

# PICTURE-EDITING AS SPYWORK EMILE LACHAUD DE LOQUEYSSIE'S PAPERS FROM HIS MISSIONS TO BRITAIN (1857–1861)

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The pictorial material this essay deals with would normally not have been preserved, as it was merely preliminary work used for further processing. Also it was sensitive material that was not meant to fall into the hands of others, in order to keep the activities that led to their production confidential. France's military archive holds three large sheets used by the reconnaissance officer Francois-Henri-Jean-Baptiste-Emile Lachaud de Loqueyssie as supports on which drawings and notes in pencil, ink, and watercolours, featuring views, maps, plans and sections of British landscapes, towns and military architectures as well as field notes were compiled.<sup>1</sup>

Loqueyssie produced this material on various espionage missions to southern England, undertaken on behalf of the French military between 1857 and 1861. Upon his return, in the course of preparing his final reports, he glued or pasted these papers onto the large sheets. Their subject matter concerns various regions of military interest in England: Portsmouth and its environs (*Portsmouth, Portsea et Gosport, Fig. 1*),<sup>2</sup> the fortifications and

1 Loqueyssie's missions were first mentioned in Sébastien Laurent, *Politiques de l'ombre. État, renseignement et surveillance en France*, Paris 2009, pp. 164–165, p. 203.

2 *Notes sur Portsmouth en 1860 / Gosport / Ayant servi aux redactions faites en 1861,*

Portsmouth folder, Paris, IVM 326. I thank my friend Aude Gobet who provided me with invaluable help with the archival research at the SHD in Paris-Vincennes during and also after the pandemic.

emergency port of Portland (*Chateau de Portland et Port de Refuge*)<sup>3</sup> and the British defences along the Thames (*Angleterre-Tamise / Ft. Tilbury, batteries de Gravesend, &c.*, **Fig. 2**).<sup>4</sup> The folders in which these sheets are kept contain a great many other very similar but loose pictorial and textual materials from Loqueyssie's missions that represent different stages of his editorial processes.

These materials shed light on two steps in the production of pictorial knowledge by the French military: firstly, the making of spy drawings and notes in the field by a reconnaissance officer travelling abroad, and secondly, the editing work he undertook upon his return. For military purposes it was only the final products, the edited reports, that were of interest. The task of composing these, and especially of producing the accompanying visual materials, was completed after the missions in the Paris office of the *Dépôt des fortifications*. The fact that the ephemeral materials used for the preparation of such reports still exist is remarkable. In military archives of the period, great importance was attached to the economical handling of stored information, so as to ensure it was as quickly accessible and as comprehensible as possible in the case of a military emergency. Raw image and text materials such as these were therefore usually not kept after the final drawings and reports were completed.<sup>5</sup>

However, the extraordinary surplus of information in the present case study also comes with an absence: of the final report that Loqueyssie prepared, only the texts have survived. The pictures, maps and plans, which were the final products of the picture edits investigated here and are referred to several times throughout the written report, were separated from the texts at an unknown time and have so far remained untraceable in the archive. The direct connection between the preparatory sheets and the final clean drawings can therefore not be established.

3 *Chateau de Portland et Port de Refuge*, Paris, SHD, IVM 326.

4 *Angleterre / Tamise (Ft. Tilbury, batterie de Gravesend, &c)*, Paris, SHD, IVM 326.

5 It is possible that the papers described in the following form part of Loqueyssie's estate. When an engineer deceased, his family was obliged to hand over his private portfolios to the military without inventorising them, in order to protect

the secrecy of the informations they might contain. See Emilie d'Orgeix, "Collections et portefeuilles de plans: projets et dessins d'ingenieurs militaires en Europe du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle", in *Portefeuilles de plans. Projets et dessins d'ingenieurs militaires en Europe du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Vincent Maroteaux and Emilie d'Orgeix, Bourges 2001, pp. 5–11, here pp. 9–11.



**Fig. 1**  
Emile Lachaud de Loqueyssie, Preparatory sheet  
*Portsmouth, Portsea et Gosport* and other papers,  
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In this article, Loqueyssie's preparatory sheets are presented, analysed and contextualised as unusual and rare materials, in which the technique of pasting or gluing together, facilitating the compilation of images and notes, is one step in the working process of military image production. They provide an exemplary case for analysing this process in the French military in the 19th century.

François Henri Jean-Baptiste Émile Lachaud de Loqueyssie (1815–1874) was an exceptionally successful spy. He was the son of the German artist



**Fig. 2**  
 Emile Lachaud de Loqueyssie, Preparatory Sheet  
*Angleterre-Tamise / Ft. Tilbury, batteries de*  
*Gravesend, &c.*, inside, 32.8 × 47.7 cm,  
 © Service historique de la Défense, 1 VM 326

Emilie Hebenstreit (1788–1863)<sup>6</sup> and the French nobleman Antoine Jean-Baptiste Lachaud de Loqueyssie (1782–1872).<sup>7</sup> The couple lived in Dresden after their marriage in 1814,<sup>8</sup> but Loqueyssie was born in Paris, in 1815. After a childhood and youth probably spent in Dresden, he attended the military academy in Lyon in France, followed by a four-year training as a military engineer, first at the *École polytechnique* in Paris (1838/39)<sup>9</sup> and then at the *École d'application de l'artillerie et du génie* in Metz (1840/41). Loqueyssie seems to have been involved in surveying, cartography and topographical mapping from the beginning of his military career. He was stationed in 1843 as an engineering officer in Oran in present-day Algeria, which had been mapped as a French colony by the occupying forces since 1830.<sup>10</sup> In 1851, he married Jacqueline Chas (b. 1828),<sup>11</sup> a Parisian living in Oran. He returned to France a year later and, after two more postings, was appointed chef de bataillon at the *Dépôt des fortifications* in Paris in 1856. Loqueyssie became a reconnaissance officer, i.e. a military spy sent

6 There is evidence of a number of portraits and miniatures by Emilie Lachaud de Loqueyssie, née Hebenstreit in the Dresden collections and in the sales of various auction houses. A brief entry in Thieme-Becker hardly does her justice. She regularly contributed paintings to the exhibitions of the Dresden Art Academy between 1808 and 1812. For references see *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, 23 (1808), p. 415; 25 (1810), p. 314 and p. 350; 27 (1812), p. 361.

