bill Chew III.

NOUVELLES OFFICIELLES.

Paris, le 31 mars.

Copie d'une note en date du 31 mars 1814,
adressée par le comte de Nesselrode à M. le
baron Pasquier, préfet de police.

Par ordre de S. M. l'Empereur, mon
maître, j'ai l'honneur de vous inviter, M. le
baron, à faire sortir de prison les habitans de
Coulommiers, MM. de Varennes et de Grim-
berg, détenus à Sainte-Pelagie, pour avoir
empêché de tirer sur les troupes alliées dans
l'intérieur de leur commune, et avoir sauvé
ainsi la vie de leurs concitoyens et leurs pro-
priétés.

S. M. désire également que vous rendiez à
la liberté tous les individus qui, par attache-
ment à leur ancien et leur légitime souverain,
ont été détenus jusqu'ici.

Vous voudrez bien, M. le baron, faire in-
sérer cette lettre dans tous les journaux.

Signé le comte DE NESSELRODE.

Paris, le 31 mars 1814.

M. le Baron,

J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser une procla-
mation que M. le maréchal prince de Schwart-
zenberg vient de publier au nom des puis-
sances alliées. Je vous ordonne de la faire
insérer dans tous les journaux, l'afficher aux
coins des rues, en un mot lui donner im-
médiatement la plus grande publicité possible.

Agréez l'assurance de ma considération dis-
tinguée.

Signé, le comte DE NESSELRODE.

« Habitans de Paris!

» Les armées alliées se trouvent devant Paris.
Le but de leur marche vers la capitale est
fondé sur l'espoir d'une réconciliation sincère
et durable avec elle. Depuis vingt ans l'Europe
est inondée de sang et de larmes. Les tenta-

tives faites pour mettre un terme à tant de mal-
heurs ont été inutiles, parce qu'il existe dans
le pouvoir même du gouvernement qui vous
oppresse un obstacle insurmontable à la paix.
Quel Français qui ne soit pas convaincu de
cette vérité!

» Les souverains alliés cherchent de bonne
foi une autorité salutaire en France, qui puisse
 cimenter l'union de toutes les nations et de
tous les gouvernemens. C'est à la ville de
Paris qu'il appartient, dans les circonstances
actuelles, d'accélérer la paix du Monde. Son
vœu est attendu avec l'intérêt que doit inspirer
un si immense résultat; qu'elle se prononce,
et dès ce moment l'armée qui est devant ses
murs devient le soutien de ses décisions.

» Parisiens, vous connaissez la situation
de votre patrie, la conduite de Bordeaux, l'oc-
cupation amicale de Lyon, les maux attirés
sur la France et les dispositions véritables de
vos concitoyens: vous trouverez dans ces exem-
ples le terme de la guerre étrangère et de la dis-
corde civile; vous ne sauriez plus le chercher
ailleurs.

» La conservation et la tranquillité de votre
ville seront l'objet des soins et des mesures
que les alliés s'offrent de prendre avec les au-
torités et les notables qui jouissent le plus de
l'estime publique: aucun logement militaire ne
péséra sur la capitale.

» C'est dans ces sentimens que l'Europe en
armes devant vos murs s'adresse à vous. Hâtez-
vous de répondre à la confiance qu'elle met
dans votre amour pour la patrie et dans votre
sagesse.»

Signé, le commandant en chef des armées alliées,
Maréchal prince DE SCHWARTZENBERG.

Paris, le 1.er avril.

DÉCLARATION.

Les armées des puissances alliées ont occupé
la capitale de la France. Les souverains alliés
accueillent le vœu de la nation française.

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Ils déclarent :

Que si les conditions de la paix devaient renfermer de plus fortes garanties lorsqu'il s'agissait d'enchaîner l'ambition de Bonaparte, elles doivent être plus favorables, lorsque, par un retour vers un gouvernement sage, la France elle-même offrira l'assurance de ce repos.

Les souverains alliés proclament en conséquence :

Qu'ils ne traiteront plus avec Napoléon Bonaparte ni avec aucun de sa famille :

Qu'ils respectent l'intégrité de l'ancienne France, telle qu'elle a existé sous ses rois légitimes; ils peuvent même faire plus, parce qu'ils professent toujours le principe que, pour le bonheur de l'Europe, il faut que la France soit grande et forte.

Qu'ils reconnaîtront et garantiront la constitution que la nation française se donnera. Ils invitent par conséquent le sénat à désigner un gouvernement provisoire qui puisse pourvoir aux besoins de l'administration, et préparer la constitution qui conviendra au peuple français.

Les intentions que je viens d'exprimer me sont communes avec toutes les puissances alliées.

ALEXANDRE.

Par S. M. I.,

Le secrétaire d'Etat, comte de NESSELRODE.
Paris, 31 mars 1814, 3 heures après midi.

S. M. l'Empereur de toutes les Russies est informée que beaucoup de militaires de tout grade sont dans ce moment à Paris, où ils ont été conduits soit par suite des événemens de la guerre, soit par le besoin de soigner leur santé altérée par de grandes fatigues ou d'honorables blessures.

Il ne suppose pas qu'ils puissent avoir cru un moment qu'il leur fût nécessaire de se cacher; dans tous les cas, il se plaît à déclarer en son nom et en celui de ses alliés, qu'ils sont libres, parfaitement libres, et que comme tous les autres citoyens français, ils sont appelés à concourir aux mesures qui doivent décider la grande question qui va se juger pour le bonheur de la France et du monde entier.

Signé, ALEXANDRE.

Par S. M. l'Empereur,

Le comte de NESSELRODE, secrétaire d'Etat.

Le duc de Vicence s'étant présenté auprès des souverains alliés, n'a pu parvenir à s'en faire écouter; ses propositions n'étaient pas celles que les puissances avaient droit d'attendre, surtout d'après la manifestation éclatante des sentimens des habitans de Paris et de toute la France. En conséquence le duc de Vicence s'est remis en route pour se rendre au quartier-général de Napoléon.

Du 2 avril.

SÉNAT CONSERVATEUR.

Extrait des registres du Sénat conservateur.

Séance du vendredi 1.^{er} avril 1814, après midi.

A trois heures et demie, les membres du Sénat se réunissent en vertu d'une convocation extraordinaire, sous la présidence de S. A. S. le prince de Bénévent, vice-grand-électeur.

La séance est ouverte par la lecture du procès-verbal de celle du 28 mars dernier.

Le Sénat en adopte la rédaction.

S. A. S. le prince vice-grand-électeur, président, prend ensuite la parole en ces termes :

SÉNATEURS,

« La lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur d'adresser à chacun de vous, pour les prévenir de cette convocation, leur en fait connaître l'objet. Il s'agit de vous transmettre des propositions. Ce seul mot suffit pour indiquer la liberté que chacun de vous apporte dans cette assemblée. Elle vous donne les moyens de laisser prendre un généreux essor aux sentimens dont l'ame de chacun de vous est remplie, la volonté de sauver votre pays, et la résolution d'accourir au secours d'un peuple délaissé.

« Sénateurs, les circonstances, quelque graves qu'elles soient, ne peuvent être au-dessus du patriotisme ferme et éclairé de tous les membres de cette assemblée, et vous avez sûrement senti tous également la nécessité d'une délibération qui ferme la porte à tout retard, et qui ne laisse pas écouler la journée sans rétablir l'action de l'administration, le premier de tous les besoins, pour la formation d'un gouvernement dont l'autorité formée pour le besoin du moment, ne peut qu'être rassurante. »

Le prince vice-grand-électeur ayant cessé de parler, diverses propositions sont faites par

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plusieurs membres. La matière mise en délibération, le sénat arrête :

1.^o Qu'il sera établi un gouvernement provisoire chargé de pourvoir aux besoins de l'administration, et de présenter au Sénat un projet de constitution qui puisse convenir au peuple français.

2.^o Que ce gouvernement sera composé de cinq membres.

Procédant de suite à leur nomination, le sénat élit pour membres du gouvernement provisoire :

M. de Talleyrand, prince de Bénévent ;

M. le sénateur comte de Beurnonville ;

M. le sénateur comte de Jaucourt ;

M. le duc de Dalberg, conseiller-d'état ;

M. de Montesquion, ancien membre de l'assemblée constituante.

Ils sont proclamés en cette qualité par le prince vice-grand électeur, président.

S. A. S. ajoute que l'un des premiers soins du gouvernement provisoire devant être la rédaction d'un projet de constitution, les membres de ce gouvernement, lorsqu'ils s'occuperont de cette rédaction, en donneront avis à tous les membres du Sénat, qui sont invités à concourir de leurs lumières à la perfection d'un travail si important.

Il est ensuite arrêté que l'acte de nomination du gouvernement provisoire sera notifié au peuple français par une adresse des membres de ce gouvernement.

Quelques sénateurs demandent que cet acte continue l'exposé des motifs qui ont déterminé le Sénat et rendu sa réunion indispensable.

D'autres membres demandent au contraire que les motifs fassent partie de l'adresse qui sera publiée par les membres du gouvernement provisoire.

Le Sénat adopte cette dernière proposition.

Un membre propose d'arrêter en principe, et de charger le gouvernement provisoire de comprendre en substance dans son adresse au peuple français,

1.^o Que le Sénat et le Corps-Législatif seront déclarés partie intégrante de la constitution projetée, sauf les modifications qui seront jugées nécessaires pour assurer la liberté des suffrages et des opinions.

2.^o Que l'armée, ainsi que les officiers et soldats en retraite, les veuves et officiers pensionnés, conserveront les grades, honneurs et pensions dont ils jouissent ;

3.^o Qu'il ne sera porté aucune atteinte à la dette publique ;

4.^o Que les ventes de domaines nationaux seront irrévocablement maintenues ;

5.^o Qu'aucun Français ne pourra être recherché pour les opinions politiques qu'il aurait pu émettre ;

6.^o Que la liberté des cultes et des consciences sera maintenue et proclamée, ainsi que la liberté de la presse, sauf la répression légale des délits qui pourraient naître de l'abus de cette liberté.

Ces différentes propositions, appuyées par plusieurs membres, sont mises aux voix par le prince vice-grand-électeur, président, et adoptées par le Sénat.

Un membre demande que pour concilier l'adoption de ces propositions avec la confiance due aux membres du gouvernement provisoire qui vient d'être établi, l'adresse au peuple français que feront les membres de ce gouvernement énonce qu'ils sont chargés de préparer une Constitution telle qu'il ne soit porté aucune atteinte aux principes qui font la base de ces propositions.

Le Sénat adopte cet amendement.

Le Sénat s'ajourne à ce soir neuf heures, pour entendre et adopter la rédaction définitive du procès-verbal et pour en signer individuellement l'expédition.

M. le sénateur, comte Barthélemy, ex-président du Sénat, est désigné pour présider en l'absence du prince vice-grand-électeur qui ne pourra se trouver à cette séance.

Il est arrêté qu'extraît du procès-verbal contenant la nomination des membres du gouvernement provisoire sera dès-à-présent expédiée sous la signature du président et des secrétaires.

Les sénateurs qui, faute d'avoir été avertis à temps, n'ont pu assister à la présente séance, seront de nouveau convoqués par le président pour la séance de ce soir.

Ces délibérations prises, le prince vice-grand-électeur lève la séance.

Du même jour 1.^{er} avril 1814.

A neuf heures du soir, la séance est reprise sous la présidence de M. le sénateur comte Barthélemy.

Le Sénat entend la lecture et adopte, après quelques amendemens, la rédaction du procès-verbal de ce jour.

On demande que ce procès-verbal soit imprimé, et distribué au nombre de six exemplaires à chacun des membres du Sénat.

Cette proposition est adoptée.

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Il est ensuite procédé par les membres présents à la signature du procès-verbal, ainsi qu'il suit:

Abrial; Barbé de Marbois; Barthelemy; Bayanne (de) M. le cardinal; Belderbusch; Berthollet; le général Beurnonville (le général comte); Buonacorsi; Carbonara; Chasseloup-Laubat (le général comte); Cholet; le général Coland; Cornet; Davous; Degregory-Marcorenge; le général Dembarere; Depère; Destutt-Fracy; le général d'Harville; d'Haubersaert; le général d'Hédouville; Dubois-Dubais; Emmery; Fabre - de - l'Aude; le général Ferino; Fontanes; Garat; Grégoire; Herwin; Jaucourt; Jourrain-Auber; le général Klein; Lejeas; Lambrechts; Sanjuinai; Lannoy; Lebrun de Rochemont; Lemercier; le général Lespinasse; Maleville; Meermann; Moubaden; Pastoret; Péré; Pontecoulant; Porcher; Rigal; Roger-Ducos; St-Martin de Lamotte; le général Sainte-Sazanne; Saur; Schimmelpenninck; le maréchal Serrurier; le général Soules; Tacher; le général Valence; (le général comte); le maréchal duc de Valmy; Vandeden; Vandepoll; le général Vaubois; Villetard; Vimar; Volney.

Les président et secrétaires,

Le prince DE BÉNÉVENT.

Le comte DE VALENCE, PASTORET.

Les membres absents pour cause de maladie ont envoyé leurs adhésions.

Paris, le 2 avril.

SÉNAT - CONSERVATEUR.

Messieurs les membres du gouvernement provisoire,

Le Sénat me charge de vous prier de faire connaître dès demain au peuple français que le Sénat, par un décret rendu dans sa séance de ce jour, a déclaré la déchéance de l'Empereur Napoléon et de sa famille, et délié en conséquence le peuple français et l'armée du serment de fidélité.

Cet acte vous sera adressé dans la journée de demain avec ses motifs et ses considérans. J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer,

Le président du Sénat,

Signé, BARTHELEMY.

Pour copie conforme,
Le secrétaire du gouvernement provisoire,
DUFOUR (de Nemours.)

Paris, 2 avril 1814, à 9 heures et demie du soir.

Rien n'est plus intéressant et plus touchant que ce qui s'est passé ce soir à l'audience que S. M. l'Empereur de Russie a donnée au Sénat.

Après avoir reçu les hommages de ce corps: « Un homme qui se disait mon allié, a dit: » l'Empereur Alexandre, est arrivé dans mes » Etats en injuste agresseur; c'est à lui que » j'ai fait la guerre et non à la France; je » suis l'ami du peuple français; ce que vous » venez de faire redouble encore ce sentiment; » il est juste, il est sage de donner à la » France des institutions fortes et libérales qui » soient en rapport avec les lumières actuelles. Mes alliés et moi nous ne venons que » protéger la liberté de vos décisions. »

L'Empereur s'est arrêté un moment; et S.

M. a repris avec la plus touchante émotion:

« Pour preuve de cette alliance durable que » je veux contracter avec votre nation, je lui » rends tous les prisonniers français qui sont » en Russie. Le gouvernement provisoire me » l'avait déjà demandé. Je l'accorde au Sénat, » d'après les résolutions qu'il a prises aujourd'hui. »

Le Sénat est sorti pénétré des sentimens de la plus vive reconnaissance et de la plus grande admiration.

ACTES DU GOUVERNEMENT PROVISOIRE.

ADRESSE AUX ARMÉES FRANÇAISES.

Paris, 2 avril 1814.

Soldats,

La France vient de briser le joug sous lequel elle gémit avec vous depuis tant d'années.

Vous n'avez jamais combattu que pour la patrie, vous ne pouvez plus combattre que contre elle, sous les drapeaux de l'homme qui vous conduit.

Voyez tout ce que vous avez souffert de sa tyrannie; vous étiez naguères un million de soldats, presque tous ont péri; on les a livrés au fer de l'ennemi sans subsistances, sans hôpitaux; ils ont été condamnés à périr de misère et de faim.

Soldats, il est tems de finir les maux de la patrie; la paix est dans vos mains, la refuserez-vous à la France désolée; les ennemis

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mêmes vous la demandent ; ils regrettent de ravager ces belles contrées , et ne veulent s'armer que contre votre oppresseur et le nôtre. Seriez-vous sourds à la voix de la patrie, qui vous rappelle et vous supplie ; elle vous parle par son Sénat, par sa capitale et surtout par ses malheurs ; vous êtes ses plus nobles enfans, et ne pouvez appartenir à celui qui l'a ravagée, qui l'a livrée sans armes, sans défense, qui a voulu rendre votre nom odieux à toutes les nations, et qui aurait peut-être compromis votre gloire, si un homme qui n'est pas même Français, pouvait jamais affaiblir l'honneur de nos armes et la générosité de nos soldats.

Vous n'êtes plus les soldats de Napoléon, le Sénat et la France entière vous dégagent de vos sermens.

Signé, les membres du gouvernement provisoire, le prince de BÉNÉVENT, FRANÇOIS DE MONTESQUIOU, DALBERG, BEURNONVILLE, JAUCOURT.

Pour copie conforme,

Le secrétaire adjoint du gouvernement provisoire.

LABORIE.

Paris, le 3 avril.

ACTES DU GOUVERNEMENT PROVISOIRE.

Commissaires nommés par le gouvernement provisoire, pour :

La justice : M. Henrion de Pensey ;

Les affaires étrangères : M. le comte Laforêt, et M. le baron Durand, adjoint,

L'intérieur : M. le comte Beugnot, et jusqu'à son arrivée, M. Benoît ;

La guerre, en y réunissant l'administration de la guerre : le général Dupont ;

La marine : M. le baron Malouët, et jusqu'à son arrivée, M. Jurien ;

Les finances, le trésor et les manufactures et commerce : M. le baron Louis ;

La police générale : M. Anglés, maître des requêtes ;

Le secrétariat-général du gouvernement provisoire : M. Dupont (de Nemours), membre de l'Institut, et M. Roux de Laborie, avocat en la cour impériale, adjoint.

M. de Lavalette s'étant absenté, M. de Bourienne, ancien conseiller-d'état, est nommé directeur-général des postes.

Pour extrait conforme,

DUPONT (de Nemours).

SÉNAT CONSERVATEUR.

Extrait des registres du Sénat conservateur. — Séance du dimanche 3 avril 1814, présidée par M. le Sénateur comte Barthélemy.

A midi, les membres du Sénat se réunissent en vertu de l'ajournement porté au procès-verbal de la séance d'hier.

Le Sénat entend la lecture et approuve la rédaction de ce procès-verbal.

Il approuve pareillement la rédaction du procès-verbal relatif au transport et à la réception du Sénat chez S. M. l'Empereur de Russie.

A l'occasion de ce dernier procès-verbal, et de l'assurance donnée au Sénat par l'Empereur Alexandre de délivrer tous les Français prisonniers de guerre dans ses états, le Sénat, profondément touché de cet acte magnanime, qui doit rendre tant d'infortunés à leurs familles : arrête que le Gouvernement provisoire sera invité à prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour accélérer leur retour.

L'assemblée arrête également de consacrer dans ses registres le souvenir d'une si grande magnanimité.

Un membre demande que le procès-verbal dont il s'agit soit imprimé et distribué au nombre de six exemplaires, à chacun des sénateurs.

Cette proposition est adoptée.

L'assemblée, sur la proposition d'un autre membre, prend l'arrêté suivant :

Le Sénat rappelle dans son sein tous les sénateurs absens, excepté ceux dont la présence sera jugée utile dans les départemens.

Le présent arrêté sera transmis au Gouvernement provisoire pour l'exécution.

M. le président communique à l'assemblée plusieurs lettres qu'il a reçues de divers membres du Sénat. Quatre de ces lettres, écrites sous la date courante du 3 avril, contiennent l'adhésion des sénateurs d'Aboville, François de Neufchâteau, Lenoir-Laroche et Shée, aux mesures prises par le Sénat dans ses précédentes séances. Les sénateurs Lejeas, Legrand, Fallet-Barol s'excusent par trois autres lettres sous la même date de ne pouvoir, attendu leur état de maladie, assister aux séances du Sénat.

Le Sénat ordonne qu'il sera fait mention de ces lettres au procès-verbal.

L'ordre du jour appelle la rédaction définitive du décret rendu dans la séance d'hier.

M. le sénateur comte Lambrechts, chargé de cette rédaction, en présente le projet.

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Il est, après deux lectures successives, renvoyé à l'examen d'une commission spéciale, formée des sénateurs Barbé-Marbois, de Fontanes, Garat et Lanjuinais.

Les commissaires se retirent pour cet examen dans la salle du Conseil. La séance est suspendue jusqu'à leur retour.

A quatre heures la séance est reprise. M. le sénateur comte Lambrechts donne lecture du projet revu et adopté par la commission spéciale.

Ce projet, mis aux voix par M. le président, est adopté par le Sénat dans les termes suivans :

Le Sénat-Conservateur,

Considérant que dans une monarchie constitutionnelle, le monarque n'existe qu'en vertu de la constitution ou du pacte social;

Que Napoléon Bonaparte, pendant quelque tems d'un gouvernement ferme et prudent, avait donné à la nation des sujets de compter pour l'avenir sur des actes de sagesse et de justice; mais qu'ensuite il a déchiré le pacte qui l'unissait au peuple français; notamment en levant des impôts, en établissant des taxes autrement qu'en vertu de la loi, contre la teneur expresse du serment qu'il avait prêté à son avènement au trône, conformément à l'art. 53 de l'acte des constitutions du 28 floréal an 12;

Qu'il a commis cet attentat aux droits du peuple lors même qu'il venait d'ajourner, sans nécessité, le Corps-Législatif, et de faire supprimer comme criminel un rapport de ce corps, auquel il contestait son titre et sa part à la représentation nationale;

Qu'il a entrepris une suite de guerres en violation de l'article 50 de l'acte des constitutions du 22 frimaire an 8, qui veut que la déclaration de guerre soit proposée, discutée, décrétée et promulguée comme des lois;

Qu'il a inconstitutionnellement rendu plusieurs décrets portant peine de mort, notamment les deux décrets du 5 mars dernier, tendant à faire considérer comme nationale une guerre qui n'avait lieu que dans l'intérêt de son ambition démesurée;

Qu'il a violé les lois constitutionnelles par ses décrets sur les prisons d'Etat;

Qu'il a anéanti la responsabilité des ministres, confondu tous les pouvoirs et détruit l'indépendance des corps judiciaires;

Considérant que la liberté de la presse établie et consacrée comme l'un des droits de la nation, a été constamment soumise à la censure arbitraire de sa police, et qu'en même tems il s'est toujours servi de la presse pour

remplir la France et l'Europe de faits controuvés, de maximes fausses, de doctrines favorables au despotisme, et d'outrages contre les gouvernemens étrangers;

Que des actes et rapports entendus par le Sénat ont subi des altérations dans la publication qui en a été faite;

Considérant qu'au lieu de régner dans la seule vue de l'intérêt, du bonheur et de la gloire du peuple français, aux termes de son serment, Napoléon a mis le comble aux malheurs de la patrie, par son refus de traiter à des conditions que l'intérêt national obligeait d'accepter et qui ne compromettaient pas l'honneur français;

Par l'abus qu'il a fait de tous les moyens qu'on lui a confiés en hommes et en argent;

Par l'abandon des blessés sans pansemens, sans secours, sans subsistances;

Par différentes mesures dont les suites étaient la ruine des villes, la dépopulation des campagnes, la famine et les maladies contagieuses.

Considérant que par toutes ces causes, le gouvernement impérial établi par le sénatus-consulte du 28 floréal an 12, a cessé d'exister, et que le vœu manifeste de tous les Français appelle un ordre de choses dont le premier résultat soit le rétablissement de la paix générale, et qui soit aussi l'époque d'une réconciliation solennelle entre tous les Etats de la grande famille Européenne;

Le Sénat déclare et décrète ce qui suit :

Art. 1.^{er} Napoléon Bonaparte est déchu du trône, et le droit d'hérédité établi dans sa famille est aboli.

2. Le peuple français et l'armée sont déliés du serment de fidélité envers Napoléon Bonaparte.

3. Le présent décret sera transmis par un message au Gouvernement provisoire de la France, envoyé de suite à tous les départemens et aux armées, et proclamé incessamment dans tous les quartiers de la capitale.

