

AMERICANS IN FRANCE DURING THE REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON

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Franco-American relations during the Napoleonic, the preceding Revolutionary, and the succeeding Restoration period were for a long time studied almost exclusively from a diplomatic and political angle, utilizing the well-known classic range of sources germane to that specialism. From the 1970s on, however, concurrent with the spread of interest in the growing *histoire des mentalités* (spurred on by the *Annales* school) and its special interest for all manner of ego-documents such as letters, autobiographies, diaries, travel accounts, personal account books, et al., several scholars such as Yvon Bizardel, Guillaume Berthier de Sauvigny, Harvey Levenstein and myself have begun studying France and the French during this period through the eyes of American travelers – precisely via the medium of their life-sources.

The Parisian archivist Bizardel's research focused primarily on the activities and movements of a select group of relatively obscure travelers in Paris and several of the provinces, during the Revolution, as evident in a broad array of archival sources typically concerning the travelers' business activities, such as their engagement in the wine trade, or the purchase of French real estate. Her brief essays, in short, constituted a series of minor *aperçus*, or case studies. Bizardel also published two monographs cataloguing, in the form of short bi-bibliographical notes, Americans in France during the Revolution, and American painters in Paris (into the 19th century). In no case were American accounts synthesized in an attempt at generalization, nor did Bizardel aim at any kind of exhaustive treatment of extant accounts, limiting herself primarily to the easily accessible

well-known published sources.¹ The eminent Restoration scholar Berthier de Sauvigny, for his part, published the first two-volume monograph synthesizing the sizeable inventory of published American travel accounts and other ego-documents for the 1815-1848 period.² His work provided a fascinating, highly readable, and scholarly *tour d'horizon* of all aspects of French society, culture and politics as seen through the eyes of American travelers. Sauvigny's research, however, also stands out for two particular reasons. First, his extensive and exhaustive bi-bibliography is invaluable as an entry-point for further scholarship. Secondly, Sauvigny conducted the first quantitative research into the numbers and social composition of American travelers in France of any period. The University of Chicago cultural historian Levenstein, in a widely-read monograph, attempted an overview of American travelers' perspective(s) on France and the French "from Jefferson to the Jazz Age." Unfortunately, this monograph, though highly readable with its well-chosen and lively source vignettes, suffered from a relatively thin scholarly method that not only neglected significant recent scholarship for the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period, but also limited primary source work to the study of already well-known and amply discussed

¹For a full bibliography of her work see my *Das Leben in Frankreich zwischen 1780 und 1815, im Zeugnis amerikanischer Reisender*, diss. PhD, U Tübingen: Ann Arbor: UML, 1986 (8707524) 447.

²Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, *La France et les Français, vus par les voyageurs américains, 1814-1848*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1982-85). Nancy L. Green's 'The Comparative Gaze: Travellers in France before the Era of Mass Tourism,' *French Historical Studies*, 25 (2002) 3:423-440 also focused largely on the Restoration period, but did not attempt any kind of exhaustive synthesis, while including the discussion of several English accounts, for comparative purposes.

published works.³ My own work, finally, has made a modest attempt at not only providing for the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period what Sauvigny did for the Restoration, but also adding a new methodological and theoretical dimension, namely that of the relatively new and interdisciplinary field of image studies, or imagology.

With the present contribution I wish, however, to address the issue of the availability of primary sources relative to an attempt at a quantitative reconstruction and sociological distribution of American travelers in France during the revolutionary and, as we shall see, primarily the Napoleonic era. Their distribution, usefulness, and the methodological problems raised by their analysis shall constitute the core of this essay, closing with a cautious extrapolation of the extant evidence. As we shall see, it is impossible to ascertain with precision how many Americans traveled to France during ca. 1780-1815. This is due to the nature of the extant sources, which fall into three main categories:

1. Scattered and inconsistent quantitative evidence – such as passenger lists – in departmental archives; and American and French passport lists;
2. Comprehensive quantitative list of residence permits granted Americans in Paris, albeit with significant chronological and obvious geographical limitations;
3. Impressionistic and inconsistent qualitative references in travel accounts.