7 The couple's wedding took place in Dresden on 18 April 1814. Loqueyssie's father probably came to Dresden with Napoleon in 1813.

8 Loqueyssie's parents founded a school for girls in Dresden in 1828; cf. Emilie Lachaud de Loqueyssie, "Prospectus einer Erziehungsanstalt für Töchter in Dresden, unter der Leitung der Frau Loqueyssie", *Allgemeine Schulzeitung*, 126 (24 October 1829), cols. 1001–1007.

9 Loqueyssie's professional curriculum vitae is preserved in his personnel file of the French military, Paris, SHD, GR 4YF 97 455. He is mentioned as a pupil in *Annuaire de l'École royale polytechnique*, 6 (1838–1839), p. 71.

10 Saddek Benkada, "Savoirs militaires et modernité urbaine coloniale. Le rôle des ingénieurs du génie dans la transformation des villes algériennes: le cas d'Oran (1831–1870)", *Insaniyat / إنسانيات : Revue algérienne d'anthropologie et de sciences sociales*, 23–24 (2004), pp. 135–150, URL: <https://doi.org/10.4000/insaniyat.5478>, paragraphs 4–12. Loqueyssie's tasks included the translation of a document from the Spanish War Ministry on the historical fortifications of Oran and its harbour Mers-El-Kebir. A copy of this document from 1772 had been transmitted from Spain to Oran via the French embassy in Madrid; see Benkada 2004, paragraphs 15–20. For the document itself see "Description générale des places d'Oran et de Mers-El-Kébir et de leurs chateaux et forts. Traduction des capitaines Cassaigne et de Loqueyssie 1851. Préface de M. le Commandant G. Pellecat", *Bulletin trimestriel de géographie et d'archéologie (Société de géographie et d'archéologie d'Oran)*, 47, 44, fasc. 67 (1924), pp. 91–130.

11 The marriage certificate of Loqueyssie and Joséphine Chas, dated 9 January 1851, is kept in Paris, SHD, GR 4YF 97 445.

on missions abroad. Between 1857 and 1872 he went to a large number of European countries on such missions. In addition to England, his destinations included Belgium, Holland, Prussia, Italy, Corfu, Malta and Gozo.<sup>12</sup> He usually travelled in the summer or autumn for a period of one to three months. In 1867, Loqueyssie reconnoitered the German border regions along the Rhine and thereby acquired a specialised knowledge of the topography there.<sup>13</sup> Shortly afterwards, he took part in the Franco-Prussian War, having risen to the rank of colonel. In October 1870 he was wounded in the siege of Metz, became a German prisoner of war and was interned in Dresden until April 1871. After his return to Paris, he undertook at least one more mission to Sicily, but died in 1874 from the after-effects of an illness contracted during the war.<sup>14</sup> Loqueyssie's training at the engineering school and his military experience were probably not the only factors that enabled him to pursue his profession. It is likely that the knowledge acquired from growing up in two cultures, a bilingual upbringing and also probably an early artistic education from his mother contributed to his success.<sup>15</sup>

12 In July 1859, Loqueyssie travelled to the Isle of Wight (Paris, SHD, 1 VM 326). In 1867 he travelled to the Prussian border regions of the Rhine and to England, Italy, Corfu, Malta and Gozo. From July to September 1868 he travelled to England, Prussia and Italy. In 1869, he went to England, focussing on trains, and to Prussia, focussing on fortresses (Paris SHD, 1 VM 301, folder "1861–1869").

13 In 1867, Loqueyssie's missions took him to Mayence and to other parts of the border region; see folder "1861–1869", Paris, SHD 1 VM 301, and "Rapport sur les différentes places de guerre dans les pays Voisins du Rhin" of 28 April 1867 in Paris, SHD, GR IM 1539.

14 For Loqueyssie's biography, see for example the obituary in *Le petit Journal* (21. 12. 1874), p. 3: "M. Emile Lachaud de Loqueyssie, colonel du génie, officier de la légion d'honneur, vient de mourir à Fontainebleau, à la suite d'une longue et cruelle maladie dont il avait contracté le germe pendant le siège de Metz, que rendit incurable son transport, comme prisonnier en Allemagne, et qui l'avait obligé, il y a deux mois, à prendre sa

retraite. M. de Loqueyssie était un des officiers les plus instruits et les plus distingués de l'arme (sic!) du génie. Attaché au dépôt des fortifications pendant de longues années, il fit preuve, en cette qualité, de connaissances spéciales très étendues qui lui valurent d'Être chargé par l'empereur de recherches scientifiques et archéologiques qui furent d'une grande utilité pour l'Histoire de Jules César. [...]" Other obituaries with the same or slightly abbreviated text appeared for example in the following three journals: *Le Journal de l'Ain* (23. 12. 1874); *La France: politique, scientifique et littéraire* (21. 12. 1874); *Journal de Toulouse: politique et littéraire* (02. 01. 1875); *Le Républicain de la Loire* (24. 12. 1874).

15 On this see also Ulrike Boskamp, *Gefährliche Bilder. Zeichnerinnen und Zeichner unter Spionageverdacht*, Berlin 2022, pp. 213–220. Loqueyssie seems to have spoken several languages. In the course of his career, he translated Spanish and English-language military literature on the construction of fortifications into French. An example is

Founded in 1791, the *Dépôt des fortifications* where Loqueyssie was employed until the end of his career had its headquarters in the Hôtel du Comité at 84 rue Saint-Dominique in Paris.<sup>16</sup> This institution oversaw the documentation of military architecture and fortifications both in France and abroad and maintained the historical collection of pictures and maps of the French kings.<sup>17</sup> One of its central tasks was to procure information on foreign fortifications, their architecture, armament and personnel. This task was fulfilled by reconnaissance missions undertaken by specialised officers.