Aucun autre objet ne se trouvant à l'ordre du jour, M. le président lève la séance.

Les président et secrétaires,

BARTHELEMY.

COMTE DE VALENCE, PASTORET.

CORPS-LÉGISLATIF.

Séance du 3 avril.

Le Corps-Législatif rénni en son palais et dans la salle ordinaire de ses séances, en vertu

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de l'invitation que lui en ont fait faire ce jour MM. les membres composant le gouvernement provisoire, M. Félix Faulcon, vice-président, a occupé le fauteuil; MM. Bois-Savary, Laborde et Faure, secrétaires.

M. le président a fait lecture d'un arrêté du Gouvernement provisoire, en date du 2 de ce mois, par lequel il annonce que le Sénat a prononcé la déchéance de Napoléon Bonaparte et de sa famille, et a déclaré que les Français sont dégagés envers lui de tous liens civils et militaires, et de toute obéissance.

A cet arrêté, était jointe copie de la lettre écrite le même jour, soir, aux membres du Gouvernement provisoire, par le président du Sénat, pour lui annoncer cet acte.

Le Corps-Législatif, après avoir délibéré en séance secrète et en la forme accoutumée sur cette importante communication, a rendu la séance publique et pris l'arrêté dont suit la teneur.

Vu l'acte du Sénat du 2 de ce mois, par lequel il prononce la déchéance de Napoléon Bonaparte et de sa famille, et déclare les Français dégagés envers lui de tous liens civils et militaires, et de toute obéissance,

Vu l'arrêté du Gouvernement provisoire du même jour, par lequel le Corps-Législatif est invité à participer à cette importante opération,

Le Corps-Législatif, considérant que Napoléon Bonaparte a violé le pacte constitutionnel, Adhérant à l'acte du Sénat,

Reconnait et déclare la déchéance de Napoléon Bonaparte et des membres de sa famille,

Le présent sera transmis par un message au Gouvernement provisoire et au Sénat.

Signé, Félix Faulcon, président; Chauvin de Bois-Savary, D. Laborde, Faure, secrétaires; Aubert, Barrot, Botta, Boutelaud, Bruys-Charly, Caze de la Bove, Challan, Chappuis, Charles (Duhud), Chatenay-Lanty, Cherrier, Chirat, Clausel de Coussergues, Clement, Colchen, Dalmas, Dampmartin, Danzat, Delattre, Duchesne de Gillevoisin, Dorbach, Ebaudy de Rochetaille, Emeric-David, Emmercy, Estournel, de Palaiseau, Finot, Flaugergues, Fournier de Saint-Lary, de Fougerais, Gallois, Garnier, Geoffroy, Gerolt, de Girardin, Goulard, Gourlay, de Grote, Griveau, Jacobi, Janod, Jaubert, Lajard de la Seine, Lefeuvre, Lefebvre-Gineau, Deslé Harel, Louvet, Metz, Moreau, Morellet, Pemartin, Perèse, Petersen, Petit de Beauverger, Petit du Cher, Pictet Diodati, Poggi, Poyfère de

Cère, de Prunele, Ragon-Gillet, Raynonard, Rigaut de l'Isle, Rivière, Rossée, le baron de Septenville, Sylvestre de Sacy, Sturtz, Thiry, Travaglini, van Recum, Vigneron, Villiers, de Waldner-Freundstein.

L'impression de cet arrêté et sa distribution à six exemplaires à chacun des membres du Corps-Législatif ont été ordonnées.

Par une autre décision prise dans cette séance, MM. les députés doivent se rendre en corps auprès de LL. MM. l'Empereur de Russie et le Roi de Prusse, à l'effet de leur présenter les hommages du Corps-Législatif.

COUR DE CASSATION.

Au Gouvernement provisoire, les membres de la Cour de cassation.

Nosseigneurs,

Nous nous empressons de vous adresser l'hommage de nos respects et de notre soumission.

Grâces soient rendues au Sénat d'avoir confié l'exercice de l'autorité publique à des hommes aussi distingués par leurs services et leurs talens.

Grâces lui soient rendues d'avoir détruit l'édifice du despotisme, et de vous avoir chargés d'élever sur ses ruines une constitution qui balance les pouvoirs, qui rende la paix à l'Europe, et fasse enfin jouir la France des droits sacrés de l'homme en société, de la sûreté des personnes et de celle des propriétés.

Puissions-nous bientôt jouir de cette constitution qui doit réparer tant de maux et sécher tant de larmes! Puissions-nous, après plus de vingt ans d'orages et de malheurs, trouver enfin le repos à l'ombre de ce sceptre antique et révéré, qui pendant huit siècles a si glorieusement gouverné la France!

Nosseigneurs, nous adhérons aux grandes mesures de salut public que le Sénat a décrétées dans ses séances mémorables du 1.^{er} et du 2 avril; elles ont exprimé le vœu des Français;

Paris, au palais de Justice, le 3 avril 1814.
Signé Barris, président; Giraud Duplessis, avocat général; le chevalier Bouchau, Casseignes, Basire, Borel, Oudart, le chevalier Vasse de Saint-Ouen, Pajon, Jourde, avocat-général. Minier, Liborel, Le Coutour, avocat-général; Bussehop, Audier-Massillon, Liger de Verdigny, Chaste, Dutocq, Rataud, Babilie, Vallée, Gandon, Vergès, le baron Botton de Castellamonte, Carnot, Pons, avocat-général; Lombard, De Avemann, Zangiaccmi, L. B. Gene-

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vois, Boyer, Bailly, Chabot de l'Allier, Lessier de Grandprey, Rousseau, Schwendt de Saint-Etienne, Cochart, De la Coste, Van Teulon.

J. B. JALBERT, greffier.

Paris, 5 avril.

S. M. l'Empereur de Russie, dès qu'elle a vu le changement dans le gouvernement français opéré par le sénat, et l'établissement du gouvernement provisoire, a fait proposer, au nom des puissances alliées, à Napoléon Buonaparte de se choisir un lieu et un établissement de retraite pour lui et sa famille; et M. le duc de Vicence a été chargé de lui remettre cette proposition. Elle a été principalement dictée aux puissances alliées par le désir d'arrêter l'effusion du sang, et la conviction que si elle était adoptée par Napoléon, l'œuvre de la paix générale et le rétablissement du repos intérieur de la France ne seraient plus que l'affaire d'un jour.

— Le corps municipal de Paris doit faire une députation au maréchal Marmont, pour le remercier des généreux efforts qu'il a faits pour défendre Paris, et le féliciter d'avoir donné l'exemple de l'obéissance au gouvernement qui vient de s'établir. Le maréchal Marmont est à Paris, et le corps de huit mille hommes qu'il commandait est arrivé à Versailles, où il reçoit les ordres du gouvernement provisoire.

— Ce matin, les maréchaux Mortier et Magdonald, et M. de Caulaincourt, ont été admis à l'audience de S. M. l'Empereur de Russie. Ils venaient proposer l'abdication de Buonaparte en faveur de son fils. Cette proposition n'a point été écoutée. Les puissances alliées, parmi lesquelles dès ce jour on doit compter la France, ont fait proposer à Buonaparte une retraite à l'île d'Elbe, et une pension annuelle de six millions pour lui et pour sa famille. Les maréchaux Mortier et Magdonald, M. de Caulaincourt, sont repartis ce soir pour Fontainebleau, où se trouve maintenant Buonaparte.

Adresse du gouvernement provisoire au peuple français.

Français,

Au sortir des discordes civiles, vous avez choisi pour chef un homme qui paraissait sur

la scène du monde avec les caractères de la grandeur. Vous avez mis en lui toutes vos espérances; ces espérances ont été trompées. Sur les ruines de l'anarchie il n'a fondé que le despotisme.

Il devait au moins par reconnaissance devenir français avec vous. Il ne l'a jamais été. Il n'a cessé d'entreprendre sans but et sans motif, des guerres injustes, en aventurier qui veut être fameux. Il a, dans peu d'années, dévoré vos richesses et votre population.

Chaque famille est en deuil; toute la France gémit: il est sourd à nos maux. Peut-être rêvet-il encore à ses desseins gigantesques, même quand des revers inouis punissent avec tant d'éclat l'orgueil et l'abus de la victoire.

Il n'a su régner ni dans l'intérêt national, ni dans l'intérêt même de son despotisme. Il a détruit tout ce qu'il voulait créer, et recréé tout ce qu'il voulait détruire. Il ne croyait qu'à la force; la force l'accable aujourd'hui, juste retour d'une ambition insensée.

Enfin, cette tyrannie sans exemple a cessé: les puissances alliées viennent d'entrer dans la capitale de la France.

Napoléon nous gouvernait comme un roi de barbares; Alexandre et ses magnanimes alliés ne parlent que le langage de l'honneur, de la justice et de l'humanité. Ils viennent reconcilier avec l'Europe un peuple brave et malheureux.

Français, le sénat a déclaré Napoléon déchu du trône; la patrie n'est plus avec lui: un autre ordre de chose peut seul la sauver. Nous avons connu les excès de la licence populaire et ceux du pouvoir absolu: rétablissons la véritable monarchie en limitant, par de sages lois, les divers pouvoirs qui la composent.

Qu'à l'abri d'un trône paternel, l'agriculture épuisée reflorisse; que le commerce chargé d'entraves, reprenne sa liberté; que la jeunesse ne soit plus moissonnée par les armes avant d'avoir la force de les porter, que l'ordre de la nature ne soit plus interrompu, et que le vieillard puisse espérer de mourir avant ses enfans! Français, rallions-nous: les calamités passées vont finir, et la paix va mettre un terme aux bouleversemens de l'Europe. Les augustes alliés en ont donné leur parole. La France se reposera de ses longues agitations, et, mieux éclairée par la double épreuve de l'anarchie et du despotisme, elle trouvera le bonheur dans le retour d'un gouvernement tutélaire.

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Du 5 avril.

ACTES DU GOUVERNEMENT PROVISOIRE.

Le Gouvernement provisoire, apprenant avec douleur que des obstacles ont été mis au retour du Pape dans ses Etats, et déplorant cette continuation d'outrages dont on abreuve depuis si long-tems le chef courageux que l'Eglise redemande, ordonne que tout empêchement à son voyage cesse à l'instant, et qu'on lui rende dans sa route les honneurs qui lui sont dus.

Les autorités civiles et militaires sont chargées de l'exécution du présent décret.

Donné à Paris, le 2 avril 1814.

Par le Gouvernement provisoire,

Signé, DUPONT (de Nemours), secrétaire.

Le Gouvernement provisoire considérant combien il a été odieux en soi, et contraire aux conventions qui ont précédé le départ de S. M. le roi d'Espagne, de retenir à Perpignan son frère l'Infant D. Carlos, ordonne que ce prince soit reconduit le plus promptement possible, et avec tous les honneurs dus à son rang, jusqu'au premier poste espagnol.

Il est enjoint aux autorités civiles et militaires de prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires à l'exécution du présent ordre.

Donné à Paris, le 2 avril 1814.

Par le Gouvernement provisoire,

Signé, DUPONT (de Nemours), secrétaire.

MINISTÈRE DE LA GUERRE.

Paris, 5 avril 1814.

Le commissaire au département de la guerre, a l'honneur d'inviter MM. les officiers et militaires français de tous grades et de toutes armées, qui desirent donner leur adhésion au nouveau Gouvernement, à remettre ou à adresser dans les bureaux du personnel de son ministère à Paris, leur déclaration avec indication de leur adresse.

Les déclarations qui seront remises directement dans les différens bureaux seront reçues depuis midi jusqu'à 4 heures.

Signé, le général comte DUPONT.

COUR DES COMPTES.

Aujourd'hui 5 mars 1814, tous les magistrats de la Cour étant réunis à la grand-chambre, sur la convocation du premier président : il a dit :

« MESSIEURS,

» Vous connaissez l'acte en date du 2 de ce mois, par lequel le Sénat a déclaré le peuple français dégagé de tous liens civils et militaires envers Napoléon Bonaparte.

» Le Corps-Législatif a donné son adhésion à cet acte; vous m'avez demandé de vous rassembler, de vous donner les moyens d'exprimer les sentimens que vous inspire ce grand événement, je m'empresse de satisfaire à votre impatience.

» Le Sénat a remis à des hommes dignes de la plus haute confiance, le soin d'arrêter le cours des maux qui font gémir la France depuis long-tems. Rendons des actions de grâces à ce Gouvernement provisoire dont la sagesse et le courage se signalent aujourd'hui avec tant d'éclat.

» Payons d'une reconnaissance immortelle l'acte de magnanimité le plus signalé dont les annales du Monde puissent garder le souvenir. L'Empereur de Russie console deux cent mille familles par le retour des Français malheureux que le sort des armes a mis en son pouvoir, et il hâte le moment fortuné qui nous rendra nos frères, nos amis, nos enfans.

» Des peuples qu'on s'efforçait de nous faire redouter comme ennemis, le Roi de Prusse et des princes réunis pour la plus belle des causes, ne marquent leur présence que par des témoignages et des preuves d'amitié. Ils sont aujourd'hui nos alliés, nos amis, et depuis long-tems nous n'avons été aussi libres qu'en présence de ces étrangers en armes.

» Joignons nos vœux à ceux que forment en ce moment tous les français, celui de voir renaître à l'ombre d'une sage constitution, ces jours de gloire et de prospérité, qui ont il-

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lustré la France sous les princes qui l'ont gouvernée pendant huit siècles.

» De toutes parts se fait entendre le nom des Bourbons. Tous les vœux pressent leur retour, ils approchent. Un prince qui régnera par la constitution, la justice et les lois, nous sera bientôt rendu. Nous sommes libres d'exprimer les sentimens qui nous animent pour cette famille, que tant de titres ont rendue chère à la France, et de déclarer notre adhésion à toutes les dispositions faites par le Sénat pour assurer le bonheur de la nation française.

Par un mouvement unanime, les membres de la Cour ont demandé que le premier président voulût bien se rendre auprès du Gouvernement provisoire, l'organe des sentimens dont ils sont tous animés, lui faire la pleine et entière adhésion qu'ils donnent à toutes les mesures prises par le Sénat, par le Corps-Législatif et par le Gouvernement provisoire; que procès-verbal fut dressé du discours de M. le premier président et de la présente séance, et qu'en témoignage de cette adhésion, les membres de la cour fussent admis à signer ce procès-verbal, ce qui a été fait.

Au palais de la cour les jour et an que dessus.

Signé, Barbé-Marbois, premier président; Jarpavillier, Delpierre, Brière de Surgy, présidents; Feral, Dupin, Gounard, Regardin, le baron Girod de l'Ain, Pierre-Charles de Chassiron, Duvidal, Dallet, Cordelle, Pajot jeune, Perrée, Gillet la Jacqueminière, Carret, Letourneur, Mouricault, G. Malès, Valadon, Terrible, Guillemain de Vaires, Saint-Bagot, Briatte, Buffault, Caze Delabore, Sahut, Garnier, procureur-général; Guillaume, Spoelstra, Paulin Crassous, Duclos, de Gombert, Bouchard, Duriez, Perier de Trememont, Finot, Regardin jeune, Pajot, Garot, Prin, Bonnel, Hulin de Bois-Chevalier, Montet, Duchesne, Fourmontin, J. de Villeneuve, Courel, Farjon, Frestel, Roualle, Vial de Machurin, Dupont, Truet, Deleville, Carré, Michelin, Bralle, Parizot, Leferon Delaheuze, Beaulieux, L'huillier, Le Maître, Pierret,

Gillot, [C. Lewal, Darrin-jou, Dalbaret, Bayeux, Delaistre, Monfouilloux, Luzier-Lamothe, Pernot, Faucond, Bartouilli, Colleau, Pacquier, Boyer, Duparc, Mallet, Chardon, Duboy, Maillard, Le Roux, Allix, Libert, H. A. Adrenier, Maugirard, de Monchanin.

Pour copie conforme,

DE MARBOIS.

PRÉFECTURE DU DÉPART. DE LA SEINE:

Extrait du registre des décisions du conseil de préfecture, du 4 avril 1814.

Les membres du conseil de préfecture du département de la Seine, tous présents, M. Desroys, auditeur au Conseil-d'Etat, et le secrétaire, réunis en conseil à l'Hôtel-de Ville;

Considérant que le conseil de préfecture est la seule autorité purement départementale à Paris; que M. le préfet, M. le secrétaire-général et le conseil-général du département se sont prononcés avec le corps municipal, sur les grandes mesures qui préparent le terme de nos longues agitations politiques, et que le silence des membres du conseil de préfecture aurait un caractère d'indifférence contraire aux véritables sentimens de ses membres:

Déclarent qu'ils partagent la satisfaction publique pour la déchéance de Napoléon et de sa famille, et qu'ils attendent avec confiance de la sagesse du Sénat et du Gouvernement provisoire, le pacte constitutionnel qui doit nous rendre et fixer à jamais en France la race antique de nos Rois.

Signé, Marchand, Champion, Fain, Joubert et Leconte, Desroys et Bourcey, secrétaire.

BOURCEY, secrétaire.

COUR IMPÉRIALE DE PARIS.

La Cour impériale de Paris a pris l'arrêté suivant:

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La Cour sentant tout le prix des efforts qui ont enfin délivré la France d'un joug tyrannique ;

Pénétrée de respect et d'admiration pour des princes augustes, modèles de désintéressement et de magnanimité ;

Exprimant aussi son profond amour pour la noble race des rois qui, pendant huit siècles, a fait la gloire et le bonheur de la France, et qui seule peut ramener la paix, l'ordre et la justice dans une patrie où des vœux secrets n'ont cessé d'invoquer le souverain légitime ;

Arrête qu'elle adhère unanimement à la déchéance de Bonaparte et de sa famille, prononcée par décret du Sénat, du 3 de ce mois ; et que, fidèle aux lois fondamentales du royaume, elle appelle de tous ses moyens le chef de la maison de Bourbon au trône héréditaire de Saint-Louis.

Ordonne que le présent arrêté sera imprimé, affiché, et adressé au commissaire du Gouvernement provisoire pour la justice.

Le premier président, signé SÉGUIER.

Le greffier en chef, signé DUPLÈS.

Les magistrats du parquet près la Cour impériale de Paris, pressés du besoin d'énoncer librement toute leur pensée sur les décrets du Sénat des 2 et 3 avril présent mois, concernant la déchéance de l'empereur Napoléon, et autres relatifs aux bases de la charte constitutionnelle ;

Déclarent qu'ils adhèrent purement et simplement à tous ces actes et aux principes qui y sont contenus.

Ils expriment en même tems leur vœu formel pour que la royauté héréditaire soit déférée au chef de la maison de Bourbon, sur la garantie d'une constitution qui assure à jamais les droits de la nation, du monarque et des citoyens.

Le présent arrêté sera adressé en double minute à S. Exc. le président du Sénat, à S. A. le prince de Bénévent, président de la commission du Gouvernement provisoire, et à S. Exc. le président du Corps Législatif.

Fait et arrêté dans l'assemblée du parquet, le 5 avril 1814.

Signé, Legoux, procureur-général; Grandst, premier avocat-général; Girod, de l'Ain, avocat-général; Freteau, Jaubert, Mallet, Legais, de la Palme, Dameuve, Gay, de Schoneu, Clahier, Agier, Lacave - la - Ploguer

Extrait du registre des délibérations de la chambre du collège des avocats à la Cour de Cassation, du 4 avril 1814.

Les membres composant le collège des avocats à la Cour de cassation, spontanément réunis au Palais de Justice ;

Déclarent qu'ils rendent grâces au Sénat et au Gouvernement provisoire de l'acte qui a délié les Français du serment d'obéissance et de fidélité à Napoléon Bonaparte et à sa famille.

Ils attendent avec impatience, ils appellent de tous leurs vœux la charte constitutionnelle qui doit désormais garantir la liberté publique, et rendre à la France les descendants d'Henri IV.

Signés, Champion, président; Mailhe, syndic; Darrieux, rapporteur; Mathias, secrétaire; Bosquillon, trésorier; Chabroud, Moreau, Camus, Loiseau, Cochu, doyen; Flusin, sous-doyen; Coste, Dupont, Pageaut, Gerardin, Becquey - Beaupré, Gueny, Lepicard, Deliége, Leroy Neufville, Guichard père, Guichard fils, Bouquet, Granié, Barbé, Troussel, Billont, Lavaux, Beranger, Camusat, Borrel, Jousset, Badin, Sirey, Roger, Montplanqua, Dupret, Dard, Huart-Duparc, Bouchereau, Lagrange, Raoul.

A. S. A. Mgr. le prince de Bénévent, président du Gouvernement provisoire.

Monseigneur,

Le corps de la gendarmerie de Paris, s'empresse de mettre sous les yeux de V. A. son adhésion à l'organisation du Gouvernement provisoire, et à toutes les mesures qu'il peut juger convenable de prendre pour le bien de la patrie. Les officiers et

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les soldats rivaliseront de zèle pour mériter la confiance du Gouvernement, et s'en rendre tous les jours plus dignes.

Ils ont l'honneur d'être avec respect,

Monseigneur,

Les très-humbles, et très-obéissans serviteurs,

Signés : Bourgeois, colonel ; Alain, Dyonnet, Ducosay, d'Olendon, capitaines, etc. etc.

A S. A. Mg^e. le prince Bénévent, président du Gouvernement provisoire.

Monseigneur,

Les adjudans de la ville de Paris, sous les ordres du colonel de la gendarmerie, s'empressent de mettre sous les yeux de V. A. leur adhésion à l'organisation du Gouvernement provisoire, et à toutes les mesures qu'il peut juger convenable de prendre pour le bien de la patrie.

Ces adjudans rivaliseront de zèle pour mériter la confiance du Gouvernement et s'en rendre plus dignes chaque jour.

Ils ont l'honneur d'être avec le plus profond respect, Monseigneur, de V. A. les très-humbles et très-obéissans serviteurs.

Signé, Chevaud, Giraud, Gasson, Bougeard, l'Étang, Duret, Parratte, Collinet, Aubert, Monthouart, Giget, Maution, Pouget, Martin, Tonnelot, Tonnaille, Béguinot, Béguin, Vanloo, Delestres, Villedieu, Hubert, Chevain, Mathieu, Prolant, Roch, Nerrier, Durand, Lamy-Layourdelle, Baillet, Simonin, Sersuch, Knab, Garnier, Brière, Passeur, Tehecq, Duillard, John Livier, Rayard, Gallico Betiz, Bernard.

Paris, le 5 avril 1814.

— Le public est prévenu que l'immense quantité de lettres retenues depuis plus de trois ans dans le dépôt des rebus de l'administration des postes, tant celles venues de l'Angleterre et des autres pays

étrangers, que celles destinées pour ce pays, vont être expédiées à leur adresse.

Le directeur-général des postes, BOURRIENNE.

L'architrésorier assiste régulièrement aux conférences où l'on délibère sur la constitution monarchique que le gouvernement provisoire prépare à la France.

— M. le sénateur Sieyès, retenu par indisposition, a envoyé par écrit son adhésion à toutes les délibérations du sénat.

M. le sénateur comte Dedelay-d'Agier a envoyé son adhésion aux différens arrêtés du sénat, pris du 1.^{er} au 4 de ce mois, avec l'expression de ses regrets de ce que sa santé ne lui a pas permis d'assister aux séances.

— Les employés des différens ministères et des diverses administrations ont reçu l'ordre de reprendre leur fonctions, et les ont reprises. Ainsi les travaux de l'administration, qui avaient été suspendus pendant quelques jours, vont reprendre leur cours ordinaires.

Copie des lettres de créance de M. le Commissaire nommé par S. M. l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, pour résider près du gouvernement provisoire.

En m'éloignant de Paris, j'ai pensé qu'il était nécessaire de pourvoir aux moyens d'établir les relations les plus suivies et les plus fréquentes avec le gouvernement provisoire. J'ai à cet effet nommé mon général-major Pozzo di Borgo pour résider auprès de lui en qualité de commissaire-général.