Still, a careful integration of all the extant evidence does, I believe, permit the establishment of an order of magnitude as well as the sociological background and geographical provenance of Americans in France at the time. The resulting statistics will also provide a welcome corrective to misleading impressions gained by analyzing the backgrounds of the authors of travel accounts and other ego-documents. For one can hardly equate “who

³Harvey Levenstein, *Seductive Journey: American Tourists in France from Jefferson to the Jazz Age* (Chicago, 1986). Nancy L. Green, in her “The comparative Gaze: Travelers in France Before the Era of Mass Tourism,” *French Historical Studies* 25 (3) (Summer 2002): 423-440, based herself extensively on both Sauvigny and Levenstein.

wrote” with “who travelled.”

The bulk of American travellers to France will have entered either directly into an Atlantic port, from America, or indirectly via England. In either case, one might expect the existence of records documenting their passage through those ports. A survey of the various archives in question, i.e. departmental archives or specific national or regional agency archives related to Atlantic or Mediterranean ports-of-entry (listed North to South) indicate inconsistent and fragmented holdings with a mixed promise of research returns as follows:

Archives du Pas-de-Calais, Arras. A consultation of the archival inventory does not appear overly promising, though it appears that one regional newspaper devoted much space to movements in the port of Calais. This was the *Courier du Calais* – later called the *Courier du Pas-de-Calais (et du Nord)* (from 11 messidor An II to the end of An III or beginning of An IV). Whether an investigation of the *Courier* might result in solid numbers as regards American entries into Calais does, however, seem doubtful.

Archives et Bibliothèque de la Marine. Centre de Documentation et de Recherche de la Première Région Maritime, Cherbourg. No information on the arrivals of Americans exists, as at the time Cherbourg was mainly a fishing port and “port de guerre” under construction.

Archives Départementales de la Manche. Saint-Lô-en-Cotentin. No documents are available because the archive was completely destroyed in 1944, during the Saint-Lô breakout.

Archives de la Marine. Centre de Documentation et de Recherche de Brest. No discrete documentation concerning entries of Americans into Brest exists. A voluminous correspondence between the naval authorities in Brest and Paris is extant, and may contain individual references, but has not yet been catalogued.

Archives Départementales du Finistère, Quimper. Several series of documents might very well contain solid references to Americans entering the country.

- 4 M 13 "surveillance des étrangers, correspondance, an VIII-1814"
- 4 M 14-15 "passeports, an VIII-1807 et 1808-1814"
- 10 L 147 "étrangers, instructions et correspondance générale, 1792-an VIII"
- 10 L 148 "passeports, 1791- an VIII"

General information on foreign merchants of all nationalities established in France at the end of the Ancien Régime can be found in volume III of "L'Inventaire sommaire de la série B des Archives du Finistère" (general table of contents and introduction). Since, however, no major ports-of-entry comparable to those of the Calais and Biscay regions existed during the period, it is unlikely that large numbers of American entries were documented here.

Archives de la Marine. Centre de Documentation et de Recherche de l'arrondissement maritime de Lorient. Has only a few minor holdings relative to Americans in France, including documents relative to John Paul Jones's squadron, esp. the rôles d'équipage and a few lists of passengers arriving on packets between Lorient and New York from 1783-1787 (1 P 296) (lists eight Americans of 56 passengers total) and an unpublished brief study on the aforementioned packets, by the *Comité Culturelle de l'Arsenal de Lorient*, which contains references to a further three Americans arriving in or departing from Lorient.

Archives du Département et du Comté Nantais. No relevant documents are available with any systematic entries relating to American arrivals in Nantes. A laborious examination of the long lists of "rôles d'armements and désarmements" is possible, but appears of little promise.

Archives de la Région Aquitaine et du Département de la Gironde, Bordeaux. Given the significance of the port of Bordeaux, it is unfortunate that the archives contain no discrete sources of value as regards the entries or exits of Americans during the period.

Archives de la Région de Provence-Côte d'Azur et du Département des Bouches-du-Rhône, Marseille. Unfortunately, no useful information is available,

as extant entry lists contain neither names nor nationalities of passengers through Marseille.

In sum, the fragmentary and/or disparate nature of the provincial documentation is far from promising.