Loqueyssie's pasted preparatory sheets date from the time of his intensive reconnaissance of the British south coast around 1860. The French interest in Britain's coastal defences and topography at this specific period was caused by the British government's decision to improve its defence infrastructure on the south coast. In British politics, the fear of an invasion from France had begun to spread in the 1840s.<sup>18</sup> Although relations between France and the United Kingdom, consistently at war throughout the 18th century, had been good since 1830, the rivalry between the two great European powers persisted. The basic military set-up of each country had changed little over the years: while Britain relied on its fleet and acted primarily as a naval power,<sup>19</sup> France's relationship with Britain had, owing to its strong land force, since the 18th century been characterised by the fantasy of invasion, and thus driven by the continuing challenge of how to get its army across the English Channel. From 1847, the British began

his French-language summary of a "Rapport sur un ouvrage américain trainant des embrasures des casemates" by the American military author J. Cotten from 1757, dated 25 January 1860, Paris, SHD, GR 1M 1681.

- 16 The Hôtel du Comité was built for this purpose between 1826 and 1829; cf. Nicole Salat and Emmanuel Pénicaud, *Le dépôt des fortifications et ses archives (1660–1940): Archives du génie, répertoire numérique détaillé de la sous-série IV du Service historique de la Défense*, Paris 2011, p. 77.
- 17 On the history and organisation of the *Dépôt des fortifications* see Salat and Pénicaud 2011, pp. 21–87; Michael Bourlet, "Les périphéries européennes

dans les archives de la guerre (1850–1914)", in *La France face aux crises et aux conflits des périphéries européennes et atlantiques du XVII<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Frédéric Dessberg and Éric Schnakenbourg, Rennes 2010, pp. 183–190.

- 18 Freddy Woodward, *Forts or Follies? A History of Plymouth's Palmerston Forts*, Tiverton 1997, pp. 34–36.
- 19 On this constant in British military policy, cf. Norman Longmate, *Island Fortress. The Defence of Great Britain 1603–1945*, London 1993.

to reinforce the fortifications on the south coast, partly extending them in the manner of the Prussian system of fortification with detached ring or girdle forts built around the main fortresses, as for example in Portsmouth, Plymouth, Portland and Pembroke.<sup>20</sup> This construction activity was prompted by two contemporary military and technical developments that had been tested in the Crimean War in 1855. The first of these was the improvement of long ranged weapons, and the second the invention of steamships. New long-range grenade launchers had been in use by both the French and the British to arm warships since the late 1830s.<sup>21</sup> While it had initially been assumed that they would render older defences obsolete, in the Crimean War it became clear that stable fortifications were still very effective, even when confronted with modern weaponry.<sup>22</sup> Equally, the efficiency and resilience of metal-clad steamships had been proven during the Crimean War. So when in November 1859 the French launched *La Gloire*, their first steam-powered, iron-clad warship equipped with grenade launchers, this signalled a clear threat to the United Kingdom. Because these steamships were only designed for short distances – unlike the British wooden fleet –, they could be used as a “steam bridge” across the English Channel by French invasion troops.<sup>23</sup>

When Lord Palmerston (1784–1865), the most zealous herald of a French attack, was elected British Prime Minister in 1858, he immediately appointed a commission “to Consider the Defences of the United Kingdom”.<sup>24</sup> Their work resulted in the recommendation not to fortify the entire south coast, but only to selectively strengthen the defences of the most relevant locations.<sup>25</sup> In February 1860, Parliament approved an exceptionally large budget for these new fortifications. They were named “Palmerston Forts”, but due to their high cost were soon popularly re-named “Palmerston Follies”. It was these new and renewed defences that Loqueyssie was entrusted with scouting over several years. In his report on a three-month reconnaissance trip in 1858, he described his assignment:

20 Woodward 1997 (note 18), p. 46.

21 Woodward 1997 (note 18), p. 35.

22 Woodward 1997 (note 18), p. 42.

23 Woodward 1997 (note 18), pp. 43–44.

24 David Brown, “Palmerston and Anglo-French Relations, 1846–1865”, in *Anglo-French Relations since the late 18th*

*Century*, ed. Gwyn Stone and Thomas G. Otte, London 2007, pp. 41–58; Woodward 1997 (note 18), p. 45.

25 This concerned the military dockyards at Portsmouth, Plymouth, Chatham and Pembroke, the arsenal at Woolwich and the emergency ports at Dover, Portland and Cork set up for the withdrawal of the fleet.



The itinerary presented to me in 1858 for the reconnaissance of the fortresses, ports of refuge and beaches of England includes the following:

1. With regard to the coasts of the English Channel:

Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight, the coasts between Southampton, Poole and Weymouth, the work on the harbour of refuge and the fortifications of the Portland peninsula, the coasts between Exmouth, Torbay and Berryhead, and finally the reconnaissance of the fortress of Plymouth and its surroundings.

2. With regard to the Thames estuary:

Reconnaissance of the forts and batteries of Gravesend, the Chatham Fortress and the investigation of the right bank of the Thames Estuary from Gravesend to Ramsgate.<sup>26</sup>

So the aim of this mission was twofold: firstly, to spy out British defences on the south coast opposite France and on the Thames, the main waterway to London, and secondly, to study two other coastal regions, doubtlessly in order to identify those stretches that might be suitable for the landing of steamships. In the following years, the ongoing construction work on the British defences resulted in further targets for reconnaissance trips, until the attention of French politics and military turned to the German border areas in the late 1860s.