Je vous invite, Messieurs, à ajouter foi à tout ce qu'il sera dans le cas de vous dire de ma part, et à me transmettre, par son entremise, toutes les communications que vous auriez à me faire. Il jouit de toute ma confiance, et la justifiera sûrement encore, dans cette occasion, en ne négligeant aucun moyen de cimenter les rapports de paix et d'amitié si heureusement établis entre la Russie et la France.

Recevez, Messieurs, l'assurance de mon estime.

Signé ALEXANDRE.

Paris, le... mars (4 avril 1814).

De l'Imprimerie du Journal.

Nouvelles Officielles [Official News]¹

Paris, 31 March 1814

Copy of a note dated 31 March 1814, addressed by Count Nesselrode to Baron Pasquier, Prefect of Police.

By order of H.M. the Emperor, my master, I have the honor of inviting you, Baron, to release from prison the inhabitants of Coulommier, Messieurs de Varennes and de Grimborg, detained in [the prison of] Sainte-Pélagie, for having prevented, within their municipality, the firing upon Allied troops, and thus having saved the lives and property of their fellow citizens.

H.M. also desires that you release all those individuals who, through their attachment to their previous and legitimate sovereign, have until now been detained.

You will be so kind, Baron, as to insert this letter into all the newspapers.

Signed, Count Nesselrode

Paris, 31 March 1814

I have the honor of sending you a proclamation that the Marshal, Prince of Schwartzenberg, has just published in the name of the allies. I command you to have it inserted in all the newspapers, have it affixed on the street-corners, in sum to immediately provide it with the greatest possible publicity.

Please accept the assurance of my distinguished regards.

Signed, Count Nesselrode

“Inhabitants of Paris!

The allied armies are at the gates of Paris. The goal of their march on the capital is founded on the hope of a sincere and durable reconciliation with her [the capital]. For twenty years Europe has been flooded with blood and tears. Previous attempts to put an end to so much misfortune have been in vain because, within the power of the self-same government

¹ Explanatory additions in [square brackets] are included by the translator for clarity.

that oppresses you, there remains an insurmountable obstacle to peace. No Frenchman could fail to be convinced by this truth!

The allied sovereigns, with good will, are looking for a *salutary authority in France*, one that could cement the union of all nations and all governments. Under the current circumstances, it must be in Paris that *World peace is sought out with all haste*. We await the answering of her prayer with the interest such a great result must inspire; may this Peace become manifest, and from that moment on the army outside the walls of Paris will become the solid support of all her decisions.

Parisians, you are aware of your fatherland's situation, of the conduct of Bordeaux, the friendly occupation of Lyon, the evils brought down on France and the true dispositions of your fellow citizens: among these examples you will find the terms *foreign war* and *civil discord* [translator's italics]; you couldn't find them elsewhere.

The preservation and tranquillity of your city shall be the object of the care and measures that the allies are taking with those authorities and notables of the highest public consideration: the capital will not have to bear any military quartering.

It is with these sentiments that *Europe in arms*, before your walls, addresses you. Make haste to respond to the trust she places in your love of fatherland and in your wisdom."

Signed, the commander-in-chief of the allied armies,
Marshal Prince of Schwartzenberg

Paris, 1 April.

Declaration.

The armies of the allied powers have occupied the capital of France. The allied sovereigns welcome the wishes of the French nation.

They declare:

That, should the terms of the peace include stronger guarantees with regard to putting in chains the ambitions of Bonaparte, they must be more favorable, since, with a return to wise and well-behaved government, France herself will provide the assurance of such repose.

Consequently, the allied sovereigns proclaim:

That they will no longer treat either with Napoléon Bonaparte or any member of his family:

That they respect the [territorial] integrity of old France, as it existed under her legitimate kings; they can even do more, because they continue to espouse the principle that, for the well-being of Europe, France must be large and strong.

That they will recognize and guarantee the constitution that the French nation will adopt. Consequently, they invite the Senate to design a provisional government able to meet the needs of administration, and to prepare the constitution suitable for the French people.

I share the intentions I have just expressed with the other allied powers.

ALEXANDER.

For H.I.M.,

The secretary of State, Count Nesselrode.

Paris, 31 March 1814, 3 P.M.

H.M. Emperor of all the Russias has been informed that many soldiers of all ranks are at this moment in Paris, where they have been brought either by the events of the war, or by the need to seek out some care for their health, altered by great fatigues or honorable wounds.

He does not suppose that they could have believed, for a moment, that they had to hide; in all cases, it is his pleasure to declare in his name and that of his allies, that they are free, perfectly free, and that, like all the other French citizens, they are called upon to contribute to the measures which must decide the great question that will determine the welfare of France and the entire world.

Signed, ALEXANDER

For H.M. the Emperor,
Count Nesselrode, *secretary of State*,.

The Duke of Vicence, having presented himself to the allied sovereigns, was not able to obtain a hearing; his propositions were not of the kind the powers were authorized to attend to, especially after the striking manifestation of sentiments expressed by the inhabitants of Paris and of all France. The Duke of Vicence therefore left to return to Napoléon's headquarters.

Of 2 April.

Conservative Senate

Extract from the registers of the Conservative Senate.

Session of Friday, 1 April, 1814, in the afternoon

At half past three, the members of the Senate convened, following an extraordinary convocation, under the chairmanship of H.S.H. the Prince of Bénévent, vice-grand-elect.

The session is opened with the reading of the minutes of that of 28 March past.
The Senate approves the minutes.

H.S.H. the prince vice-grand-elect, chairman, then takes the floor with the following words:

SENATORS,

“The letter that I had the honor of addressing to each of you, notifying you of this convocation, informed you of its purpose. It concerns the transmission, to you, of certain propositions. This word alone suffices to indicate the liberty each of you brings to this assembly. She [i.e. the assembly] will provide you the means with which to make a noble start, in response to the sentiments, the soul of which each and every one of you is filled, i.e. the will to save your country and the resolution to run to the aid of a forsaken people.

Senators, the circumstances, grave as they may be, cannot be above the firm and enlightened patriotism of all the members of this assembly, and you will all surely have equally felt the necessity of a deliberation with no delay whatsoever, one which will not let the day pass without re-establishing the activity of the administration, the premier of all needs, for the formation of a government, the authority of which, formed as it is by the needs of the moment, can only be re-assuring.

The prince vice-grand-elect, having relinquished the floor, various propositions are made by several members. The matter having been deliberated, the senate decides:

1. That a provisional government be established charged with meeting the needs of the administration, and of presenting to the Senate the draft of a constitution appropriate to the French people.

2. That the government be composed of five members.

Subsequently proceeding to their appointment, the senate elects as members of the provisional government:

M. Talleyrand, Prince of Bénévent;

M. Senator, Count of Beurnonville;

M. Senator, Count of Jaucourt;

M. Duc de Dalberg, councillor of state;

M. De Montesquiou, previously member of the Constituant Assembly.

They are proclaimed as such by the prince vice-grand-elect, chairman.

H.S.H. adds that, one of the first tasks of the provisional government of necessity being the redaction of a draft constitution, the members of the government, when they are busy with this draft, will inform the members of the Senate, who are invited to contribute their insights to the perfection of such an important task.

It is further decided that the act of appointment of the provisional government be announced to the French people in the form of an address by the members of this government.

Some senators request that this act include an explanation of the motives that determined the Senate and rendered its convocation indispensable.

Other members, however, request that the motives be part of the address to be published by the members of the provisional government.

The Senate adopts this last proposition.

One member proposes to decide, in principle, and to charge the provisional government to include, in substance, in its address to the French people,

1. That the Senate and Legislative Body be declared integral parts of the proposed constitution, excepting those modifications deemed necessary to assure the freedom of elections and opinions;

2. That the army, including pensioned officers and soldiers, widows and pensioned officers [sic], will be maintained in their ranks, honors and pensions;

3. That the public debt shall not be impinged;

4. That the sale of national domains shall irrevocably be maintained;

5. That no Frenchmen can be pursued for any political opinions he may have expressed;

6. That the freedom of religion and conscience shall be maintained and proclaimed, as also the freedom of the press, with the exception of the legal suppression of such crimes that might arise from the abuse of this freedom.

These various propositions, supported by several members, are put to the vote by the prince vice-grand-elect, chairman, and adopted by the Senate.

One member requests, in order to conciliate the adoption of these propositions with the trust due to the members of the provisional government just established, that the address to the French people to be made by the members of this government state that they are charged with preparing a Constitution in such manner that none of the principles at the basis of these proposition be impinged.

The Senate adopts this amendment.

The Senate adjourns until 9 P.M., so as to draft and adopt the final redaction of the minutes and to individually sign its expedition [to the members].

The Senator Count Barthélemy, ex-chairman of the Senate, is designated chair in the absence of the prince vice-grand-elect, chairman, who will be unable to attend this session.

The decision is taken to forthwith make known, under the signature of the chairman and secretaries, an extract of the minutes containing the appointment of the members of the provisional government.

Those senators who, having not been notified in time, could not attend the present session, will again be convoked by the chairman to attend this evening's session.

These deliberations having been made, the prince vice-grand-elect, chairman adjourns the session.

The same day, 1st of April, 1814

At 9 P.M. the session is resumed under the chairmanship of Senator Count Barthélemy. The Senate listens to and adopts, after several amendments, the draft of the minutes of the day.

The request is made [from the floor] that these minutes be printed, and six copies distributed to each of the members of the Senate.

This proposition is adopted.

Following this, the members present proceed to the signing of the minutes, as follows:

Abrial; Barbé de Marbois; Barthelemy; Bayanne (de) Cardinal; Belderbusch; Berthollet; General Beurnonville (count); Buonacorsi; Carbonara; Chasseloup-Laubat (general count); Cholet; general Colaud; Cornet; Davous; Degregory-Marcorenge; general Dembarere; Despère; Destutt-Fracy; general d'Harville; d'Haubersaert; general d'Hédouville; Dubois-Dubais; Emmery; Fabre de l'Aude; general Ferino; Fontanes; Garat; Grégoire; Herwin; Jaucourt; Jourain-Auber; general Klein; Lejeas; Lambrechts; Sanjuinais; Launoy; Lebrun de Rochemont; Lemerrier; general Lespinasse; Maleville; Meermann; Moubadon; Pastoret; Péré; Pontecoulant; Porcher; Rigal; Roger-Ducos; St.-Martin de Lamotte; Schimmelpenninck; marshal Serrurier; general Soules; Tacher; general Valence (general count); marshal duke of Valmy; Vandedeu; Vandepolt; general Vaubois; Villetard; Vimar; Volney.

The chairman and secretaries,

The prince of Bénévent.

The count of Valence, Pastoret.

Members absent due to illness have sent their consent.

Paris, 2 April.

Conservative Senate.

Gentlemen, members of the provisional government,

The Senate charges me with asking you to make known, from tomorrow, to the people of France, that the Senate, by a decree made in its session of today, has declared the forfeiture of rights of the Emperor Napoléon and of his family, and consequently released the French people and the army from its oath of fidelity.

This act will be transmitted to you tomorrow, with its motives and considerations.

I have the honor to greet you,

*Chairman of the Senate,
Signed, Barthelemy*

In attestation of true copy,
The secretary of the provisional government,

Dupont (de Nemours)
Paris, 2 April 1814, at 9:30 P.M.

Nothing is more interesting and touching than what transpired this evening at the audience given by H.M. the Emperor of Russia to the Senate. After having received the homage of this body;

“A man who called himself my ally, said: the Emperor Alexander arrived in my states as an unjust aggressor; it is against him that I waged war and not against France; I am the friend of the French people; what you have just done redoubles this sentiment yet again; it is right and wise to give France strong and liberal institutions in harmony with the current enlightened [spirit of the age]. My allies and I, we come only to protect the freedom of your decisions.”

The Emperor paused for a moment in his speech; and H.M. continued with the most touching emotion:

“As proof of the durable alliance I wish to contract with your nation, I return all the French prisoners in Russia. The provisional government has already requested this of me. I accord it to the Senate, following the resolutions it has taken today.”

The Senate departed filled with sentiments of the greatest gratitude and admiration.

Acts of the Provisional Government

Address to the French Armies.

Paris, 2 April, 1814.

Soldiers,

France has recently thrown off the yoke under which it has, with you; groaned for so many years.

You have never fought for the fatherland, you could no longer fight against it, under the banners of the man who leads you.

Behold all the suffering you have born under his tyranny; not long ago you were a million soldiers, almost all of whom have perished; they were delivered to the enemy sword with no provisions, no hospitals; they were condemned to perish of misery and hunger.

Soldiers, it is time to put an end to the misfortunes of the fatherland; peace is in your hands, would you refuse her [i.e. peace] to a desolated France; the enemies themselves make this request; they regret having ravaged your beautiful countryside, and only want to take up arms against your oppressor and ours. Would you be deaf to the voice of the fatherland, that reminds and beseeches you; she [i.e. her voice] speaks to you through her Senate, her capital, and above all her misfortunes; you are her most noble children; and could never

belong to him who has ravaged her, who delivered her without arms, without defense, who wanted to render your name odious to all nations, and who might perhaps have compromised your glory, if a man who isn't even French, could ever weaken the honor of our arms and the nobility or our soldiers.

You are no longer the soldiers of Napoléon, the Senate and all of France release you from your oaths.

Signed, *the members of the provisional government*, the prince of Bénévent, François de Montesquiou, Dalberg, Beurnonville, Jaucourt

In attestation of true copy,

The adjunct secretary of the provisional government.

Laborie.

Paris, 3 April

Acts of the Provisional Government

Commissioners appointed by the provisional government, for:

Justice: M. Henrion de Pensey;

Foreign affairs: count Laforêt, and baron Durand, adjunct;

Interior: count Beuguot, and until his arrival, M. Benoît;

War, combined with the war administration: general Dupont;

Navy: baron Malouët, and until his arrival, M. Jurien;

Finances, treasury, manufactories and commerce: baron Louis;

General police: M. Anglés, master of petitions;

General secretariat of the provisional government: M. Dupont (de Nemours), member of the Institute, and M. Roux de Laborie, barrister at the imperial court, adjunct.

M. de Lavallette having absented himself, M. de Bourienne, previously councillor of state, is appointed director-general of Posts [i.e. Postmaster General]

In attestation of true extract,

Dupont (de Nemours)

Conservative Senate

Extract of the registers of the Conservative Senate. – Session of Sunday, 3 April 1814, chaired by Senator count Barthélemy.

Due to the adjournment of the minutes-drafting of yesterday's session, the members of the Senate reconvened at noon.

The Senate listens to the reading of and approves the draft of the minutes.

It also approves the drafting of minutes relative to the transportation and reception of the Senate by H.M. the Emperor of Russia.

With regard to these last minutes, and to the assurance given the Senate by Emperor Alexander to return to the French all the prisoners of war in his states, the Senate, touched profoundly by this magnanimous act, which will reunite so many unfortunate men with their families: decides that the provisional Government shall be asked to take all measures necessary to hasten their return.

The assembly also decides to consecrate, in its registers, the memory of such great magnanimity.

One member requests that the minutes in question be printed and distributed, in six copies, to each senator.

This proposition is adopted.

The assembly, following the proposition of another member, takes the following decision:

The Senate recalls to its midst all absent senators, with the exception of those whose presence in the Departments shall be deemed useful.

The present decision will be transmitted to the provisional Government for execution.

The chairman communicates to the assembly several letters that he has received from various members of the Senate.

Four of these letters, written under the date of 3 April last, contain the consent of the senators d'Aboville, François de Neufchâteau, Lenoir-Laroche et Shée, to the measures taken by the Senate in its last sessions. The senators Lejeas, Legrand, Fallet-Barrol excuse themselves in three other letters of the same date, given the state of their health, from attending the Senate's sessions.

The Senate orders that these letters be mentioned in the minutes.

The order of the day calls for the final drafting of the decree rendered in yesterday's session.

The senator count Lambrecht, having been assigned the drafting, presents its plan.

After two successive readings, the plan is sent, for examination, to a special commission composed of senators Barbé-Marbois, de Fontanes, Garat and Lanjuinais.

The commissioners withdraw into the council room for the purpose of this examination. The session is suspended until their return.

The session reconvenes at four o'clock. Senator count Lambrechts reads the plan as revised and adopted by the special commission.

The project, put to a vote by the chairman, is adopted under the following terms:

The Conservative Senate,

Considering that in a constitutional monarchy, the monarch only exists by virtue of the constitution or social contract;

That Napoléon Bonaparte for a time, with a firm and prudent government, gave the nation reasons to count on the future with regard to acts of wisdom and justice; but that he subsequently tore to shreds the pact that united him with the French people; notably by raising taxes, by establishing extra-legal taxes, against the express terms of the oath taken on his accession to the throne, in accordance with art. 53 of the acts of the constitutions of 28 floréal Year 12.

That he has committed this crime against the rights of the people, having just adjourned, unnecessarily, the Legislative Body, and having suppressed, as criminal, a report of this body, whose title and role in national representation he contested;

That he undertook a series of wars in violation of article 50 of the act of the constitutions of 22 frimaire year 8, which requires that the declaration of war be proposed, discussed, decreed and promulgated just as laws are;

That he has unconstitutionally delivered several decrees relative to capital punishment, namely the two decrees of 5 March last, so as to consider as national a war that only took place to meet his interest and unlimited ambition;

That he violated the constitutional laws with his decrees on State prisons;

That he destroyed ministerial responsibility, confused all powers and destroyed the independence of the judiciary corps;

Considering that the freedom of the press, established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, has constantly been submitted to the arbitrary censorship of his police, while at the same time he has always used the press to fill France and Europe up with contrived facts, false maxims, doctrines promoting despotism, and outrages against foreign governments;

That acts and reports heard by the Senate have been subjected to alterations in their subsequent publication;

Considering that instead of reigning strictly in the interest, following the terms of his oath, of the welfare and glory of the French people, Napoléon took the misfortunes of the fatherland to new heights, by his refusal to treat under conditions that the national interest obliged [him] to accept and that did not compromise the French honor;

By the abuse he has made of all means of men and money entrusted in him;

Through the abandonment of wounded without bandages, help or subsistence;

By various measures, the results of which were the ruin of town, the depopulation of the countryside, famine and contagious diseases;

Considering that, for all these reasons, the imperial government, as established by the senatorial decree [sénatus-consulte] of 28 floréal year XII, has ceased to exist, and that the manifest desire of all the French calls for an order of things of which the first effect should be the return to the general peace, and that it also be the epoch of a solemn reconciliation between all the States of the great European family;

The Senate declares and decrees as follows:

Art. the first. Napoléon Bonaparte forfeits his throne, and the right of heredity in his family is abolished.

2. The French people and army are released from their oath of loyalty to Napoléon Bonaparte.

3. The present decree shall be transmitted via message to the provisional Government of France, subsequently sent out to all departments and armies, and proclaimed at once in all quarters of the capital.

No other object being on the order of the day, the chairman adjourned the session.

The president and secretaries,
Barthélemy,
Comte de Valence, Pastoret

Legislative Body.
Session of 3 April.

The Legislative Body convened in its palace and in its normal chambers for its sessions, by virtue of the invitations made to it this day by the members of the provisional government, Félix Faucon, vice-chairman, who took the chair, and the secretaries Bois-Savary, Laborde and Faure.

The chairman read a decree of the provisional Government, dated the 2nd of this month, whereby it announces that the Senate has pronounced the forfeiture of rights of Napoléon Bonaparte and his family, and declared that the French are relieved of all civil and military ties to him, and of all obedience.

This decree was accompanied by the copy of a letter written that same day, in the evening, by the chairman of the Senate, informing it [the Legislative Body] of this decree.

The Legislative Body, after having deliberated in closed [“secrete”] session and in the customary form, over this important communication, subsequently made the session public and adopted a decree along the following lines.

Given the act of the Senate of the 2nd of the month, by which it declares the forfeiture of all rights of Napoléon Bonaparte and his family, and declares the French free of all civil and military bonds with, and all obedience towards him,

Given the decree of the provisional Government of the same day, by which the Legislative Body is invited to participate in this important operation,

The Legislative Body, considering that Napoléon Bonaparte has violated the constitutional pact,

And in accordance with the act of the Senate,

Recognizes and declares the forfeiture [of all rights] of Napoléon Bonaparte and his family,

The present decision shall be transmitted by message to the provisional Government and Senate.

Signed, Félix Faulcon *chairman*; Chauving de Bois-Savary, D. Laborde, Faure, *secretaries*; Aubert, Barrot, Botta, Boutelaud, Bruys-Charly, Caze de la Bove, Challan, Chappuis, Charles (Duhud), Chatenay-Lanty, Cherrier, Chirat, Clausel de Coussergues, Clement, Colchen, Dalmayssy, Dampmartin, Danzat, Delattre, Duchesne de Gillevoisin, Dorbach, , Ebaudy de Rochetaille, Emeric-David, Emmerly, Estournel, de Falaiseau, Finot, Flaugergues, Fornier de Saint-Lary, de Fougerais, Gallois, Garnier, Geoffroy, Gerolt, de Girardin, Goulard, Goulay, de Grote, Griveau, Jacobi, Janod, Jaubert, Lajard de la Seine, Lefeuvre, Lefebvre- Gineau, Delsné Harel, Louvet, Metz, Moreau, Morellet, Pemartin, Perèse, Peterseu, Petit de Beauverger, Petit du Cher, Pictet Diodati, Poggi, Poyfère de Cère, de Prunele, Ragon-Gillet, Raynonard, Rigaut de l'Isle, Rivière, Rossée, le baron de Septenville, Sylvestre de Sacy, Sturtz, Thiry, Travaglini, van Recum, Vigneron, Villiers, de Waldner-Freudenstein.

The printing and distribution of this decree in six copies to each member of the Legislative Body have been ordered.

Following another decision taken during this session, the deputies will proceed, as a body, to render homage to Their Majesties the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia.

Court of Cassation.

To the provisional Government, the members of the Court of cassation,

Our lords,

We hasten to render unto you our homage and the respects of our submission.

Thanks be given to the Senate for having confided the exercise of the public authority to men so distinguished by their services and talents.

Thanks be given the Senate for having destroyed the edifice of despotism, and of having charged you with erecting, on the ruins, a constitution that will balance the powers, give Europe peace, and finally let France enjoy the sacred rights of man and society, the security of persons and property.

Oh that we may soon enjoy this constitution which will make good so many misfortunes and dry so many tears! May we, after over twenty years of storms and misfortunes, finally find repose in the shade of that ancient and revered scepter, that for eight centuries so gloriously governed France!

Our lords, we concur with the great measures for public welfare decreed by the Senate in the memorable sessions of the 1st and 2nd April; they have expressed the will of the French;

Paris, at the Palace of Justice, 3 April, 1814.

Signed Barris, chairman; Giraud Duplessis, *solicitor general*; chevalier Bouchau, Casseignes, Basire, Borel, Oudart, chevalier Vasse de Saint-Ouen, Pajou, Jourde, *solicitor general*. Minier, Liborel, Le Coutour, *solicitor general*; Busschop, Audier-Massillon, Liger de Verdigny, Chasle, Dutocq, Rataud, Babilie, Vallée, Gandon, Vergés, baron Botton de Castellamonte, Carnot, Pons, *solicitor general*; Lombard, De Avemann, Zangiacomì, L.B. Genevois, Bover, Bailly, Chabot del'Allier, Lefessier de Grandprey, Rousseau, Schwendt de Saint-Etienne, Cochart, De la Coste, Van Toulon.

J.B. Jalbert, *clerk of the court*

Paris, 5 April.

H.M. the Emperor of Russia, as soon as he had heard of the change of French government declared by the Senate, and the establishment of a provisional government, has, in the name of the allied powers, had proposed to Napoléon Bonaparte that he choose, for himself and his family, a place of retreat; and the Duke of Vicence has been charged with submitting to him this proposition. In doing so, the allied powers have primarily been motivated by the desire to end the bloodshed, and by the conviction that, if it were adopted by Napoléon, the work of general peace and re-establishment of internal calm in France will hardly take up the work of a day.

