

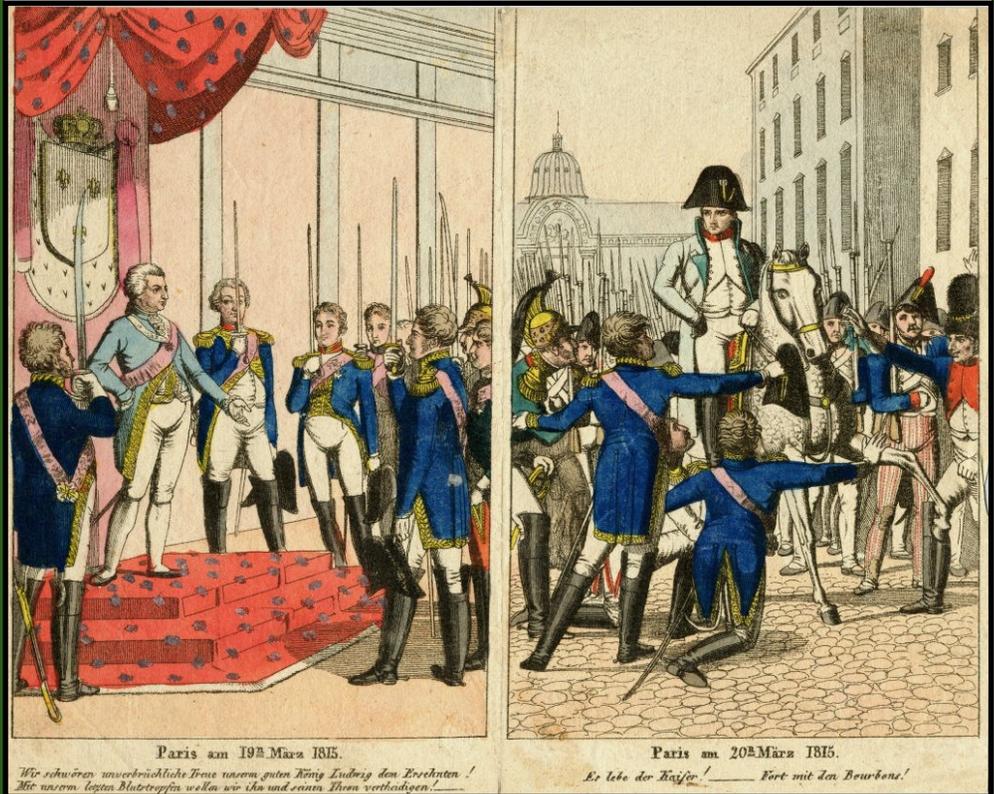
# THE NAPOLEONIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEWSLETTER



June—July 2022

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### Paris on the 19<sup>th</sup> March 1815

We swear unbreakable loyalty to our good King Ludwig the Longed For!  
We want to defend him and his throne with our last drop of blood!

### Paris on the 20<sup>th</sup> March 1815

Long live the Kaiser! - Away with the Bourbons!

Caricature of Louis XVIII and Napoleon I. Illustrator— Johann Michael Voltz, Nuremberg Germany 1815. Colored etching on paper 16.9 x 21.3 cm. Courtesy of the Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, Leipzig. Link to the museum [here](#).

## UPDATE ON THE 2022 NAPOLEONIC CONFERENCE

**August 11-14, 2022**

NHS Conference at the Fairmont Le Chateau Frontenac, Quebec City, Quebec, Canada

## NAPOLEONIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEWSLETTER

Welcome to the June-July 2022 issue of the NHS Newsletter. Please note the upcoming NHS Annual Conference in Quebec City, Canada. I am sure it will be an outstanding conference and I encourage you all to come to a very historical city in Canada.

I have a special article about a Napoleonic medal museum in Castiglione Fiorentino and Arezzo, Italy, far from the clamor of Rome. They are beautiful must-see towns and are just as you would imagine a small Italian town to be. *Bellissimo!*

I hope you enjoy this issue and Vive l'Empereur!

*Edna Markham, NHS Editor and Membership Director*

## NHS Conference 2022 Quebec City, Canada — Tentative Schedule August 11-14

### Introduction

Every year the Napoleonic Historical Society sponsors a weekend-long Napoleonic Conference, where our members can meet each other and participate in a series of lectures, seminars and social events honoring the Emperor and his achievements. Although the presentations at this event often reflect the latest historical research on the period, the conference is more than just an academic gathering: the location changes each year, and the meeting site is always chosen for its historical and entertainment opportunities. Good fellowship abounds, and the meals reflect the attention to cuisine that is such a significant part of French culture. This year the conference will be at the Chateau Frontenac in the historical old quarter of Québec City, Canada.

**CONFERENCE PACKAGE** consists of the Friday evening dinner with speaker, Saturday conference talks & Saturday night Formal Banquet with speaker.

- Cost per person: **TBD** soon

### Tentative Schedule of Events

The conference itself is from August 12-14th, but we also have some other events that occur before the conference start.

#### **Thursday August 11th 7:00 pm:**

#### **Optional Dinner at a French Restaurant in the Old City**

Some restaurants under consideration are:

[Le Saint Amour](#) and [Chez Boulay Bistro Boreal](#).

**Maximum 24 people... You must register for the Dinner**

- Dinner will be A LA CARTE
- Each person or couple will pay for their own dinner & beverages
- Register by emailing Victor Eiser at [victor.eiser@yahoo.com](mailto:victor.eiser@yahoo.com)

#### **Friday Aug 12th 1:00 pm:**

Board Meeting at Chateau Frontenac, Gouverneurs room

- Required for the Board of Directors to attend, optional for members

#### **Friday Aug 12th 6:00 pm:**

Buffet Dinner at Chateau Frontenac – Le Cellier Room

- The "Cellier du Château", an exclusive reception room with a sublime decor, reminiscent of the most beautiful wine cellars in the world! With a storefront in the former SAQ Terroirs d'ici, it is the perfect place to hold banquets and cocktail parties.
- Buffet menu TBD, and a cash bar.
- Dinner speakers: **David Markham & Sebastien Larivée on Napoleonic Erotica.**



#### **Saturday Aug 13th 8:30-12:00 pm & 1:00-4:00 pm:**

Conference Presentations at Chateau Frontenac – Place D'Armes Room

- Tea & coffee
- Lunch on your own, there are many restaurants in the hotel or within easy walking distance.



## NHS Conference 2022 Quebec City, Canada — Tentative Schedule August 11-14

- Speakers & topics may include: **Alexander Mikaberidze** (Mikhail Kutuzov's leadership & tactics in 1812), **Peter Twist** (French Cavalry at Waterloo), **Shannon Selin**, **Susan Jaques**, **Alexandre deBothuri**, **Chipp Reid**, **Jack Gill** and others. Final speakers to be determined.

### Saturday Aug 13th 5:00-6:00 pm:

Cocktail Reception Chateau Frontenac – Haldimand Veranda

- Cash bar and hors d'oeuvres

### Saturday Aug 13th 6:00-10:00 pm:

Formal Banquet Chateau Frontenac – Haldimand Room

- 3-4 course dinner with several main course choices, menu to be determined, champagne, wine, coffee, tea, plus a cash bar
- Dinner speaker: **Marc Schneider as Napoleon**
- Medal of Honor Presentation to Todd Fisher

### Sunday Aug 14th morning, time TBD:

Optional Traditional “Quebecois Sugar Cabin Brunch”:

#### [Resto La Buche](#)

- 49 rue St-Louis, Old City Quebec
- Served from 8:00am to 2:00pm
- Brunch will be A LA CARTE
- Each person or couple will pay for their own food & beverage
- Register by emailing Victor Eiser at [victor.eiser@yahoo.com](mailto:victor.eiser@yahoo.com)

### Sunday Aug 14th Optional Bus Tour of Quebec City & Environs

- Details TBD

### Sunday Aug 14th 7:00 pm:

Optional dinner at [Le Continental](#)

- 26 rue St-Louis, Old Québec
- Le Continental's experienced staff provide service tableside. From a scrumptious Caesar salad prepared under your eyes to a Chateaubriand or even an orange duckling carved before you in accordance with your wishes. Flambéed shrimps, sirloin steak to fillet mignon of beef are just a few of the choices the elaborated menu offers. Right through dessert time, be tempted by extraordinary crêpes Suzette or delicious Pernod pears.

- **Maximum 24 people... You must register for the Dinner**
- Dinner will be A LA CARTE
- Each person or couple will pay for their own dinner & beverages
- Register by emailing Victor Eiser at [victor.eiser@yahoo.com](mailto:victor.eiser@yahoo.com)

### **Hotel Information**

#### [Fairmont Le Château Frontenac](#),

1 rue des Carrières, Québec City, Québec,

Canada G1R 4P5 reservations: 1-866-540-4460

Please use discount code **NHS2022** to make your own hotel reservations. We have guaranteed a small block of 25-30 rooms, so the sooner you make your reservation, the better your chance of getting our special rate! You will receive an automated confirmation letter for your reservation.

This heritage urban resort will seduce you with its breathtaking views of the St. Lawrence River and the architecture of the Old fortified City, designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site. In any one of its 610 guestrooms and suites, you will feel an elegant touch of historic Europe. Your experience at this landmark luxury hotel will guarantee you a memorable and inspiring stay in one of the most beautiful, and walkable, cities in the world. The rooms and suites have a contemporary decor while keeping a historical cachet. The unparalleled comfort of the rooms transforms all types of trips into unforgettable memories.

Our Preferential Code **NHS2022** is good for any dates from August 10-15 for the following room rates (per night, pn):

- Fairmont room CAD \$349/pn (apx US \$272/pn)
- Deluxe City view CAD \$389/pn (apx US \$304/pn)
- Deluxe River view CAD \$429/pn (apx US \$335/pn)
- Studio CAD \$469/pn (apx US \$366/pn)
- Signature room or Junior Suite CAD \$489/pn (apx US \$382/pn)
- Frontenac Suite \$599/pn (apx US \$467/pn)

**Deadline for securing the Special Room Rate is Tuesday July 8, 2022.**

# THE NAPOLEONIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEWSLETTER

## NHS Conference 2022 Quebec City, Canada — Tentative Schedule August 11-14



## News Release from the Fondation Napoléon



### **Press Communiqué, 17 May 2022**

Free online access to the General Correspondence of Napoleon on the Napoleonica® les archives website ([www.napoleonica.org](http://www.napoleonica.org))

As of 17 May 2022, the Napoleonica® les archives website ([www.napoleonica.org](http://www.napoleonica.org)) will be offering free access to the first volume of the Correspondance générale de Napoléon Bonaparte. The fourteen other volumes will be online before the end of 2023, representing a total of 4 500 letters. This operation is part of the Fondation's first "semantic web" experiment characterised by a powerful search engine and, eventually, interoperability between different services, including those outside the Fondation Napoléon.

This first volume is devoted to the young Bonaparte's years of apprenticeship (1784-1797)

and it was published on paper in early 2004. Many letters discovered since the publication of the book volume have been added to this corpus, which now contains 2,647 annotated letters.

### **Napoleon's Correspondence: a marathon academic enterprise**

The ambitious project to publish the massive general correspondence of Napoleon Bonaparte was launched by the Fondation Napoléon in 2002, in collaboration with Fayard Editions, and it came to a close in 2016 with the "paper" publication of volume 15. As originally planned, this project is now being extended

by making the correspondence available free of charge on a website specialising in the publication of archival documents.

### **Napoleonica® les archives: digital power in research and heritage**

The website [napoleonica.org](http://napoleonica.org) makes original archive documents relating to the First and Second Empire available on the web, usually in the context of partnerships between the Fondation Napoléon, and institutions or individuals who hold the archives and documents. The site is bilingual French-English and it is aimed at researchers and the general public. Consultation of the site and the printing and downloading of documents are entirely free. The integrated search engine allows full-text searches, both within each of the individual collections and also across all of the individual collections.

All volumes of the Correspondence will be available online by the end of 2023.

### **Nearly 25 years of Internet experience**

The Fondation Napoléon has been present on the internet since the mid-1990s. As for its recent activity, it put its institutional website ([fondationnapoleon.org](http://fondationnapoleon.org)) online in 2015, the fourth version of its general history site ([napoleon.org](http://napoleon.org)) in 2016, a new database of its collection ([napoleon.arteia.com/artworks](http://napoleon.arteia.com/artworks)) in 2017, its libraries portal ([bibliotheque-martial-lapeyre.napoleon.org](http://bibliotheque-martial-lapeyre.napoleon.org)) in 2018, and the new version of its archive site ([napoleonica.org](http://napoleonica.org)) in 2020.

### **Timeline:**

- 2004-2015: publication of the Correspondance générale de Napoléon Bonaparte: 15 volumes, 40 500 annotated letters
- 2020: complete overhaul of the Napoleonica® les archives website launched in 2000
- 2022: the first volume of the Correspondence put

## News Release from the Fondation Napoléon

online at [www.napoleonica.org](http://www.napoleonica.org)

- 2023: the entire Correspondence will be available online at [www.napoleonica.org](http://www.napoleonica.org)

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### Excerpt: Letter #2

Napoléon à Charles Bonaparte<sup>1</sup>

*Brienne, 12 ou 13 septembre 1784*

Mon cher Père,

Votre lettre comme vous le pensez bien ne m'a pas fait beaucoup de plaisir ; mais la raison et les intérêts de votre santé et de la famille qui me sont fort chères, m'ont fait louer votre prompt retour en Corse et m'ont consolé tout à fait<sup>1</sup>.

[D'ailleurs]<sup>2</sup>, étant assuré de la continuation de vos bontés et de votre attachement et empressement à me faire sortir et à seconder ce qui peut me faire plaisir, comment ne serais-je pas bien aise et content ? Cela étant. Au reste je m'empresse de vous demander des nouvelles des effets que les eaux ont faits sur votre santé et de vous assurer de mon respectueux attachement et de mon éternelle reconnaissance.

Je suis charmé que Joseph [soit] venu en Corse avec vous, pourvu qu'il soit ici le 1er de novembre, ou aux environs de cette époque. Joseph peut venir ici, parce que le père Patrauld, mon maître de mathématiques, que vous [connaissiez], ne partira point. En conséquence, monsieur le Principal<sup>3</sup> m'a chargé de vous assurer qu'il sera

très bien reçu ici et qu'en toute sûreté il peut venir. Le père Patrauld est un [excellent] maître de mathématiques et il m'a assuré particulièrement qu'il s'en chargerait avec plaisir, et si mon frère veut travailler, nous pourrons aller ensemble à l'examen [d'artillerie]. Vous n'aurez aucune démarche à faire pour moi puisque je suis élève. Simplement il faudrait en faire pour Joseph, mais puisque vous avez une lettre pour lui, tout est dit. Aussi, mon cher père, j'espère que vous préférerez le placer à Brienne [plutôt qu'] à Metz<sup>4</sup> pour plusieurs raisons :

1° Parce que cela sera une consolation pour Joseph, Lucciano et moi ;

2° Parce que vous serez obligé d'écrire au Principal de Metz, ce qui tardera encore parce qu'il vous faudra attendre sa réponse ;

3° Il n'est pas ordinaire à Metz d'apprendre ce qu'il faut que Joseph sache pour l'examen en six mois ; en conséquence, comme mon frère ne [sait] rien en mathématiques, on le mettrait avec des enfants ce qui le [dégoûterait]. Ces raisons et beaucoup d'autres doivent vous engager à [l'envoyer] ici ; d'autant plus qu'il sera [mieux]. Ainsi j'espère qu'avant la fin d'octobre j'embrasserai Joseph. Du reste, il peut fort bien ne partir de Corse que les 26 ou 27 d'octobre, pour être ici le 12 ou 13 de novembre prochain.

Je vous prie de me faire passer Boswell (Histoire de Corse)<sup>5</sup> avec d'autres histoire ou mémoire touchant ce royaume<sup>6</sup>. Vous n'avez rien à craindre ; j'en aurais soin et les ramènerai en Corse avec moi quand j'y viendrai, [fût-ce] dans six ans.