For Paris under Napoleon, however, we are comparatively fortunate, clearly thanks to an increasingly efficient centralized police regime interested in maintaining the surveillance of foreigners in general, during times of international conflict, and Americans in particular, given the diplomatic tensions between the erstwhile sister republics. Indeed, on the ground, police authorities frequently dealt with the problems of mistaken identities and the alleged masquerading of English spies trying to pass as Yankees, as I have discussed elsewhere.⁴ Arriving in Paris, visitors had to exchange their passports for a "permis de séjour" at the préfecture de police, and keep this document on hand in case of the inspection of their persons, exchanging it back for their passports before their final departure.⁵ Thus, they registered with the police, resulting in the creation of a discrete record of Americans entering into Paris, the *Liste des Américains se trouvant à Paris 1806-1814*.⁶

The *Liste* was kept alphabetically by name of traveler, as well as chronologically by date of entry, and lists 1285 entries during the years in which the register was maintained. The frequent Francisation of names by the clerks on duty not only illustrates the early confrontation of travelers with language difficulties, but also presents a significant problem for the researcher attempting to identify the individuals in question. Personal data, tabulated in columns across the landscape page, almost always include date of entry and exit, geographical provenance, destination, occupation, age, sometimes place of birth and frequently the traveler's current address in Paris. Given the lack of unambiguous

⁴See my "Yankees Caught in the Crossfire: The Trials and Travails of Americans in Revolutionary and Napoleonic France," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 32 (2003): 297-322.

⁵Henri Auguste Ottocar Reichard, *Guide des Voyageurs en France*, 6th ed. (facsimile repr. of 1810 ed. Weimar, 1970) 101-102.

⁶A.N. F⁷ 2236/37.

references to citizenship identification in the *Liste*, we are forced to use the methodologically more problematical category of geographical “provenance,” as entered by the clerk. Indeed, even the apparently straightforward classification of travelers in the *Liste* as “américain” cannot be simply equated with that of “citoyen des États-Unis,” since the label “américain” was in fact applied to all persons originating from the North American continent and also included individuals hailing from French possessions in the Caribbean, such as Santo Domingo. Of the total entries, some fifty certainly do not pertain to American citizens, since they note geographical provenance from the Caribbean. Further notations referring to provenance, such as “de l’Amérique” or “venant de l’Amérique” are too ambiguous for classification as “citizen of the United States,” and can also not be counted. In accordance with the above restrictions only those entries were considered that reflected, to the highest degree of probability, the actual presence of an American citizen. These begin with “né à” or “natif de,” followed by the name of a city in the United States; or “américain” or “de” followed by an American city name. Entries without a specific geographical annotation, and entries beginning with “domicilié à” were not taken into account, although many of these will also have pertained to actual American citizens. The numerical evaluation, therefore, was necessarily cautious, even if this led to a quite conservative estimate that certainly lay below the actual number of entries, but which had the merit of being based on the premise of selecting relatively trustworthy data for inclusion.

Of the total 1285 entries, 1005 belong in the time period 1806-1811, the remaining 280 in the period 1812-14. Some entries were not dated. In this case it was assumed the undated entry (or entries) belonged to the last preceding dated entry, since these were ordered chronologically. Following the conservative method described above, 840 entries (65%) were evaluated.

The clerk entered 786 occupational descriptors for the 840 travelers counted, i.e. identifying 94% by profession, as follows:

Travelers by Occupation

Occupation	N	%
Merchant	377	48,0
Ship’s Captain	93	11,8
Proprietor	64	8,1
Diplomatic	50	6,4
Courrier	28	3,6
Physician	26	3,3
Supercargo	24	3,0
Naval Officer	23	2,9
Military Officer	22	2,8
Student	20	2,5
Rentier (ières)	16	2,0
Domestic	12	1,5
Jurist	7	0,9
Other	7	0,9
Commercial agent	5	0,6
Sailor	5	0,6
Artist	4	0,5
Mechanic	3	0,4

A clearer picture emerges via a consolidation into clusters:

Travelers by Consolidated Occupational Cluster

Cluster	N	%
Trade	382	48,6
Shipping	122	15,5
Gentlemen	80	10,2
Diplomatic	50	6,4
Military	45	5,7
Other	107	13,6

Thus, fully three-quarters of travelers would appear to be engaged in business travel, of which the vast majority in commerce, and a good 12% on diplomatic or military mission. Ten percent can easily be classified as gentlemen-proprietors or “rentiers,” so that over 85% were clearly travelers of means. A variety of categories constitutes the remainder.