– The municipal body of Paris shall send a deputation to Marshal Marmont, thanking him for the noble efforts undertaken by him for the defense of Paris and to congratulate him for having provided the good example of obedience to the government that has just been established. Marshal Marmont is in Paris, and the corps of eight thousand men that he commanded has arrived at Versailles, where he receives the orders of the provisional Government.

– This morning, Marshals Mortier and Macdonald, and M. de Caulaincourt, were admitted to an audience with H.M. the Emperor of Russia. They came to propose the abdication of Buonaparte in favor of his son. This proposition was given no attention at all. The allied powers, amongst which, from this day, France may be reckoned, proposed to Buonaparte a retreat to the island of Elba, and an annual pension of six millions for himself and his family. Marshals Mortier and Macdonald, and M. de Caulaincourt, have departed this evening for Fontainebleau, where Buonaparte is, for the moment.

Address of the provisional government to the French people.

Frenchmen,

Having put aside civil discord, you chose as your leader a man who appeared on the world stage with characteristics of grandeur. You put all your hopes in him; these hopes were disappointed. All he founded on the ruins of anarchy was despotism.

He could at least, out of recognition, [have] become French like the rest of you. He never was. He never stopped undertaking, without aim or motive, unjust wars, as an adventurer who wants to be famous. In the space of a few years, he has devoured your riches and your population.

Each family is in mourning; all of France laments: he is deaf to our misfortunes. Maybe he is yet dreaming of his gigantic schemes, even when unheard-of reverses of fortune spectacularly punish the arrogance and abuse of victory.

He was incapable of reigning either in the national interest, nor even in the interest of his own despotism. He destroyed everything he wanted to create, and recreated everything he wanted to destroy. He believed only in force; today he himself is overwhelmed by force, as just returns for his insane ambition.

Finally, this tyranny without parallel has come to an end: the allied powers have just entered the capital of France.

Napoléon governed us like a king of barbarians; Alexander and his magnanimous allies spoke only the language of honor, justice and humanity. They came to reconcile with Europe a brave and unfortunate people.

Frenchmen, the Senate has declared that *Napoléon has forfeited his throne*; the fatherland is no longer with him; only another order of things can save it. We have known the excesses of popular licence and those of absolute power: let us re-establish true monarchy by limiting, with wise laws, the several powers of which it is composed.

May under the protection of a paternal throne, agriculture exhausted flourish anew; may commerce, loaded with hindrances, be free again; may youth no longer be cut down by arms before they have the strength to carry them, may the order of nature no longer be interrupted, and may the old one hope to die before his children! Frenchmen, let us come together: the past calamities will end, and peace will put an end to the commotions of Europe. The August allies have given their word for this. France will find repose from her long agitations and, better enlightened by the double ordeal of anarchy and despotism, regain happiness in the return to a titular government.

5 April

Acts of the Provisional Government

The Provisional Government, being painfully informed that obstacles have been placed in the way of the Pope's return to his States, and deploring the continuation of such outrages which for so long have overwhelmed the courageous head that the Church wants back, commands that all hindrances to his voyage cease immediately, and that he be accorded, en route, all the honors that are his due.

The civil and military authorities are charged with the execution of the present decree.

Given at Paris, 2 April 1814.

By the Provisional Government,

Signed, Dupont (de Nemours), *secretary*

The Provisional Government, considering how odious it was, in and of itself, and contrary to the conventions that preceded the departure of H.M. the king of Spain, to keep his brother, the Infant D. Carlos, at Perpignan, commands that this prince be returned as promptly as possible, and with all the honors due his rank, to the first Spanish post.

The civil and military authorities are enjoined to take all necessary measures for the execution of the present order.

Given at Paris, 2 April 1814.

By the Provisional Government,

Signed, Dupont (de Nemours), *secretary*

Ministry of War

Paris, 5 April 1814

The commissioner at the war department has the honor to invite the gentlemen officers and military men of all ranks and all arms, who want to demonstrate their support for the new Government, to deposit with or address to the offices of the minister's personnel in Paris, their declaration along with their address [of abode].

The declarations that will be delivered directly to the various offices will be received from noon to 4 o'clock.

Signed, general count Dupont

Court of Accounts

Today 5 March 1814, all magistrates of the Court having convened in the grand chamber, following the convocation of the first president: he said:

“Gentlemen,

You all know the act dated the 2nd of the month, by which the Senate declared the French people released from all civil and military bonds with Napoléon Bonaparte.

The Legislative Body has given its support to this act; you have asked me to call for your assembly, so as to give you the means to express the sentiments this great event inspires in you, I hasten to satisfy your impatience.

The Senate has returned, to men worthy of the greatest confidence, the care of ending the course of misfortunes that have caused France to lament for so long. Let us, through acts of gratitude, express our thanks to this provisional Government whose wisdom and courage draw attention to itself with such brilliance.

Let us repay with immortal recognition the most distinguished act of magnanimity of which the annals of the World might keep the memory. The Emperor of Russia consoles two hundred thousand families with the return of unfortunate Frenchmen which the force of arms has placed in his power, and he hastens the fortunate moment which will give us back our brothers, our friends, our children. Of the peoples that they have striven to make us fear as enemies, the King of Prussia and his princes, reunited for the most beautiful of causes, mark their presence only with testimonials and proofs of amity. Today they are our allies, our friends, and we have not, for a long time, been as free as we are now, in the presence of these armed foreigners.

Let us join our wishes to those currently being made by all Frenchmen, that of seeing reborn, in the shade of a wise constitution, those days of glory and prosperity that have rendered France illustrious under the princes that governed her for eight centuries.

From all parts one hears the name “Bourbons.” All wishes urge on their return, they are approaching. A prince who will reign with a constitution, with justice and laws, will soon be returned to us. We are free to express the sentiments that move us for this family, that so many titles have rendered dear to France, and to declare our support for all measures taken by the Senate to assure the well-being of the French nation.

By unanimous motion, the members of the Court requested that the first president make his way to the provisional Government, the agency of those sentiments with which they are all instilled, to express their full and entire support for the measures taken by the Senate, by the Legislative Body and by the provisional Government; that minutes be drafted of the first president’s speech and of the present session, which was done.

At the palace of the court on day and year indicated below.

Signed, Barbé-Marbois, first president; Jard-Panvillier, Delpierre, Brière de Surgy, presidents; Feral, Dupin, Gounard, REGARDIN, baron Girod de l'Ain, Pierre-Charles de Chassiron, Duvidal, Dallet, Cordelle, Pajot jeune, Perrée, Gillet de Jacquesminière, Carret, Letourneur, Mouricault, G. Malès, Valadon, Terrible, Guillemain de Vaivres, Saint-Bagot, Briatte, Buffault, Caze Delabore, Sahut, Garnier, attorney-general; Guillaume, Spoelstra, Paulin Crassous, Duclos, de Gombert, Bouchard, Duriez, Perier de Trememont, Finot, REGARDIN jeune, Pajot, Garot, Prin, Bonnel, Hullin de Bois-Chevalier, Montet, Duchesne, Fourmontin, J. De Villeneuve, Courel, Farjon, Frestel, Roualle, Vial de Machurin, Dupont, Truet, Deleville, Carré, Michelin, Bralle, Parizot, Leferon Delaheuze, Beaulieux, L'huillier, Le Maître, Pierret, Gillot, C. Lewal, Darrimajou, Dalbaret, Bayeux, Delaistre, Monfouilloux, Luzier-Lamothe, Pernod, Faucond, Bartouilli, Colleau, Pacquier, Boyer, Duparc, Mallet, Chardon, Duboy, Maillard, Le Roux, Allix, Libert, H.A. Adrenier, Maugirard, de Monchanin.

Certified authentic copy,

De Marbois

Prefecture of the Department of the Seine

Extract from the register of decisions of the prefecture council of 4 April 1814

The members of the prefecture council of the Seine department, all present, Desroys, auditor of the Council of State, and the secretary, convened in council at the Hôtel-de Ville [sic];

Considering that the council of the prefecture is the only purely departmental authority in Paris; that the prefect, the secretary-general and the council-general of the department have pronounced, with the municipal body, on the great measures paving the way for the end of our long political agitations, and that the silence of the members of the prefecture council would constitute a character of indifference contrary to the true sentiments of its members;

Declare that they share the public satisfaction at the forfeiture of rights of Napoléon and his family, and that they await with confidence the wisdom of the Senate and the provisional Government, the constitutional pact which will return to us and establish forever in France the ancient race of our Kings.

Signed, *Marchand, Champion, Fain, Joubert and Leconte, Desroys and Bourcey*, secretary.

Bourcey, secretary

Imperial Court of Paris

The imperial Court of Paris has adopted the following decree:

The Court, all aware of the price of all the efforts which have finally delivered France from a tyrannical yoke;

Imbued with respect and admiration for the August princes, models of disinterest and magnanimity;

At the same time expressing their profound admiration for the noble race of kings who, for eight centuries, were the glory and well-being of France, and can alone bring back peace, order and justice in a fatherland where secret wishes never stopped invoking the legitimate sovereign;

Decrees its unanimous support for the forfeiture of rights of Bonaparte and his family, pronounced by the Senate's decree of the 3rd of this month; and that it, true to the fundamental laws of the realm, calls with all its means the head of the house of Bourbon to the hereditary throne of Saint Louis.

Commands that the present decree be printed, put up for public notice and sent to the commissioner of justice of the provisional Government.

The first president, signed Séguier

The chief clerk, signed Duplès

The magistrates of the Public Prosecutor's department at the imperial Court of Paris, moved by the need to freely announce their view concerning the decrees of the Senate these 2nd and 3rd April of the present month, with regard to the forfeiture of rights of the emperor Napoléon, and others relative to the foundations of the constitutional charter;

Declare that they support purely and simply all the acts and principles therein contained.

They express, at the same time, their formal wish that the hereditary royalty be conferred upon the head of the house of Bourbon, on the guarantee of a constitution which will forever assure the rights of the nation, the monarch, and the citizens.

The present decree shall be sent, in two certified copies, to H.E. chairman of the Senate, to H.H. the prince of Benévent, chairman of the committee of the provisional Government and to H.E. chairman of the Legislative Body.

Done and decreed within the assembly of the Public Prosecutor's department, 5 April 1814.

Signed, Legoux, attorney-general; Grandst, first solicitor-general; Girot, de l'Ain, solicitor-general; Freteau, Jaubert, Mallet, Legais, de la palme, Damenve, Gay, De Schoneu, Clahier, Agier, Lacave-la-Ploguer

Extract from the register of deliberations of the chamber of the college of solicitors at the Court of Cassation, of 4 April 1814.

The members making up the college of solicitors at the Court of cassation, spontaneously convened at the Palace of Justice;

Declare that they give thanks to the Senate and the provisional Government for the act releasing the French from the oath of obedience and loyalty to Napoléon Bonaparte and his family.

They await, with impatience, they call with united voices for the constitutional charter which will henceforth guarantee the public liberty, and return to France the descendants of Henry IV.

Signed, Champion, chairman; Mailhe, syndic; Darrieux, rapporteur; Mathias, secretary; Bosquillon, treasurer; Chabroud, Moreau, Camus, Loiseau, Cochu, dean; Flusin, vice-dean; Coste, Dupont, Pageaut, Gerardin, Becquey-Beaupré, Gueny, Lepicard, Deliége, Leroy Neufville, Guichard père, Guichard fils, Bouquet, Granié, Barbé, Troussel, Billont, Lavaux, Beranger, Camusat, Borrel, Jouselin, Badin, Sirey, Roger, Montplanqua, Duprat, Dard, Huart-Duparc, Bouchereau, Lagrange, Raoul.

To H.H. Mgr. the Prince of Benévent, president of the provisional Government.

Monseigneur,

The corps of the gendarmerie of Paris hastens to set before Y.H. its support for the organization of the provisional Government, and for all measures it may deem appropriate to take for the good of the fatherland. The officers and soldiers will compete in their zeal to merit the confidence of the Government, of which they desire to be more worthy with every day.

Monseigneur,

The very humble, and very obedient servants,

Signed, Bourgeois, colonel; Alain, Dyonnet, Ducosay, d'Olendon, captains, etc. etc.

To H.H. Mgr. the Prince of Benévent, president of the provisional Government.

Monseigneur,

The adjutants of the city of Paris, under the orders of the colonel of the gendarmerie, hasten to set before Y.H. their support for the organization of the provisional Government,

and for all measures it may deem appropriate to take for the good of the fatherland. These adjutants will compete in their zeal to merit the confidence of the Government, of which they desire to be more worthy with every day.

They have the honor to be, with the deepest respect, Monseigneur, of Y.H. the very humble and very obedient servants.

Signed, Chevaud, Giraud, Gasson, Bougeard-l'Etang, Duret, Parratte, Collinet, Aubert, Monthouart, Giget, Maution, Pouget, Martin, Tonnelot, Tonnaille, Beguinot, Béguin, Vanloo, Delestres, Villedieu, Hubert, Chemin, Mathieu, Prolant, Roch, Nerrier, Durand, Lamy-Layourdelle, Baillet, Simonin, Sersuch, Knab, Garnier, Brière, Passeur, Tehecq, Duvillard, John Livier, Rayard, Gallico Betiz, Bernard.

Paris, 5 April, 1814.

– The public is hereby informed that the *immense* quantity of letters held for over three years in the depositories of the administration of the post, as also those from England and other foreign countries, destined for this country, will be expedited to their addressees.

The director-general of posts, *Bourrienne*

The arch-treasurer regularly attends conferences in which the monarchical constitution which the provisional Government is preparing for France are being deliberated.

– Senator Siéyès, indisposed and unable to attend, sent in writing his support for all the Senate's deliberations.

Senator count Dedelay-d'Agier sent his support for the various decrees of the Senate, issued on the 1st and 4th of this month, expressing his regrets that his health has not allowed him to attend the sessions.

– The employees of the various ministries and administrations have been ordered to resume their functions, and have done so. Thus the work of the administration, which had been suspended for several days, will resume its usual course.

Copy of the letters of credence of the Commissioner appointed by H.M. Emperor of all the Russias, so as to reside near the provisional Government.

In distancing myself from Paris, I thought it necessary to make provision for the establishment of the most regular and frequent relations with the provisional government. I have, to this end, appointed my major-general Pozzo di Borgo to reside next to the same in the quality of commissioner-general.

I invite you, Gentleman, to lend credence to all that shall be, in a given case, said on my behalf, and to transmit to me, via his intermediary, all communications you desire to make to me. He enjoys my full confidence, and will certainly continue to do so, on this occasion, by not neglecting any means by which to cement the relations of peace and amity so happily established between Russia and France.

Accept, Gentlemen, the expression of my esteem.

Signed, Alexander

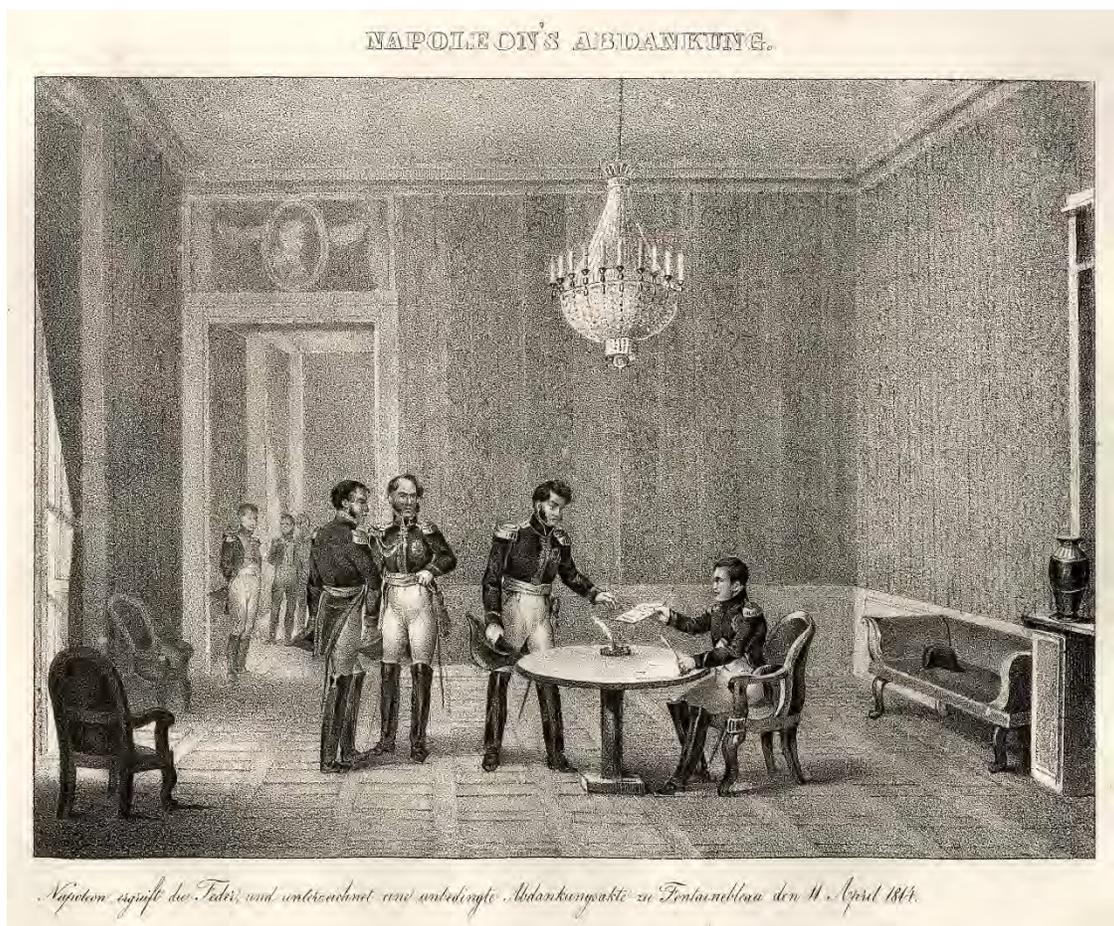
Paris, the March (4 April 1814)

From the Printing of the Journal

Lyon Journal

J. David Markham

The time before and after Napoleon's abdication in 1814 was a time of quickly developing events and countless proclamations and other documents issued by the allies and the provisional government. Newspapers and other news outlets that were once loyal to Napoleon understood that times had changed and their coverage reflected the new reality. These two issues of the Lyon Journal make it clear, as can be seen in the opening notice's referral to 'these marvelous events.' That said, journals such as this were indispensable in letting the people outside of Paris know what was going on in their capital. In addition to news, they also presented proclamations, letters and other communication. While they could hardly claim to be unbiased (as a matter of self preservation), they were nevertheless indispensable sources of news.



The engraving from my collection is a German depiction of Napoleon's 1814 abdication.

These articles were translated by Dr. Bill Chew III.

(N.º 1.º)

Année 1814.

Samedi 16 Avril.

JOURNAL DE LYON, OU BULLETIN ADMINISTRATIF,

Politique, Littéraire, Commercial et Judiciaire du Département du Rhône,
publié sous les auspices des Autorités supérieures.

On s'abonne chez LIONS, Libraire, rue Saint-Dominique, n.º 5. Prix de l'abonnement, pour six mois, 15 fr. ; pour trois mois, 8 fr. : prix de chaque feuille, distribuée au bureau, 20 centimes.

A V I S.

L'apparition de ce Journal avait été d'abord fixée aux premiers jours du mois d'avril. Si aucun obstacle ne l'eût retardée, il aurait eu l'avantage de recueillir, à mesure qu'ils se développaient, ces événemens merveilleux qui depuis quelques jours se pressent autour de nous, et qui feront des temps où nous vivons l'époque la plus mémorable de l'histoire.

Des causes inattendues en ont disposé autrement, et ce retard, sans affaiblir l'intérêt que font naître de si grands événemens, sans nous dispenser même d'en rattacher le tableau à celui des développemens qu'ils vont recevoir, ne nous permet plus que d'y jeter un regard rapide, mais toutefois indispensable, pour faire de notre journal une espèce de monument historique et complet de la grande révolution dont nous sommes témoins.

Pour arriver le plus promptement possible aux nouvelles les plus récentes, et pour dédommager MM. les Abonnés du retard involontaire que nous leur avons fait éprouver, nous rapprocherons et multiplierons les distributions pendant quelques jours, sans augmentation de prix : heureux si ce léger sacrifice peut les convaincre du désir que nous avons de les satisfaire !

Résumé des NOUVELLES DE PARIS depuis le 30 mars.

Le 30 mars, deux corps d'armée qui couvraient Paris, et qui étaient commandés par les maréchaux Marmont et Mortier, furent défaits entre Bondy et Paris. La garde nationale fut maltraitée dans cette occasion.

Dans la nuit du 30 au 31, un armistice de quatre heures amena une capitulation pour régler les conditions de la remise de la ville de Paris. L'armée française dut évacuer le 31 à sept heures du matin, avec son attirail, mais en abandonnant tous les arsenaux, ateliers et magasins militaires de la ville. La reprise des hostilités contre l'armée fut suspendue jusques à neuf heures.

L'armée alliée fit ensuite son entrée dans la ville de Paris, aux cris mille fois répétés : *vivent les Souverains alliés ! vive la paix ! vivent nos libérateurs !*

A mesure que le cortège avançait dans les rues, des milliers de cocardes blanches parurent dans la foule, aux cris de *vivent les Bourbons ! vive le Roi ! vive Louis XVIII !*

La garde nationale conservée sous les armes, occupa les postes conjointement avec les troupes alliées.

Le 1.º avril, l'armée des alliés poursuivit, sur la route de Fontainebleau, les débris de l'armée française.

Le 31 mars, S. M. l'Empereur de toutes les Russies avait fait publier la déclaration suivante.

D É C L A R A T I O N.

Les armées des Puissances alliées ont occupé la capitale de la France. Les Souverains alliés accueillent le vœu de la Nation française.

Ils déclarent :

Que si les conditions de la paix devaient renfermer de plus fortes garanties lorsqu'il s'agissait d'enchaîner l'ambition de Bonaparte, elles doivent être plus favorables, lorsque, par un retour vers un Gouvernement sage, la France elle-même offrira l'assurance de ce repos.

Les Souverains alliés proclament en conséquence :

(2)

Qu'ils ne traiteront plus avec Napoléon Bonaparte, ni avec aucun de sa famille ;

Qu'ils respectent l'intégrité de l'ancienne France, telle qu'elle a existé sous ses rois légitimes ; ils peuvent même faire plus, parce qu'ils professent toujours le principe que, pour le bonheur de l'Europe, il faut que la France soit grande et forte ;

Qu'ils reconnaîtront et garantiront la constitution que la Nation française se donnera. Ils invitent par conséquent le Sénat à désigner un Gouvernement provisoire qui puisse pourvoir aux besoins de l'administration, et préparer la constitution qui conviendra au Peuple français.

Les intentions que je viens d'exprimer me sont communes avec toutes les Puissances alliées.

ALEXANDRE.

Par S. M. I., le Secrétaire d'état,
Comte de NESSELRODE.

Paris, 31 mars 1814, trois heures après midi.

— Le 1.^{er} avril, assemblée extraordinaire du sénat, sous la présidence de S. A. S. le prince vice-grand-électeur. Le sénat arrêta,

1.^o Qu'il serait établi un gouvernement provisoire, chargé de pourvoir aux besoins de l'administration, et de présenter au sénat un projet de constitution ;

2.^o Que ce gouvernement serait composé de cinq membres, savoir :

M. de Talleyrand, prince de Benevent ;

M. le sénateur comte de Beurnonville ;

M. le sénateur comte de Jaucourt ;

M. le duc de Dalberg, conseiller d'état ;

M. de Montsquiou, ancien membre de l'assemblée constituante.

Il fut ensuite arrêté que l'acte de nomination du gouvernement provisoire serait notifié au peuple français, par une adresse des membres de ce gouvernement.