Adieu, mon cher père, [chevalier]<sup>7</sup> vous embrasse de [tout] son cœur. Il [travaille] fort bien, il a fort bien [su] à l'exercice publique. Monsieur l'inspecteur<sup>8</sup> sera ici le 15 ou 16 au plus tard de ce

## News Release from the Fondation Napoléon

mois [c'est-à-dire] dans 3 jours. Aussitôt qu'il sera parti, je vous manderai ce qu'il m'a [dit]. Présentez mes respects à Minana Zaveria<sup>9</sup>, Zia Gertura<sup>10</sup>, Zio Nicolino<sup>11</sup>, Zia Touta<sup>12</sup>, etc. Mes compliments à Minana Francesca<sup>13</sup>, Santo<sup>14</sup>, Juana<sup>15</sup>, Orazio<sup>16</sup>; je vous prie d'avoir soin d'eux. Donnez-moi de leurs nouvelles et dites-moi s'ils sont à leur aise. Je finis en vous souhaitant une aussi bonne santé que la mienne.<sup>17</sup>

Votre très humble et très obéissant T[rès] C[hrétien] et fils de Buonaparte, l'arrière-cadet.

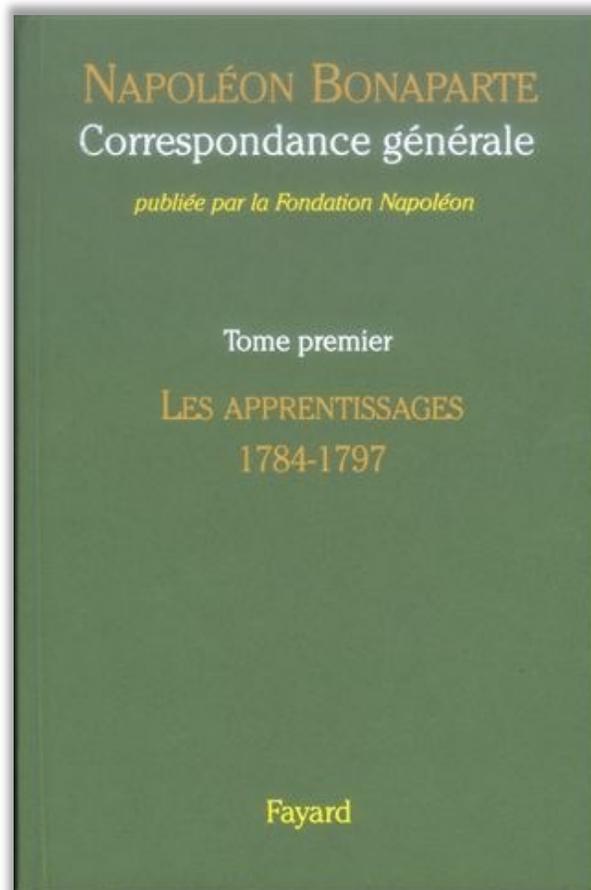
### Endnotes

1. En raison de son état de santé, Charles Bonaparte a annulé la visite qu'il avait prévu de rendre à Napoléon et Lucien à Brienne avant de regagner la Corse avec Joseph.
2. Mot incertain.
3. Le père Louis-Sébastien Berton.
4. Napoléon semble s'être fait à l'idée du changement de vocation de son frère aîné. Finalement, Joseph n'ira ni à Brienne ni à Metz et resta en Corse.
5. L'écossais James Boswell a publié en 1768 un compte rendu de son voyage en Corse, *Account of a tour to Corsica*, popularisant les révolutions de Corse et le personnage de Pascal Paoli (Voir Antoine-Marie Graziani, *Pascal Paoli, Père de la patrie corse*, 2002, chapitre X).
6. Bonaparte envisage d'écrire une Histoire de la Corse.
7. Le chevalier est le cadet d'une famille noble, ici Lucien.
8. Reynaud des Monts. Il doit donner son accord à l'intégration de Bonaparte à l'École militaire de Paris.
9. On ne peut dire avec précision de qui il s'agit. Si Minana veut bien dire « grand-mère » dans une bonne partie de la Corse et si la grand-mère paternelle de Napoléon s'appelait bien Maria Saveria Pallavicini, elle était décédée en 1749 ou 1750. Son époux, Giuseppe Maria Bonaparte, s'est remarié en 1750 à Maria Virginia Alata. Il s'agit plus vraisemblablement d'un emploi

« affectueux », comme dans « ziu » ou « zia » (oncle et tante), pour une personne proche.

10. Gertrude Paravicini est la tante paternelle de Napoléon, ainsi que sa marraine.
11. Nicolo Paravicini, mari de Gertrude.
12. Probablement la cousine de Letizia, Antoinette Benielli.
13. Non identifié.
14. Non identifié.
15. Peut-être Giovanna Ilari, fille de Marie François Ilari, nourrice de Napoléon.
16. Peut-être Ignazio Ilari, fils de sa nourrice Marie François et ami d'enfance.
17. Expédition autographe, Archives nationales, 400 AP 137.

### Volume I: Les apprentissages, 1784-1797



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

by William L. Chew III

William L. Chew III recently retired as 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 host of topics from history to travel literature and education.

This is the second of a two part series about John Quincy Adams' experiences in Europe during the Napoleonic age.



### 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> A search through *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life* reveals no dissertations and academic journal articles on the subject, either. As for the three top scholarly monographs on the Hundred Days, Adams is again conspicuous through his absence.<sup>4</sup>

Adams' diary for this period amounts to 42,000 words, or some 55 single-space pages, in my transcription from the digital facsimile.<sup>5</sup> In an earlier study, I looked at Adams the traveler and tourist.<sup>6</sup> 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

## From Our Correspondent: Top U.S Diplomat Witnesses Return of Emperor, (continued)

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.”<sup>7</sup> 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 [...] Americans were everywhere treated with kindness and respect.”<sup>8</sup> So much for Adams’ tendency.

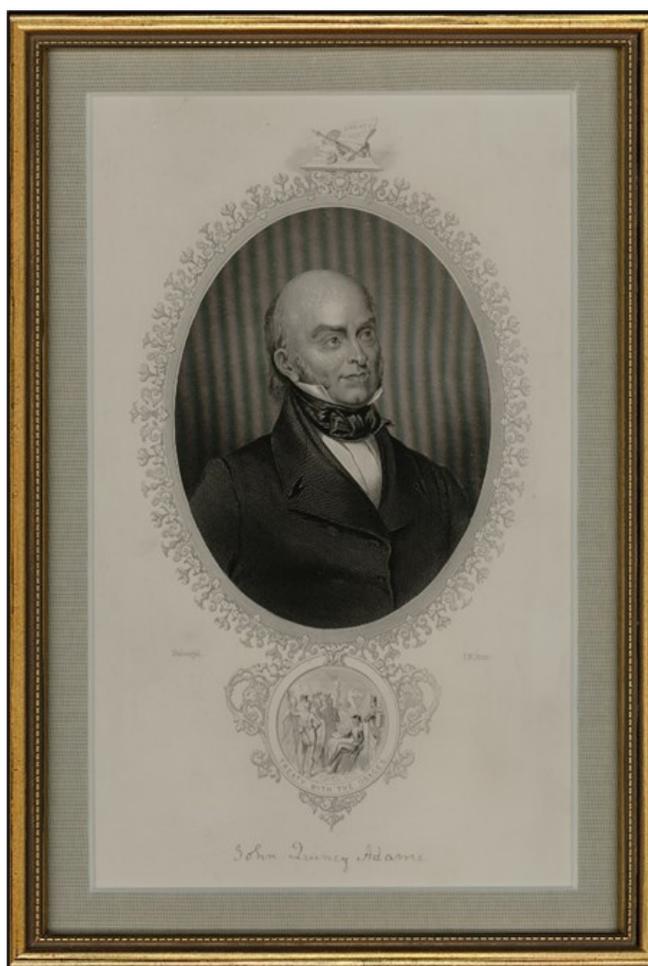
### *Adams and the Hundred Days*

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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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



### From Our Correspondent: Top U.S Diplomat Witnesses Return of Emperor, (continued)

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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> It was not until the 7<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup>

On the 11<sup>th</sup> Adams learning from a fellow diplomat that Bonaparte was within eight leagues of Lyons, which alarming turn of events prompted his neighbor, a certain Count de Sant Antonio, whose wife was English, to leave the city post-haste. By the 15<sup>th</sup>, it would be impossible to find any free cabriolets for hire in all of Paris.<sup>14</sup> Adams soon discerned signs of a general exodus in the making.<sup>15</sup> Specifically, the English community soon left.<sup>16</sup> That night at the theater he saw further indications of a growing panic and heard various rumors feeding the general anxiety. Between the 7<sup>th</sup> and Napoleon’s entry on the 20<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>17</sup> Adams noted the famous song “Henri IV,” celebrating the king who had delivered France from civil war during the 16<sup>th</sup> 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!”<sup>18</sup>

Meanwhile—though the news had not yet reached Paris—March 7<sup>th</sup> 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 5<sup>th</sup> Infantry, who immediately turned—a harbinger of the rest of the army’s attitude.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> On the 9<sup>th</sup>, Napoleon left Grenoble with some 6,000-7,000 troops, taking the high road in his coach, as stealth was no longer necessary.<sup>21</sup> 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 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.*”<sup>22</sup> Adams and his liberal friends—notably Lafayette—had their doubts.

On the 12<sup>th</sup>, the news of Napoleon’s entry in Lyons reached the Court, finally provoking real concern, though no clear plan of action emerged.<sup>23</sup> 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

### From Our Correspondent: Top U.S Diplomat Witnesses Return of Emperor, (continued)

news of the reality of his triumphal entry into the city had arrived, creating a first panic.<sup>24</sup>

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."<sup>25</sup> 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 12<sup>th</sup>, the populace got out of hand and "two or three poor buggers" were beaten to death, the guards intervening to prevent further violence.<sup>26</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup>, the Allies declared Napoleon an outlaw, and by the 16<sup>th</sup>, 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."<sup>27</sup> By the 15<sup>th</sup>, Paris seemed to have recovered its aplomb and Adams again met with Gallatin, Lafayette, and Bielefeld to

discuss developments. The "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."<sup>28</sup> Yet these enthusiastic volunteers were just a motley crew incapable of opposing seasoned veterans.<sup>29</sup> 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."<sup>30</sup> 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."<sup>31</sup> This assessment would soon prove to be nothing less than naive.

On 13 March, the Allies formally declared the Emperor an outlaw.<sup>32</sup> 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

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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 [...]”<sup>33</sup> 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 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.”<sup>34</sup> When all was said and done, the Declaration, according to Adams, would plunge Europe back into general war.

On the evening of the 15<sup>th</sup>, 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.”<sup>35</sup>

The next few days, until Napoleon’s triumphant entry on the 20<sup>th</sup>, witnessed a further succession of dramatic events. The first of these took place on the 16<sup>th</sup>, 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.<sup>36</sup> And later that evening, Louis learned of Ney’s desertion.<sup>37</sup>

Adams is mute (for the moment) on the *séance royale*, his mind focused on the Emperor’s imminent arrival in the capital. On the 18<sup>th</sup>, 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 19<sup>th</sup>, 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.”<sup>38</sup>

By the 19<sup>th</sup> it was clear to all that the army was flocking to Napoleon in droves, and the Emperor

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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 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 17<sup>th</sup>, he had reached Auxerre, a bare hundred miles from the capital.<sup>39</sup> 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.”<sup>40</sup> 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 return to the royal authority.”<sup>41</sup> More surprisingly, as late as the 19<sup>th</sup> 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 shaken.”<sup>42</sup> 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

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Buonaparte will enter Paris as he entered Lyons, without opposition; but that the inevitable consequence will be a foreign and civil war.”<sup>43</sup>

By the evening of the 19<sup>th</sup>, 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 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.”<sup>44</sup>

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.”<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> 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 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!”<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> Witness Adams’ entry for the 20<sup>th</sup>:

[...] 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. [...] 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

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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 Calottins<sup>49</sup>

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-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.<sup>50</sup>

Adams now maintained that the general opinion was

such that it was expected in a 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.”<sup>51</sup>

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.”<sup>52</sup> 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 song. The actor “came forward and said they could read nothing without first shewing it to the Officer of the Police.”<sup>53</sup>

By the 23<sup>rd</sup>, 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.”<sup>54</sup> 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

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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 immense.”<sup>55</sup> 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.”<sup>56</sup> 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.”<sup>57</sup> 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.<sup>58</sup>

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 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.<sup>59</sup> 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,

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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 [...]”<sup>60</sup> This 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.”<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup>

#### **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 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

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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.

### Endnotes

1. An 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.
2. Paul 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).

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3. Samuel F. Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of America Foreign Policy* (New York: Knopf, 1965), 221-223.
4. Gregor 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/](http://www.masshist.org/Adamsdiaries/). Hereinafter cited as JQA Diary, followed by the date of entry.
6. William L. Chew III, "John Quincy Adams: American Tourist in Paris, 1815," *Napoleonica. La Revue* 18 (décembre 2013): 84-125.
7. Adams 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.
8. Adams to John Adams, 24 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 307.
9. See De Waresquiel, 117.
10. Lentz, 298-99. Cf. Dallas, 287.
11. De Waresquiel, 133-36.
12. De Waresquiel, 181-85.
13. JQA Diary, 7 March 1815.
14. De Waresquiel, 226.
15. JQA Diary, 11 March 1815.
16. De Waresquiel, 226.
17. For 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*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: PUF, 1968); idem, *La vie quotidienne en France sous le Directoire* (Paris: Hachette, 1977); Jean Tulard, ed., *Dictionnaire Napoléon*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: Fayard, 1999); Robert Brécy, "La Chanson révolutionnaire de 1789 à 1799," *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française* 53 (1981), 279-303.
18. JQA Diary, 7, 9, 11-15, 18-20 March.
19. Dallas, 289.
20. Dallas, 296-98.
21. Lentz, 301.
22. Lentz, 305.
23. Lentz, 308-09.
24. De Waresquiel, 182-83.
25. JQA Diary, 12 Mar 1815.
26. De Waresquiel, 184.
27. JQA Diary, 13 March 1815.
28. JQA Diary, 15 March 1815.
29. See Lentz, 309.
30. JQA Diary, 14 March 1815.
31. JQA Diary, 15 March 1815.
32. Lentz, 352-56. Cf. Dallas, 300-01 and De Waresquiel, 165. The full text is printed in Lentz.
33. To Abigail Adams, 22 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 303.
34. To Abigail Adams, 22 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 303.
35. JQA Diary, 15 March 1815.
36. See De Waresquiel, 206-13. Cf. Dallas, 293 and Lentz, 311-12.
37. See Lentz, 307 and 312; De Waresquiel, 246; and Dallas, 294.
38. JQA Diary, 18 March 1815.
39. To Abigail Adams, 19 March 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 291-92.
40. To Abigail Adams, 19 March 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 293.
41. To 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).
42. To Abigail Adams, 19 March 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 293.
43. To Abigail Adams, 19 March 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 292.
44. JQA Diary, 19 March 1815.
45. To 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).

## From Our Correspondent: Top U.S Diplomat Witnesses Return of Emperor, (continued)

46. De Waresquiel, 35. According to Dallas, "Only the soldiers, veterans, and officers on half-pay actually cheered Napoleon when he entered Paris" (294).
47. De Waresquiel, 37.
48. De Waresquiel, 83-85.
49. JQA Diary, 20 March 1815.
50. JQA Diary, 21 March 1815.
51. To John Adams, 21 March 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 298.
52. JQA Diary, 21 March 1815.
53. JQA 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.
54. To Abigail Adams, 22 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 299.
55. William 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).
56. To Abigail Adams, 22 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 299-300.
57. To Abigail Adams, 22 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 300.
58. To Abigail Adams, 22 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 301-02.
59. To Abigail Adams, 22 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 302.
60. To Abigail Adams, 22 April 1815, *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 302.
61. Lentz, 318.
62. Lentz, 375-97.



A daguerreotype taken March 1843 in Washington, D.C. is the oldest known photograph of a U.S. President, John Quincy Adams. Acquired by the Smithsonian's National Portrait Gallery.