In order to understand the role of Loqueyssié's preparatory sheets in the working context of the *Dépôt des fortifications*, I will first briefly look at how the results of a French reconnaissance mission around 1850 were generally processed and recorded. Usually, various visual media ("feuilles de dessin", "plans", "cartes") were appended to a written report ("mémoire" or "notice"). General instructions for writing such final reports, dated to

26 Original French: "L'Itinéraire qui m'a été présenté en 1858 pour la reconnaissance des places, des ports de refuge et des plages de l'Angleterre, comprend 1. Pour les côtes de la Manche: Portsmouth, l'île de Wight, les côtes comprises entre Southampton, Poole et Weymouth; puis les travaux du port de refuge et les fortifications de la presqu'île de Portland; les côtes comprises entre Exmouth, Torbay et Berryhead; enfin la reconnaissance de la place de Plymouth et de ses environs.

2. Pour l'embouchure de la Tamise: la reconnaissance des forts et batteries de Gravesend, la place de Chatham et l'examen de la rive droite de l'embouchure de la Tamise depuis Gravesend jusqu'à Ramsgate." Lachaud de Loqueyssié, *Rapport Sommaire sur les reconnaissances faites en Angleterre pendant les mois de Juillet, Aout et Septembre 1858* (draft), dated October 1858, 9 pages, Paris, SHD, 1 VM 301, folder "1845-1860", p. 1.



**Fig. 3**  
 Emile Lachaud de Loqueyssie, Papers from a notebook with drawings from a paper sleeve, inscribed “Gospport, Lignes de Ft. Gomer à Ft. Monckton”, each ca. 4.1 × 8.3 cm, Folder Portsmouth, © Service historique de la Défense, 1 VM 326

1868, make it clear that the main focus lay on the production of pictorial information, especially maps and plans.<sup>27</sup> The written reports were meant to supplement these, and were to be strictly limited to information that could not be communicated by a plan or map, like for example ground conditions: “The notes are purely complementary to the maps. They must not contain anything that can be seen with ease on the map. When dealing

<sup>27</sup> *Notes et Instructions pour les officiers envoyés en Mission ou en reconnaissances pour la Redaction des Notices et Itinéraires, Instructions pour la rédaction des notices*, 1868, Paris, SHD, 1M1577.

with the geographical details, one will indicate where possible only those topographical details that cannot be shown on the maps.<sup>28</sup> The pictorial and cartographic material is thus given paramount importance, presumably based on the assumption that in military practice, the pictorial transmission of information is more efficient than the textual.

Using the sketches and texts he made during his missions, it is possible to partially reconstruct Loqueyssie's working process in the field. He drew and wrote in pencil on very small pieces of paper measuring between about 4 × 8 cm and 8 × 15 cm, some of which appear to have been taken from tiny notepads (**Fig. 3**).<sup>29</sup> These miniature drawings are labelled with additional information and explanations about directions, measurements, distances or the nature of materials or soils. Other sheets contain only written notes. The location of the recording is indicated on almost every single one of these tiny slips of paper. Those belonging to the same place were numbered consecutively as a series, then folded in half, and wrapped in small piles in a protective sheet of paper which was then inscribed with the name of the place.<sup>30</sup> It is likely that Loqueyssie arranged his papers in this way on his trips. Their miniature format made it possible to hide them in his clothing. In the above-mentioned rules of conduct for French reconnaissance officers, it was recommended that, as a matter of principle, they should always carry all relevant documents with them: "As far as possible, they will keep their maps, photographs and notes with them and not in their suitcases."<sup>31</sup> Hiding small notes close to the body was a common espionage practice. A hundred years earlier, two French engineers arrested on the Isle of Wight were found to have concealed the results of their

28 "Les notices sont seulement un complément des cartes. Elles ne devront rien contenir de ce qu'on peut voir facilement sur la carte. On entrera dans les détails géographiques et on ne donnera autant que possible que les détails topographiques qui ne peuvent être marqués sur les cartes." *Notes et Instructions pour les officiers envoyés en Mission ou en reconnaissances pour la Rédaction des Notices et Itinéraires, Instructions pour la rédaction des notices*, 1868 (note 27).

29 See also Boskamp 2022 (note 15), pp. 217–219.

30 In the "Portsmouth" folder in Paris, SHD, 1 VM 326, there are several such series of small drawings, for example of the forts of Priddy's Hard, Fort Gomer and Fort Elson near Gosport, as well as of the fortifications in Gosport itself.

31 Original French: "Autant que possible, ils conserveront sur eux et non dans leurs valises, leurs cartes, leurs photographies, et leurs notes." *Notes et Instructions pour les officiers envoyés en Mission ou en reconnaissances pour la Rédaction des Notices et Itinéraires, Recommandations Verbales*, 1868, Paris, SHD, 1 M 1577.

mission, small-format plans and notes, by sewing them into the lining of their clothes.<sup>32</sup>

Loqueyssie's editing of his sketches after his return to Paris was no doubt a lengthy task. Due to the extremely high importance attributed to pictorial information in the *Dépôt des fortifications*, probably a large number of images was produced during reconnaissance missions. A military spy who successfully returned to Paris had to sift through and organise the documents he had brought back with him in order to put the information into the conventionalised pictorial and textual form of a military report. This involved neatly drawn ground plans and elevations as well as sections, maps and views showing the location of the structure in the terrain. The accompanying text – to be kept as short and precise as possible – was to explain the (construction) history and special features, and to provide additional information about the type and extent of the fortification's armament and personnel, as well as an assessment of the possibility of its military capture.

The pictorial results of the reconnaissance missions were filed in the *Dépôt des fortifications* together with the final text reports. They were ordered under the heading "places étrangers" – foreign fortresses – alphabetically by town (not by country), or by the name of the fortress itself. Within these files, one or more sheets contained a table of contents for each fortress or fortified place, documenting all the espionage missions that had been undertaken there; these were numbered consecutively, and the dates and the names of the reconnaissance officers responsible were provided. Also, the content sheets list and describe each individual archived document on the place in question.