Le sénat fixa enfin plusieurs des bases fondamentales de la constitution qui doit être proposée.

— Le gouvernement provisoire fut installé le 2 avril.

Il nomma huit commissaires chargés des portefeuilles des divers ministères :

Pour la justice, M. Henrion de Penrey ;

Pour les affaires étrangères, M. le comte Emsfort, et M. le baron Durand, adjoint.

Pour l'intérieur, M. le comte Beugnot, et jusqu'à son arrivée, M. Benoit ;

Pour la guerre, en y réunissant l'administration de la guerre, le général Dupont.

Pour la marine, M. le baron Malouet, et jusqu'à son arrivée, M. Jurien.

Pour les finances, le trésor, les manufactures et commerce, M. le baron Louis.

Pour la police générale, M. Anglès, maître des requêtes.

Pour le secrétariat général du gouvernement provisoire, M. Dupont (de Nemours), membre de l'institut, et M. Roux de Laborie, avocat en la cour impériale, adjoint.

M. de la Valette s'étant absenté, M. de Bourienné, ancien conseiller d'état, est nommé directeur général des postes.

Le gouvernement provisoire a ensuite publié une adresse aux Français et une adresse à l'armée.

Le premier acte d'administration de ce gouvernement a été de rendre à la liberté et à ses états, N. S. P. le Pape, détenu contre tous les principes du droit des gens, contre toute justice et toute pudeur.

— Le 3 avril, le sénat est reçu chez Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie. Ce prince magnanime lui accorde la liberté de 200,000 Français prisonniers dans ses vastes états, par le sort des armes.

Le sénat assemble ensuite dans son palais, délibère sur la situation politique de l'état.

Et « considérant que dans une monarchie constitutionnelle, le monarque n'existe qu'en vertu de la constitution ou du pacte social ;

» Que Napoléon Bonaparte, pendant quelque temps d'un gouvernement ferme et prudent, avait donné à la nation des sujets de compter pour l'avenir sur des actes de sagesse et de justice ; mais qu'ensuite il a déchiré le pacte qui l'unissait au peuple français, notamment en levant des impôts, en établissant des taxes autrement qu'en vertu de la loi, contre la teneur expresse du serment qu'il avait prêté à son avènement au trône, conformément à l'art. 55 de l'acte des constitutions du 28 floréal an 12 ;

» Qu'il a commis cet attentat aux droits du peuple lors même qu'il venait d'ajourner, sans nécessité, le corps-législatif, et de faire supprimer comme criminel un rapport de ce corps auquel il contestait son titre et sa part à la représentation nationale ;

» Qu'il a entrepris une suite de guerres en violation de l'art. 50 de l'acte des constitutions, du 22 frimaire an 8, qui veut que la déclaration de

(3)

guerre soit proposée, discutée, décrétée et promulguée comme les lois ;

» Qu'il a inconstitutionnellement rendu plusieurs décrets portant peine de mort, nommément les deux décrets du 5 mars dernier, tendans à faire considérer comme nationale une guerre qui n'avait lieu que dans l'intérêt de son ambition démesurée ;

» Qu'il a violé les lois constitutionnelles par ses décrets sur les prisons d'état ;

» Qu'il a anéanti la responsabilité des ministres, confondu tous les pouvoirs et détruit l'indépendance des corps judiciaires ;

» Considérant que la liberté de la presse établie et consacrée comme l'un des droits de la nation, a été constamment soumise à la censure arbitraire de sa police, et qu'en même temps il s'est toujours servi de la presse pour remplir la France et l'Europe de faits controuvés, de maximes fausses, de doctrines favorables au despotisme et d'outrages contre les gouvernemens étrangers ;

» Que des actes et rapports entendus par le sénat ont subi des altérations dans la publication qui en a été faite ;

» Considérant qu'au lieu de régner dans la seule vue de l'intérêt, du bonheur et de la gloire du peuple français, aux termes de son serment, Napoléon a mis le comble aux malheurs de la patrie, par son refus de traiter à des conditions que l'intérêt national obligeait d'accepter, et qui ne compromettaient pas l'honneur français ;

» Par l'abus qu'il a fait de tous les moyens qu'on lui a confiés en hommes et en argent ;

» Par l'abandon des blessés sans pansements, sans secours, sans subsistances ;

» Par différentes mesures dont les suites étaient la ruine des villes, la dépopulation des campagnes, la famine et les maladies contagieuses.

» Considérant que, par toutes ces causes, le gouvernement impérial établi par le sénatus-consulte du 28 floréal an 12, a cessé d'exister, et que le vœu manifeste de tous les Français appelle un ordre de choses dont le premier résultat soit le rétablissement de la paix générale, et qui soit aussi l'époque d'une réconciliation solennelle entre tous les états de la grande famille européenne ;

» Le sénat déclare et décrète ce qui suit :

» Art. 1.^{er} Napoléon Bonaparte est déchu du trône, et le droit d'hérédité établi dans sa famille est aboli.

» 2. Le peuple français et l'armée sont déliés du serment de fidélité envers Napoléon Bonaparte.

» 3. Le présent décret sera transmis par un message au gouvernement provisoire de la France, envoyé de suite à tous les départemens et aux armées, et proclamé incessamment dans tous les quartiers de la capitale. »

— Le même jour, le corps législatif extraordinairement convoqué, sur l'invitation du gouvernement provisoire, adhéra à l'acte du sénat.

— Le 5 avril, le gouvernement provisoire remit au sénat un projet de constitution. Le 6, le sénat l'a décrété en ces termes :

Le Sénat-conservateur, délibérant sur le projet de constitution qui lui a été présenté par le Gouvernement provisoire, en exécution de l'acte du Sénat du 1.^{er} de ce mois; après avoir entendu le rapport d'une commission spéciale de sept membres,

Décrète ce qui suit :

Art. 1.^{er} Le gouvernement français est monarchique et héréditaire de mâle en mâle par ordre de primogéniture.

2. Le peuple Français appelle librement au trône de France LOUIS-STANISLAS-XAVIER DE FRANCE, frère du dernier Roi, et après lui les autres membres de la maison de Bourbon, dans l'ordre ancien.

3. La noblesse ancienne reprend ses titres. La nouvelle conserve les siens héréditairement. La Légion d'honneur est maintenue avec ses prérogatives. Le Roi déterminera la décoration.

4. Le pouvoir exécutif appartient au Roi.

5. Le Roi, le sénat et le corps-législatif concourent à la formation des lois. Les projets de lois peuvent être également proposés dans le sénat et dans le corps-législatif.

Ceux relatifs aux contributions ne peuvent l'être que dans le corps-législatif.

Le Roi peut inviter également les deux corps à s'occuper des objets qu'il juge convenables.

La sanction du Roi est nécessaire pour le complément de la loi.

6. Il y a cent cinquante sénateurs au moins, et deux cents au plus.

Leur dignité est inamovible et héréditaire de mâle en mâle par primogéniture. Ils sont nommés par le Roi.

Les sénateurs actuels, à l'exception de ceux qui renonceraient à la qualité de citoyens Français, sont maintenus et font partie de ce nombre. La dotation actuelle du sénat et des sénatoreries leur appartient. Les revenus en sont partagés égale-

(4)

ment entr'eux, et passent à leurs successeurs. Le cas échéant de la mort d'un sénateur sans postérité masculine directe, sa portion retourne au trésor public. Les sénateurs qui seront nommés à l'avenir ne peuvent avoir part à cette dotation.

7. Les princes de la famille royale et les princes du sang sont de droit membres du sénat.

On ne peut exercer les fonctions de sénateur qu'après avoir atteint l'âge de majorité.

8. Le sénat détermine les cas où la discussion des objets qu'il traite doit être publique ou secrète.

9. Chaque département nommera au corps-législatif le même nombre de députés qu'il y envoyait.

Les députés qui siégeaient au corps-législatif lors du dernier ajournement, continueront à y siéger jusqu'à leur remplacement. Tous conserveront leur traitement.

A l'avenir ils seront choisis immédiatement par les collèges électoraux, lesquels sont conservés, sauf les changemens qui pourraient être faits par une loi à leur organisation.

La durée des fonctions des députés au corps-législatif est fixée à cinq années. Les nouvelles élections auront lieu pour la session de 1816.

10. Le corps-législatif s'assemble de droit chaque année le 1.^{er} octobre. Le roi peut le convoquer extraordinairement, il peut l'ajourner, il peut aussi le dissoudre; mais dans ce dernier cas un autre corps-législatif doit être formé, au plus tard dans les trois mois, par les collèges électoraux.

11. Le corps-législatif a le droit de discussion. Les séances sont publiques, sauf le cas où il juge à propos de se former en comité général.

12. Le sénat, le corps-législatif, les collèges électoraux et les assemblées de canton, élisent leur président dans leur sein.

13. Aucun membre du sénat ou du corps-législatif ne peut être arrêté, sans une autorisation préalable du corps auquel il appartient. Le jugement d'un membre du sénat ou du corps-législatif, accusé, appartient exclusivement au sénat.

14. Les ministres peuvent être membres, soit du sénat, soit du corps-législatif.

15. L'égalité de proportion dans l'impôt est de droit. Aucun impôt ne peut être établi ni perçu, s'il n'a été librement consenti par le corps-législatif et par le sénat. L'impôt foncier ne peut être établi que pour un an. Le budget de l'année suivante, et les comptes de l'année précédente, sont

présentés chaque année au corps-législatif et au sénat, à l'ouverture de la session du corps-législatif.

16. La loi déterminera le mode et la quotité du recrutement de l'armée.

17. L'indépendance du pouvoir judiciaire est garantie. Nul ne peut être distrait de ses juges naturels. L'institution des jurés est conservée, ainsi que la publicité des débats en matière criminelle. La peine de la confiscation des biens est abolie. Le Roi a le droit de faire grâce.

18. Les cours et tribunaux ordinaires actuellement existans sont maintenus; leur nombre ne pourra être diminué ou augmenté qu'en vertu d'une loi. Les juges sont à vie et inamovibles, à l'exception des juges de paix et des juges de commerce. Les commissions et les tribunaux extraordinaires sont supprimés, et ne pourront être rétablis.

19. La cour de cassation, les cours d'appel et les tribunaux de première instance proposent au Roi trois candidats pour chaque place de juge vacante dans leur sein. Le Roi choisit l'un des trois. Le Roi nomme les premiers présidens et le ministère public des cours et des tribunaux.

La suite au numéro prochain.

Extrait du Moniteur du 12 avril.

« Les Puissances alliées ayant proclamé que
» l'Empereur Napoléon était le seul obstacle au
» rétablissement de la paix en Europe, l'Empereur
» Napoléon, fidèle à son serment, déclare qu'il
» renonce, pour lui et ses héritiers, aux trônes
» de France et d'Italie, et qu'il n'est aucun sacri-
» fice personnel, même celui de la vie, qu'il ne
» soit prêt à faire à l'intérêt de la France.

» Fait au palais de Fontainebleau, le 11 avril
» 1814.

» Signé, N A P O L É O N. »

— M. de Bondi, préfet de ce département, a adressé le même jour, au gouvernement provisoire, son adhésion aux actes du sénat.

— Le gouvernement provisoire a réglé le cérémonial pour la réception de S. A. R. MONSIEUR frère du roi, qui sera sans doute prochaine.

Cours des effets publics.

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Notice

The publication of this journal had at first been scheduled for the first days of the month of April. If no obstacle had delayed it, it would have had the advantage of compiling, as they unfolded, these marvelous events that, for several days, accumulate around us and will render the time in which we live the most memorable epoch of history.

Unexpected causes changed matters, and this delay, without weakening the interest aroused by such great events, without even dispensing us from attaching their description to those of developments to come, no longer permits us to just cast a quick glance at them, but – and this is completely indispensable – to make of our journal a kind of historical and complete monument of the great revolution of which we are witnesses.

In order to arrive at the most recent news as promptly as possible, and to compensate our Subscribers for the involuntary delay we have subjected them to, we will accelerate and multiply the distributions for several days, without increasing the price: we shall be happy if this small sacrifice will convince our subscribers of our desire to satisfy them!

Summary of the NEWS FROM PARIS since March 30.

On 30 March two army corps covering Paris, commanded by Marshals Marmont and Mortier, were defeated between Bondy and Paris. The national guard was mistreated on this occasion.

During the night of the 30th to the 31st, a four-hour armistice led to a capitulation to arrange the terms of the handing over of Paris. On the 31st at 7 o'clock in the morning, the French army had to evacuate, along with their baggage train, but abandoning all the arsenals, workshops and military store-houses of the city. The resumption of hostilities against the army was suspended until nine o'clock.

Subsequently, the allied army entered into the city of Paris, to the cries of: *long live the allied Sovereigns! long live peace! long live our liberators!* repeated a thousand times.

As the procession advanced through the streets, thousands of white cockades appeared in the crowd, to the cries of *long live the Bourbons! long live the King! long live Louis XVIII!*

The national guard, maintained and under arms, manned the posts jointly with the allied troops.

On April 1st, the allied armies pursued, on the road to Fontainebleau, the remnants of the French army.

On March 31st, H.M. Emperor of all the Russias had the following declaration published.

DECLARATION.

The armies of the allied Powers have occupied the capital of France. The allied Sovereigns welcome the will of the French Nation.

They declare:

That while the peace conditions must include the strongest guarantees with regard to putting in chains the ambitions of Bonaparte, they must be more favorable when, through the return to a wise Government, France herself will offer the assurance of such repose.

The allied Sovereigns consequently proclaim:

That they will no longer treat with Napoleon Bonaparte, nor with any of his family;

That they respect the integrity of the former France, as she existed under her legitimate kings; they can do even more, because they always profess the principle that, for the happiness of Europe, France must be big and strong;

That they will recognize and guarantee the Constitution that the French Nation will give itself. Consequently, they invite the Senate to design a provisional Government that can meet the needs of the administration and prepare a constitution befitting the French People.

The intentions I have just expressed are common to all the allied Powers.

ALEXANDER.

By H. I. M., Secretary of state,

Count Nesselrode

Paris, 31 March, 1814, three o'clock in the afternoon.

– The 1st of April, extraordinary assembly of the senate, presided over by H.S.H. the prince vice-grand-elect. The senate decreed,

1st. That a provisional government be established, charged with meeting the demands of the administration, and to present to the senate a draft constitution;

2nd. That this government be composed of five members, as follows:

M. Talleyrand, prince of Benevent;

M. the senator count of Beurnonville;

M. the senator count of Jaucourt;

M. the duke of Dalberg, counselor of state;

M. De Montesquiou, previous member of the constituent assembly.

It was further decreed that the act appointing the provisional government would be communicated to the French people by an address of the members of that government.

The senate, finally, established several fundamental bases of the constitution that must be proposed.

– The provisional government was installed on 2 April.

It appointed eight commissioners charged with the portfolios of the diverse ministries:

For *justice*, M. Henrion de Penrey;

For *foreign affairs*, M. the count Laforêt, and M. baron Durand, adjunct.

For *war, along with the administration of war*, general Dupont.

For the *navy*, M. the baron Malouet, and until his arrival, M. Jurien.

For *finances, the treasury, manufactories and commerce*, M. the Baron Louis.

For the *general police*, M. Anglès, master of petitions.

For the *general secretariat of the provisional government*, M. Dupont (de Nemours), member of the institute, and M. Roux de Laborie, solicitor at the imperial court, adjunct.

M. de la Valette having absented himself, M. de Bourienne, previous counselor of state, is appointed director general of the post.

The provisional government subsequently published an *address to the French* and an *address to the army*.

The first administrative act of this government was to liberate and to return to his states O.H.F. the Pope, detained against the principle of international law, against all justice and decency.

– On 3 April His Majesty the Emperor of Russia received the senate. This magnanimous prince accorded that body the release of 200,000 French prisoners held in his vast estates, due to the fate of arms.

The senate, subsequently assembled in its palace, deliberated on the political situation of the state.

And, “considering that in a constitutional monarchy, the monarch only exists by virtue of the constitution and the social contract;

“That Napoleon Bonaparte, for a certain time with a firm and prudent government, gave the nation, with acts of wisdom and justice, reasons to believe in the future; but subsequently tore up the pact that unified the French people, notably by levying imposts, and establishing taxes other than by virtue of law, against the express tenor of the oath he had sworn on his accession to the throne, following art. 53 of the act of the constitutions of 28 floréal year 12;

“That he committed this assault on the rights of the people even when he had just, unnecessarily, adjourned the legislative body, and had suppressed as criminal a report of that body, whose title and part in the national representation he contested;

“That he subsequently undertook a series of wars in violation of art. 50 of the act of constitutions, of 22 frimaire year 8, which requires that a declaration of war be proposed,

discussed, decreed and promulgated like any law;

“That he unconstitutionally rendered several decrees concerning capital punishment, specifically the two decrees of 5 March last, tending to have a war considered national, that was only waged in the interest of his unlimited ambition;

“That he violated the constitutional laws with his decrees on state prisons;

“That he wiped out ministerial responsibilities, confounded all the powers, and destroyed the independence of the judiciary;

“Considering that the freedom of the press, established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, was constantly submitted to the arbitrary censorship of the police, and that at the same time he always used the press to flood France and Europe with contrived facts, false maxims, doctrines favorable to despotism and outrages against foreign governments;

“That acts and reports heard by the senate were submitted to alterations when they were published;

“Considering that, instead of ruling only with a view towards the interest, happiness and glory of the French people, following the terms of his oath, Napoleon Bonaparte plunged the fatherland into misfortune to the utmost degree, by his refusal to treat under conditions that the national interest obliged him to accept, and that would not compromise French honor;

“Through the abuse he has made of all means given him in men and in money;

“Through various measures which resulted in the ruin of towns, depopulation of the countryside, famine and contagious diseases.

“Considering that, for all these reasons, the imperial government established by the senatus-consultum of 28 floreal year 12 has ceased to exist, and that the manifest wish of all the French calls for an order of things of which the first result must be the re-establishment of the general peace, which must also be the era of a solemn reconciliation among all the states of the great European family;

“The senate declares and decrees as follows:

“Art. 1st Napoleon Bonaparte has forfeited his throne, and the hereditary right established in his family is abolished.

“2. The French people and army are released from their oath of fealty to Napoleon Bonaparte.

“3. The present decree will be sent via message to the provisional government of France, and then sent to all the departments and to the armies and immediately proclaimed in all quarters of the capital;

– On the same day the legislative body, convoked in extraordinary session, gave its support to the act of the senate.

– On 5 April, the provisional government submitted to the senate a draft constitution. On the 6th, the senate decreed this constitution in the following terms:

The conservative Senate, deliberating on the draft constitution presented it by the provisional Government, in execution of the act of the Senate of the 1st of this month; after having heard the report of a special committee of seven members,

Decrees as follows:

Art. 1st. The French government is monarchical and hereditary from male to male by order of primogeniture.

2. The French people, freely, call to the throne of France Louis-Stanislas-Xavier de France, brother of the last King, and after him the other members of the house of Bourbon, following the previous order.

3. The former nobility resumes its titles. The new conserves its titles by heredity. The Legion of Honor is maintained with its prerogatives. The King decides on decoration.

4. The executive power belongs to the King.

5. The King, senate and legislative body contribute to the formation of laws. Bills may be proposed equally in the senate and legislative body.

Bills relative to taxation may only be proposed by the legislative body.

The King may invite both bodies equally, to deal with matters he judges appropriate.

The King's sanction is required as a complement of the law.

6. There will be at least one hundred fifty, at most two hundred senators.

Their office is irremovable and hereditary from male to male by primogeniture. They are appointed by the King.

The current senators, with the exception of those who would renounce their French citizenship, will remain and continue as part of this number. The current pay of the senate and the senatorial land endowments belong to them. The revenues of the latter are shared equally among themselves, and will pass to their successors. In the case of the death of a senator without direct male successor, his portion returns to the public treasury. The senators that will be appointed in the future can have no part of this dotation.

7. The princes of the royal family and the princes of the blood are members by law.

8. The senate will determine, on a case-by-case basis, when the discussion of issues it is dealing with will be public or secret.

9. Each department will appoint, to the legislative body, the same number of deputies it had [previously] sent.

The deputies who served in the legislative body at the time of its last adjournment shall continue to do so until their replacement. All will keep their salary.

In future they will be chosen immediately by the electoral colleges, which will be kept, except if changes are made by any law regarding their organization.

The term of office of deputies to the legislative body is fixed at five years. New elections will be held for the 1816 session.

10. The legislative body convenes every year on the 1st of October, by law. The king can convoke it extraordinarily, adjourn it, as well as dissolve it; however, in this last case a new

legislative body must be formed by the electoral colleges, at the latest within three months.

11. The legislative body has the right of discussion. The sessions are public, except when it considers it appropriate to convene as a general committee.

12. The senate, legislative body, electoral colleges and cantonal assemblies elect their president from amongst their members.

13. No member of the senate or legislative body may be arrested without prior authorization from the body of which he is a member. The judgment of an accused member of the senate or legislative body belongs exclusively to the senate.

14. Ministers may be members of either the senate or legislative body.

15. The equal proportionality of taxation is by right. No tax may be established or levied without the free consent of the legislative body or the senate. The land tax may only be established for one year. The budget of the following year, and the accounts of the previous year, are presented every year to the legislative body and senate, at the opening of the session of the legislative body.

16. The mode and quota of recruitment for the army will be determined by law.

17. The independence of the judiciary is guaranteed. No one can be separated from his natural judges. The institution of the jury is maintained, as also the public nature of debates in criminal matters. The confiscation of property as punishment is abolished. The King has the right to pardon.

18. The courts and ordinary tribunals currently in existence are maintained; their number can be neither diminished nor increased, except by law. Judges are for life and irremovable; with the exception of justices of the peace and of commerce. The commissions and extraordinary tribunals are abolished and cannot be re-established.

19. The court of cassation, the appeals courts, and the tribunals of first instance will propose to the King three candidates for each judicial vacancy in their midst. The King chooses one of the three. The King appoints the first presidents and the public minister of the courts and tribunals.

Continuation in the next issue

Extract from the Moniteur of 12 April.

“The allied Powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the sole obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, true to his oath, declares that he renounces, for himself and his successors, the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even including that of his life, that he would not be prepared to make in the interest of France.

Done at the palace of Fontainebleau on the 11th of April 1814.”

“*Signed, Napoleon.*”

– M. de Bondi, prefect of this department, on the same day sent his approval of the acts

of the senate to the provisional government.

– The provisional government has decided on the ceremonies to be held shortly, no doubt, for the reception of H.R.H. Monsieur, brother of the king.

Rates of public securities

5 per 100 consolidated: interest-payment of March 22, 1814, 63 fr. 25 c. Bank shares, interest payment of 1 January, 930 fr.

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(N.º 2.)

Année 1814.

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JOURNAL DE LYON,
OU BULLETIN ADMINISTRATIF,
Politique, Littéraire, Commercial et Judiciaire du Département du Rhône,
publié sous les auspices des Autorités supérieures.

On s'abonne chez LIONS, Libraire, rue Saint-Dominique, n.º 5. Prix de l'abonnement, pour six mois, 15 fr. ; pour trois mois, 8 fr. : prix de chaque feuille, distribuée au bureau, 20 centimes.

A V I S.

L'apparition de ce Journal avait été d'abord fixée aux premiers jours du mois d'avril. Si aucun obstacle ne l'eût retardée, il aurait eu l'avantage de recueillir, à mesure qu'ils se développaient, ces événemens merveilleux qui depuis quelques jours se pressent autour de nous, et qui feront des temps où nous vivons l'époque la plus mémorable de l'histoire.

Des causes inattendues en ont disposé autrement, et ce retard, sans affaiblir l'intérêt que font naître de si grands événemens, sans nous dispenser même d'en rattacher le tableau à celui des développemens qu'ils vont recevoir, ne nous permet plus que d'y jeter un regard rapide, mais toutefois indispensable, pour faire de notre journal une espèce de monument historique et complet de la grande révolution dont nous sommes témoins.