You can access the online diaries of John Quincy Adams at this link <https://www.masshist.org/publications/jqadiaries/>.

*Some illustrations in this article are from the J. David Markham collection.*



Cartoon depicting Napoleon, accompanied by General Bertrand, entering Paris.

## The Napoleon Blog by Shannon Selin

### John Quincy and Louisa Adams: Middle-Aged Love

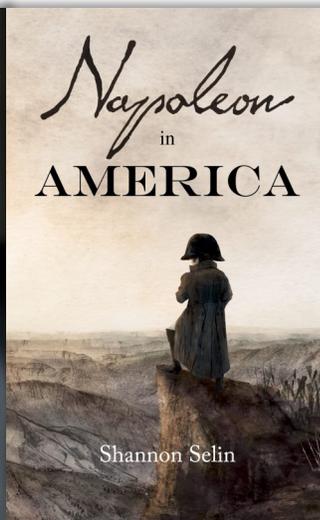
America's sixth president, John Quincy Adams, was not a romantic man. He was pedantic, sharp-tempered, domineering and generally hard to get along with. His wife, Louisa, was more charming, with a love of society and a desire to please, however she was also moody, inclined to self-doubt and depression, and a hypochondriac. They frequently exasperated each other. Looking back at their early years together, Louisa wrote, "Happy indeed would it have been for Mr. Adams if he had broken his engagement, and not harassed himself with a wife altogether so unsuited to his peculiar character, and still more peculiar prospects. When we were married every disappointment seemed to fall upon us at once. ... [O]ur views of things were totally different on many essential points." (1)

Despite John Quincy and Louisa Adams's differences, there was a genuine affection and closeness between them. Their marriage lasted fifty years, until John Quincy Adams' death in early

Carrying on with our theme of the life of John Quincy Adams, Shannon has written a wonderful account of his marriage to Louisa Adams. — *NHS Editor*



Louisa Catherine Johnson before her marriage to John Quincy Adams, by Edward Savage, 1791-1794



**Napoleon in America** is available from the following:

[Amazon USA](#)

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More about her book [here](#) where you may read an excerpt.

Historical fiction writer Shannon Selin is the author of *Napoleon in America*, which imagines what might have happened if Napoleon Bonaparte had escaped from exile on St. Helena and wound up in the United States in 1821. Shannon blogs about Napoleonic and 19th century history at [shannonselin.com](http://shannonselin.com). She lives in Stratford, Canada, where she is working on the next novel in her Napoleon series.

## John Quincy and Louisa Adams: Middle-Aged Love, (continued)

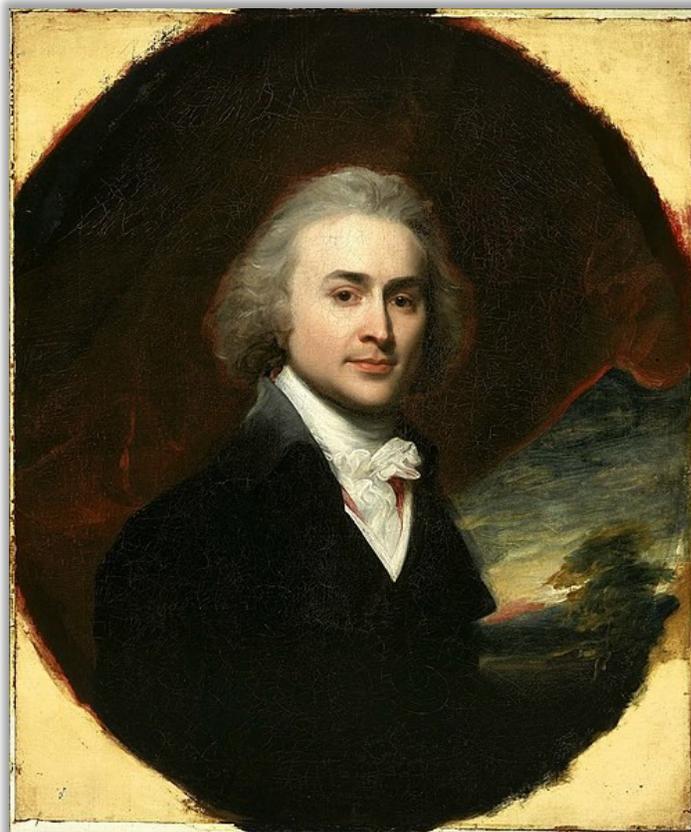
1848. In 1822, they marked their 25th wedding anniversary. Their correspondence that summer, at the midpoint of their married life, shows something of the companionable love that bound them together.

### Engagement

John Quincy Adams got to know Louisa Catherine Johnson at a dinner at her family's home in London in November of 1795. Adams was a 28-year-old American diplomat to The Hague. Educated at Harvard, he was the eldest son of John Adams, who was then vice president of the United States (in 1797, John Adams became president). Louisa was the 20-year-old daughter of the American consul in London. She had been born in England and raised in France. Her schooling was focused on music, dancing and the arts. They became engaged in the spring of 1796. Adams then returned to Holland.

They continued their relationship through letter writing, although their missives were not all sweetness and light. One of Louisa's biographers characterized their engagement correspondence as "[c]rackling with raw intensity, misunderstandings, and righteous indignation." (2) Louisa was frustrated by John Quincy's refusal to set a date for the wedding. He suggested it could be as long as seven years until he was able to support a wife, and he turned down her suggestion of coming to visit him in Holland. Influenced by his parents, who questioned whether Louisa was a suitable match, John Quincy tried to prepare Louisa for a less comfortable life than she was accustomed to. He bristled whenever she questioned his judgement, or offered opinions that differed from his own.

Notwithstanding their squabbles, they began to understand and accept their differences. When Louisa sarcastically used the phrase "pleasing admonition" in reference to one of John Quincy's gloomy warnings, he replied:



John Quincy Adams, by John Singleton Copley, 1796

*[P]leasing contemplations...do not alone su[ffic]e for the happiness of any person's life, and...the tenderest attachment may sometimes discover itself by pointing the attention of its beloved friend to useful reflection. I do most sincerely wish that you may never find from experience that pleasing contemplations are summer friends, ready to fly from the first appearance of difficulty; but I am sure that you will often have occasion to know that reflection, and the habit of seeing by anticipation the inconveniences and evils inevitably annexed to every approaching prospect, is in reality a kind and benevolent adviser. As I prefer suffering the mortification even of a sneer from you, rather than the future reproach of having excited false though pleasing contemplations, I readily renounce all pretensions to address in the art of pleasing, and*

## John Quincy and Louisa Adams: Middle-Aged Love, (continued)

*hope you will find me throughout life rather a true and faithful than a complaisant friend. ...*

*[C]ould you...for a moment harbour the thought that there is any quarter of the world, or any situation in life which can diminish your worth in my estimation, or render your society less essential to my happiness? No Louisa. You are the delight and pride of my life. (3)*

Louisa responded, “How much my loved friend shall I atone for the uneasiness my last letter caused you.... May distrust with all its baneful tribe be far, far from our hearts. ... [B]e assured the world itself without you will ever be an aching void to your L.C. Johnson.” (4)

### Marriage

John Quincy Adams and Louisa Johnson were married on July 26, 1797 at the parish church of All Hallows-by-the-Tower in London. During the next 25 years, John Quincy moved from a diplomatic career to a political one, eventually becoming Secretary of State under President James Monroe. He and Louisa lived in Berlin, Boston, Washington, St. Petersburg and London. They experienced Louisa’s numerous miscarriages, the birth of three sons – George (1801), John (1803) and Charles (1807) –, and the birth and death of a daughter, Louisa (1811-1812). John Quincy and Louisa were frequently apart, because of the demands of his job. Even when they were together he made decisions that substantially affected their life without consulting her. For example, he refused to let Louisa bring their two oldest sons to live with them in Russia. He and Louisa were often annoyed with each other. Yet they also experienced “moments of real tenderness, companionship, support, and joy.” (5)

### The Summer of 1822

Louisa Adams spent the summer of 1822 in

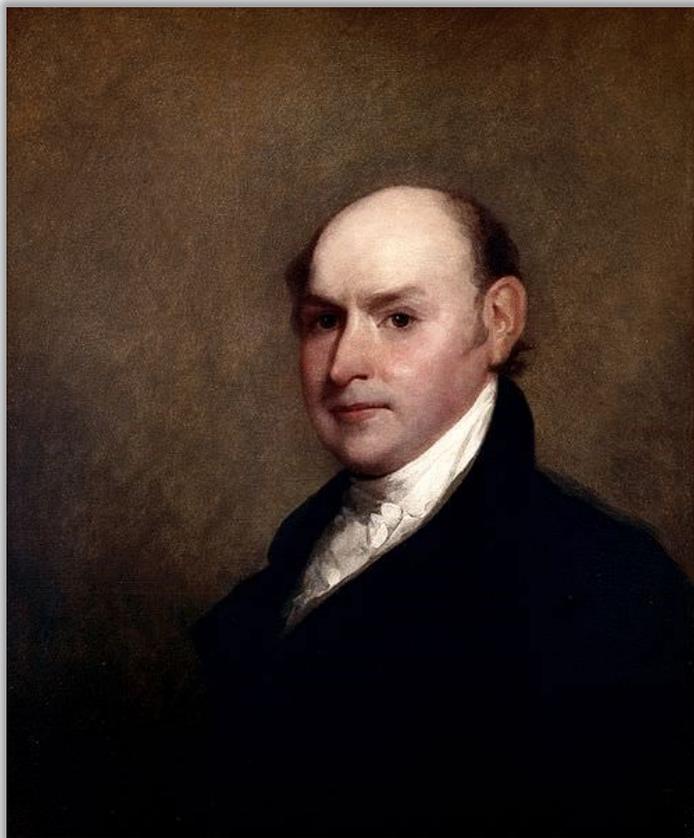


*Louisa Adams by Charles Bird King, circa 1825*

Philadelphia nursing her sick brother, Thomas Baker Johnson, who was under the care of the aptly-named Dr. Philip Syng Physick. John Quincy Adams remained in Washington with their son George. They corresponded frequently. Between her departure from Washington in June and her return in October, Louisa sent 56 letters to John Quincy; he sent 25 to her. She gently scolded him for not writing more often.

Louisa’s letters tended to be long. She wrote about her brother’s surgery, her visitors and entertainments, and news and gossip she had heard. Louisa feared that her chattiness might bore her husband. “I must conclude this tiresome tirade which will I think be enough to wear your patience, although it is almost inexhaustible.” (6) “My journal

## John Quincy and Louisa Adams: Middle-Aged Love, (continued)



*John Quincy Adams by Gilbert Stuart, 1818*

is a potpourri, in which you find much nonsense now and then relieved by something a little better; but if it can afford interest sufficient to amuse you for a few minutes; it fully answers every purpose to your affectionate wife.” (7) John Quincy reassured her. “My dearest Louisa. We continue to be delighted almost daily with your journalizing letters, which together with our visits to the theatre, enliven the dullness of our half-solitude.” (8)

John Quincy was concerned that Louisa not over-extend herself in caring for her brother. “I wish you to remain with your brother as long as your own inclination and sense of duty will prompt you; without thinking a moment of the expense. Only let me caution you for his sake as well as for mine and your own, to measure your exertions for him by your own strength. To beware of overstraining

yourself, till you sink under it. Your stock of service to him will hold out the longer for being used with discretion and reserve.” (9)

Louisa worried that John Quincy’s health was being adversely affected by the heat in Washington. “Pray if you are sick do not deceive me, for I could not bear the idea of being absent while you are indisposed.” (10) He wrote back, “I did suffer much for some time from excessive heat, but the cool weather has relieved me. We are all comfortable. The river bathing has been very refreshing and useful both to George and me.” (11)

### Politics and Manners

Louisa’s and John Quincy’s letters were also laced with politics. Louisa wanted to help her husband’s prospects in the 1824 presidential election. She met with people who could aid his cause, relayed their views and counsel to him, and threw in some advice of her own. One of her letters encouraged him to improve his manners.

*[T]he constant hints of your most devoted friends would almost urge me who am so far very far inferior to you in every thing, to give you a lecture on common sense; or in other words on that worldly and every day sense, which is so essential to adapt us for the common intercourse of society. In nothings, every one can deal. In true solid sterling sense refined by experience and strengthened by cultivation and acquirement how few! When these things are united, man becomes a paragon and nobody can resist him. To you nothing is impossible. Cease to view a place hunter in every phiz, and you will find yourself at ease. At this critical time when all is warm in your favour, when the flash of superior talent has found its way into every soul susceptible of feeling; you should if possible seize the happy occasion to show yourself to your countrymen; and convince them that the coldness and austerity of which they complain, is*

## John Quincy and Louisa Adams: Middle-Aged Love, (continued)

*not a part of your nature; but has only been produced by situation and circumstance. You will not I know be displeased at this expression of my wishes; for one of the qualities for which I have most respected you has always been that of bearing to hear the truth without impatience when it affects yourself. This is indeed an epitome of my favorite fable, and I think if I go any further I shall certainly share the fate of the Frog, and burst with my new born dignity of adviser. (12)*

John Quincy playfully wrote back:

*Your letter contains so much excellent advice, that last Saturday evening at the Theatre where I was seeing Booth in Sir Edward Mortimer, and Mrs Burke in Little Pickle, I determined to commence my practice upon it, and I made myself as amiable as possible to Mrs. Gales and Miss Kitty Lee, who were in the same box with me. Now to commence a course of politesse and gallantry with the thermometer at 100 was truly distressing, and that I was enabled to undertake it proves to you how deeply I was convinced by your eloquence. I asked Mrs. Gales how it was possible for a woman to love a man with such honours as those of Sir Edward Mortimer. She said his misfortunes made him interesting, and I loved her the more when I heard [such] tenderness fall from her tongue. But as Mrs. Gales has a husband and I have a wife, I thought it was time to stay the use of my fascinating powers there; and with Miss Lee I was still less successful, having only had the advantage of supplying her with a play-bill. Now you must know there are already two conquests upon which I calculate, both achieved by your advice. And I have a presentiment that if I ever do acquire the faculty of being irresistible my greatest achievement, will be upon the Ladies of the [fair]—who as Montesquieu wisely observes are the best possible judges of some of the qualifications which constitute a great man. (13)*

## John Quincy Adams's Feud with Jonathan Russell

One matter that preoccupied both John Quincy and Louisa was a pamphlet that had recently been published by Jonathan Russell, a Congressman from Massachusetts who, along with John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay, was one of the negotiators of the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the War of 1812 between Britain and the United States. Russell's pamphlet accused Adams of having favoured British interests during the treaty negotiations. His aim was to help Clay's presidential candidacy against Adams. Adams responded with several pamphlets that fiercely refuted Russell's claims and destroyed the latter's reputation.

This became a running theme in their correspondence, as Louisa heard from several visitors, including Robert Walsh, editor of the Philadelphia National Gazette, that Adams had fully made his point and it was in his interest to cease and desist. After several attempts to persuade her husband to let the matter drop, Louisa finally wrote this.

*Walsh called on me in the evening and we had a great deal of conversation, particularly on the controversy. ... He says that all your best friends are anxious that you should leave Jonathan the remnant of life which your last allowed him; and take as little notice of him as he merits. That the matter stands so fairly for you now, and that the public voice is so strongly expressed and manifested, that any future scourging would look like torturing a poor reptile, already crushed beyond recovery; and create a sensation of pity and compassion towards him which would re-elevate him to the notice and attention of the world, and give him claims upon society which are now lost forever. ... You are under a great error as it regards the interest of the late correspondence; the personal*

## John Quincy and Louisa Adams: Middle-Aged Love, (continued)

*part of it has been the only part which has really occupied the public mind, and it has placed you before the world in the character of a private individual, suffering under an unjust and ungenerous persecuted—in this light alone it is viewed and in this light it is powerfully felt, because every man can understand it and make the case his own. Persons long inured to public life accustomed to objects of great magnitude; thinking for a world and ever dwelling not on man individually but on the welfare of mankind at large; are apt to overlook the little passion, and the little every day feelings which contribute so largely to create the strong impulse of civil society; and though superior talents will be appreciated by the multitude, unless a man is sometimes seen en deshabille as a mere mortal, with the same passions and the same errors as his fellow creatures; he will be viewed as we have viewed a bright constellation when strongly pointed out to us, at a particular moment gazed at, and forgotten as if we had ever seen it. For this reason my best friend this controversy has placed you in a new light; not as a negotiator of treaties alone, but as an able man, with the will and the ability to fight his own battles, and to crush the atom that dare insult you with the strong and broad [aegis] of truth, garbed in the brilliant raiment of eloquence and learning.*

*Once more let me beseech you to spare your miserable opponent, and leave him to write himself into darker and deeper infamy than that into which he has plunged.*

*I know not how it is but I hate the word advice when you apply it as given from me to you. It sounds so much like caricature or banter. The narrowness of my conceptions and the littleness of my views make it impossible for me to advise with propriety on any subject, unless those which are mere matter of feeling. Here my sex seldom err; and here men may trust them without danger. (14)*

Adams responded as follows.