A good example of the structure and scope of such a report is that of Loqueyssie's most intensive reconnaissance trip in England, a three-month

32 *The London Magazine, or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, 26 (1757), p. 543: "[...] upon searching them, in the linings of their coats were found draughts of all our harbours and rivers, plans of all our fortifications on the sea coasts, finely executed, with the number of guns and weight of metal in every fortified place; a book, in manuscript, with their remarks on the above scheme for landing

of troops, where most practicable; a list of all our men of war which went on the secret expedition, with their number of guns, men, and troops."

mission in 1858 which concentrated on the region of Portsmouth.<sup>33</sup> Portsmouth was the most important place on the English Channel for the British fleet. Not only was there a large natural harbour, the entrance to which was protected on the south side by the fortified town of Portsmouth and on the north side by the equally fortified town of Gosport. Portsmouth was also home to a large military dockyard and the British Naval Academy. In addition, the waters between Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight, the “Spithead”, served as a retreat for the Channel Fleet, which was responsible for the defence of the English Channel. Several additional fortifications were built in the late 1850s to protect this extremely important military area. The table of contents for the spy reports from Portsmouth in the archive (Fig. 4) shows that Loqueyssie travelled to Portsmouth on twelve different reconnaissance missions between 1857 and 1868.

Loqueyssie’s very detailed report combining the results of the 1858 and the shorter 1857 missions to the Portsmouth area is preceded by an extensive list of the weapons as well as the personnel of 15 individual forts.<sup>34</sup> In the report itself, there are practical chapters on the attack possibilities and the defence of this specific military topography, as well as remarks on the history of the region. The table of contents lists and describes 15 illustrations (“feuilles de dessin”) appended to the report. Despite the fact that they are now missing, the list is illuminating: the pictorial materials were archived and ordered according to the size of the (map) section, from a large-scale overview of the whole region to small-scale plans of the forts. The first sheet is a map of the English Channel, followed by a map of a sub-area, the Straits of Spithead, then by two lithograph maps of Portsmouth and the adjacent Portsea at a scale of 1:8 000,<sup>35</sup> then by more

33 *Mémoire sur les Reconnaissances faites à Portsmouth en Aout 1857 et en Juillet 1858*, Paris, SHD, 1 VM 237. On the key role of the Portsmouth region for the British defence see Ulrike Boskamp, “Suspected Prospects. Art, Topography and Identity in the Portsmouth Area around 1800”, in *The Itineraries of Art. Topographies of Artistic Mobility in Europe and Asia 1500–1900*, ed. Karin Gludovatz, Juliane Noth and Joachim Rees, Ostfildern 2015, pp. 259–286.

34 This “Legende générale de la place de Portsmouth” is chapter 1 of *Mémoire sur les Reconnaissances faites à Portsmouth en Aout 1857 et en Juillet 1858*, Paris, SHD, 1 VM 237.

35 This printed map, probably made or commissioned by Loqueyssie himself, was certainly not a one-off. Such maps were printed in order to have up-to-date map material on hand for the troops in the event of war.

NUMÉROS d'ordre.	NOMS DES AUTEURS.	DATES.	DESIGNATION DES OBJETS.		OBSERVATIONS.
<b>Portsmouth.</b> Carton N°1 - de 1700 à					
1	De Coube	1700	Mémoire sur Portsmouth (inf: Coll. Coube)	-1	au 16514°
2	"	1708	Plan de la ville, du port, et des chantiers de Portsmouth figurés de mémoire	"	1 au 34457° un double
3	Sartorius et M <sup>le</sup> de Rotterdam	1749	Mémoire sur le projet d'attache de Ports- mouth, et lettre sur. idem	-2	"
4	"	"	Plans nautiques de Portsmouth	"	-2
5	Dépôt de la Mairie	1834	Plan gravé des rades S <sup>t</sup> Helène et Spithead et du port de Portsmouth et Weymouth lors en 1783 par le lieutenant Spence - Mackenzie (ou 2 parties)	"	-2 au 22741°
	Hellingsworth	1841	Guide de Portsmouth (en 32)	"	" 377° à la bibliothèque
	Chapman	"	Plan gravé de Portsmouth	"	" id id
	"	1845	Plans et coupes de fort et blockhaus	"	" 26-11° 502. Carte VII
6	"	1845	Guide du voyageur à Portsmouth	-1	"
7	C <sup>te</sup> Hanzhaan	1848	Carte de la rade de Spithead et du port de Portsmouth avec sondes	"	-1 au 45210° sur les lettres
8	Fausseval	1851	Plan du cadastre des environs de Gosport	-1	au 45000°
9	de Loqueyssie	1857	Notes sur la reconnaissance faite en 1857	-1	"
10	"	"	Plan du cadastre à l'ouest de Gosport	"	-2 au 45000° sans carton sur les lettres
11	de Loqueyssie	1858	Notes sur la reconnaissance faite en 1858	-1	"
12	"	1858	Reconnaissance de la place de Portsmouth (Le travail se compose de 16 mémoires et 16 feuilles de dessin savoir:	"	" dans un portefeuille sur les lettres
"	"	"	1 <sup>re</sup> feuille - Carte de la rade et environs	-1	au 450000° d°
"	"	"	2 <sup>de</sup> feuille - Carte marine de la rade de Spithead	-1	au 453000° d°
"	"	"	3 <sup>de</sup> feuille - Plan lithographique de Portsmouth et Portsea	"	-1 au 47000° d°
"	"	"	4 <sup>de</sup> feuille - Plan d'ensemble	"	-1 au 42000° d°
"	"	"	5 <sup>de</sup> feuille - Portsmouth et Portsea	"	-1 au 45000° d°
"	"	"	6 <sup>de</sup> feuille - Détails de Portsmouth	"	-1 au 46000° d°
"	"	"	7 <sup>de</sup> feuille - Détails de Portsea	"	-1 au 46000° d°
"	"	"	8 <sup>de</sup> feuille - Gosport	"	-1 au 45000° d°
"	"	"	9 <sup>de</sup> feuille - Détails de Gosport	"	-1 au 46000° d°
"	"	"	10 <sup>de</sup> feuille - Plan du fort (Cumberland)	"	-1 au 46000° d°