Of all travelers classified as American citizens, 395, or 47%, declared their geographical provenance, resulting in the following distribution:

Geographical Provenance by State

State	N	%
Massachusetts	137	34,7
New York	91	23,0
Pennsylvania	62	15,7
Maryland	35	8,9
Louisiana	20	5,0
Virginia	18	4,6
South Carolina	14	3,5
Connecticut	5	1,3
Washington, D.C.	4	1,0
Rhode Island	4	1,0
New Jersey	1	0,3
Other	4	1,0

Geographical Provenance by Region

Region	N	%
New England	147	37,2
Mid-Atlantic	189	47,9
South	52	13,2

The cause of this distribution becomes clear when one looks at the individual breakdown by port of origin, which indicates 34% of travelers shipped out from Boston, 23% from New York, 15% from Philadelphia, and 8% from Baltimore. Note that these top four ports of origin account for 80% of all departures, with only a smattering going to the smaller ports of New England and the South, including New Orleans. The overwhelming majority of travelers, therefore, were businessmen from New England and the mid-Atlantic states, followed by a significant professional diplomatic-military cluster. The majority of travelers were also clearly well-to-do. Travel was not yet predominantly for pleasure or leisure, but for professional purposes.

The *Liste* also allows us to track the distribution of entries into Paris over time, as follows:

Year	N
1806	114
1807	124
1808	75
1809	89
1810	95
1811	100
1812	134
1813	96
1814	13

The *Liste* is incomplete for the year 1814, rendering the number of entries for that year meaningless. The shifting frequency of entries from 1806-1813, with a clear peak in 1807, a marked trough in 1808, followed by a sluggish resurgence by 1811, a new peak in 1812, and a new decline in 1813, is suggestive. Given the clear predominance of commercial travelers – be they actual merchants, or shippers and supercargoes – this pattern follows closely the fortunes of the United States in transatlantic trade, as determined by the key developments of the Anglo-French trade war and the Continental Blockade, the American reaction to violations of their neutral rights on the high seas, and the War of 1812. The term “blocus continental” itself, it will be remembered, was first used by Napoleon in his 15th Bulletin of 10 October, 1806. The system was initiated by the Berlin Decree of 21 November, 1806 and expanded by the Milan Decrees of 23 November and 17 December, 1807, themselves responses to the British Orders in Council of 7 January and 11 November, 1807. Yet it was Jefferson’s Embargo Act of 22 December, 1807, that probably had the most detrimental effect on American transatlantic shipping, in an attempt to keep neutral U.S. shipping out of the Anglo-French crossfire – dominated by the more powerful British Navy, of course – by virtually stifling trade. While the subsequent Non-Intercourse Act of 1 March 1809 lifted the embargo on all countries except Britain and France, the full embargo against those two belligerents was not lifted until the passage of Macon’s Bill Nr. 2 on 1 May, 1810. In this context, then, it is hardly surprising that a major dip in the numbers of travelers occurs precisely during 1808-1809.

Data concerning travelers’ addresses in Paris were not examined in depth, although these might permit deductions as to the early existence of an “American quarter,” or at least an area of preferred residence in the French capital. Even a cursory look at the *Liste* shows a relatively high frequency of hotels in the Rue Cerrutti and the Rue Richelieu. When I last visited the National Archives, I came upon a “Hôtel Washington” in the latter street. Was this pure chance? Impressionistic references in the travel accounts

also suggest the presence of preferred quarters, or an American “colony” in Paris, e.g. in 1795 William S. Dallam noted that (at least) one Parisian hotel clearly catered to the American colony; this was the Maison de Philadelphia and the first hotel he lodged at on arrival.⁷ In 1805, similarly, Washington Irving noted that most of the Americans of his acquaintance resided in the same quarter.⁸

A further analysis of data pertaining to dates of arrival and departure as well as destination of travel, might allow greater insight into the general movements of American travelers throughout Europe. A quantitative assessment, finally, of the further inventory of F⁷, containing a list of all passports issued from 1791 to 1852, promises more concrete numbers, but this register is, sadly, strictly in chronological and alphabetical order, leaving the criteria of nationality and geographical origin aside.

A chronological sample of the dozens of impressionistic references in the travelers’ accounts is also suggestive of the number of Americans in France in the provinces as well as the capital, even though these references are not specifically quantitative. In 1789, John Brown Cutting alluded to the great number of American merchantmen in the port of Bordeaux, noting that three American ships lay at dock and fifteen had just put out to sea.⁹ The Minister to France, Thomas Jefferson, issued 130 passports to Ameri-

cans between 23 May, 1785 and 29 August, 1789 alone.¹⁰ Soon after his arrival in 1794, naval officer Joshua Barney became eyewitness to the removal of Rousseau’s ashes to the Panthéon.