Pour arriver le plus promptement possible aux nouvelles les plus récentes, et pour dédommager MM. les Abonnés du retard involontaire que nous leur avons fait éprouver, nous rapprocherons et multiplierons les distributions pendant quelques jours, sans augmentation de prix : heureux si ce léger sacrifice peut les convaincre du désir que nous avons de les satisfaire !

Suite de la Constitution.

20. Les militaires en activité, les officiers et soldats en retraite, les veuves et les officiers pensionnés conservent leurs grades, leurs honneurs et leurs pensions.

21. La personne du Roi est inviolable et sacrée.

Tous les actes du gouvernement sont signés par un ministre. Les ministres sont responsables de tout ce que ces actes contiendraient d'attentatoire aux lois, à la liberté publique et individuelle, et aux droits des citoyens.

22. La liberté des cultes et des consciences est garantie. Les ministres des cultes sont également traités et protégés.

23. La liberté de la presse est entière, sauf la repression légale des délits qui pourraient résulter de l'abus de cette liberté. Les commissions sénatoriales de la liberté de la presse et de la liberté individuelle sont conservées.

24. La dette publique est garantie.

Les ventes des domaines nationaux sont irrévocablement maintenues.

25. Aucun Français ne peut être recherché pour les opinions ou les votes qu'il a pu émettre.

26. Toute personne a le droit d'adresser des pétitions individuelles à toute autorité constituée.

27. Tous les Français sont également admissibles à tous les emplois civils et militaires.

28. Toutes les lois actuellement existantes restent en vigueur, jusqu'à ce qu'il y soit légalement dérogé. Le Code des lois civiles sera intitulé : *Code civil des Français.*

29. La présente constitution sera soumise à l'acceptation du peuple français dans la forme qui sera réglée. LOUIS-STANISLAS-XAVIER sera proclamé *Roi des Français* aussitôt qu'il aura juré et signé par un acte portant : *j'accepte la constitution ; je jure de l'observer et de la faire observer.* Ce serment sera réitéré dans la solennité où il recevra le serment de fidélité des Français.

Suivent les signatures.



Suite du résumé des Nouvelles de Paris.

C'est le 4 de ce mois que les maréchaux et autres généraux de l'armée ont eu connaissance par les papiers publics, des actes du sénat et du gouvernement provisoire. Ils en conféraient entr'eux, lorsque Bonaparte vint passer la revue des troupes qu'il affectait encore de regarder comme les siennes. M. le maréchal Ney osa prononcer à haute voix le mot d'abdication. *Il n'y a que l'abdication qui puisse vous tirer de là.*

Bonaparte feignit de ne pas entendre, et la revue se passa fort tranquillement. Mais à peine fut-elle terminée, que le maréchal Ney, d'après la résolution qui avait été prise en commun, monta au château sur les pas de Napoléon, le suivit jusque dans son cabinet, et lui demanda s'il était instruit de la grande révolution qui venait de s'opérer à Paris. Bonaparte feignit encore d'ignorer cet événement. Alors le maréchal Ney lui remit les journaux. Il les lut, et s'adressant au maréchal, il lui dit : eh bien, qu'en pensez-vous ? — Sire, il faut abdiquer, c'est le vœu de la France. — Est-ce l'avis des généraux ? — Oui, Sire. — Est-ce l'avis de l'armée ? — Oui, Sire.

Au même moment arriva le maréchal Lefebvre qui, d'un ton très-animé, dit au ci-devant empereur : « vous êtes perdu ! vous n'avez voulu écouter aucun de vos serviteurs, le sénat a prononcé votre déchéance. » A ces mots, Bonaparte se troubla, et répandit un torrent de larmes. Après quelque temps, il écrivit un acte d'abdication en faveur de son fils, comme s'il pouvait léguer ce qu'il ne possédait plus.

Le 5, vers les onze heures du matin, plusieurs généraux allèrent prier le duc de Bassano, qui était presque toujours seul avec l'empereur, de l'engager à ne point paraître à la parade : il voulut absolument y venir. Il avait la figure pâle et entièrement décomposée. Il n'y resta que huit ou dix minutes. A onze heures et demie il arrêta un plan, et le fit rédiger et countersigner par le duc de Bassano. Ce plan consistait à partir avec vingt mille hommes pour aller rejoindre le prince Eugène en Italie.

Il fit venir le duc de Reggio et lui demanda si les troupes le suivraient. — Non, Sire ; vous avez abdiqué. — Mais j'ai abdiqué à certaines conditions. — Les soldats, reprit le duc, ne connaissent pas ces nuances ; ils croient que vous ne pouvez plus les commander. Tout est donc dit

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de ce côté, dit Bonaparte : attendons les nouvelles de Paris.

Les maréchaux qu'il avait envoyés à Paris arrivent entre minuit et une heure. Le maréchal Ney entre le premier. Avez-vous réussi, dit l'empereur ? — En partie, Sire, mais non pas pour la régence. Les révolutions ne retrogradent jamais. Celle-ci a pris son cours, il est trop tard ; le Sénat reconnaîtra demain les Bourbons. Où pourrai-je vivre avec ma famille ? — Où voudra Votre Majesté ; par exemple, à l'île d'Elbe, avec six millions de revenus. — Six millions ! il faut me résigner, et il se tut.

(*Extrait du Journal des Débats, du 9 avril.*)

— Il paraît certain que l'ordre avait été donné, le 20 mars, de faire sauter le magasin de Grenelle. Ce magasin contenait 240 milliers de poudre en grains, 5 millions de cartouches d'infanterie, 25,000 gargousses à boulet, 5000 obus chargés, et une grande quantité d'artifices. L'explosion aurait anéanti la plus grande partie de la capitale. M. le major d'artillerie Maillard de Lescourt avait reçu cet ordre, et il ne l'exécuta pas.

— Rien n'est plus intéressant et plus touchant que ce qui s'est passé le 5 avril au soir, à l'audience que S. M. l'empereur de Russie a donnée au Sénat.

Après avoir reçu les hommages de ce corps : « Un homme qui se disait mon allié, a dit l'empereur Alexandre, est arrivé dans mes états en injuste agresseur ; c'est à lui que j'ai fait la guerre, et non à la France. Je suis l'ami du peuple français ; ce que vous venez de faire redouble encore ce sentiment : il est juste, il est sage de donner à la France des institutions fortes et libérales qui soient en rapport avec les lumières actuelles. Mes alliés et moi nous ne venons que pour protéger la liberté de vos décisions. »

L'Empereur s'est arrêté un moment, et S. M. a repris avec la plus touchante émotion :

« Pour preuve de cette alliance durable que je veux contracter avec votre nation, je lui rends tous les prisonniers français qui sont en Russie ; le gouvernement français me l'avait déjà demandé, je l'accorde au Sénat d'après les résolutions qu'il a prises aujourd'hui. »

Le Sénat est sorti pénétré des sentiments de la plus vive reconnaissance et de la plus grande admiration.

(3)

— Le gouvernement provisoire a arrêté que les prisonniers russes, qui sont en France, seront remis sur-le-champ à S. Exc. M. le général en chef des armées russes, en reconnaissance de la générosité de S. M. l'empereur de Russie, qui a ordonné la restitution des prisonniers de guerre français qui se trouvent dans ses états.

(Extrait du journal des débats.)

— Des Souverains élevés sur le trône, au lieu de trouver du plaisir, comme Bonaparte, à Vienne, à Berlin, à Moscow, à loger dans les maisons royales, demandent des maisons particulières.

L'empereur de Russie loge chez le prince de Bénévent;

Le roi de Prusse, chez M. de Beauharnais;

L'empereur d'Autriche, dans un hôtel contigu à l'Elysée Bourbon;

Le prince de Schwarzenberg, chez le général Sébastiani.

— On assure que le cardinal Maury a quitté l'archevêché de Paris, et qu'il se rend dans son diocèse de Montefiascone, qui depuis sept ans souffre de son absence.

— Le gouvernement provisoire a pris un arrêté pour faire rentrer au trésor les fonds qui lui ont été soustraits et conduits sur divers points du royaume, d'après les ordres du souverain dont la déchéance a été solennellement prononcée le 5 avril 1814.

— C'est le 12 avril que la capitale a joui pour la première fois, après 24 ans, de la présence d'un prince de la maison royale de France, de Monsieur, comte d'Artois, frère du roi, lieutenant-général du royaume. Nous donnerons les détails de cette journée mémorable.

— Le gouvernement provisoire a réuni aux préfectures et sous-préfectures, les fonctions des directeurs généraux, directeurs particuliers, commissaires-généraux et spéciaux de police.

Lyon, 17 avril.

Un nouvel horizon se découvre enfin à nos regards, et prépare à la France, accablée de gloire militaire et de calamités, l'oubli des maux qui la déchirèrent depuis vingt ans.

Aucune ville n'aura ressenti mieux que Lyon le bienfait de cette résurrection politique, qui fut toujours le vœu secret de tous les vrais Français, et pour laquelle notre Cité prodigua, en 1793, ses richesses et le plus pur de son sang.

Soumise aux événemens comme tous les Français, cette ville, il faut le reconnaître, a été trouvée dans quelques actes du gouvernement impérial, des sujets particuliers de son attachement; mais son antique attachement au sang de ses maîtres n'en avait pas été altéré, et des sentimens durables d'affection pour les Rois légitimes ne cessèrent jamais d'accompagner ses souvenirs.

L'entrée triomphante des Alliés en France; les paroles de paix et de bienveillance qui les précédaient; l'espoir raisonnable que, pour mettre un terme aux entreprises d'une ambition trop connue, ils relèveraient le trône plus pacifique des Bourbons; l'impatience enfin de se reposer de tant d'agitations et de malheurs, sous l'autorité paternelle du souverain légitime, tout servit à réveiller les sentimens d'une Cité qui dans tous les temps se fit remarquer par son amour pour ses Rois, et qui ne pouvait plus le dissimuler.

Mais à l'instant même où l'aurore du bonheur et de la paix commençait à éclairer notre horizon, des agitateurs salariés se mêlèrent dans les rangs des citoyens; ils cherchèrent à secouer les torches de la discorde, à exciter des troubles, à semer des défiances: le public entendit parler alors d'un projet vrai ou faux d'arrêter les magistrats de la Cité; on dit même qu'un incendie général devait faire de Lyon une nouvelle Moscow, comme, dans la suite, l'explosion de la poudrière de Grenelle devait réduire la capitale en cendres.

Grace à l'infatigable vigilance de M. le Maire, de M. l'Adjoint chargé de la police, et de leurs dignes collègues; grace au zèle infatigable de la Garde nationale et de ses respectables chefs; grace enfin à ce bon esprit, à cet amour de l'ordre qui distingua toujours notre Cité, aucun attentat n'a pu être même essayé, aucun désordre n'a un seul instant troublé la tranquillité publique, et nos magistrats ont été proclamés nos sauveurs.

Enfin, les sentimens des bons citoyens éclatèrent.

Pendant que le sénat prononçait la déchéance de Napoléon Bonaparte, et qu'il proposait, de concert avec le gouvernement provisoire, le rappel de la maison de Bourbon à la couronne de France, mais avant qu'aucuns de ces grands événemens fussent connus à Lyon qui était alors sans communications au-dehors, cette ville, sans attendre d'autre signal que celui de son attachement au trône des Bourbons, déclarait et proclamait aussi la déchéance de Bonaparte, la reconnaissance du souverain légitime, et arborait avec transport ce dra-

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peau blanc, auquel nos pères furent toujours fidèles, dans les revers comme dans les victoires.

Le récit de ce qui s'est passé à Lyon dans ces circonstances est trop honorable à notre Cité, pour que nous ne nous fassions pas un devoir d'en consigner les détails dans nos feuilles.

Le 8 avril, M. le Maire, MM. les Adjointes, et le Conseil municipal, furent convoqués par M. le Maire, pour délibérer sur la situation présente de la France, et pour exprimer les nobles et patriotiques sentimens que manifestait hautement, dans cette circonstance, le peuple de la seconde ville du royaume, d'une ville célèbre dans l'histoire par son attachement pour ses souverains légitimes.

Le Conseil, après une longue et sage discussion, s'est convaincu que les calamités qui pèsent sur la France et l'Europe, ont leur source dans les levées inouïes d'hommes qui dévorent les générations à mesure qu'elles se succèdent, et qui ont fourni à Napoléon Bonaparte des moyens sans cesse renaissans de faire une guerre sans fin; dans ces impôts inconstitutionnels et arbitraires, qui ruinent les villes et les campagnes, et qui n'ont servi qu'à augmenter encore entre ses mains les moyens de faire la guerre; et, en un mot, dans une foule d'abus nés de la violation journalière des constitutions.

Il s'est aussi convaincu que les sacrifices sans exemple que s'était imposés la Nation, dans la seule vue de parvenir à une paix honorable, et les témoignages d'intérêts qu'elle lui avait prodigués pour soutenir la dignité et les droits de l'état dans les discussions que pouvait exiger la pacification, n'ont été employés par Napoléon Bonaparte qu'à augmenter les ravages de la guerre, à manifester des prétentions désordonnées, et qu'enfin à Prague, à Francfort, à Châtillon-sur-Seine, il a opiniâtrément refusé la paix qui lui était offerte, et qui ne blessait pas l'honneur national.

Le Conseil sur-tout n'a pu s'arrêter sans douleur au tableau des outrages qui ont été faits à la liberté de tous les cultes, par les actes d'oppression sous lesquels gémissent, depuis si long-temps, le Souverain Pontife de l'Eglise catholique et plusieurs ministres de cette religion.

Il a enfin reconnu,

Que tous les liens qui avaient pu se former entre Napoléon Bonaparte et ses peuples, ont été rompus par lui-même;

Que le bonheur, le repos et la paix du mon-

ne peuvent se concilier avec la conservation de Napoléon Bonaparte sur le trône;

Que les circonstances extraordinaires qui l'y ont porté, et l'occupation passagère qu'il en a faite, n'ont pu altérer les droits imprescriptibles et sacrés de la maison de Bourbon à la couronne de France,

Et que le retour du légitime héritier de cette auguste Maison au trône de ses ancêtres, peut seul rétablir l'indépendance et l'union entre les Souverains et les Peuples de l'Europe, réconcilier la France avec les autres nations, et combler les vœux des Français:

Par ces motifs, et par les autres considérations que le Conseil municipal a consignées dans sa délibération,

Il a déclaré qu'il considère Napoléon Bonaparte et sa famille, naturelle ou adoptive, comme déchus de tout droit ou prétention au trône de France;

Et que Louis XVIII est reconnu roi de France.

En conséquence, il a arrêté que cette déclaration sera proclamée dès demain avec la solennité convenable; que les armes et les couleurs des Bourbons seront arborées dans tous les lieux publics, et que cette résolution sera communiquée de suite à S. A. R. Monseigneur le Comte d'Artois, lieutenant-général du royaume.

Cette délibération a été accompagnée des cris mille fois répétés, *vive le Roi ! vive Louis XVIII.*

La proclamation arrêtée par le Conseil municipal, est ainsi conçue:

H A B I T A N S D E L Y O N .

« Vous avez été constamment l'objet de la sollicitude paternelle de vos Magistrats. Qu'il est » satisfaisant pour eux d'être aujourd'hui les organes de leurs Concitoyens dans les circonstances » importantes qui fixent l'attention de l'Europe!

» Tous les Français peuvent donc enfin donner » un libre essor à leurs sentimens trop long-temps » comprimés au fond de leurs cœurs. L'élan national qui s'est manifesté dans la Capitale, dans » plusieurs grandes Villes, et sur-tout parmi vous, » ne nous permet plus de suspendre l'expression » publique des vœux que nous n'avons cessé de » former avec vous, dans le silence.

» Habitans de Lyon, vous vous êtes toujours » distingués par votre attachement pour vos légiti-

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» times souverains. Avec quel enthousiasme ne
» verrez-vous pas remonter sur le Trône de Saint
» Louis, de Louis XII, de Henri IV, le frère
» du Monarque vertueux, dont les malheurs nous
» ont coûté tant de larmes !

» Le roi a solennellement promis de conserver
» les grands corps de l'état, et toutes les institu-
» tions civiles et judiciaires; de maintenir les
» ventes de biens nationaux; d'assurer l'entière
» liberté des cultes; de délivrer la religion de nos
» pères, de l'oppression sous laquelle elle a gémi
» trop long-temps; d'abolir cette conscription si
» odieuse aux Français, si funeste au monde; d'a-
» néantir ces impôts vexatoires si opposés à nos
» mœurs, si fertiles en abus; de maintenir dans
» leurs places ceux qui les occupent; de conserver
» spécialement leurs grades et leurs traitemens
» aux généraux, officiers et soldats, qui après
» avoir soutenu par leurs exploits l'honneur du
» nom Français, assureront le bonheur de la
» Patrie, en se rangeant sous l'antique bannière
» des Lis.

» Sa Majesté pénétrée des sentimens qui ont
» dicté le testament de son auguste Frère, com-
» mande l'entier oubli des fautes et des erreurs
» passées; et qui oserait se venger quand le Roi
» pardonne !

» Par ses bienfaits, toutes les plaies de l'état
» seront cicatrisées; par sa sagesse, toutes les
» améliorations qu'ont amenées le cours du temps
» et les progrès des lumières, nous seront ga-
» ranties.

» Et quels sentimens de gratitude ne devons-
» nous pas à ces Hautes-Puissances qui nous ren-
» dent un souverain désiré, qui l'amènent au mi-
» lieu de nous, comme le garant de leurs inten-
» tions bienveillantes et désintéressées !

» Déjà leurs proclamations nous avaient an-
» noncé que ce n'était point pour nous assujettir
» à une domination étrangère, qu'elles avaient
» pénétré sur notre territoire; qu'une plus noble
» ambition les conduisait; qu'elles ne voulaient
» que mettre un terme aux maux de l'humanité,
» assurer la tranquillité de la France et celle de
» l'Europe sur les bases d'un gouvernement pai-
» sible et paternel, éprouvé par des siècles de
» gloire et de bonheur.

» C'est maintenant qu'il nous est permis de nous
» arrêter à cette pensée consolante, que les pro-
» messes magnanimes de tant de Souverains ne
» peuvent être trompeuses. Ils ne verront plus en

» nous que les fidèles sujets de leur nouvel allié;
» ils adouciront en sa faveur, ou plutôt ils feront
» cesser les calamités d'une guerre désormais sans
» objet.

» Habitans de cette cité autrefois si florissante,
» aujourd'hui si malheureuse, espérez aussi, sur la
» foi des dernières déclarations, que la garantie
» de notre indépendance nationale, la restitution
» de nos colonies, l'ouverture de nos ports et la
» liberté de notre commerce, ranimeront dans ces
» murs votre active et laborieuse industrie, et avec
» elle votre ancienne prospérité.

» Eternelle reconnaissance aux augustes et gé-
» néreux Souverains, dont une ligue sans exemple
» dans l'histoire, n'aura eu pour but que de recons-
» truire l'édifice social sur des proportions plus
» sagement combinées, et d'offrir à l'admiration
» de l'Univers le spectacle de la grande Famille
» Européenne, unie pour des siècles par les liens
» d'une paix inaltérable !

» O Lyonnais ! ne sentez-vous pas déjà vos
» cœurs soulagés, en voyant luire l'aurore des
» beaux jours qui vont renaître pour la France ?
» Que la concorde la plus parfaite signale cette
» grande et mémorable époque. Que toutes les
» haines, que toutes les dissensions soient éteintes,
» et qu'une sage tolérance produise l'oubli de toutes
» les erreurs, Unissons tous nos vœux dans un seul
» but, le bonheur de notre patrie; unissons tous
» nos cœurs par un seul sentiment, l'amour de
» notre Monarque; arborons avec transport cette
» couleur qui a fait la gloire de nos aïeux, et pro-
» clamons par un concert unanime LOUIS XVIII,
» le père et le sauveur de la France.

» VIVE LE ROI.

» Fait en séance, le 8 avril 1814.

» Signé, d'Albon, maire; le baron de Vau-
» xonne, Charrier-Sainneville, Cazenove, de
» Laurencin, de Varax, adjoints; Guerre, secré-
» taire, Arles, de Laroue, de Gatellier, de La-
» chassagne, d'Ambérieux, Grailhe-de-Montaima,
» Aynard, de Chaponay, Frèrejean, Masson-
» Mongez, de Ruolz, Falsan aîné, Bodin aîné,
» conseillers municipaux. »

Le 9 avril, au point du jour, le drapeau blanc
flottait sur la tour la plus élevée de l'Hôtel-de-Ville.

A une heure le Corps Municipal est sorti de
l'Hôtel-de-Ville en grand cortège, accompagné de
M. de la Roue, colonel-commandant de la garde
nationale, pour publier dans les trois places prin-

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principales de la *cit*, la délibération et la proclamation de l'administration municipale.

Tout le cortège avait arboré la cocarde blanche, et le drapeau blanc flottait dans ses rangs.

Arrivé au milieu de la place des Terreaux, le Corps municipal est descendu de voiture, et se tournant vers la place qu'occupait autrefois dans la façade de l'Hôtel-de-Ville, la statue équestre du roi Henri IV, M. de Laurencin, l'un des adjoints, a fait lecture au peuple assemblé de la proclamation municipale.

Le cortège s'est ensuite porté, dans le même ordre, sur la place Saint-Jean.

Le Corps municipal s'est placé sur le parvis de la basilique de St-Jean : là au milieu d'un peuple immense, et en présence du Dieu protecteur des Rois et des Peuples, du Dieu de Saint-Louis, M. de Sainneville, l'un des adjoints, a fait une nouvelle lecture de la proclamation où le fils de Saint-Louis est rendu au trône de son père.

Le cortège s'est enfin rendu, et toujours dans le même ordre, sur la place de Bellecour.

Le Corps municipal est descendu sur l'emplacement occupé jadis par la statue équestre de Louis-le-Grand.

M. le Maire, en présence d'une foule innombrable de spectateurs de tout âge, de tout état, de tout sexe, a publié, par une nouvelle lecture, la proclamation municipale.

Chacune des trois proclamations a été couverte d'unanimes applaudissemens.

Mille et mille fois a été répété ce cri touchant et patriotique : vive Louis XVIII ! vivent les Alliés ! vivent nos Libérateurs !

A ces applaudissemens se sont mêlés les cris de vive le Maire, vivent les Magistrats.

Le cortège est retourné par les quais du Rhône à l'Hôtel-de-Ville. Dans tout le cours de sa marche, depuis son départ jusqu'à son retour, il a été accompagné des mêmes témoignages d'amour pour les Bourbons, de joie pour leur retour au trône, de reconnaissance pour les Alliés, auteurs magnanimes d'un si grand bienfait.

Une réunion de M. le gouverneur baron de Mylius, et des officiers de l'état-major de la place, avec le Corps municipal, avec plusieurs membres du conseil de ville et officiers de la Garde nationale, dans un dîné improvisé, à l'Hôtel commun, est devenue une nouvelle fête par les toast qui ont été portés à Louis XVIII et à toute la maison de Bourbon, aux Puissances alliées, aux Braves de

toutes les armées, à la Paix du monde, à nos Magistrats.

Le reste de ce beau jour a été donné aux transports et à l'ivresse de la joie publique.

Pendant trois jours de suite, une illumination générale et spontanée, un concours immense de Citoyens de tout âge, de tout état, de tout sexe, réunis dans les rues et les places, aux cris sans cesse répétés de VIVE LE ROI, VIVENT LES ALLIÉS; le drapeau des Bourbons flottant au-devant d'une multitude de maisons; des devises ingénieuses ornant une multitude de fenêtres; les transports unanimes de toute la Cité, ceux de l'Armée alliée confondue comme un peuple de frères dans les rangs des habitans; le temps enfin le plus favorable, tout s'est réuni pour donner un éclat sans exemple à une fête qui parmi nous sera à jamais la fête de la France, de l'Europe, de l'humanité (1).