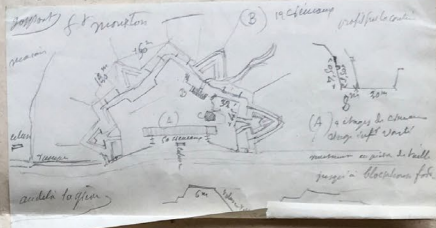
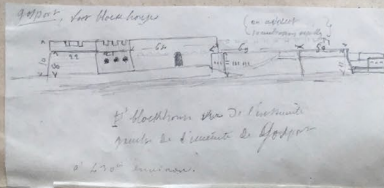
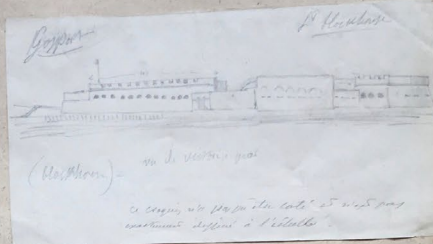
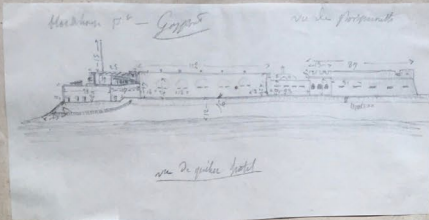
**Fig. 4**  
Table of content for the reports of French reconnaissance missions to Portsmouth, © Service historique de la Défense, 1 VM 237

**Fig. 5**  
Emile Lachaud de Loqueyssie, Preparatory sheet Portsmouth, Portsea et Gosport, front, 49 x 32.2 cm, © Service historique de la Défense, 1 VM 326



Angleterre

Portsmouth, Portsmouth & Gosport



Gosport sur le quai de la gare de Portsmouth

Gosport 2

le bâtiment est de Portsmouth sur le quai de la gare de Gosport

à 200 mètres

Gosport Hedden

Gosport Hedden

Gosport Hedden

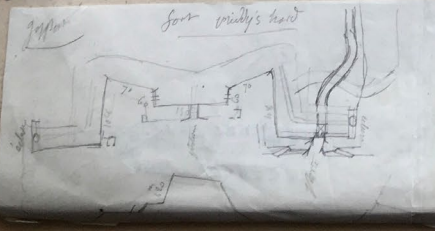
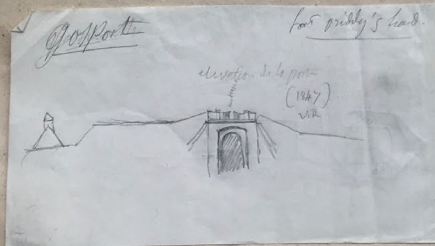
Gosport Hedden

Gosport Hedden

Gosport Hedden

Gosport Hedden

Gosport Hedden



Gosport Hedden

Gosport Hedden

Gosport Hedden

Gosport Hedden

detailed plans of these two places and of Gosport at an even larger scale, supplemented by sheets with details. Finally, six large-scale plans feature the newly built forts around the town of Gosport.<sup>36</sup>

The three pasted sheets by Loqueyssie in the archive can be identified as preparatory works for the production of the coloured, large-format drawings in the final reports from trips undertaken in different years. This can be inferred from their inscriptions: “Sketches that served for the editing of the 1858 reconnaissance trip to Portland” or “Notes on Portsmouth 1860/ Gosport/ served for the editing undertaken in 1861”.<sup>37</sup> The different purposes of these sheets can be deduced, at least in part, even without the final drawings.

I will address the most obvious function of these preparatory sheets first. Papers with images and texts on a specific theme or motif could be

36 Paris, SHD IV M 237. The heading, entered on a pre-printed sheet, reads: “Portsmouth, Carton No 1 de 1700 à”. The columns of the form are headed as follows: “Numéros d’ordre/ Noms des auteurs/ Dates/ Designation des objets/ Discours/ Dessins/ Observations”. In the following transcription, these divisions are separated by “/”.

“12/ -do-/ 1858/ Reconnaissance de la place de Portsmouth/ “/ “/ dans un portefeuille sur les tablettes

Ce travail se compose de 1 mémoire et 15 feuilles de dessin savoir:

/-d°-/ d°/ 1. feuille - Carte de la Manche et mémoire/ 1/ 1/ au 1/850000e d°

/-d°-/ d°/ 2. feuille - Carte marine de la rade de Spithead/ “/ 1/ au 1/53000 d°

/-d°-/ d°/ 3. feuille - Plan lithographie de Portsmouth et Portsea/ “/ 1/ au 1/8000e d°

/-d°-/ d°/ 4. feuille - Plan d’ensemble/ “/ 1/ au 1/20000e d°

/-d°-/ d°/ 5. feuille - Portsmouth et Portsea/ “/ 1/ au 1/5000e d°

/-d°-/ d°/ 6. feuille - Détails de Portsmouth/ “/ 1/ au 1/2000 d°

/-d°-/ d°/ 7. feuille - Détails de Portsea/ “/ 1/ au 1/2000 d°

/-d°-/ d°/ 8. feuille - Gosport/ “/ 1/ au 1/5000 d°

/-d°-/ d°/ 9. feuille - Détails de Gosport/ “/ 1/ au 1/2000 d°

/-d°-/ d°/ 10. feuille - Plan du fort Cumberland/ “/ 1/ au 1/2000 d°

[end of sheet]

12/ de Loqueyssie/ 1858/ 11. feuille - fort Southsea/ “/ 1/ au 1/1000

dans un portefeuille sur les tablettes

/-d°-/ d°/ 12. feuille - Fort Blockhaus/ “/ 1/ au 1/1000 d°

/-d°-/ d°/ 13. feuille - Fort Monckton/ “/ 1/ au 1/1000 d°

/-d°-/ d°/ 14. feuille - Fort Gomer/ “/ 1/ au 1/1000 d°

/-d°-/ d°/ 15. feuille - Fort Elson/ “/ 1/ au 1/1000 d°”

37 Original French: “Croquis ayant servi à la rédaction de la reconnaissance faite en 1858 à Portland”; “Notes et Croquis ayant servi à la rédaction de Portsmouth”; “Notes sur Portsmouth en 1860 / Gosport / Ayant servi aux redactions faites en 1861”, Paris, SHD, IVM 326.