According to his report, the ceremony and following procession were accompanied by a “column of Americans”.¹¹ William S. Dallam, traveling in 1795, appears to have had a particular eye for noticing his compatriots. In Le Havre he encountered a large and thriving American community, noting “upwards of forty American captains some of them very genteel men” and several others he termed “Merchants and Gentlemen.”¹² In Paris he noted having “met with many Americans [...] chiefly from Boston.”¹³ Indeed, at Ambassador James Monroe’s 4th of July reception the guest list, according to Dallam, included 100 Americans.¹⁴

On another evening, he was invited for a dinner, which included “a large party of Americans.”¹⁵ The following year, Thomas Hickling was invited to the 4th of July dinner at American Consul Fulwar Skipwith’s house, with “about 85 Americans, and as many Frenchmen”¹⁶ In 1804, Washington Irving lived in a “hotel where [...] all the Americans that come to Marseilles, reside.”¹⁷ From Bordeaux he reported that American shipping “crowd[ed] the port” and profited from



Thomas Jefferson

¹⁰*The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 15: 483-.

¹¹*A Biographical Memoir of the Late Commodore Joshua Barney: from Autobiographical Notes and Journals*, ed. Mary Barney (Boston, 1832) 187.

¹²Journal entry of 24 March, 1795, Dallam.

¹³Journal entry of 10 April, 1795, Dallam.

¹⁴Journal entry of 4 July, 1795, Dallam.

¹⁵Dallam.

¹⁶Thomas Hickling, *Diary of Thomas Hickling’s Visit to France and England, 1796*, Ms. Massachusetts Historical Society.

¹⁷Washington Irving, *Journals and Notebooks, I, 1803-1806*, ed. Nathalia Wright (Madison, 1969) 27 August, 1804, 79.

⁷Journal entry of 4 July, 1795, William S. Dallam, *Diary of Major William S. Dallam from Dec. 14 to March 13, 1794-1795*, U of Kentucky Library Special Collections.

⁸Washington Irving to Peter Irving, 15 July, 1805, *Letters*, I, 1802-1823, ed. R.M. Alderman et al. (Boston, 1978) 194.

⁹John Brown Cutting to Thomas Jefferson, 11 July 1789, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd (Princeton, 1950) 15: 264.

the general political and economic disarray.¹⁸ Bordeaux was, in any case, "the most frequented port in France -- particularly by the Americans."¹⁹ Traveling through Languedoc, he was extremely delighted to meet an American couple from Boston at one inn.²⁰ The following year, on the diligence from Paris to Brussels he again found himself in the company of two Americans.²¹ In 1806, during his stay in Paris, Rembrandt Peale "met with several young Americans [...] chiefly from the southern states."²² In 1811, in another, lesser French port, Dunkerque, 59 penniless American sailors were to be found stranded, having had no means of making their way home.²³ In 1813, William Crawford, Minister to France, remarked having received the "calls of many American gentlemen, now in Paris."²⁴ In 1815 the traveler Mordecai M. Noah spent the night in Marseilles at a particular hotel, namely "Madame Carl's in Rue Paradis [...] whose house was filled with Americans."²⁵ The travelers Winfield Scott and William Lee, for their part, provided somewhat more concrete numbers for 1815. The general mentioned having been present at a banquet in Paris, attended by 70 Americans,²⁶ while the consul reported the presence of over 600 Americans in the port of Bordeaux, although this high number certainly must be taken to include quite a few transient sailors.²⁷ Maria Bayard, finally, in Paris during the Hundred Days, noted that she "saw a great many

¹⁸Washington Irving to Peter Irving, 9 July, 1804, *Letters*, I, 21.

¹⁹Irving, *Journals and Notebooks*, I, 1803-1806, 3 August, 1804, 54.

²⁰Ibid., 14 August, 1804, 62.

²¹Ibid., 22 September, 1805, 425.

²²Rembrandt Peale, "Letters from Paris," *The Portfolio* (September, 1810) 198.

²³A.N., AF.IV.536 (4190) Autorisation accordée au chargé d'affaires des États-Unis de renvoyer dans leur patrie sur le navire *l'Union*, 59 matelots américains se trouvant à Dunkerque ou dans les ports voisins (1811).