Déclaration du Conseil général du Département du Rhône.

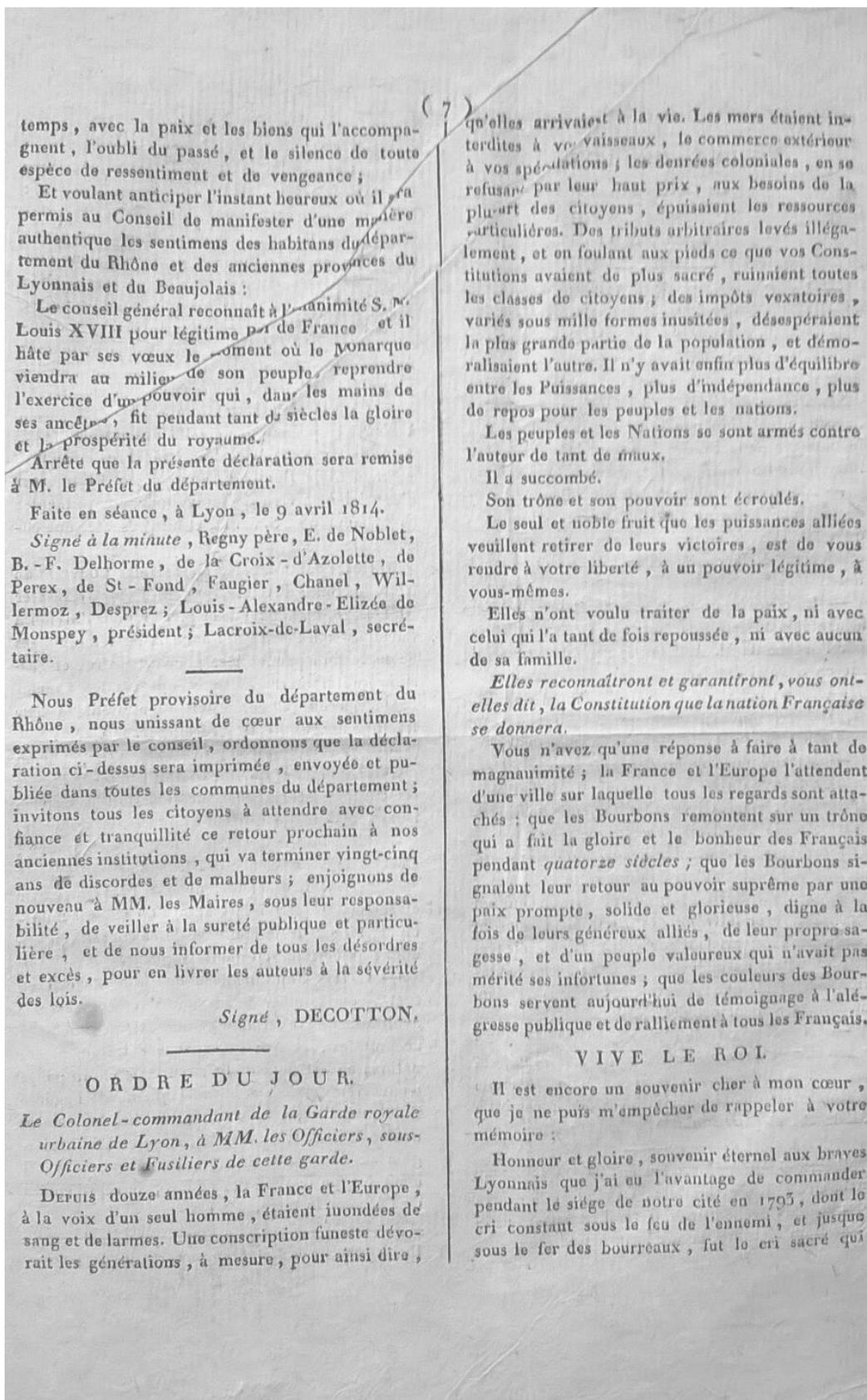
Le Conseil général du département, pénétré d'un sentiment profond d'admiration à la vue de ce phénomène sans exemple dans l'histoire, qui présente aujourd'hui à l'Europe le plus noble usage du droit de la victoire, mis en opposition avec cet abus funeste de la puissance des armes, qui depuis 20 ans a coûté à la France tant de sang et de larmes, et a fini par compromettre l'existence d'un peuple réputé grand et généreux entre tous les peuples de la terre;

Certain que les Hautes-Puissances achèveront leur ouvrage, que leurs promesses ne seront pas vaines, et que leur parole est sacrée;

Convaincu pareillement que l'exercice temporaire de la Puissance souveraine, arrachée à la maison de Bourbon par une série d'événemens violens jusqu'alors inconnus dans les annales de notre France, n'a pu détruire les droits imprescriptibles qui donnent à cette auguste maison le Sceptre et la Couronne;

Ne mettant point en doute que les événemens qui nous ramènent à l'ordre naturel et légitime du gouvernement, nous ramèneront en même

(1) Le procès-verbal authentique de ce qui s'est passé le 8 et le 9 avril, et les détails de la journée du 10, se trouvent chez KINDELEM, imprimeur, rue de l'Archevêché, n.º 3.



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 temps, avec la paix et les biens qui l'accompagnent, l'oubli du passé, et le silence de toute espèce de ressentiment et de vengeance;

Et voulant anticiper l'instant heureux où il sera permis au Conseil de manifester d'une manière authentique les sentimens des habitans du département du Rhône et des anciennes provinces du Lyonnais et du Beaujolais :

Le conseil général reconnaît à l'unanimité S. M. Louis XVIII pour légitime Roi de France et il hâte par ses vœux le moment où le Monarque viendra au milieu de son peuple reprendre l'exercice d'un pouvoir qui, dans les mains de ses ancêtres, fit pendant tant de siècles la gloire et la prospérité du royaume.

Arrête que la présente déclaration sera remise à M. le Préfet du département.

Faite en séance, à Lyon, le 9 avril 1814.

Signé à la minute, Regny père, E. de Noblet, B. - F. Delhorme, de la Croix - d'Azolette, de Perex, de St - Fond, Faugier, Chanel, Willemoz, Desprez; Louis - Alexandre - Elizée de Monspey, président; Lacroix-de-Laval, secrétaire.

Nous Préfet provisoire du département du Rhône, nous unissant de cœur aux sentimens exprimés par le conseil, ordonnons que la déclaration ci-dessus sera imprimée, envoyée et publiée dans toutes les communes du département; invitons tous les citoyens à attendre avec confiance et tranquillité ce retour prochain à nos anciennes institutions, qui va terminer vingt-cinq ans de discordes et de malheurs; enjoignons de nouveau à MM. les Maires, sous leur responsabilité, de veiller à la sureté publique et particulière, et de nous informer de tous les désordres et excès, pour en livrer les auteurs à la sévérité des lois.

Signé, DECOTTON.

ORDRE DU JOUR.

Le Colonel - commandant de la Garde royale urbaine de Lyon, à MM. les Officiers, sous-Officiers et Fusiliers de cette garde.

DEPUIS douze années, la France et l'Europe, à la voix d'un seul homme, étaient inondées de sang et de larmes. Une conscription funeste dévorait les générations, à mesure, pour ainsi dire,

qu'elles arrivaient à la vie. Les mers étaient interdites à vos vaisseaux, le commerce extérieur à vos spéculations; les denrées coloniales, en se refusant par leur haut prix, aux besoins de la plupart des citoyens, épuisaient les ressources particulières. Des tributs arbitraires levés illégalement, et en foulant aux pieds ce que vos Constitutions avaient de plus sacré, ruinaient toutes les classes de citoyens; des impôts vexatoires, variés sous mille formes inusitées, désespéraient la plus grande partie de la population, et démoralisaient l'autre. Il n'y avait enfin plus d'équilibre entre les Puissances, plus d'indépendance, plus de repos pour les peuples et les nations.

Les peuples et les Nations se sont armés contre l'auteur de tant de maux.

Il a succombé.

Son trône et son pouvoir sont écroulés.

Le seul et noble fruit que les puissances alliées veulent retirer de leurs victoires, est de vous rendre à votre liberté, à un pouvoir légitime, à vous-mêmes.

Elles n'ont voulu traiter de la paix, ni avec celui qui l'a tant de fois repoussée, ni avec aucun de sa famille.

Elles reconnaîtront et garantiront, vous ont-elles dit, la Constitution que la nation Française se donnera.

Vous n'avez qu'une réponse à faire à tant de magnanimité; la France et l'Europe l'attendent d'une ville sur laquelle tous les regards sont attachés; que les Bourbons remontent sur un trône qui a fait la gloire et le bonheur des Français pendant quatorze siècles; que les Bourbons signalent leur retour au pouvoir suprême par une paix prompte, solide et glorieuse, digne à la fois de leurs généreux alliés, de leur propre sagesse, et d'un peuple valeureux qui n'avait pas mérité ses infortunes; que les couleurs des Bourbons servent aujourd'hui de témoignage à l'allégresse publique et de ralliement à tous les Français.

VIVE LE ROI.

Il est encore un souvenir cher à mon cœur, que je ne puis m'empêcher de rappeler à votre mémoire :

Honneur et gloire, souvenir éternel aux braves Lyonnais que j'ai eu l'avantage de commander pendant le siège de notre cité en 1793, dont le cri constant sous le feu de l'ennemi, et jusque sous le fer des bourreaux, fut le cri sacré qui

pénètre si vivement tous les cœurs des bons Français,

VIVE LE ROI.

Le Colonel-Commandant
DE LAROUX
Lyon, le 11 avril 1814.

— La Cour de Lyon a déclaré, dans une séance solennelle, qu'elle adhère unanimement aux actes émanés du Sénat et du Gouvernement provisoire, et a manifesté le vœu le plus ardent pour voir enfin replacer sur le trône de St. Louis, d'Henri IV et de Louis XVI, les Princes augustes de cette race, qui pendant tant de siècles a fait le bonheur de la France, et dont la malheureuse interruption a causé tant de maux à la patrie.

— L'ordre des avocats présent à l'audience, a déclaré par l'organe de M. Petit son bâtonnier, qu'il adhère avec empressement aux mêmes actes, et à l'arrêt de la cour, et il lui en a été donné acte.

— Le corps des avoués près la Cour, présent à la même audience, a fait la même déclaration par l'organe de M. Arthaud son président; et il lui en a aussi été dressé.

— Le Tribunal civil, et le Tribunal de commerce, et les avoués de première instance, ont aussi déclaré leur adhésion.

— L'académie royale des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Lyon, a remis à M. le Préfet provisoire, par une députation, une délibération prise le 12 avril, ensuite de convocation extraordinaire, contenant l'expression des sentimens de joie et d'allégresse dont cette compagnie est pénétrée, pour les heureux événemens qui ont servi à relever le trône des Bourbons, qui ont rendu aux Français leur roi légitime, aux sciences et aux lettres un auguste protecteur. La députation a demandé que cet acte fût mis sous les yeux du Gouvernement provisoire.

— La société royale d'Agriculture, Histoire naturelle et Arts utiles de Lyon, a manifesté les mêmes sentimens et le même vœu, par une délibération qu'une députation a aussi remise à M. le Préfet provisoire.

Il sera chanté aujourd'hui un *Te Deum* solennel, en l'Eglise primatiale, en actions de grâces des heureux événemens qui rendent au trône le Souverain légitime, et aux Français un père.

Paris, 11 avril.

Depuis Châlons jusqu'à Livry S. A. R. a reçu par-tout les bénédictions des peuples. A son arrivée à Châlons, la ville a été illuminée spontanément: sur toute la route les paysans, les maires se pressaient autour de S. A. Royale. A Livry, un grand nombre de gardes nationaux venus des lieux voisins et de Paris se sont rassemblés sur l'esplanade du château. S. A. R. est descendue pour les passer en revue, et leur a parlé avec un profond attendrissement. Ils ont quitté leurs rangs et se sont réunis autour de sa personne, en lui donnant les plus vifs témoignages de vénération et d'amour.

— C'est le Mercredi-Saint que Monsieur a reçu à Nancy la première nouvelle des grands événemens de Paris. S. A. R. était à ténèbres en ce moment. M. de Bombell, envoyé par l'Empereur d'Autriche, arriva à Nancy pour complimenter S. A. au nom de S. M. I., et lui présenter une cocarde blanche.

MM. les commissaires chargés des pouvoirs de Mgr. le comte d'Artois, sont allés voir avant-hier M. Desèze, de la part de ce prince, pour l'inviter à faire passer à l'ordre des avocats les témoignages de son estime particulière pour cet ordre, et l'assurer qu'il n'interrogeait pas l'opinion de ses membres, parce qu'il connaissait leur fidélité à leur légitime souverain, et en était sûr.

— Les personnes commissionnées par l'ancien gouvernement, et qui ont quitté leur poste depuis les derniers événemens, ne pourront reprendre leurs fonctions qu'après une nomination nouvelle.

— MM. Mathieu et Adrien de Montmorency, Charles de Luxembourg et Alexis de Noailles, ont eu l'honneur de dîner hier avec S. M. l'Empereur de Russie. M. Bellart, membre du conseil municipal, rédacteur de l'adresse de ce conseil, a été admis aujourd'hui au même honneur.

— C'est à Fontainebleau que Bonaparte a vu tout-à-coup tomber de ses mains le sceptre qu'il avait usurpé; c'est là que ses destinées se sont accomplies, et que ce superbe dominateur des nations en est devenu le sujet et le captif; il se trouve renfermé dans le palais même où naguère il détenait l'auguste, le vénérable chef de l'église; une main invisible a frappé cet ennemi de la religion au lieu même où de ses mains impies, il avait frappé le père des fidèles, le représentant de Dieu sur la terre.

De l'Imprimerie de J. B. KINDELEM, rue de l'Archevêché.

(Nr. 2) 1814 Sunday 17 April

Lyon Journal, or Administrative,
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Notice

The publication of this journal had at first been scheduled for the first days of the month of April. If no obstacle had delayed it, it would have had the advantage of compiling, as they unfolded, these marvelous events that, for several days, accumulate around us and will render the time in which we live the most memorable epoch of history.

Unexpected causes changed matters, and this delay, without weakening the interest aroused by such great events, without even dispensing us from attaching their description to those of developments to come, no longer permits us to just cast a quick glance at them, but – and this is completely indispensable – to make of our journal a kind of historical and complete monument of the great revolution of which we are witnesses.

In order to arrive at the most recent news as promptly as possible, and to compensate our Subscribers for the involuntary delay we have subjected them to, we will accelerate and multiply the distributions for several days, without increasing the price: we shall be happy if this small sacrifice will convince our subscribers of our desire to satisfy them!

The Constitution, continued.

20. Active soldiers, officers and pensioned soldiers, widows and pensioned officers, maintain their ranks, honors and pensions.

21. The person of the King is inviolable and sacred. All the acts of government are signed by a minister. The ministers are responsible for everything these acts might contain prejudicial to the laws, to public and individual liberty, and to the rights of the citizens.

22. Freedom of religion and of conscience are guaranteed. The ministers of religions are equally paid and protected.

23. Freedom of the press is complete, with the exception of the legal repression of

crimes that could result from the abuse of this freedom. The senatorial committees on freedom of the press and individual freedom are maintained.

24. The public debt is guaranteed.

The sale of the national domains is maintained irrevocably.

25. No Frenchman may be pursued for opinions expressed or votes cast.

26. Every person has the right to address individual petitions to any constituted authority.

27. All Frenchmen are equally admissible to all civil or military employments.

28. All currently existing laws will remain in force until they have been legally abolished. The code of civil law shall be entitled: *Civil code of the French*.

29. The present constitution will be submitted for the approval of the French people in a form to be established. Louis-Stanislas-Xavier will be proclaimed *King of the French* as soon as he has sworn to and signed an act containing: *I accept the constitution; I swear to observe it and ensure it is observed*. This oath will be repeated during the ceremony in which the French shall pledge their loyalty to him.

Signatures follow.

Continuation of the summary of News from Paris.

It was on the 4th of this month that the marshals and other generals of the army were informed, through the public papers, of the acts of the senate and the provisional government. They conferred over these developments while Bonaparte came to review the troops he still feigned to regard as his own. Marshal Ney dared to utter the word “abdication” out loud. *Only abdication can save you from this.*

Bonaparte acted as if he had not understood and the review passed very quietly. But it had hardly finished, when marshal Ney, following a resolution passed jointly, followed Napoleon up to the château all the way into his office, and asked him if he was aware of the great revolution that had taken place in Paris. Then marshal Ney gave him the newspapers. He read them and, turning to the marshal, said to him: very well, what do you think?

– Sire, you must abdicate, it is the wish of France. – Is it the opinion of the generals? – Yes, Sire. – Is it the opinion of the army? – Yes, Sire.

At just that moment marshal Lefebvre arrived and said, in a very animated tone, to the former emperor: “You are lost! You did not want to listen to your servants, the senate has declared the forfeiture of your throne.” At these words, Bonaparte became agitated and broke out in a torrent of tears. After a time, he drafted an act of abdication in favor of his son, as if he could still bequeath what he no longer possessed.

On the 5th, around eleven in the morning, several generals went to ask the duke of Bassano, who was almost alone at the emperor’s side, to convince him not to appear at the parade: he absolutely wanted to come. His face was pale and completely out of composure. He only stayed some eight or ten minutes. At eleven-thirty he decided on a plan, had it

drafted and countersigned by the duke of Bassano. This plan consisted in leaving with twenty thousand men to join prince Eugène in Italy.

He had the duke of Reggio come and asked if the troops would follow him. – No, Sire; you have abdicated. – But I have abdicated under certain conditions. – The soldiers, continued the duke, don't know these nuances; they believe you can no longer command them. Then all is said on that count, said Bonaparte: let us await the news from Paris.

The marshals he had sent to Paris arrived between midnight and one. Marshal Ney entered first. Have you succeeded, said the emperor? – In part, Sire, but not for the regency. Revolutions never go backwards. This one has taken its course, it is too late; tomorrow the Senate will recognize the Bourbons. Where can I live with my family? – Wherever Your Majesty wishes; for example, the island of Elba, with an income of six millions. – Six millions! I must resign myself, and he became silent.

(Extract from the Journal des Débats, of 9 April.)

– It appears certain that the order was given, on 20 March, to explode the gunpowder magazine of Grenelle. This magazine contained two hundred thousands [of pounds] of powder in grains, 5 million infantry cartridges, 25,000 ball cartridges, 5000 explosive shells, and a large quantity of flares. The explosion would have annihilated the greater part of the capital. Artillery major Maillard had received this order, he did not execute it.

– Nothing is more interesting or touching than what took place on 5 April in the evening, at the audience that H.M. the Emperor of Russia gave the Senate.

After having received the homage of this body:

“A man who called himself my ally, said emperor Alexander, arrived in my states as an unjust aggressor; it is against him I waged war, not against France. I am the friend of the French people; that which you have just done indeed redoubles this sentiment; it is just, it is wise to give France strong and liberal institutions in accord with current enlightened thought. My allies and myself come only to protect the freedom of your decisions.”

The Emperor stopped a moment, and then H.M. continued, with the most touching emotion:

“As proof of this durable alliance I wish to enter into with your nation, I return to it all the French prisoners currently in Russia; the French government had already asked this, I accord it to the Senate after the resolutions it passed today.”

The Senate left, moved by feelings of the highest recognition and greatest admiration.

– The provisional government decreed that the Russian prisoners in France will immediately be released to H. Exc. the general-in-chief of the Russian armies, in recognition of the generosity of H.M. the emperor of Russia, who ordered the return of the French prisoners of war currently in his states.

(Extract of the journal des Débats)

– Sovereigns raised to the throne, rather than finding pleasure, as did Bonaparte in

Vienna, Berlin, or Moscow, at lodging in royal houses, choose private homes.

The emperor of Russia is lodging with the prince of Benevent;

The king of Prussia, with M. de Beauharnais;

The emperor of Austria, in a hotel contiguous to the Bourbon Elysée;

Prince Schwarzenberg, with general Sebastiani.

– We are assured that cardinal Maury has left his archbishopric in Paris to return to his diocese in Montefiascone, which for seven years has suffered from his absence.

– The provisional government has decreed that all funds be returned to the treasury that have been withdrawn from it and transferred to various points of the realm, following the orders of the sovereign, the forfeiture of whose throne was solemnly declared on 5 April, 1814.

– On 12 April, for the first time in 24 years, the capital enjoyed the presence of a prince of the royal house of France, of Monsieur, the count of Artois, brother of the king, lieutenant general of the realm. We shall provide the details of this memorable day.

– The provisional government has combined in the prefectures and under-prefectures the functions of the director-general, individual directors, general and special commissaries of the police.

Lyon, 17 April

A new horizon, finally, is opening up to our eyes, and is preparing France, overcome with military glory and with calamities, to forget the evils that have for twenty years torn her apart.

No town will have felt more than Lyon the benefit of this political resurrection, which was always the secret wish of all true Frenchmen, and for which our City in 1793 gave freely of its riches and of the purest of its blood.

Subject to the events like all Frenchmen, this town, it must be said, [illeg. obscured by stamp] found in several acts of the imperial government, particular subjects [illeg. obscured by stamp] but its old attachment to the blood of its masters had not changed, and durable feelings of affection for the legitimate Kings never ceased to accompany its memories.

The triumphal entry of the Allies in France; the words of peace and goodwill that preceded them; the reasonable hope that, to put an end to the enterprises of an ambition too well-known, they restored the more peaceful throne of the Bourbons; the impatient desire, finally, for repose from so many agitations and misfortunes, under the paternal authority of a legitimate sovereign, all this served to awaken the sentiments of a City that, during all times had been remarkable for the love of its Kings, and which it could no longer hide.

But just at the instant that the dawn of happiness and peace began to enlighten our horizon, paid agitators mingled amongst the ranks of the citizens; their aim was to brandish the torches of discord, to excite troubles, to sow suspicion: thus the public heard speak of a

true or false plan to arrest the magistrates of the City; it was even said that a general fire was to turn Lyon into a new Moscow, just like, later on, the explosion of the powder-magazine at Grenelle was to have reduced the capital to ashes.

Thanks to the tireless vigilance of the Mayor, and of the Adjunct chargé of police and of their worthy colleagues; thanks to the tireless zeal of the national guard and its respectable leaders; thanks finally to this good spirit, this love of order that still distinguishes our City, no attempt could even be tried, no discord for a single instant troubled the public tranquility, and our magistrates were proclaimed our saviors.

Finally, the sentiments of the good citizens exploded.

While the senate declared that Napoleon Bonaparte had forfeited his throne, and that it proposed, jointly with the provisional government, the return of the house of Bourbon to the crown of France, but while none of these great events were known to Lyons, cut off from outside communications, this town, without waiting for a signal other than its own attachment to the throne of the Bourbons, also declared and proclaimed the forfeiture of Bonaparte, the recognition of the legitimate sovereign, and enthusiastically hoisted the white banner, to which our fathers were always loyal, during reverses as well as victories.

The tale of what happened at Lyon under these circumstances is too honorable to our City, that we could not make it our duty to consign all of its details to our pages.

On 8 April the Mayor, Adjuncts and Municipal Council were convoked by the Mayor to deliberate on the present situation of France, and to express the noble and patriotic sentiments loudly manifested, under this circumstance, by the people of the second town of the realm, a town celebrated in history by its attachment to its legitimate sovereigns.

The Council, after a long and wise discussion, became convinced that the calamities weighing on France and Europe have their source in the unheard of levies of men that devoured the generations just as they succeeded each other; and which furnished Napoleon Bonaparte the constantly reborn means to wage an endless war; in these unconstitutional and arbitrary taxes, which ruin towns and the countryside, and which only served to increase, in his hands, the means of waging war; and, in one word, in a multitude of abuses born out of the daily violation of the constitutions.