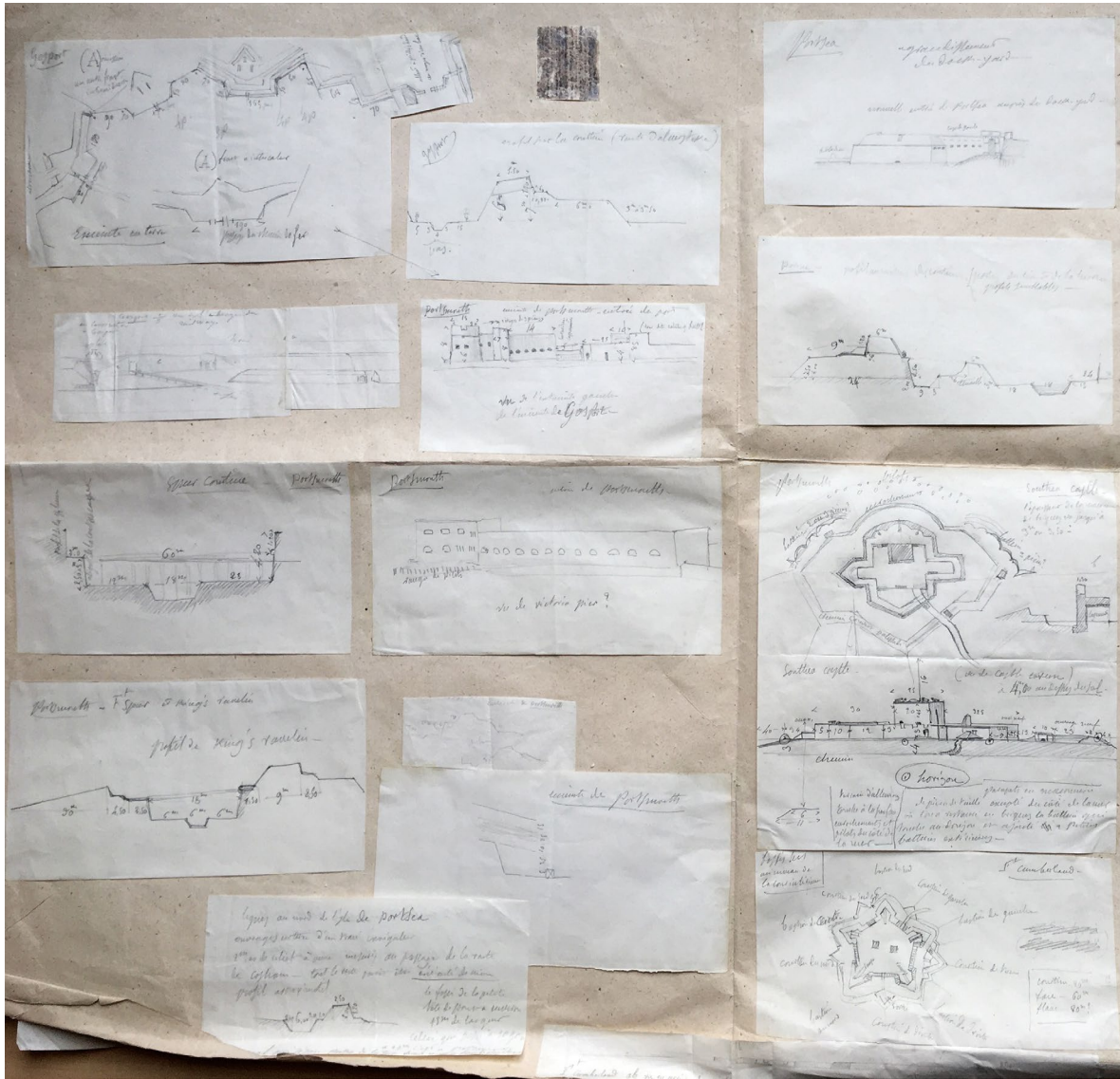


stored on them in such a way that they were readily available and visible. This becomes very clear with the sheet on the region of the Thames at Gravesend, the front of which is inscribed with “Angleterre” and “Tamise (fort Tilbury, batterie de Gravesend &c.)”. Here, nine completely different pieces of paper in various formats featuring different pictorial media are pasted onto the inside of the sheet (**Fig. 2**): a general map of the entire reconnoitred region, hand-drawn in colour on tracing paper, three watercolours with panoramic views of various defences, and five individual pencil-drawn details of the fortifications. From the traces of the folds of these papers, which vary widely in terms of quality, it is clear that they were previously stored differently – they may even have come from different journeys.<sup>38</sup> The meaning of the pictorial and textual information compiled here is not comprehensible to outsiders, and the fact that not even all the pieces of paper are glued onto the carrier sheet in a uniform reading direction suggests that immediate legibility or comprehensibility for third parties was not intended. For the same reason, it can be assumed that the gluing process was not driven by aesthetic aims; rather, the compilation seems to have been purely functional. From the wealth of information brought back from the journey, Loqueyssie selected and compiled the most important pieces. The preparatory sheet thus served as a new, open repository for these in the editorial process.