*Your journals...have become a sort of necessary of life to George and me. Whatever the cause of the confidence which you say you have but recently acquired of writing to me whatever comes into your head, as I am the principal gainer by the acquisition—hope it will be permanent. Your advice is always acceptable, and if I do not always profit by it, mayhap it is sometimes from the waywardness of my own nature; and sometimes from an honest difference of opinion. Yet it is not always lost upon me as for example in consequence of your good advice, I have withdrawn my controversy with Jonathan, from the newspapers. I hope I have nearly done with him, but you may be sure I shall not be suffered to live in peace, till I am displaced. (15)*

### Silver Anniversary

On July 26, 1822, the date of their 25th wedding anniversary, Louisa Adams – who was mistaken about the year – wrote to her husband:

*It is this day four and twenty years since we came together, in which time much of bad and good has fallen to our lot: but take it all in all we have probably done as well as our neighbours, and have been as much blessed as mortals usually are who cannot pretend to any extraordinary degree of perfection. I yet hope that many years are in store for you whatever may befall myself, and that your children will long bless the day that gave them such a father. (16)*

John Quincy Adams sent his wife a more eloquent greeting.

*With the dawn of this morning I awaked and ejaculated a blessing to Heaven upon the gem jubilee of our marriage. More than a half of your life and nearly half of mine have we travelled hand in hand in our pilgrimage through this valley, not*

## John Quincy and Louisa Adams: Middle-Aged Love, (continued)

*alone of tears. We have enjoyed together great and manifold blessings and for many of them I have been indebted to you. May the Guardian Angel of our Union or that all powerful being whose superintending Providence is the Guardian Angel of all, bless us for the future, in proportion as he has blessed us for the past, in the vicissitudes of sorrow and of joy, which constitute the sum of all human destiny, may we proceed in harmony, and in conscious integrity to the end of our career on Earth. If it be the will of our Creator that we should live to celebrate the full jubilee of this day, may it be with equal and unabated affection for each other, and may it find our children established and prosperous in life, virtuous and useful. And if to either or both of us a shorter date is allotted may we be gathered to our fathers in peace, and leave behind, to our posterity, a memory and a name not, as stimulants to pride but as model, for imitation. And so I bid you my beloved farewell. (17)*

He wrote in his diary:

*I have been this day married twenty-five years. It is what the Germans call the ‘Silberne Hochzeit’ – the Silver Wedding. The happiest and most eventful portion of my life is past in the lapse of those twenty-five years. I finished the letter to my wife. Looking back – what numberless occasions of gratitude! How little room for self-gratulation! Looking forward – what dependence upon the overruling Power! What frail support in myself! ‘Time and the hour wear through the roughest day.’ Let me have strength but to be true to myself, to my maker, and to man – adding Christian meekness and charity to Stoic fortitude – and come what may. (18)*

Louisa responded to John Quincy’s letter on July 29.

*Your very very kind letter is just brought...and I find I made a most curious mistake in one year; so*

*that our Silbern Hochzeit [silver wedding anniversary] was complete when I supposed it a year off. You possess the happy wit of saying or writing things in so superlative a style it makes every effort on my part appear cold insipid, I might say almost vulgar—but when the heart speaks, it is of little importance whether the language is elegant; as its powerful expression is always felt, and mostly appreciated. In our children we have hitherto been blessed; may the God whom we adore continue to us this to me greatest of all blessings and reward them for the happiness they may afford us in our age. (19)*

### John Quincy Adams’s First Love

A month later, on August 28, 1822, John Quincy Adams confided to Louisa that the first woman he ever loved was an actress, although he never spoke to her and he never saw her off the stage.

*She belonged to a company of children who performed at the Bois de Boulogne near Passy, when I lived there with Dr Franklin and my father. She remains upon my memory as the most lovely and delightful actress that I ever saw; but I have not seen her since I was fourteen. She was then about the same age. Of all the ungratified longings that I ever suffered, that of being acquainted with her, merely to tell her how much I adored her, was the most intense. I was tortured with this desire for nearly two years but never had the wit to compass it. I used to dream of her, for at least seven years after. But how many times I have since blessed my stars and my stupidity, that I never did get the opportunity of making my declaration. I learnt from her that lesson, of never forming an acquaintance with an actress, to which I have invariably adhered; and which I would lay as an injunction upon all my sons. ... I have burnt none of your journals, and shall keep them all. I do not even ask you to burn this or any other of my letters;*

## John Quincy and Louisa Adams: Middle-Aged Love, (continued)

*but I entreat you not to mislay them, or let them get into any other hands than your own. Consider with what ineffable ridicule you would cover me, if you should suffer my confession of my first love to get abroad—and how I...*

*never told my love,*

*But let concealment like a woman in the bud*

*Pray on my damask cheek.*

*Happily for me, when many years afterwards I did tell my love, and you was the hearer, it was for a worthier object, and a better purpose. That was an affection, for this world, and I humbly hope, for the next. and so I am yours. A. (20)*

### Endnotes

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## Collector's Corner with J. David Markham

This section will be a bimonthly column of interesting Napoleonic collectables and antiques belonging to one of our society members. If you have an item or items that you would like to share with the Society, then please forward the article and

pictures to:

[editor.nhs.newsletter@gmail.com](mailto:editor.nhs.newsletter@gmail.com)

to be included in an upcoming newsletter issue.

We want to hear from our members!

### The Three R's: Revolution, Requiem and Recycle

In this issue I would like to share two very interesting pieces from my collection. These pieces could be said to 'bookend' the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era and include my final acquisition from the Osenat auction in 2022. Though they are from the beginning and end of the Era, they have one unique thing in common.

The first piece is a bronze replica of the Bastille, along with a small engraving by Raffet of that infamous prison, framed in a replica First Empire frame. Simple enough, but there is a fascinating story behind the piece. The wood base is about 7.5x5.5 inches and the bronze replica is about

4x3 inches with deep relief. The frame is about 14.25x19.5 inches. There is a faint inscription at the bottom, 'La Bastille 1789.'

When the Bastille was taken on 14 July of 1789, the Revolutionaries debated what should be done with it. But a self-styled patriot who was owner of one of the largest building firms in Paris named Pierre-François Palloy (1755-1835) seized the initiative and began to dismantle



## Collector's Corner with J. David Markham, (continued)

the building. Two days later he secured a formal contract to complete the job. As part of the deal, he had exclusive rights to make souvenirs from various parts of the building. He made replicas of the Bastille from some of the stones, and made countless toys, insignias, medals, swords, tools and small replicas of the Bastille out of wood, stone, iron, bronze, lead and other materials. This piece is one of the bronze replicas made and sold by Palloy in 1790 and is a direct relic of the French Revolution.

The second item is every bit as historic and interesting as the Palloy piece. It is a rare pair of obelisks in 'porphyry' (quartzite) from Karelia (a part of Russia next to Finland, some portions of which are in dispute between the two countries). They measure 34 cm high, and the base is 45x45 mm.

When France decided to return Napoleon's remains to Paris from St Helena, they also decided to bury him in a large and magnificent tomb. To design and create the

piece, they chose Louis Tullius Joachim Visconti (1791-1853), who was an Italian-born French architect and designer. He was also chosen to design various Parisian decorations for the return. Responsibility for the actual creation of the tomb, made of marble and quartzite, was given to the Antoine Seguin marble works, which included two important marble workshops in Paris. The Russian stone was chosen to emulate the porphyry used in late Roman imperial tombs.

Like Palloy before him, Seguin obtained the rights to use portions of the stones that would not be in the tomb, the debris generated from sawing the stones into their proper shape and size, as compensation for his work. The work lasted 20 years and during that time Seguin and his descendants created assorted high-quality souvenirs from this 'debris.' These two obelisks were made by Seguin from that material that was part of the quartzite used in the creation of Napoleon's tomb. They are Lot 251 of the March 2022, Osenat auction at Fontainebleau.



**J. David Markham** is President of the International Napoleonic Society and President Emeritus of the Napoleonic Historical Society. He is also a Knight of the Order of the French Academic Palms, France's highest civilian-only award created by Napoleon in 1808. David has been a serious collector of Napoleonic art and artifacts since 1984. His collection was the focus of the exhibition "Napoleon the Great: Selections from the David Markham Collection at the Phoenix Art Museum 11/1989-3/1990. He has also contributed to Revolution in Print: France, 1789 (Phoenix Public Library, July-August, 1989) as part of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris traveling exhibition, Napoleon on the Nile: Soldiers, Artists and the Rediscovery of Egypt (Dahesh Museum of Art, Manhattan, NY, 6/2006-4/2007) and the same exhibition at the Frye Art Museum, Seattle, WA, 8/2008-1/2009). He presented lectures and tours for each exhibition. His collection consists of furniture, clocks, weapons, bronzes, engravings, miniatures and perhaps the world's largest private collection of Napoleonic snuffboxes.

## The Collection of Napoleonic medals of the “Museo Medagliere dell'Europa Napoleonica” Tuscany – Italy by Alain Borghini



This small private museum was born in 2018 when, after more than twenty years of research, my dream to share with the public my deep passion for Napoleonic history, has come true. During all those years, I've been able to find all around the world, more than 1200 commemorative medals, minted moreover in Europe, in the period between the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the following one (from the French Revolution to the Restoration).

In 2020 This collection has been declared by the Italian Government a National historical heritage to be preserved and protected as a public good.

Mr. David Markham, President of INS, and Mrs. Edna Mueller, NHS Editor, blessed our Grand Opening with their presence and their great appreciation.



Actually, Museum is displayed in two different locations.

The first one is dedicated to temporary theme expositions. It is placed in the ancient jails of the castle of Castiglion Fiorentino, a medieval Tuscan town a few kilometers far from Florence.

The other one is placed in Arezzo, a very close city, where the complete collection is displayed in a way of a depot always open to scholars and collectors interested in this special field.

Since the beginning of this year, an online digital museum has been open containing pictures of all the specimens so to allow everybody in the world to appreciate and study the whole collection.

Besides pictures, all our works and monographies dedicated to metallic art, are uploaded and available for all. At the moment everything is in Italian but we're working to internationalize it with an English version.

Unlike other public collections that are part of museums dedicated to the Napoleonic era or to

## The Collection of Napoleonic medals of the “Museo Medagliere dell'Europa Napoleonica” Tuscany – Italy, (continued)



events, personalities (scientists, politicians, men of letters, philosophers, musicians, senior ranks of the army on both the French side and of the coalition forces), sovereigns, academies, and institutions that reflect the social context of the time.

Being the work of engravers from various countries, when the specimens celebrate the same event, they testify to the propaganda message that patrons of different nationalities wanted to spread through the iconographic choices of the types. Among the many unpublished and

revolutionary France, for which the collection of medals constitutes a marginal section that is almost always not visible, the collection of the “Museo Medagliere dell'Europa Napoleonica” offers a vast panorama of the political and social events that took place in the old continent between the beginning of the French Revolution and the death of Napoleon. In addition to specimens celebrating the French Revolution, the campaigns of Napoleon's army in Italy, the Egyptian campaign, Napoleon's coronation, or his exile on Saint Helena, the medals in this collection celebrate

very interesting aspects that emerge from the story



## The Collection of Napoleonic medals of the “Museo Medagliere dell'Europa Napoleonica” Tuscany – Italy, (continued)



behind each piece in the collection, there is one that concerns daily life.

There are English, French, and German calendar medals, specimens that celebrate events that occurred locally of which they are often the only evidence (see the medal for the erection of the column to the fallen

soldiers of the department of Chaumont in the Haute Marne).

Part of the collection are also tokens commissioned by institutions, societies or minted by the Parisian mint, such as those, of a smaller form but with the same type of medal, on the occasion of the marriage of Napoleon and Marie-Louise, which were thrown to the people during the passage of the imperial carriage.

There are also examples of tokens that were used as small denomination currency (Monneron tokens) that bear on one side the value attributed to them. Most of the medals are made of bronze and silver, but there are also some made of other metals (brass, tin, copper); worthy of note is the medal produced by Palloy with lead recovered during the demolition of the Bastille.

The section of tokens is completed by many exemplars produced by the Lauer firm of Nuremberg with the effigies of French royalty or Napoleon that were used for social games. Particularly interesting are the insignia, that is, the badges that the personnel of the public offices wore while carrying out their functions; the examination of these, together with the

commemorative medals, allows us to know the administrative structure of the State.

The medals also celebrate the social and economic reforms brought about by Napoleon such as the institution of the Civil Code, the reform of the hospital system or



### The Collection of Napoleonic medals of the “Museo Medagliere dell'Europa Napoleonica” Tuscany – Italy, (continued)

public education, the institution of the Bank of France, or the re-establishment of the Lottery to replenish the coffers of the Treasury. Numerous medals celebrate events related to European sovereigns such as weddings, visits to the mint of medals in Paris, or their rise to the throne. In this regard, of great interest is the group of medals minted in the Spanish colonies of the New World (Mexico City, Puno, Vera Cruz) that commemorate the proclamation to the Spanish throne of Ferdinand VII.

There are also several unpublished medals or medals that are not present in the large repertoires, such as the one that the charcuterie guild offered to Napoleon during the exhibition of pork products held in Paris in 1810. Part of the collection of the Medal Museum of Napoleonic Europe is some medals belonging to the two series that Lienard created in 1800 and 1801 dedicated to people who played an important role during the French Revolution or who were protagonists of events contemporary with the life of the artisan. These medals called *répoussés* are interesting for the technique used in their manufacture.

One of the most important sections in the museum is the one dedicated to a large group of medal boxes of German, English, and French production. These boxes are made from a medal of which the obverse is the lid and the reverse, of greater thickness, the body of the box. Inside are paper rounds painted in gouache with scenes of the battles described in the back. Along with them are also exposed memorabilia or metal containers containing tokens in memory of a particular event or dedicated to the military glories of a particular character such as the victories of Wellington during the military campaign in the Iberian Peninsula. Lastly, the complete set of forty medals minted by the British entrepreneur James Mudie, a set of which was offered to George IV in 1820, and ten clichés from the burin of Bertrand Andrieu, displayed in two velvet plateaus



placed inside the original red leather book-shaped container, are worthy of note, which illustrates the

## The Collection of Napoleonic medals of the “Museo Medagliere dell'Europa Napoleonica” Tuscany – Italy, (continued)

storming of the Bastille, the arrival of Louis XVI in Paris, the battle of Marengo, the passage of the Great St. Bernard, the busts of Josephine, Marie Louise of Austria, Napoleon and the plateau with the heads of Napoleon and Marie-Louise used for the realization of the cones for the medals and tokens commemorating their marriage.

Every month we issue a digital magazine in the Italian language, spread to a large public in which we speak about artists, events, institutions, and characters linked to our medals.

Thanks to our precious partnership with NHS and INS, of whom I'm honored to be part, very soon we'll be able to offer the English translation of our works and studies even to an international public while we'll issue for the Italian audience the NHS and INS newsletter fully translated in Italian.