It also became convinced that the unparalleled sacrifices of the Nation, self-imposed only with a view towards obtaining an honorable peace, and the testimony of interests heaped on such peace to support the dignity and rights of the state in the discussions that the pacification could require, were only employed by Napoleon Bonaparte to increase the ravages of war, to manifest excessive pretensions so that, finally, at Prague, Frankfurt, and Châtillon-sur-Seine, he opinionatedly refused the peace he had been offered, a peace that did not injure national honor.

The Council, above all, could not stop without pain before the picture of outrages committed against the freedom of all religions, by the acts of oppression under which, for so long, the Sovereign Pontiff of the catholic Church and several ministers of this religion, have

been groaning.

It recognized, finally

That all the bonds that had been able to form between Napoleon Bonaparte and his peoples, have been broken by himself;

That the happiness, repose and peace of the world cannot be conciliated while conserving Napoleon Bonaparte on the throne;

That the extraordinary circumstances that carried him there, and his passing occupation thereof, have not been able to alter the imprescriptible and sacred rights of the house of Bourbon to the crown of France,

And that the return of the legitimate heir of this august House to the throne of his ancestors, can alone re-establish the independence and union between the Sovereigns and the Peoples of Europe, reconcile France with the other nations, and meet the wishes of the French:

Because of these motives, and with the other considerations that the municipal Council has consigned to its deliberation,

It declared that it considers Napoleon Bonaparte and his family, natural or adoptive, as having forfeited every right or pretension to the throne of France;

And that Louis XVIII is recognized as the king of France.

It has, consequently, decreed that this declaration be proclaimed, from tomorrow on, with the customary solemnity; that the arms and colors of the Bourbons be hoisted in all the public places, and that this resolution then be communicated to H.R.H. the count of Artois, lieutenant-general of the realm.

This deliberation was accompanied with shouts, a thousand times repeated, of *long live the King! long live Louis XVIII.*

The proclamation decreed by the municipal Council is conceived as follows:

INHABITANTS OF LYON.

“You have constantly been the object of the paternal solicitude of your Magistrates. How satisfying it is for them today to be the spokesmen of their fellow Citizens under the important circumstances which are the focus of attention of Europe!”

“All Frenchmen can finally give free rein to their emotions, for so long compressed at the bottom of their hearts. The national outburst that manifested itself in the Capital, in many large Towns, and above all amongst yourselves, no longer permits us to suspend the public expression of wishes that we have not stopped making, with you, in silence.”

“Inhabitants of Lyon, you have always distinguished yourselves by your attachment to the legitimate sovereigns. With what enthusiasm will you not see the brother of the virtuous Monarch, whose misfortunes cost so many tears, remount the Throne of Saint Louis, Louis XII, and Henry IV!”

“The king has solemnly promised to maintain the great bodies of the state and all the

civil and judicial institutions; to maintain the sales of national properties; to ensure the complete liberty of religions; to deliver the religion of our fathers from the oppression under which it has suffered for too long; to abolish this conscription so odious to the French, so catastrophic to the world; to abolish these vexatious taxes so opposed to our habits, so open to abuse; to maintain in their positions all current occupants; to conserve, especially, the ranks and pay of the generals, officers and soldiers who, after having supported the honor of the French name with their exploits, will assure the happiness of the Fatherland by taking up ranks under the banner of the Lilies.”

“His Majesty, imbued with the sentiments that inspired the testament of his august Brother, orders the complete forgiveness of all past mistakes and errors; and who would dare seek vengeance when the King has pardoned?”

“With these good deeds, all the wounds of the state will be healed; through his wisdom, all the improvements, wrought over time and through the progress of enlightenment, will be guaranteed for us.”

“And what feelings of gratitude do we not owe those High Powers who return to us a sovereign we desire, who bring him into our midst as the guarantor of their benevolent and disinterested intentions!”

“Their proclamations have already informed us that, in penetrating our territory, they in no way intended to subject us to foreign domination; that a more noble ambition led them; that all they desired was to put an end to the evils of humanity, assure the tranquility of France and Europe on the basis of a peaceful and paternal government, tried and proven by centuries of glory and happiness.”

“Now we may stop a moment to consider this consoling thought, that the magnanimous promises of so many Sovereigns cannot be false. They will see no more in us than loyal subjects of their new ally; they will assuage in his favor, or rather put to an end the calamities of a war in future without object.”

“Inhabitants of this city once so flourishing, today so unhappy, hope also, based on faith in the recent declarations, that the guarantee of our national independence, the return of our colonies, the opening of our ports and the freedom of our commerce, will revive within these walls your active and hard-working industry, and with it your previous prosperity.”

“Eternal recognition to the august and generous Sovereigns, of which a league, without equal in history, will have as its only goal the reconstruction of the social edifice on more wisely combined proportions, and to hold up to the admiration of the Universe the spectacle of the largest European Family, united for centuries by the bonds of an immutable peace!”

“O citizens of Lyon! Do you not already feel your hearts comforted when you see the shining dawn of the beautiful days to come, for France! May the most perfect concord usher in this great and memorable era. May all the hate, all the dissensions be extinguished, and may a wise toleration produce the healing of all errors. Let us unite all our wishes in one single goal, the happiness of our fatherland; let us unite all our hearts in one single sentiment,

the love of our Monarch: let us hoist with enthusiasm this color that created the glory of our predecessors, and proclaim in unanimous concert LOUIS XVIII, father and savior of France.”

“LONG LIVE THE KING”

“Done in session on 8 April 1814.”

“*Signed*, d’Albon, mayor; baron Vauxonne, Charrier-Sainneville, Cazenove, de Laurencin, de Varax, adjuncts; Guerre, secretary, Arles, de Laroue, de Gatellier, de Lachassagne, d’Ambérieux, Grailhe-de-Montaima, Aynard, de Chaponay, Frèrejean, Masson-Mongez, de Ruolz, Falsan aîné, Bodin aîné, municipal councilors.”

On April 9, at the break of day, the white flag was flying on the highest tower of the Hôtel de Ville.

At one o’clock the Municipal Corps left the Hôtel de Ville in grand procession, accompanied by M. de la Roue, colonel-commandant of the national guard, to make public in the three principal squares of the city the deliberations and proclamations of the municipal administration.

The whole procession sported the white cockade and the white flag fluttered amongst its ranks.

Having arrived in the middle of the Place des Terreaux, the municipal Corps got out of their carriages and faced the spot once occupied, in the middle of the façade of the Hôtel de Ville, by the equestrian statue of king Henry IV, M. de Laurencin, one of the adjuncts, read to the assembled people the municipal proclamation.

The procession then proceeded, in the same order, to the place Saint-Jean.

The municipal Corps took its place in the square in front of the Saint-Jean basilica: there, in the midst of an immense crowd, and in the presence of God, protector of Kings and Peoples, the God of Saint-Louis, M. de Sainneville, one of the adjuncts, again read the proclamation in which the son of Saint-Louis is returned to the throne of his father.

The procession finally proceeded, still in the same order, to the Place de Bellecour.

The municipal Corps went to the spot once occupied by the equestrian statue of Louis the Great.

The Mayor, in the presence of an uncountable crowd of spectators of all ages and conditions, and of every gender, made public, with another reading, the municipal proclamation.

Each of these three proclamations was greeted with unanimous applause.

A thousand and one times the moving and patriotic cry was repeated of: long live Louis XVIII! long live the Allies! long live our Liberators!

Along with this applause, cries could also be heard of long live the Mayor, long live the Magistrates.

The procession returned, following the banks of the Rhône, to the Hôtel de Ville.

During the whole course of its march, from its departure to its return, it was accompanied by the same testimonials of love for the Bourbons, joy at their return to the throne, and recognition for the Allies, magnanimous authors of such a great good deed.

A meeting of the governor baron de Mylius, and the officers of the local general staff, with the municipal Corps, with several members of the city council and officers of the national guard, at a dinner improvised at the Hôtel commun became yet another feast through all the toasts made to Louis XVIII and the whole house of Bourbon, to the allied Powers, to the Brave Soldiers of all the armies, to the Peace of the world, and to our Magistrates.

The rest of this beautiful day was given over to the enthusiasm and rapture of the public joy.

For three days in succession a general and spontaneous illumination, an immense concourse of Citizens of every age, condition and gender, gathered in the streets and squares to continuously repeated cries of LONG LIVE THE KING, LONG LIVE THE ALLIES; the flag of the Bourbons flying in front of a multitude of houses; clever slogans decorating a multitude of windows; the unanimous enthusiasm of the whole City, those of the allied Army mixed like a people of brothers amongst the ranks of the inhabitants; the weather finally the best possible, everything came together to provide an unparalleled brilliance to a feast which for us will forever be the feast of France, of Europe, of humanity.²

Declaration of the general Council of the Department of the Rhône.

The general Council of the department, imbued with a profound sentiment of admiration at the sight of such a phenomenon, unprecedented in history, that today presents Europe with the most noble use of the right of victory, set in opposition to that catastrophic abuse of the power of arms, which for twenty years has cost France so much blood and so many tears, and ended by compromising the existence of a people reputed to be great and noble among all the peoples of the earth;

Certain that the High Powers will complete their work, that their promises will not be vain, and that their word is sacred;

Equally convinced that the temporary exercise of sovereign Power, torn from the house of Bourbon by a series of violent events hitherto unknown in the annals of our France, could not destroy the imprescriptible rights which give this august house the Scepter and the Crown;

² 1The authentic minutes of what transpired on the 8th and 9th of April, and the details of the day of the 10th, can be found with KINDELEM, printer, rue de Archevêché, nr. 3.

Not for once doubting that the events which bring us back to the natural and legitimate order of government, will at the same time return us, with the peace and the goods that accompany it, the forgetting of the past and the silencing of all sorts of resentment and vengeance;

And desiring to anticipate the happy moment when the Council will be permitted to voice in an authentic manner the sentiments of the inhabitants of the department Rhône and the previous provinces of the Lyonnais and the Beaujolais:

The general council unanimously recognizes H.M. Louis XVIII as the legitimate king of France and hastens, with its desire, the moment in which the Monarch will come into the midst of his people, take up again the exercise of a power that, in the hands of his ancestors, for so many centuries made for the glory and prosperity of the realm.

Decreed that the present declaration be delivered to the Prefect of the department.

Done in session, at Lyon, on 9 April 1814.

Signed immediately, Regny père, E. de Noblet, B.-F. Delhorme, de la Croix-d'Azolette, de Perex, de St-Fond, Faugier, Chanel, Willermoz, Desprez, Louis-Alexandre-Elizée de Monspey, president; Lacroix-de-Laval, secretary.

We, provisional Prefect of the department Rhône, joining our heart to the sentiments expressed by the council, command that the above declaration be printed, sent out and published in all the municipalities of the department; we call on all citizens to await with confidence and tranquillity the imminent return of our previous institutions, which will put to an end twenty-five years of discord and misfortune; we once again enjoin the Mayors, under their responsibility, to watch over the public and individual safety, and to inform us of all disorders and excesses, so as to deliver the perpetrators to the severity of the law.

Signed, DECOTTON

ORDER OF THE DAY

The Colonel-commandant of the royal urban Guard of Lyon, to the officers, noncommissioned officers and fusiliers of this guard.

For twelve years France and Europe, on the order of a single man, were inundated with blood and tears. A disastrous conscription devoured generations, so to speak, as they were born. The seas were prohibited for your vessels, external commerce to your speculations; colonial foodstuffs, unattainable due to their high price, for most citizens, drained individual

resources. Arbitrary tributes levied illegally, while stepping on the most sacred parts of your Constitutions, ruined all classes of citizens; vexatious taxes, varied under a thousand unusual forms, caused the despair of the greatest part of the population, and demoralized the rest. In the end there was no longer any balance among the Powers, no more independence, and no more repose for the peoples and nations.

The peoples and Nations took up arms against the author of so many evils.

He has succumbed.

His throne and power have crumbled.

The single and noble fruit that the allied powers want to retain from their victories is to return you to your freedom, to a legitimate power, to yourselves.

They did not want to treat for peace, neither with him who so many times had repulsed it, nor with any member of his family.

They will recognize and guarantee, they told you, the Constitution that the French nation will give itself.

Only one response is possible to such magnanimity; France and Europe expect it from a town upon which all eyes are fixed: that the Bourbons once again mount a throne that embodied the glory and happiness of the French for *fourteen centuries*; that the Bourbons usher in their return to supreme power with a prompt, solid and glorious peace, at the same time worthy of their generous allies, of their own wisdom, and of a valorous people who had not deserved its misfortunes; that the colors of the Bourbons will today serve as a testimony to the public gaiety and the rallying of all the French.

LONG LIVE THE KING.

There is one more memory, dear to my heart, that I cannot help but recall to yours:

Honor and glory, eternal memory of the brave citizens of Lyons that I had the privilege of commanding during the siege of our city in 1793, of which the constant cry under enemy fire, and all the way to the iron of the executioners, was the sacred cry that so deeply imbued the hearts of the good Frenchmen,

LONG LIVE THE KING.

Colonel-Commandant
De Laroue
Lyon, 11 April 1814

– The Court of Lyon has declared, in solemn session, that it unanimously supports the acts emanating from the Senate and the provisional Government, and has manifested the most ardent desire to finally see replaced on the throne of St. Louis, Henry IV and Louis

XVI, the august Princes of the race that for so many centuries made for the happiness of France, and the interruption of which brought so many evils to the fatherland.

– The order of barristers present at the audience has declared, through the voice of its president, M. Petit, that it enthusiastically supports the same acts and the decree of the court, having informed it of the same.

– The corps of attorneys at the Court, present at the same audience, made the same declaration through the voice of its president, M. Arthaud; the Court also having been informed of this.

– The civil Tribunal and the Tribunal of commerce, and the attorneys of the first instance, also declared their support.

– The royal academy of *sciences, literature and arts of Lyon*, delivered to the provisional Prefect, via a deputation, a deliberation made on 12 April, following an extraordinary convocation, containing the expression of sentiments of joy and high spirits with which this company is imbued, for the happy events which have served to restore the throne of the Bourbons, and which have returned to the French their legitimate king, an august protector of the letters and sciences. The deputation requested that this act be delivered to the provisional Government.

– The royal academy of *Agriculture, Natural History and useful Arts* of Lyon, manifested the same sentiments and the same wish, by means of a deliberation that a deputation also submitted to the provisional Prefect.

Tomorrow a solemn *Te Deum* will be sung at the archbishop's Church, as an act of gratitude for the happy events which return to the throne the legitimate Sovereign, and to the French a father.

Paris, 11 April.

From Châlons to Livry H.R.H. has everywhere received the benediction of the peoples. At his arrival in Châlons, the town was spontaneously illuminated: all along the route the peasants and mayors crowded around H. Royal H. At Livry, a large number of national guards come from the neighboring places and from Paris assembled on the esplanade of the castle. H.R.H. descended [from his carriage] to pass the review, and spoke to them with profound compassion. They broke ranks and surrounded his person, professing the deepest expressions of veneration and love.

– It was on Holy Wednesday that Monsieur received, at Nancy, the first news of the great events of Paris. H.R.H. was in the dark at that moment. M. De Bombell, sent by the Emperor of Austria, arrived at Nancy to compliment H.H. in the name of H.I.M. and to present him with a white cockade.

– The commissioners charged with the powers of Mgr. the count of Artois went to see M. Desèze, the day before yesterday, on behalf of that prince, to ask him to pass on to the

order of barristers the testimony of his particular esteem for that order, and to assure it that he would not interrogate the opinion of its members, because he knew of their loyalty to their legitimate monarch, and was certain of it.

– The persons commissioned by the previous government and who have left their post since the late events, will only be able to resume their functions following a new appointment.

– MM. Mathieu and Adrien de Montmorency, Charles de Luxembourg and Alexis de Noailles yesterday had the honor of dining with H.M. the Emperor of Russia. M. Bellart, member of the municipal council and author of the address of this council, was today given the same honor.

– It was at Fontainebleau that Bonaparte suddenly saw the scepter he had usurped fall from his hands; it was there that his fate was accomplished, and that that superb dominator of nations became their subject and captive; he is now locked up in the same palace where not long ago he detained the august and venerable head of the church; an invisible hand has struck this enemy of religion at the very place where, with his impious hands, he had struck the father of the believers, the representative of God on earth.

From the printshop of J.B. Kindelem, rue de l'Archevêché.

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International Napoleonic Society



Napoleonic Scholarship: The Journal of the International Napoleonic Society is a peer-reviewed, scholarly journal published each winter by the INS. We solicit articles that cover every aspect of Napoleonic history from any point of view. We especially encourage articles that deal with military, political, diplomatic, social, economic, musical, artistic aspects of that epoch. Selected papers from INS Congresses will also be published in the journal. We also encourage submission of important translated materials and reviews of new books.

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INS Congresses

The International Napoleonic Society hosts academic International Napoleonic Congresses around the world. These congresses attract scholars and students from a wide range of backgrounds, giving them the opportunity to meet and share the results of their research. Here are Congresses we have hosted in the past as well as those planned for the near future:

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Vienna, Austria July 9-15, 2018

Napoleon and Germany

Trier, Germany July 10-14, 2017

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In cooperation with the Government of Ireland, Trinity College Dublin
and The Napoleon Society of Ireland

Dublin, Ireland 11-16 July 2016

Endings and Beginnings: The World in 1815

Brussels, Belgium

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Brussels, Belgium 6-10 July 2015

Napoleon and Revolutions Around the World

In association with *La Muséo Napoleonico* and
the *Office of the Historian of the City of Havana*

Havana, Cuba 7-11 July 2014

Old World, New World: Momentous Events of 1812 – 1814

Toronto, Canada 29 July-2 August 2013

Napoleon's 1812 Russian Campaign in World History: A Retrospective View

In cooperation with the Institute of World History (Russian Academy of Science)
Russian State University for the Humanities, Association Dialogue Franco-Russe
State Borodino War and History Museum and Reserve
Moscow, Russian Federation 9-13 July 2012

Napoleonic Europe at its Peak

In cooperation with the Foundation Top of Holland (City marketing Den Helder),
The City of Den Helder, The Royal Netherlands Navy and Fort Kijkduin
Den Helder, The Netherlands 4-8 July 2011

Napoleon and the Transition to the Modern World

San Anton, Malta, 12-16 July 2010

Napoleon, Europe and the World

In cooperation with the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts
Montréal, Québec, Canada 8-12 June 2009

Napoleon and the Mediterranean

In cooperation with the City of Ajaccio, the General Council of Southern Corsica, and
the Territorial Collective of Corsica
Ajaccio, Corsica, France 7-11 July 2008

Napoleon and Poland 1807 - 2007

In cooperation with the
Ślupsk Pedagogical Academy and the Polish Historical Society
Ślupsk, Poland 1-5 July 2007

Imperial Glory: Austerlitz and Europe in 1805

In cooperation with the city of Dinard, France
Dinard, France 9-16 July 2005

Napoleon's Campaigns and Heritage

In cooperation with the Napoleonic Society of Georgia
Tbilisi, Georgia 12-18 June 2000

Napoleon and the French in Egypt and the Holy Land 1799 - 1801

In cooperation with the Israeli Society for Napoleonic Research
Tel Aviv, Yafo, Jerusalem, Acco 4-10 July 1999

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1. Articles are published in English and uses American, not British spellings and punctuation.
2. The typical maximum length of the paper, including notes, is usually limited to twenty-five (25) double-spaced manuscript pages.
3. Photographs and illustrations may be included. We cannot accept slides or transparencies nor can we accept anything directly from a third party (such as a Museum). The author is also responsible for securing any required permissions. These must be sent in with the final version of the paper. In addition, we may include relevant images from our collections.
4. Please place diacritical marks carefully and clearly.
5. Please translate all quotes into English (although you may want to include the original text in a footnote, especially if the translation is a matter of interpretation).
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Computer Instructions

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Style Sheet

1. With minor exceptions, we follow the 15th edition of the Chicago Manual of Style. See Chapter 17, pp. 485-510 for detailed instructions on acceptable note citations.
2. Omit publisher's name and "p." or "pp." except where needed for clarity.
3. Use Roman numerals to designate volume number, but use Arabic numerals for journal volumes. (See below)
4. Use abbreviated references in the second and subsequent citations of a work. (If they are in sequence "Ibid." can be used, but not preferred).
5. Do not underline Latin abbreviations.
6. Use "passim" only after inclusive page numbers indicating a reasonable stretch of text or after a reference to a chapter, part, etc.
7. Use "idem" only when several works by the same author are cited within one note.
8. Avoid use of "f." and "ff." and other unusual abbreviations.
9. Do not use "ob.cit." or "loc.cit." Use an abbreviated reference instead (see #4).
10. Use English terms, not French ones, for bibliographic details. i.e. "vol." not "tome."
11. In notes and references do not use "cf." (compare) when you mean, "see." "Cf." is appropriate only when you really mean "compare."
12. Dates should be in format day, month, year. I.e. 16 July 1971.
13. Please note the correct format for the Correspondence of Napoleon and Wellington as well as the archival citations.

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When citing books, the following are elements you may need to include in your bibliographic citation for your first footnote or endnote and in your bibliography, in this order:

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2. Title;
3. Compiler, translator or editor (if both an editor and an editor are listed);
4. Edition;
5. Name of series, including volume or number used;
6. Place of publication, publisher and date of publication;
7. Page numbers of citation (for footnote or endnote).

For periodical (magazine, journal, newspaper, etc.) articles, include some or all of the following elements in your first footnote or endnote and in your bibliography, in this order:

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2. Article title;
3. Periodical title;
4. Volume or Issue number (or both);
5. Publication date;
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For *online periodicals*, add:

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8. Database name, URL and date of access. (If available, include database publisher and city of publication.)

For websites:

If you need to cite an entire website in your bibliography, include some or all of the following elements, in this order:

1. Author or editor of the website (if known)
2. Title of the website
3. URL
4. Date of access

For an article available in more than one format (print, online, etc.), cite whichever version you used (although the printed version is preferable).

SAMPLES

Books:

¹Donald D. Horward, *Napoleon and Iberia: The Twin Sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, 1810* (London: Greenhill Books, 1994), 80.

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¹Peter F. Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804, vol. 2 of A History of East Central Europe*, gen. eds., Peter F. Sugar and Donald Treadgold (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977), 146.

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²Napoleon to Clarke, 19 September 1810, *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, No. 16923, XXI, 127.

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¹Wellington to Liverpool, 28 March 1810, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, *The Dispatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington* (London: J. Murray 1838), V, 604-06.

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¹Grenville to Thomas Grenville, 15 June 1797, British Library, London [hereafter BL], Thomas Grenville Papers, Add. MSS. 51852.

²Grenville to Thomas Grenville, 15 June 1797, BL, Thomas Grenville Papers, Add. MSS. 51852.

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²Augereau to Schérer, 26 prairial an III (14 June 1795), SHD, Correspondance: Armée des Pyrénées-Orientales, Carton B4 142.

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¹France, Archives Nationales, AF IV, MSS, Carton 1311, dossier 1807, "Tableau des domaines dont Sa Majesté a disposé par décret du 30 juin 1807," Ordre No 4.

²Dom João to Bonaparte, 23 May 1803, Archives Nationales, AF IV, Carton 1689, dossier 2.

Archives Étrangères:

¹Lannes to Talleyrand, 14 November 1801, France, Archives Diplomatiques, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, [hereafter Affaires Étrangères], Correspondance politique: Portugal, MSS, vol. 122.

²Souza to Talleyrand, 1 September 1802, Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance politique: Portugal, vol. 123.

Wellington Papers:

¹Wellington to Stewart, 7 February 1810, Wellington Papers, University of Southampton, [hereafter WP], No. 11304.

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If you have any questions, please contact:

Wayne Hanley

Department of History

West Chester University

West Chester, PA 19383

Email: whanley@wcupa.edu

Telephone: (610) 436-2201

FAX: 610-436-3069