²⁴William H. Crawford, *The Journal of William H. Crawford*, ed. Daniel C. Knowlton (Northampton, MA, 1925) 27 July, 1813, 30.

²⁵Mordecai Noah, *Travels in England, France, Spain ... in the Years 1813-14 and 1815* (New York, 1819) 212.

²⁶Winfield Scott, *Memoirs of Lieutenant-General Scott, LL.D., Written by Himself* (New York, 1864) 164.

²⁷William Lee to Henry Jackson, 20 September, 1815, *A Yankee Jeffersonian: Selections From the Diary and Letters of William Lee of Massachusetts Written From 1796-1840*, ed. Mary L. Mann (Cambridge, MA, 1958) 172.

americans [sic]."²⁸

The documentary foundation is therefore, clearly insufficient to arrive at anything close to precise numbers of Americans traveling in France during the revolutionary and Napoleonic era, roughly 1780-1815. The only consistent and comprehensive source extant is the *Liste*, and it is limited to Paris and the years 1806-1813 (discounting the partial year 1814). Data from the provinces is more than sketchy. Indications in travel accounts and other relevant ego-documents are also, as we have seen, patchy and impressionistic. Nonetheless, I think it is possible to attempt a cautious extrapolation of the available data and so arrive at a reasonable estimation of order of magnitude. This order of magnitude can then be compared with the figures Sauvigny arrived at for the subsequent Restoration period in terms of reasonability.

Firstly, it can be taken as evident that the number of Americans in France was much smaller at the beginning of the period in question than at its end, given the international constellation and trade relations and their evolution during the period. Secondly, the references from provincial sources -- i.e. traveler testimony -- clearly show that the number of entries for Paris must be re-evaluated upward, so as to arrive at a probable estimate of the total number of entries, given the obvious assumption that not all travelers will have visited the capital, although Paris certainly exerted the greatest attraction of all the cities in France. Even the number of Americans for Paris must probably be re-evaluated upward, in view of the conservative criteria used in the analysis of the Parisian police-register, as discussed in detail above. An increase of about 30% (some 1100 travelers between 1806 and 1813) therefore seems reasonable. If one estimates the number of travelers in the provinces as approximately equivalent to that of Americans sojourning in Paris, one arrives at a figure of some 2000-2500, or an average of 300-350 per year, an amount which can hardly be construed as an overestimation. For the period 1780-1806

²⁸Journal entry of 19 March, 1815. Maria Bayard, *Diary of a Tour of England, Scotland, and France. Cathedrals, Art galleries, economic and social conditions (1814-1815)*, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, The New York Public Library (Aster, Lenox and Tilden Foundations).

there is no concrete and reliable statistical evidence, with the sole exception of Jefferson's list of passports issued between 1785 and 1788. In this case we are forced to make do with an integration of all available references. An order of magnitude of some 100 travelers per year at the beginning of that period, slowly reaching about 300-350 toward its end, probably comes close to the actual ratio. Thus, we arrive at a final, probably rather conservative, estimate, for the whole period 1780-1815, of some 8-10,000 travelers.

For purpose of comparison let us briefly review Sauvigny's estimate for the following period up to 1848. Sauvigny based his estimate on two sources of information. The archival evidence is composed of the messages of the Parisian Prefect of Police to the Interior Ministry concerning the accommodation of foreigners in the capital's hotels between 1816 and 1827 – the document contains a list of the departure visas for 1827 as well – and a list of departures from Le Havre between 1837 and 1839 (and entries from May to October 1846). Sauvigny further also correlated the evidence therein with references in the travelers' accounts. These references, as those discussed in the present essay, were widely strewn among all extant reports and by themselves constituted no concrete figures on which to base a plausible evaluation. His final estimate was about 30,000 travelers between 1816 and 1848, or an average of some 1,000 entries per year. According to Sauvigny, this estimate is to be revised downward at the beginning of the period, upward at its end.²⁹ Given the shift in the international constellation during the peaceful Restoration period with its stability and increased prosperity, compared to the instability and international war and the disruption of transatlantic trade during the preceding Napoleonic and revolutionary periods, my extrapolated median of some 300-350 entries per year, towards 1812-1815, as compared to Sauvigny's median of 1,000 -- both figures to be adjusted downwards at the beginning, upwards towards the end of the respective periods, does not appear to be far off the mark, as an order of magnitude.

²⁹Sauvigny, I, 17.