*Alain Borghini*



# THE NAPOLEONIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEWSLETTER

## Napoleon on the Block

This section will be a bimonthly column of interesting Napoleonic items that have been featured in past and/or upcoming auctions. If you have seen something in

an auction catalog, newspaper or internet that would qualify, please forward the information to [editor.nhs.newsletter@gmail.com](mailto:editor.nhs.newsletter@gmail.com)

### Fellows Auction, Birmingham, March 31, 2022

Gold and coral teething rattle with original red leather case which belonged to the King of Rome. From the Family Collection of the late Countess Mountbatten of Burma. Estimate £5,500 to £7,500

Update: I could not find a “prices realized” for this item, so I have to assume that it did not meet the reserve and remained unsold.



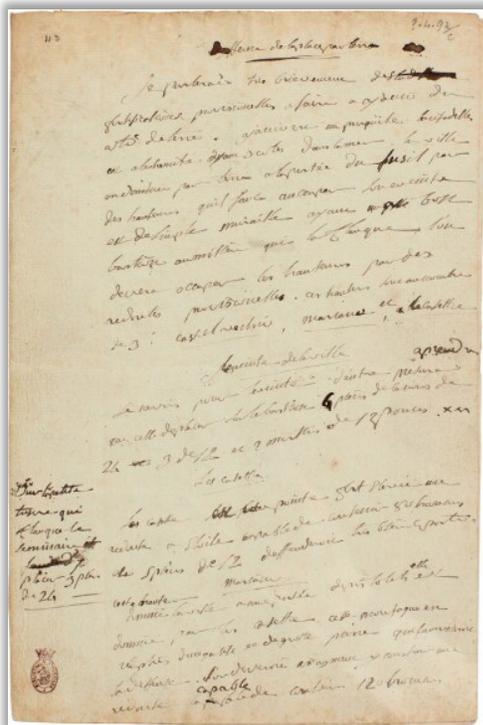
### Sotheby's London, April 4, 2022

History in Manuscript: Letters and Documents from a Distinguished Collection 4 April 2022

Including several letters signed by Napoleon. Also letters about Napoleon by Barry O'Meara and Sir Hudson Lowe.

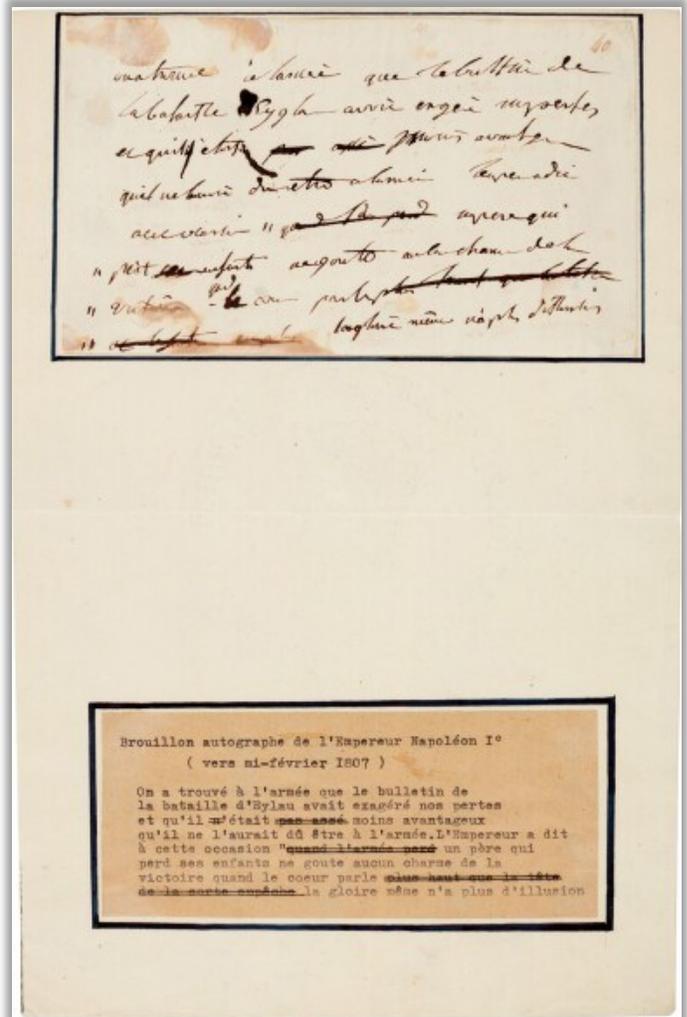
Items can be viewed at this link [here](#).

### Napoleon I | Autograph manuscript report on the defence of Ajaccio, 1793



Sold: 10,080 £

### Napoleon I | Autograph draft communique regarding the Battle of Eylau, 1807



Sold: 3,780 £

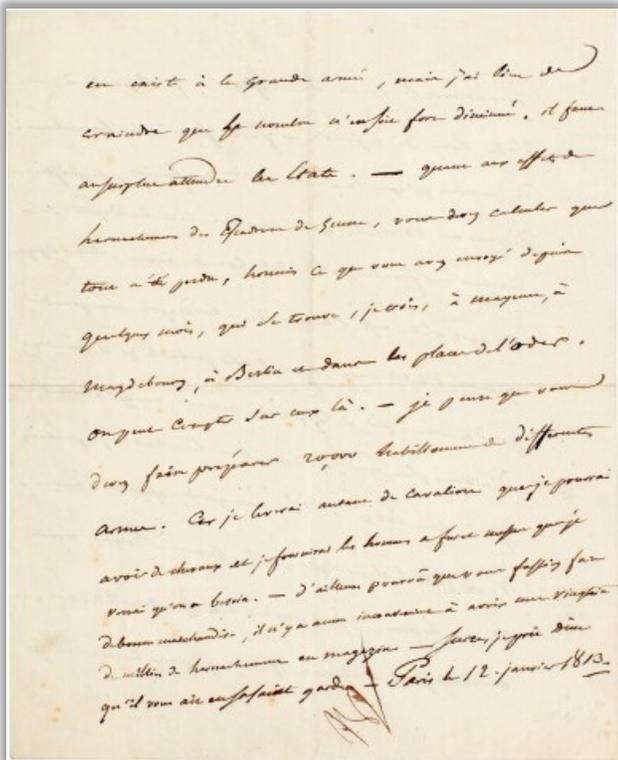
**Napoleon on the Block, (continued)**

**Napoleon I - Marriage | Collection of documents relating to Napoleon's marriage to Marie Louisa, 1810**



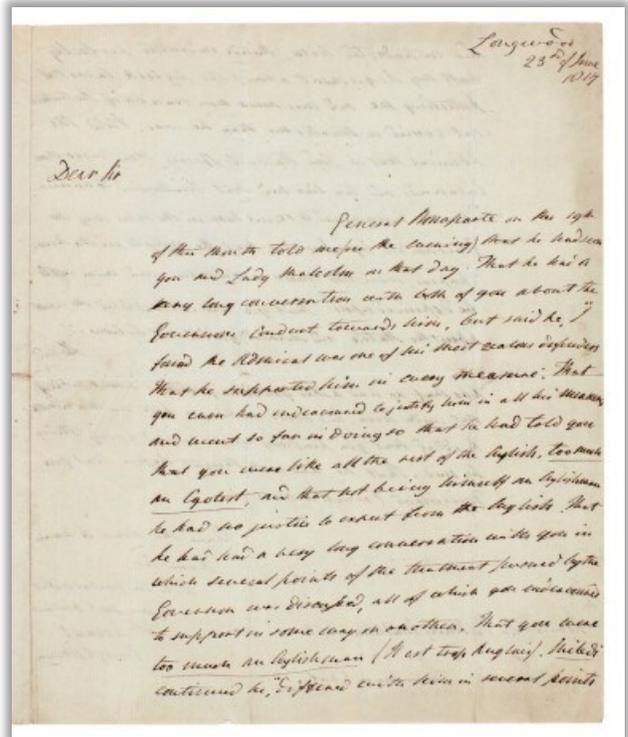
**Sold: 2,520 £**

**Napoleon I | Letter signed, on the need for new uniforms after the retreat from Moscow, 1813**



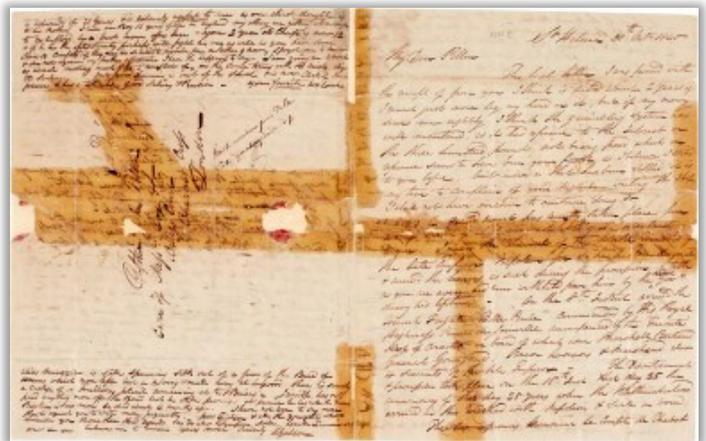
**Sold: 2,520 £**

**Napoleon--Dr Barry O'Meara | Autograph letter signed, reporting Napoleon's conversation, to Sir Pulteney Malcolm, 1817**



**Sold: 5,670 £**

**Napoleon I--Lewis Gideon | Letter describing the exhumation of Napoleon's body, 1840**



**Sold: 3,024 £**

## Napoleon in the Movies — Napoleon in Malta

[Times of Malta](#) April 28, 2022 by Sarah Carabott

*Shooting of Ridley Scott's Napoleon drama starting in Malta*

### Filming expected to run until mid-May

Shooting of Ridley Scott's historical drama film on Napoleon Bonaparte started on Thursday, with the *Étoile du Roy* (King's Star) frigate sailing into Golden Bay.

Oscar-winning actor Joaquin Phoenix and British actress Vanessa Kirby arrived in Malta for the filming which will run until mid-May.

Golden Bay is one of the locations chosen for the Apple Studios production.

The ship is expected to feature in the film documenting the rise and fall of the legendary French general who lived between 1769 and 1821. According to *Vogue*, the film is also about the French general's love story with Joséphine, who became his wife.

Scott himself told *Deadline* last year of his fascination with Napoleon: "He came out of nowhere to rule everything – but all the while he was waging a romantic war with his adulterous wife Josephine.

"He conquered the world to try to win her love, and when he couldn't, he conquered it to destroy her, and destroyed himself in the process," he told *Deadline*.

Unlike other films about Napoleon, the film will reportedly feature six major battle sequences, with Fort Ricasoli being transformed into Toulon, the site

of Napoleon's first victory in 1793.

Other locations that will set the scene for the film include Attard, Senglea, Valletta, Mellieħa, Siggiewi, Mdina and the Malta Film Studios. Tentatively titled *Kitbag*, the film is expected to be released in 2023.

### The *Étoile du Roy*

The three-masted sixth-rate frigate was built to represent a generic warship, with her design mainly inspired by the 1741 HMS *Blandford*.

Formerly called *Grand Turk*, she was built in Turkey in the 1990s for a TV series adapted from novels by CS Forester about Royal Navy officer Horatio Hornblower.

Apart from *Hornblower*, which ran until 2003, she also appeared in *Longitude* (2000), *Monsieur N* (2003), *To the Ends of the Earth* (2005), *Crusoe* (2008) and *Michiel de Ruyter* (2015).

*Note: Monsieur N is another movie about Napoleon. It is in French and English (with English subtitles) about Napoleon on St. Helena and a romance with Betsy Balcombe. It stars Philippe Torreton as Napoleon and Richard E. Grant as Sir Hudson Lowe. It is well worth watching!*

- NHS editor



Photo of *Étoile du Roy* at Golden Bay: Chris Sant Fournier



The frigate on set at Golden Bay. Photo: Times of Malta

## Napoleonic Eagle-Eye Award

This is a new item, the Napoleonic Eagle-Eye Award!

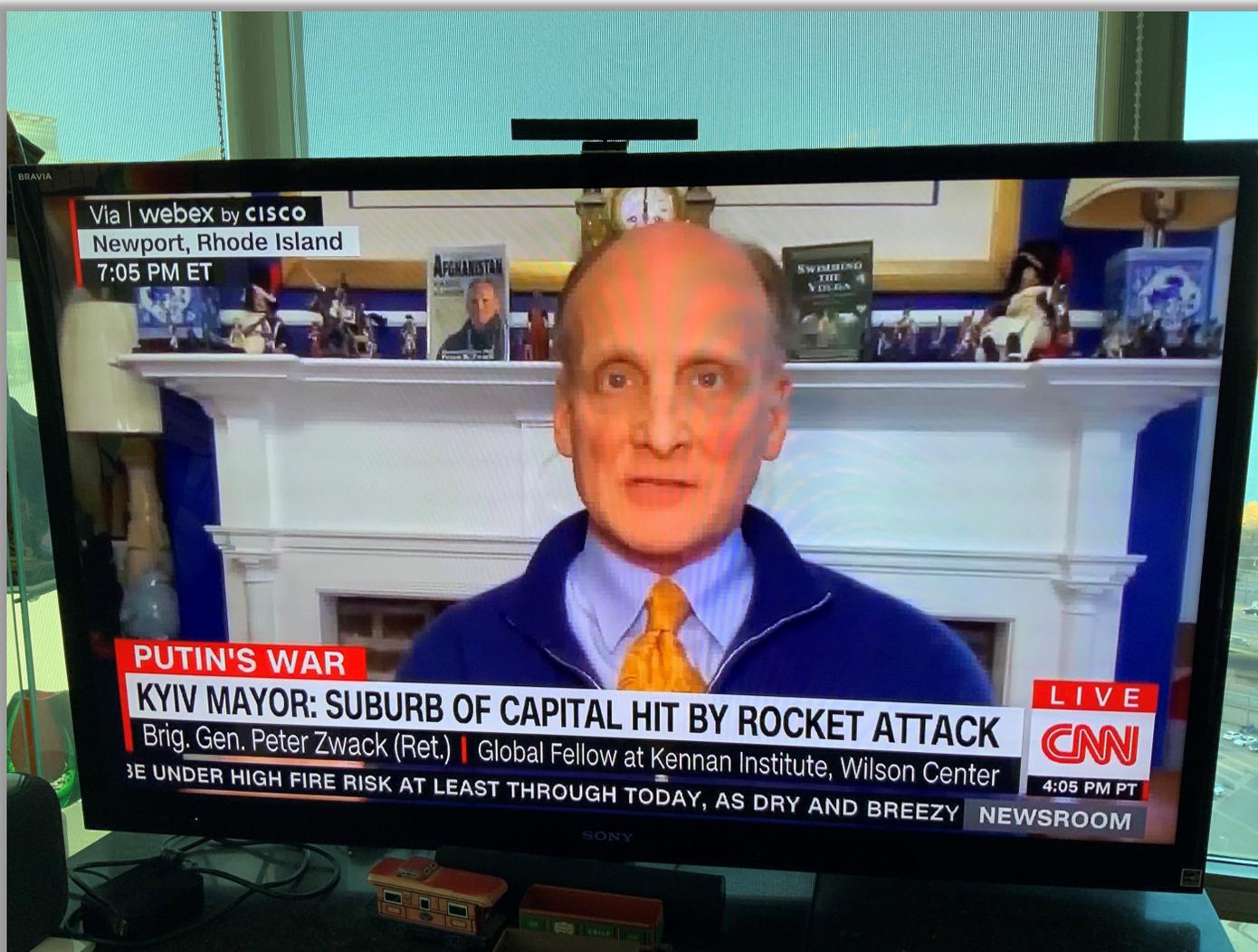
If you spot Napoleon or something Napoleonic in a movie, television or some other type of media, then get a image of it and submit it to [editor.nhs.newsletter@gmail.com](mailto:editor.nhs.newsletter@gmail.com)



This issue's winner is **me**, Edna Markham!

*“Watching the news of the horrible developments in Russia’s unprovoked and atrocious attack upon Ukraine, I noticed the mantle pieces behind Brig. Gen Peter Zwack (Ret.). There are figurines of the Old Guard, Hussars and Napoleon himself.”*

Also Dan Fenner, NHS Board of Directors member, noticed that about ten minutes into the new Downton Abbey movie there is a reference to Able Gance’s ‘Napoleon.’



**Well Spotted!**

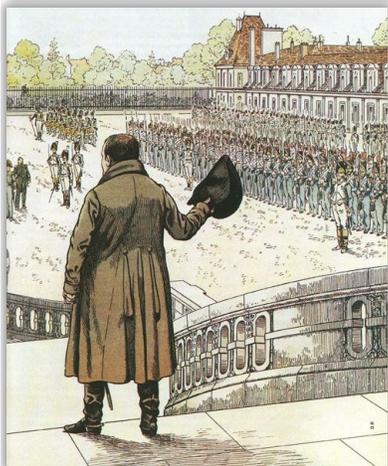
## Napoleonic Bits and Pieces

### Restoration of the Fer-à-Cheval staircase of the Château de Fontainebleau

“THE FINAL PHASE OF RESTORATION Stone after stone, the craftsmen and sculptors have restored all its brilliance to the Fer-à-Cheval staircase of the Château de Fontainebleau. A real work of craftsmanship that we invite you to come and admire.

This magnificent evening of the inauguration of the restored Fer-à-Cheval staircase ended with a spectacular Sound & Light show, under the stars of Fontainebleau.

Château de Fontainebleau on [Facebook](#)



## Napoleonic Bits and Pieces, (continued)

### In Our Time with Melvyn Bragg - The Battle of Trafalgar

Melvyn Bragg and guests discuss the events of 21st October 1805, in which the British fleet led by Nelson destroyed a combined Franco-Spanish fleet in the Atlantic off the coast of Spain. Nelson's death that day was deeply mourned in Britain, and his example proved influential, and the battle was to help sever ties between Spain and its American empire. In France meanwhile, even before Nelson's body was interred at St Paul's, the setback at Trafalgar was overshadowed by Napoleon's decisive victory over Russia and Austria at Austerlitz, though Napoleon's search for his lost naval strength was to shape his plans for further conquests.

With

James Davey  
Lecturer in Naval and Maritime  
History at the University of  
Exeter

Marianne Czisnik  
Independent researcher on

Nelson and editor of his letters to Lady  
Hamilton

and

Kenneth Johnson  
Research Professor of National Security at  
Air University, Alabama

Producer: Simon Tillotson

You can download the episode [here](#) or listen [here](#),  
52 minutes, BBC.



'The Battle of Trafalgar' by JMW Turner (1824)

### History Symposium

Since 1994, the Upper Thames Military Re-enactment Society has hosted annual Living History Conferences in London, Ontario. With over 400 attendees, the Living History Conference was off to a great start.

Over the past 27 years, the Living History Conference has evolved into the War of 1812 Symposium and now the History Symposium. The goal of the History Symposium continues to be to provide high-quality speakers on a variety of historical topics, though we will always feel drawn to our War of 1812 roots.

You can check out the list of upcoming lectures [here](#).

#### Highlights include:

September 17, 2022 - [Travis Hill & Jim Hill](#)  
2 pm - 3:30pm (EST)

*The Battle of Chippawa: Haudenosaunee vs  
Haudenosaunee*

October 22, 2022 - [Megan Hamilton](#)

2 pm - 3:30pm (EST)

*Mail and Morale: The Canadian Army in Italy, 1943-1945*

November 19, 2022 - [Sarah Lockyer](#)

2 pm - 3:30pm (EST)

*The Casualty Identification Program: Identifying the  
Remains of Canadian Service Members from the First  
and Second World Wars and the Korean Conflict*

Past lectures are also available online [here](#), including:

[Plunder, Provost & Punishment: Discipline, the Law,  
and the Courts Martial in the Age of Wellington](#) by  
Zack White

and [Dressing the Dandy: The Wardrobe of a Regency  
Gentleman \(Part 1 and 2\)](#) by Zack Pinsent

## **Eyewitness Letters**, by Jonas De Neef

Here we present a selection of letters translated by myself over the past few months. Most of them have not been featured in full (in English) anywhere elsewhere before. The documents and extracts originate from overlooked French memoirs, studies, regimental histories, rare periodicals, ... It's my joy to share them and give these accounts the spotlight they deserve, hence I hope they make interesting reading. — *Jonas De Neef*

### **Letter of a brigadier serving in the Chasseurs à Cheval of the Imperial Guard addressed to his parents, concerning the battle of Austerlitz ...**

*At the headquarters of I Corps of the Grande Armée.  
Budweiss in Bohemia, 24 December 1805.*

At last, my dear father and mother, I'm able to provide you some news.

Since our departure from Hanover, today is the second day that we have been at ease, and I will use this time to write to you. If I wanted to enter into the details of everything that has happened to us, it would take me more than eight days to describe everything. When I have the pleasure of seeing you again, I will tell you everything, and I am sure that you will be amused for a long time, although I will be content to report the most remarkable events such as the renowned battle of Austerlitz.

It was on 27 Fructidor that we left Hanover and the countryside, and on the 30th we crossed the territory of Hesse-Cassel and of Amstat, through forced marches until Frankfurt; then, following the [river] Main, we entered Prussia, and while keeping up the pace of our advance, we arrived at Ingolstadt, to the great astonishment of the Austrians who were not informed of our arrival. We thus prevented the junction of the Russian army with the Austrians. From Ulm, Ingolstadt, we pursued the enemy until Munich which they evacuated on 20 Vendémiaire at 6 o'clock in the morning. Our company entered there with Mr. the Marshal at 9 o'clock, to the acclamations of the whole city.

It was at Munich that we lost the title of Army of Hanover in lieu for the pompous designation of I Corps of the Grande Armée. The Bavarian army was entrusted to our corps under the orders of Marshal Bernadotte. The Emperor arrived a few days later, he had then destroyed the enemy army near Ulm. Finally, after a few days of rest, all the corps of our formidable army set out on the march. Encompassing all the land

from Prussia to Italy, our corps then occupied the right wing, and our Bavarians swept the Tyrol alongside Marshal Ney's corps.

The combined Russian and Austrian armies fled before us, severing and burning all the bridges to prevent the impetuosity of our progress. It was then that we experienced much suffering; the enemy burned and ravaged their own country to prevent us from sustaining ourselves. The first troops which arrived, finished destroying the little that was to be had. Therefor from Salzburg to Vienna, I did not see any inhabitant in the dwellings. All the peasants had fled into the woods, abandoning everything they owned. This country is ruined for ever, not a single piece of furniture was left in the houses; it was horrifying.

When the cold set in, I myself along with my squad, took refuge in one of these abandoned houses, when suddenly these women appeared and begged us on their knees for a piece of bread. At Lembach, where I was lodged, this household used to be very wealthy before the looting [started]; we had absolutely nothing to eat but a little, poor bread. Towards midnight, I heard something in the cellar. I took my sabre and a candle to go down there, and I found on the staircase the owner of the house looking all pale, begging me to let him take a dozen potatoes which they still had in the cellar. I tried to console this unfortunate man and persuade him to return to his house. He was a seventy-year-old man; he went back to the woods to look for his family and they arrived the next morning before we left. As bread and meat were distributed to us, I left them a few pounds; they thanked me a thousand times over. The same desolation prevailed wherever we went.

At long last, we arrived at the Danube ten leagues from Vienna, when the marshal received the order to cross this river and enter Moravia. It was there that we had the Russian army ahead of us, and in the small battles which were fought against them, we noticed that they fought better than the Austrians. We traveled through Moravia in all directions while awaiting the great battle which was being prepared. The Emperor seized the

## **Eyewitness Letters**, (continued)

town of Brunn, and the enemy army took up positions two leagues from there. The enemy had another column of 40,000 Russians joining them, their army amounting to 115,000 men commanded by the Russian and Austrian emperors. Our corps stood at Iglau, twenty-four leagues from Brunn. In one day and a half, we covered this distance and we assembled on 1 December (or 10 Frimaire) around two o'clock in the afternoon.

### **- The Battle of Austerlitz -**

As this battle is the most memorable we have experienced, I will relate to you all that took place.

It was thus on 10 Frimaire that we combined forces with the Grande Armée. As it had formed up for battle, we immediately assumed our positions. It was a splendid spectacle to behold a hundred thousand Frenchmen aligned for battle on the heights and in the valleys, on a stretch of land of about two leagues. Towards nightfall, the bivouac fires were lit, and it was at this time that I remained ecstatic to observe more than twenty thousand fires being lighted. At nine o'clock, the whole army lit straw torches and then fanned them out. The whole army shouted all together 'Long live the Emperor': it was the eve of the anniversary of his coronation. The night passed by peacefully.

I was on guard duty that day, and therefore had to escort Mr. le Maréchal. He mounted his horse at 6 o'clock, took me with him along with two other guardsmen, and ordered me not to leave him for an instant. You can imagine how pleased I was, I would not even have given this day away for a hundred louis. At length, the four of us galloped towards the Emperor's bivouac; we noticed that the Emperor slept on the campsite, on straw like the soldiers did. We arrived at 7 o'clock. We found him near his fire, his feet in the mud wearing the following costume: a longcoat made of thick grey cloth, scorched and burnt in several places; small holes at the elbows and under the arms, a hat re-cut like my father's to wear on Sunday, trousers similar to his coat, large boots all fouled and a small cravat which could be worth fifteen sols. Such the Emperor Napoleon was dressed, on the most beautiful day of his life. I had the pleasure of admiring him for a whole hour and of escorting him for a portion of the

day. He inspected our corps; and after having given his final orders, he mounted his horse at eight o'clock sharp.

The assault began, not by skirmishers [tirailleurs], but the whole army moved forward. At the same moment, the most terrific fire opened on all sections of the battlefield, which was about four leagues long from one wing to the other. We occupied the centre, and the Russian Imperial Guard stood before us, both on foot and on horseback. At about eleven o'clock, the Russians, perceiving that we lacked cavalry, charged the 4th Line Regiment and the 24th Légère. Like lions, they overwhelmed and trapped these two regiments, and the fire of twelve 8-pounder guns completed the rout. We found ourselves in the very midst of this regiment, Mr. the Marshal and the three of us. Loads of cannonballs, shells and bullets were raining down on us. A colonel of dragoons, aide-de-camp to the marshal, was killed there; another was hit in the thigh due to a biscayen.

The marshal then had the regiments, belonging to the [former] Army of Hanover, advance at the double. The Russians thought they were going to break through them like the others, but these brave regiments met them with fearlessness. This formidable Russian Imperial cavalry charged for the third time, moved through the intervals of our battalions, and tried again to penetrate them. The 27th Light Infantry Regiment, the 94th and the 95th Line Regiments formed battalion squares and delivered a fire so well sustained that the Russians could never break through. At the same time, our company, the Grenadiers and the Mounted Chasseurs of our Imperial Guard charged the enemy in turn with such fury that in ten minutes time, the Russians were overwhelmed, driven back and compelled to flee. It must be mentioned that during the pursuit, our artillery completed the destruction of the Russians. The battlefield appeared horrific; almost all the Russians who were killed [here] suffered sabre blows. We seized ten guns and all the baggage of the Russian Imperial Guard.

Their emperor found himself at the castle of Austerlitz, half a league from the battlefield, and [from there] could witness the defeat of his Guard. Nevertheless, the

## Eyewitness Letters, (continued)

most terrific fire continued on the right and left wings until four o'clock in the evening. At last, after incredible efforts of valour on both sides, the right wing succeeded in turning the enemy's left wing and captured twenty thousand men and [illegible portion of text]. It was incredible; the Russians resisted for eight hours with the bayonet and those who were not captured or killed, were drowned in the lake. The left wing prolonged the engagement until eight o'clock in the evening, it achieved the same success as the centre and the right wing. This famous battle resulted in 30,000 prisoners, 120 guns, twenty generals, the colours of the Russian Guard and almost all their baggage. The entire army slept on the battlefield, I have never spent such a dreadful night. We were obliged to remove the dead and wounded in order to have space for ourselves and our horses. I slept in a small spot between Russians who appeared frightening. In addition, the weather, which had been fine during the day, changed and it rained all night. We could not take a step without slipping and falling on top of the dead; and to complete the picture, we had nothing to eat, not even water to drink. Next morning, we finally left this 'fine accommodation' and set off in pursuit of the enemy.

We entered Austerlitz at nine in the morning. The Russians wanted to withdraw via the road to Hungary,

but we reached them at the onset of the night. We bivouacked in the mud, and the next day at the very moment of attacking them, the emperor of Austria sent a representative to the marshal to implore him not to advance and stated that he desired peace. The marshal informed our emperor of this matter at once. They agreed on a meeting, which took place near a mill in between the two armies. The emperor Napoleon arrived wearing his grey coat, but he took it off when Francis II reached him. After half an hour's talk, they parted. Two days later, we returned from Iglau, and we were at last quartered in Bohemia, where we are fairly well off. The news has just arrived that peace has been concluded, thus I believe that our army will return to Hanover, at least that is what the marshal promised us. If by chance we should pass through Prague, I will go and visit our old uncle. We appear to be thirty leagues further back, so it would be possible for us to pass through there.

At present, I have no other preoccupation than your health and that of my sisters. As far as I am concerned, I am well and have not been ill for a minute. I have not yet finished my business with the company commander; as soon as I am done, I will send you what I promised.

My little trunk must have arrived by now. The person who was in charge of it wrote to his father to send it to you; please acknowledge that you received it.

Farewell, my dear parents. I embrace you and all my sisters and am always

Your devoted son,

PÉROT.

*My address:* to Mr. Pérot, brigadier in the Guard of Mr. Marshal Bernadotte, at the headquarters of I Corps of the Grande Armée, at Budweiss in Bohemia.

*Note:* Pérot was killed at the battle of Smolensk.

*Source:* La Giberne – Publication mensuelle illustrée ... , 2nd serie, n° 2, 1 August 1900, Paris, pp. 197-202.



## Eyewitness Letters, (continued)

### Impressions on the battle of Wagram and its casualties...

*Vienna, 17 July 1809.*

To Maret, the Duke of Bassano (Napoleon's Secretary of State).

My Lord,

I have been fortunate enough to witness the French fighting in several campaigns, and I have often thought that only in the army, one can judge the noble character of our nation; that there can be no spirit of opposition in France except among people blinded by passion or among those who have not seen our flags abroad; that the French show in war a thousand qualities which do not find their development on the native soil and that one still knows only half of the courage, the enthusiasm, the generosity of the French soldier, if one has not seen him wounded, suffering and ready to die the death of a brave man.

Your Excellency wishes to know what remarkable traits we were able to witness during our days of fortune from the 7th to the 14th of July. I have already seen so many heroic actions in the French armies, that if I had been the only one who had to answer this request, I would not have hesitated to state that the most unknown trait to be cited was to witness the ministers of H.M. near him on the field of battle, going beyond the line where their lives would be safe from danger, and adding to the courage of the brave men who received wounds behind them; that disinterested coolness and that impulse of the heart which associated them with the fortunes of our arms, and made them a delight in bivouac, fatigue and privation. Louis XIV was also followed in the army by his ministers, but they did not indulge in more dangers and fatigues than a long hunting trip offers.

The military genius of the Emperor has turned our battles into gigantic ones, which our most warlike kings would find hard to believe, if they could hear the story.

The reports which Misters Pinot and de Breteuil had the honour of handing over to Your Excellency

contain the most interesting aspects of our research. What I have been told personally is what every officer or soldier has heard a hundred times over since our armies crossed enemy territory. I will, however, extract from it what may be most deserving of being placed before Your Excellency's eyes.

On the 11th, in the evening, we brought back several wounded who had been treated in the ambulance at Enzersdorf and for whom there was no longer any means of transport. One of them (a Frenchman) said cheerfully when he was placed in a wagon: 'Nurse, I'm leaving my leg here, I'm giving it to you; take good care of it, do you hear?' An infantryman had his whole lower abdomen blown away by a cannonball. He was the most suffering of all, yet he had the most courage. He exhorted and encouraged each wounded man: 'I'd rather be all alone in a wood,' he said, 'than to hear my comrades scream like that.'

Another Frenchman, more sensitive to pain, lying next to him, gave lamentable cries; they were placed in the same carriage. The brave soldier was placed first; the other, thinking only of his pain, let himself fall on the awful wound of the other, who screamed horrible cries: 'Vile coward,' he said to him, 'if I had my sabre, I would kill you, however I am going to beat you up if you do not withdraw.' They were placed opposite each other, and the soldier, immediately forgetting his anger and his suffering, took care of his companion in misfortune, as if he were the one he loved most. He showed him how to behave, arranged the cloth that covered his wounds, and gave him something to drink.

On the 14th, at midnight, I found at the door of the Josephplatz hospital a carriage containing two wounded men (one French and the other Hungarian). They had already been refused admission to two other hospitals and the coachman, wanting to take his carriage and horses with him, which had been hitched up since the morning, took off and thus the two soldiers were going to spend the night on the pavement at the hospital gate. I asked the Frenchman (a carabinier in Oudinot's corps) what wound he suffered: 'Sir,' he told me calmly, 'I had my thigh blown off by a cannonball. I stayed six days on the

## Eyewitness Letters, (continued)

battlefield, I was relieved this morning and my thigh was cut off; but it is too late, I have worms (maggots) up to my hip. I will surely die tomorrow; besides, I do not care. I would only be angry to die on the pavement.' I promised him that he would be sent to the hospital at once: 'Sir', he added, 'please see to it that this poor kaiserlich will also be sent there.' I immediately asked for the chief surgeon and forced him to receive these two soldiers.

On the 7th, in the evening, we brought back in our carriage a captain of the 25th Light Infantry Regiment, who had his arm and shoulder shattered by a bullet. He did not feel the need to eat, although he had not had anything for thirty-six hours, but a terrible thirst was devouring him. His palate had become dry and inflamed; a drop of wine had just made him suffer greatly. I had an orange and gave it to him. 'Sir,' he said to me with kindness, 'I have been serving for fifteen years; since then, the two greatest pleasures I have experienced are to have received the cross [of the Legion of Honour] at Friedland, and to eat this orange.'

Here is an ingenuity which gave me both pain and pleasure. I found myself at Count de Rasumowski's residence when the body of General Lasalle had just been brought there; it was still laying on the carriage which had transported it. A *chasseur à cheval*, who had escorted him, was guarding him; tears were rolling down his eyes. I entered into conversation with him: 'Ah Sir', he said to me, 'what a brave soldier General Lasalle was! If I were the Emperor, I would have appointed him Marshal of the Empire.'

On the 10th, near Raxsdorf, we saw two or three soldiers who had halted and seemed overwhelmed with fatigue; at first we took them for wounded. 'What is it, my friend', I said to one of them. 'Sir, I have nothing; I have not eaten

for three days.' - 'Where are you going?' - 'We are to join General Marmont's corps.'

I will end my account with a very dark and striking picture. In Enzendorf, in an unlit corner under the staircase of the bell tower, two Austrian soldiers were lying next to each other. One of them had just expired, the other had both legs blown off above the knee. He had not been bandaged and the extreme heat of the previous four days had caused his wounds to produce a large quantity of maggots which could be seen gnawing away at him. This unfortunate man had retained his consciousness; he had lived on the straw that laid under him. They gave him bread, which he ate immediately. When he was spoken to, he could not answer. However, when he showed his wounds and, either the soldier he had by his side was his comrade and friend, or he was afraid of having a dead man near him, I saw him stretch out his hand over him as if to make sure he was still alive.

*Signed:* G. de VIENNEY, member of the Conseil d'Etat.

Letter published in the *Carnet de la Sabretache* of 1896.



## Eyewitness Letters, (continued)

### Some recollections of an officer who fought in the 1806 campaign in Prussia.

Dominique Ravy was born in Paris on 9 April 1784. Enrolled as a volunteer on 25 April 1802, second lieutenant on 24 June 1807, battalion commander on 16 December 1815. Served in the 32nd Line Infantry Regiment.

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*Mainz, 27 September 1806.*

We left Vienna on 29 December 1805. After seventeen days of marching, during which we made four sojourns, at Saint-Poelten (sic), Lintz, Braunau and Landshut, we arrived at Munich, where we had to await new orders. Our division was still part of VI Corps (Marshal Ney).

On 25 February, Dupont's division passed under the command of Marshal Augereau: it stood at Frankfurt. On 12 March, we stayed at Wesel, and on 2 April at Dusseldorf. On 26 July, we entered Liège.

On 22 August, Dupont's division was assigned to the Grande Armée. The headquarters was located at Cologne. We have just arrived at Mainz. I am delighted with this little tour of Europe, from south to north and from east to west. I am familiar with the capital of southern Germany, and now it's the journey to the capital of the north, Berlin.

It seems that this year the English have chosen Prussia to be our victim. The Queen, who is very beautiful, passes inspections on horseback and inspires everyone's heart. Ah, when women get involved! Fortunately, we are told, German women are very amiable to the French. If it is anything like we witnessed in Vienna ... victory is ours.

The regiment has a strength of 56 officers and 2,110 men. The 3rd Battalion was still in Paris. A decree dated 26 March 1806 has just been implemented: it provides the shako to all the infantry. The grenadiers

kept the [bearskin] fur cap, decorated with a copper plate, a white garland and a red plume. This is my (new) headdress since last 26 July, the date on which I was transferred, with my rank, to the grenadier company of the battalion. The clothes for the troops have been shortened a little. The facings are red with white borders for everyone: grenadiers, fusiliers and voltigeurs.

We also now have our company of voltigeurs in each battalion. These small, elite men have been introduced in the light infantry regiments as early as 1805. Why elite? [Because] the men in the centre companies marched, fought and were killed as before. The voltigeurs wear a white banded shako with a yellow and green plume. Their collar is daffodil yellow, while ours is red. That is the difference.

The officers had retained the long coat.

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*Halle, 18 October 1806.*

The magnificent triumph of Jena and Auerstedt was crowned by the battle and the capture of Halle, three days later. We have done our work properly. We are exhausted due to fatigue, but, at least, we will not have to be ashamed in front of the victors of the 14th [of October], who accused us of not having marched to the sound of the guns. The 32nd [Regiment] did not march, it ran.

We left Mainz for Würzburg, where we arrived on 2 October. By the Emperor's order of the day, it was demanded to Monsieurs the marshals to have the generals pass an inspection, with the purpose to insure that each soldier has fifty cartridges and his ramrod; the corporals their extractors; that each soldier has two pairs of shoes in his haversack, that the long coats, cooking pots, bowls and camp tools are distributed; that there is no shortage of bayonets and that they are in good condition. We received four days' worth of biscuit and bread for four days. As

## **Eyewitness Letters**, (continued)

Besson, my primary instructor, said, 'I think we're going to wage war with our legs again.'

On the 7th, we left Bamberg to join Marshal Bernadotte. Dupont's division became the 3rd in I Corps. I imagine that the Prussians will make use of their legs before us, because Bernadotte, who shows no fear, is moreover a clever man. He had tested our legs; [now] he wanted to assess what our arms were worth.

We put the former at the service of the latter, and in less than three quarters of an hour, three bridges, two large defiles and two town gates were captured. I believe, moreover, that we owed our success only to our impetuous assault. The most difficult section was a long, narrow bridge across the Saale leading to Halle, a small hillside town. Dupont's division occupied the left bank. The army of the Prince of Württemberg, 25,000 strong, the last hope of Prussia, defended Halle.

Marshal Bernadotte arrived at full gallop to give our division the order to seize the bridge. At this moment, a bugler of the voltigeurs who was standing at the head of his company, close to Bernadotte, swivelled around, clung to the prince's portmanteau, tore it off in a fit, and fell down like a sack of wheat, pierced by a bullet. Bernadotte merely smiled.

Dupont formed the 32nd Regiment into attack columns, put himself at our head, next to Colonel Darricau, and we followed a dike, one kilometre long, which led to the bridge. Several enemy batteries provided cover for the passage. 'Soldiers', cried Dupont, 'forward, do not let those guns fire twice!' Canister fire flew, the thinned ranks closed; the wounded fell shouting 'long live the Emperor' and the Wurtemberger gunners were killed at their guns before they had time to reload. What a beautiful battle! We could not see much, the smoke enveloped us; I thought I was in a cellar. But how intoxicating all these detonations were! You feel like shouting, biting your

cartridge and fight. In the lights of the cannon fire, in the red smoke, one sees, like shadows in a fog, the gunners right at their post, and the servants leaning close to the cannons. It is superb!

Colonel Darricau's horse was pierced by several bayonet thrusts. This valiant commander led the assault columns, on foot, alongside Captain Castagné. The enemy lined the houses on one side of each street and welcomed us with heavy fire. As if they were capable of stopping us! The charge was beating, making your heart jump in your chest. It did not take long: the streets were cleared. We entered the houses, nailed the Prussians to the wall, flanked them through the windows and pursued them onto the roofs. We fired at each other behind the chimneys: it was a pleasure.

The town was quickly captured. The enemy attempted an offensive in response. Dupont broke through the barricades which were set up at the gates opposite our assault, and we flung ourselves in front of the surprised Wurtembergers. The struggle only ended at night. We had been fighting since nine o'clock in the morning, after having marched throughout the previous night.

Napoleon, visiting the battlefield today, was astonished at the boldness of such an attack. 'What', he said, 'was it over this bridge that they crossed to seize the town? I would have hesitated to attack it [even] with 50,000 men'. Then he continued with emotion, seeing the corpses of the soldiers of the regiment: 'Are there any men of the 32nd left?'

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Lübeck, 12 November 1806.

It seems that Blücher had rushed himself towards the Oder and joined his king. He assumed that it was enough to lock himself up in a town to hold us there and stop us dead in our tracks. He was caught at Lübeck by Bernadotte. We arrived too late for the

## Eyewitness Letters, (continued)

assault, and also, fortunately for our honour, for the pillage. It lasted thirty-six hours.

Picture a town invaded at once by three different army corps, the whole forming a mass of 50,000 men, to which must be added nearly 10,000 Prussian prisoners who, neglected in the midst of the struggle by the victors, joined them in looting houses and indulging in all kinds of excesses. Poor inhabitants of Lübeck! They had never fired at anyone. All they wanted to do was sell their goods, ship their wares and do their business. After all, this is war, and you can't make omelettes without breaking eggs.

During this time, we marched. From Halle onward, we supported Murat's cavalry. Since Ulm, the prince had, at least, changed horses, but we only our shoes.

The battle of Wahren had delayed us a little. Still bridges and woods to be cleared: it has been costly.

When we arrived in Lübeck, we heard a hellish noise.

We saw the inhabitants running here and there, with pain in their souls, and our men running fast in pursuit.

Colonel Darricau frowned. He gathered us on a large square and held us there, arms shouldered. 'Ah', said a foul-mouthed fellow, 'is Bernadotte going to inspect us, that we should be left here as if we're standing on guard?' The colonel looked at him with eyes ready to shoot him, and the braggard cautiously hid himself in the third rank.

However, owing to Bernadotte, tranquillity was restored. He himself had, with his staff, roamed the desolate streets during the night, and restored order. He had a hussar shot who, being drunk, had threatened him in the darkness. With a blow of the whip the marshal had marked his face, recognised him the next day and sentenced him to death.

Our discipline and good order, due to the vigour of our colonel, earned us the honour of being appointed by the marshal as the safeguards of Lübeck. Our patrols scoured the town, and we apprehended the looters and drunkards of every corps ...

*Source:* Piéron, Gustave Louis Eugène (Lieutenant), *Histoire d'un régiment : la 32e demi-brigade (1775-1890)*, A. Le Vasseur, Paris, 1890, pp. 144-149.



Obituaries from the Gentleman's Magazine

Note that these "interesting" deaths were selected from only one issue (January and February 1802).

DEATHS.

*Lyons, Dec. 30.* Citizen Talleyrand arrived here two days ago. The Citalpine Deputies have visited him, and to-day he gave a dinner to the Notables. The Archbishop of Milan, 82 years of age, to all appearance in good health, and very lively, was on his right. He had scarcely sat down, when, leaning towards Citizen Talleyrand to speak to him, he expired on his seat. Citizen Moscati, a celebrated physician, who was one of the company, endeavoured in vain to restore him to life. His heart had instantly ceased to beat.—The Archbishop of Milan came to this city for the express purpose of seeing the First Consul, whom he knew in his first campaign in Italy.

24. At New York, in a duel between him and Mr. G. J. Eaker, in which he was shot through the body at the first fire, and languished till next day, P. Hamilton, esq. eldest son of Gen. Alex. H. The dispute originated in a conversation at the playhouse respecting an oration delivered by Mr. E. in July last.

22. At Whitecleydale, near Röchdale, in his 98th year, John Fielding, leaving a brother in his 96th year, and a sister in her 93d year. Four years since another sister died, aged 96; and their father, N. Fielding, died in his 101st year. The father and sons had been employed as shepherds.

In her 122th year, Mrs. Golden, of Hilton, in Cleveland. She had the use of her faculties till the day of her death; and could card faster than any woman could spin.

13. At Exmouth, in her 23d year, Miss Caroline A. Gordon, daughter of the late Hon. Lieut.-col. G. Her life of humble virtue was concluded by a death of Christian fortitude. She excelled in all the accomplishments of modern education, but had learnt to consider them as the ornaments, not the employment, of life; and possessed extensive information on more important subjects. She was one of the happy few that blend politeness with simplicity, cheerfulness with reflection, superiority with humility, knowledge with innocence, compliance with resolution, and unostentatious benevolence with unaffected piety. Long conscious of her approaching end, she endured great sufferings with most admirable composure and resignation. Though she was blessed by the affection, and constituted the delight, of her family, enjoyed the esteem and admiration of her friends, and was at the age when life is most alluring, she quitted it, if not without regret, without repining; supremely happy in being early removed from a world of temptation and disappointment, her heart unwrung by misery, and her mind unblemished by vice.

1802. Jan. 1. Found drowned in a pond near his house, Mr. Hutchinson, of Deerwood, in the parish of Ifield. He was possessed of very considerable property; and his loss will be sincerely felt by the poor, to whom he was a liberal benefactor.

At Paris, aged 64, Madame Allard, the mother of young Vestris, formerly a celebrated dancer at the Opera-house there.

Obituaries from the Gentleman's Magazine, (continued)

Note that these "interesting" deaths were selected from only one issue (January and February 1802).

DEATHS.

*Matera, Jan. 3.* A melancholy accident has happened here, The half of the palace of the Marchese Campari has been blown up; by which his wife, a very respectable lady, several servants, and a number of soldiers of the Polish legion, have lost their lives. The latter were the occasion of this misfortune, by setting fire to a quantity of gunpowder in the lower apartments in which they were lodged.

*Saturday, Feb. 6.*

About one o'clock this day, a woman, about 30 years of age, and extremely well dressed, was observed to throw herself off the wall of Kensington-Garden into the Serpentine River, from which she was soon afterwards taken out, and every means immediately used to restore her to life, but without effect, as she had been suffocated by her head sticking in the mud, the water being very shallow in that part of the river.

John Fleming, esq. of Stoneham, Hants. He had taken a house in London, and was preparing to go to Bath. While chatting with his wife on a sofa, he died instantly, probably by the bursting of a blood-vessel in an apoplexy. He was grandson of Browne Willis, esq. of Whaddon-hall, by his son Thomas, who died in his father's life-time, 1756, having married a daughter of Mr. Fleming, of Stoneham. Mr. F. was born 1743, and married Elizabeth daugh. of Valentine Knightley, of Fawsley; co. Northampton, esq. but had no issue, and had represented Southampton in several parliaments.

*Sept. . .* On the island of St. Helena, Nathaniel Kennedy, esq. late storekeeper at that settlement.

21. At the advanced age of 84, Johanna Sophia Kettnerin, a native of the capital of Eichstadt. Disguised in men's clothes, she enlisted at the age of 20 in the Austrian service, where she served three whole years as a common soldier, and two and a half as a corporal, in the foot regiment of Hagenbach. She behaved herself as became a valiant soldier in all the campaigns of that war, which Maria Theresa, at the commencement of her reign, carried on against the Bavarians and French. She did her duty in the most soldier-like manner, on marches and on guard, at stormings, attacks, and battles, and won the universal admiration of her fellow-soldiers. A severe disorder having attacked her was the means of discovering her sex; and the matter was reported to the High Council of War. By an order of that Council she was called to Vienna, and brought before the empress, who, upon examining into the affair, bestowed upon this female heroine a pension of eight guilders a month. To her latest age she preserved that heroic look, step, and gesture, which she had acquired in her military capacity. She was able to shew several wounds on her head and arms. General Stoffel, who happened to be at Eichstadt, at that time, on the recruiting service, attended her body to the grave with his party, and saw the German Amazon honourably interred.

Wm. Brown, journeyman to Mr. Clarke, paper-maker, of Tealby, was caught by the wheel of the mill, and bruised in so shocking a manner as to cause his death in a few hours.

## Book Review — Kutuzov, A Life in War and Peace, by Alexander Mikaberidze

From [Publishers Weekly](#).

### Kutuzov: A Life in War and Peace

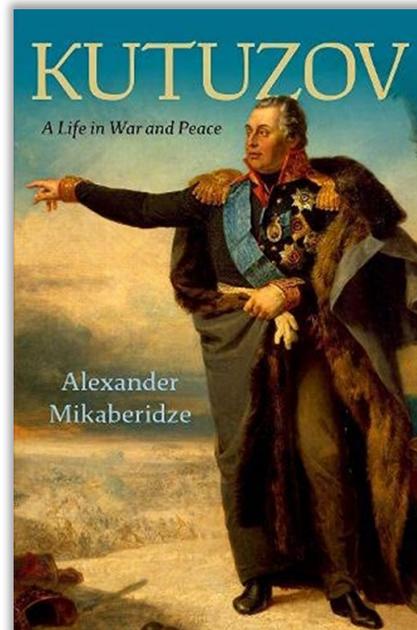
Alexander Mikaberidze. Oxford Univ., \$34.95 (784p)  
ISBN 978-0-19-754673-4

Historian Mikaberidze (*The Napoleonic Wars*) offers an intimate portrait of Russian field marshal Mikhail Kutuzov, whose defeat of Napoleon’s invading army of 600,000 soldiers in 1812 “dramatically” altered the balance of power in Europe. Noting that Kutuzov appears in Tolstoy’s *War and Peace*, Stalin’s anti-Nazi propaganda, and most recently, Vladimir Putin’s campaign to forge a new Russian identity, Mikaberidze claims that this “mythmaking” has obscured the real man. Drawing on Kutuzov’s letters and other primary sources, he masterfully sorts fact from fiction, detailing how Kutuzov, who was born into an aristocrat family in 1747, entered military school at age 11, served in multiple campaigns against the Ottoman Empire, and became one of Russia’s most brilliant and controversial generals. Throughout, Mikaberidze sheds light on Kutuzov’s battlefield

savvy and cunning; his forbearance in defeat, particularly at the Battle of Austerlitz; his “exile” as military governor of Kyiv; his depression and anxieties over debts incurred at his mismanaged estates; his conflicts with Czar Alexander I; and the “oblique methods” he used

to overpower rivals within the Russian command. Accessible and impressively researched, this sweeping biography unearths the real man behind a national symbol. Readers of European military history will be enthralled. (Aug.)

Available at [Amazon.com](#) and [Amazon.ca](#) this summer.



**Excerpt:** *If we are to believe his critics, Kutuzov did little but sleep, drink, fornicate and entertain. Surviving archival documents paint a different picture. The new commander in chief took his responsibilities seriously, and in the first days after his arrival he evaluated the situation in the Danubian principalities.*

**Alexander Mikaberidze** is Professor of History and Ruth Herring Noel Endowed Chair at Louisiana State University in Shreveport. He holds a degree in international law from Tbilisi State University (Republic of Georgia, 1999) and a Ph.D. in history from Florida State University (2003). After working for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia, he taught European and Middle Eastern history at Florida State and Mississippi State Universities and lectured on strategy and policy for the U.S. Naval War College. Dr. Mikaberidze specializes in the 18th-19th century Europe, particularly the Napoleonic Wars, and the military history of the Middle East. He has written and edited some two dozen titles, including the critically acclaimed *The Napoleonic Wars: A Global History* (Oxford: oxford University Press, 2020).

## Book Review — New York's War of 1812, Politics Society, and Combat

by Richard Barbuto, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Okla., hardback ,350 pages, \$39.95, 2021

In Volume 71 of the University of Oklahoma Press' Campaigns and Commanders series, Richard Barbuto, Professor Emeritus of Military History at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, examines the role the Empire State played in the War of 1812. After Congress formally declared war against a foreign power for the first time on June 18, 1812, President James Madison suggested that Canada would be the most vulnerable territory to invade while Britain was still battling Napoleon in Europe. Once committed to what it called "The American War," however, the British strove to move their American border south to the Ohio River. Those objectives gave the state of New York a central role.

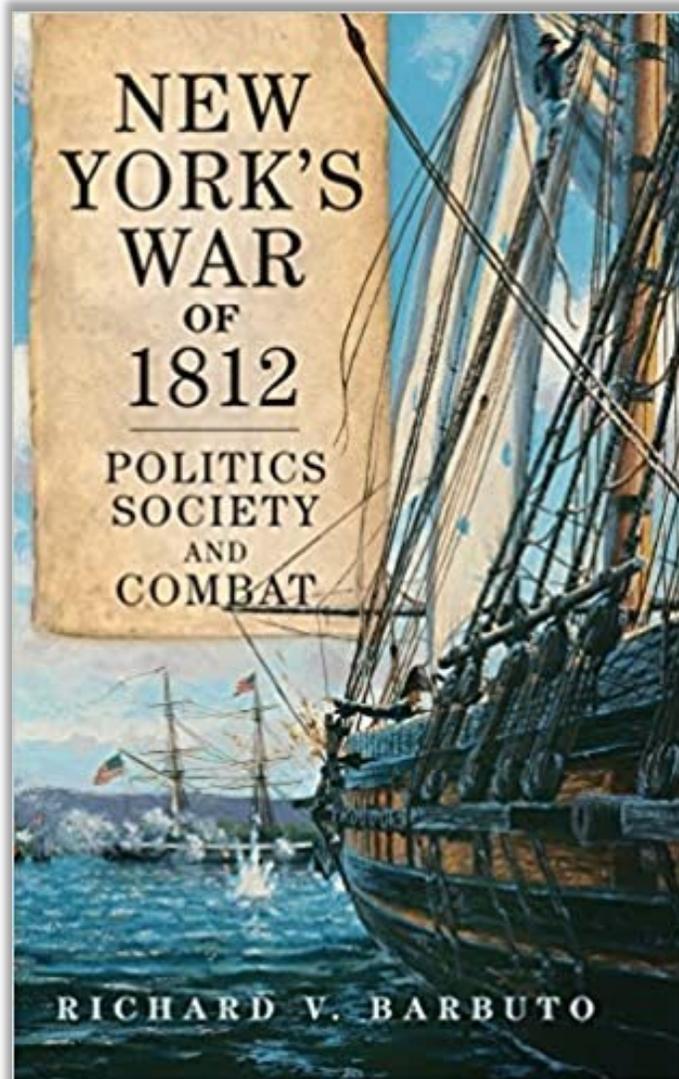
New York's War of 1812 puts much of its focuses on its governor, Daniel D. Tompkins. A man with an eye on the future, he believed that the war would continue into 1815. As part of their program to defend their state, he and the legislature passed an act authorizing two infantry regiments made up of African Americans, both free and slave. On occasions when the legislature was not in session, Tompkins maintained the militia out of his own pockets. As another by-product of his efforts, a new, talented generation of militia commanders like Jacob Brown and Alexander Macomb rose to high positions in the postwar U.S. Army.

Although the British selected Washington and Baltimore as their main invasion target in the summer of 1814, New York's militia played an important role in securing the northern border and preventing another British invasion force from creating a buffer state between Canada and the United States, climaxing in the battles of Plattsburgh and Lake Champlain on September 11. J.C.A. Stagg estimated that about 13 percent of enlisted soldiers serving in the war foreign-born. Of these, more than half were Irish. The Irish in New York's formed their own volunteer companies and went to war under their own officers, Francis McClure being foremost. The states military operations were no doubt enhanced by refugees from the 1798 Rebellion in Ireland. Officers

such as Nicholas Gray, Alexander Denniston, and James McKeon served competently in positions of responsibility and Danger. New York's War of 1812 should interest enthusiasts of American and Napoleonic Era regarding the somewhat overlooked success of the state and its governor in affecting the conflict's final outcome.

*Thomas Zacharis.*

Available at [Amazon.com](https://www.amazon.com) and [Amazon.ca](https://www.amazon.ca)



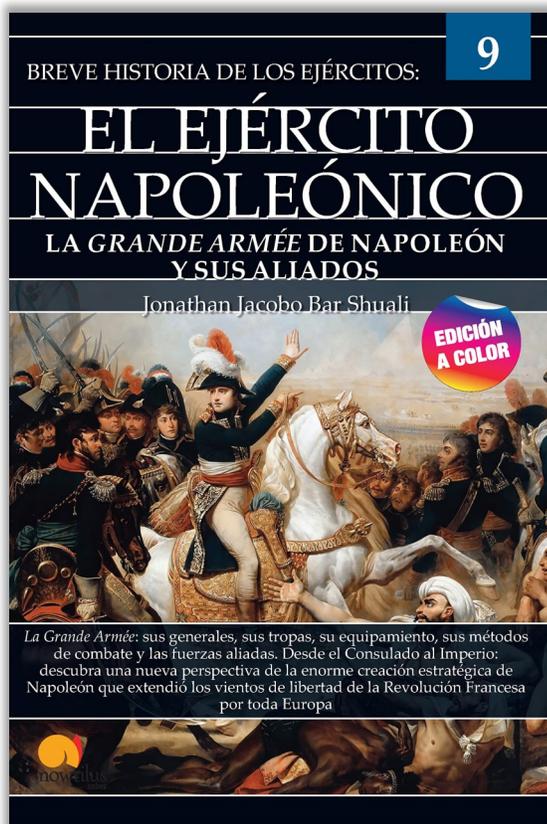
## New Book and Journal in Spanish — Napoleon's Grande Armée and His Allies and L'Aigle, by Jonathan Jacobo Bar Shuali

**Jonathan Jacobo Bar Shuali** is a historian with a Bachelor of art in History by the Complutense University of Madrid (Spain). He is a researcher, expert in modern History and Interfaith relations. "History of the Hispanic Monarchy (UCM-MADRID)". He is a speaker and collaborator in many conferences and congresses, advocate of active citizenship and member of the following academic associations: "Asociación Española de Jóvenes Modernistas" and "Souvenir Napoléonien". Currently he is focusing on the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) and the research and study of the Jewish population in Europe, especially in Spain and France.

### New Book

**Brief History of Armies: The Napoleonic Army. "Napoleon's Grande Armée and His Allies".**

Number of pages: 380 Year of publication: 2022



Publisher: Nowtilus, Spain

Language: Castellano (Spanish)

ISBN: 9788413052427

From Lisbon to Moscow, more than thirteen nations fought to the passing of drums and fifes led by one of the most important generals in our history: Napoleon Bonaparte. Napoleon's Europe led the French and their allies to raise an army to defend themselves against their enemies. There were seven coalitions that rose against the Republic and the Empire between 1792 and 1815. The Grande Armée: its generals, its troops, its equipment, its methods of combat and the allied forces. From Consulate to Empire: Discover a new perspective on Napoleon's enormous strategic creation that spread the French Revolution's winds of freedom across Europe.

Table of Contents available [here](#).

Available as hardcopy and kindle [here](#).

### New Journal

**L'Aigle Revista de Historia Napoleónica** arises from the need to introduce the study of the First and Second French Empires to Spanish-speaking society.

It seeks to be a scientific and rigorous disclosure of Napoleonic History. Today the *Fusiliers-Chasseurs Association* focuses on fields of research and historical recreation. Our final objective is study and better understand of the real figure of Napoleon Bonaparte, amongst our young people and the general public.

Journal website [here](#). Volume 1 (2021) and Special Edition (2022) available [here](#) and [here](#).



## Coloring Napoleon—Caption This Contest!



One of our NHS members, Kevin E. Smith, is quite the artist! He has created some wonderful black and white comical drawings of Napoleon and his Imperial Guard.

Feel free to print them out and color (or colour) as you wish! Get your kids or grandkids involved too! Send me a picture of your completed drawing and we may showcase it in a future issue.

If you would like to contact Kevin, his email address is: [phinnias\\_j\\_w@hotmail.com](mailto:phinnias_j_w@hotmail.com).

We will try to include a colouring page each of the future issues.

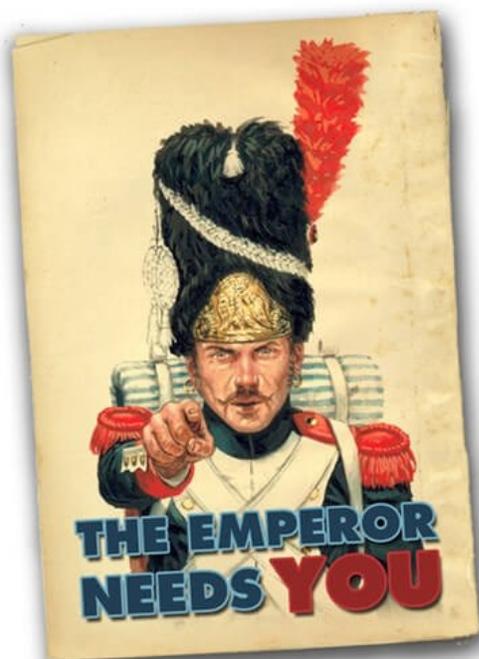
Thank you, Kevin!

copyright  
Kevin E. Smith

**Cadet Buonaparte and the senior NCO.**

What do you think he is saying to the young future Emperor? Send us your caption!

# THE NAPOLEONIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEWSLETTER



**to write an article for the  
NHS newsletter!**

## **Membership Renewal:**

August 15th is the yearly membership renewal date for the Napoleonic Historical Society. You can renew at this link [here](#). Please consider increasing your membership level to a premium membership to be eligible for our Napoleonic themed gifts. If you have already renewed your membership, then thank you for your continued support!

## **Important Email Notice:**

We are once again able to access to the mailbox for [president@napoleonichistoricalsociety.org](mailto:president@napoleonichistoricalsociety.org). But as before, if you have any articles or correspondence regarding the newsletter, please send them to [editor.nhs.newsletter@gmail.com](mailto:editor.nhs.newsletter@gmail.com)

## **Summer Reading Reviews**

Did you read any good Napoleonic books over the spring and summer? How about writing a review for us?

You will have noticed that there are many hyperlinks included in this newsletter (blue text). If you are receiving this newsletter by mail and can not easily find the links via Google, please contact me and I will send you the complete URL links.

### **NAPOLEONIC CALENDAR**

July	INS Annual Congress
3-10,	Cork, Ireland
2022	
August	NHS Annual Conference
11-14,	Fairmont Le Chateau
2022	Frontenac,
	Quebec City,
	Quebec, Canada

If you know of an upcoming conference (in-person or virtual), please send me the information.

### **NAPOLEONIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS**

(officers and directors of the Society are volunteers  
who serve without compensation or benefits of any kind)

Chris Sloan, President  
Mark Billings, Executive Vice-President  
Margaret Rodenberg, Secretary  
Victor Eiser, Treasurer

#### **Board of Directors**

#### *Terms expires in 2022*

Mark Billings  
Victor Eiser  
Coburn Grabenhorst  
Mike LaVean  
Mario Perez  
Chris Sloan  
Jak Smith

#### *Terms expires in 2023*

Vacant  
Vacant  
Todd Fisher  
Margaret Rodenberg  
Shannon Selin  
Chris Winter, Sr.  
Hank Zucker

#### *Terms expires in 2024*

Alfonso Alejo  
Crain Bliwas  
Dan Fenner  
Jeff Loss  
J. David Markham  
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Kevin Rodriguez