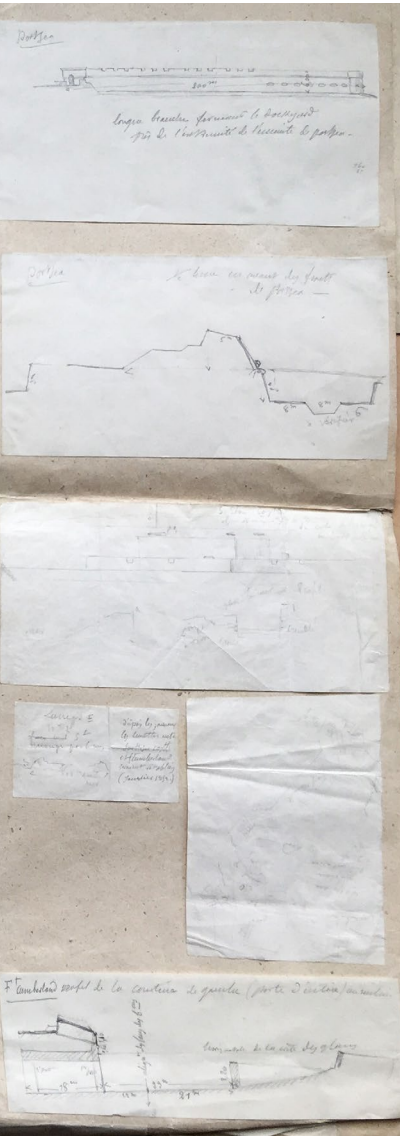
The relevance of this compilation and the clarification of the specific facts it contributed to was probably only understandable to the author. Thus, in a sense, a pasted preparatory sheet such as this was a medium of Loqueyssie’s communication with himself. There are frequent examples of this, not only in his materials from the field but also in those from other steps of the editing process. For example, the officer reminded himself in writing of certain documents so that they would not be forgotten in the abundance of papers, or he labelled a folded volume on the outside with: “Different notes about Portsmouth to be taken into consideration”.<sup>39</sup>

38 For example, the preparatory sheet *Notes sur Portsmouth en 1860 / Gosport / Ayant servi aux redactions faites en 1861* contains drawings of Fort Blockhouse, which is not represented visually in the 1861 report, but is in the 1858 report. It can therefore be assumed that this sheet was used earlier.

39 Original French: “Notes diverses sur Portsmouth à prendre en Consideration [...]”, Paris, SHD, 1 VM 326.

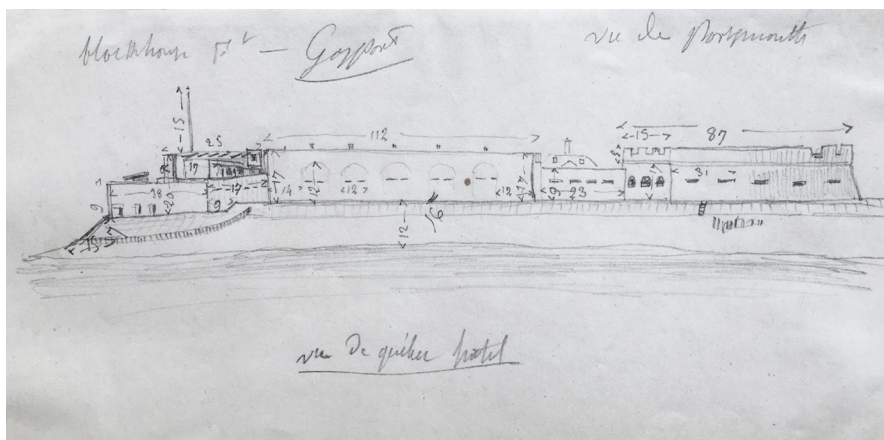
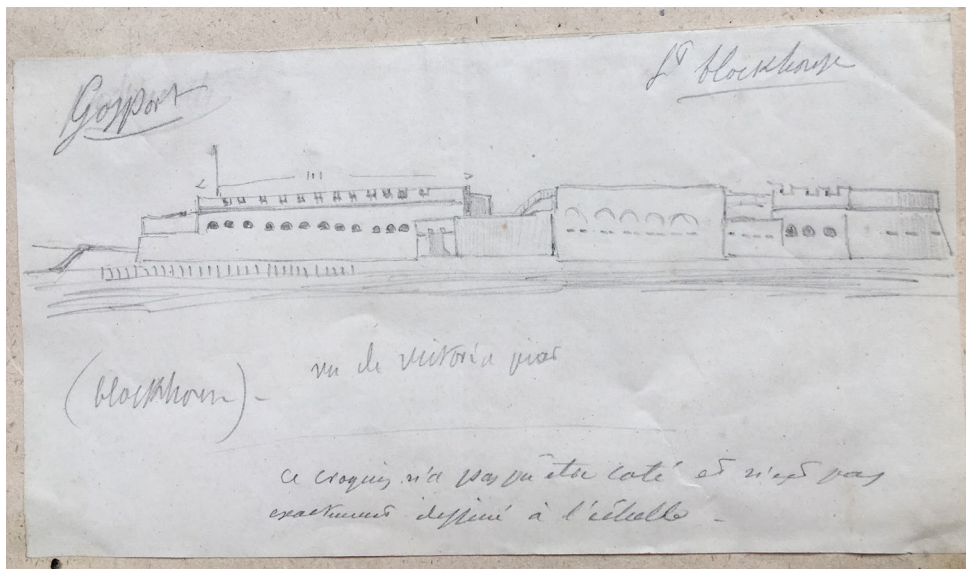


**Fig. 6**  
 Emile Lachaud de Loqueyssie, Preparatory  
 sheet *Portsmouth, Portsea et Gosport*, inside,  
 49 × 64.4 cm, © Service historique de la  
 Défense, 1 VM 326



**Fig. 7**  
 Emile Lachaud de Loqueyssie, Preparatory sheet *Portsmouth, Portsea et Gosport*, back, 49 x 32.2 cm, © Service historique de la Défense, IVM 326





**Fig. 8**  
Emile Lachaud de Loqueyssie, *Gosport, Ft. Blockhouse, vue de Victoria pier*, 8,1 × 14,9 cm, from the Preparatory sheet *Portsmouth, Portsea et Gosport*, © Service historique de la Défense, 1 VM 326

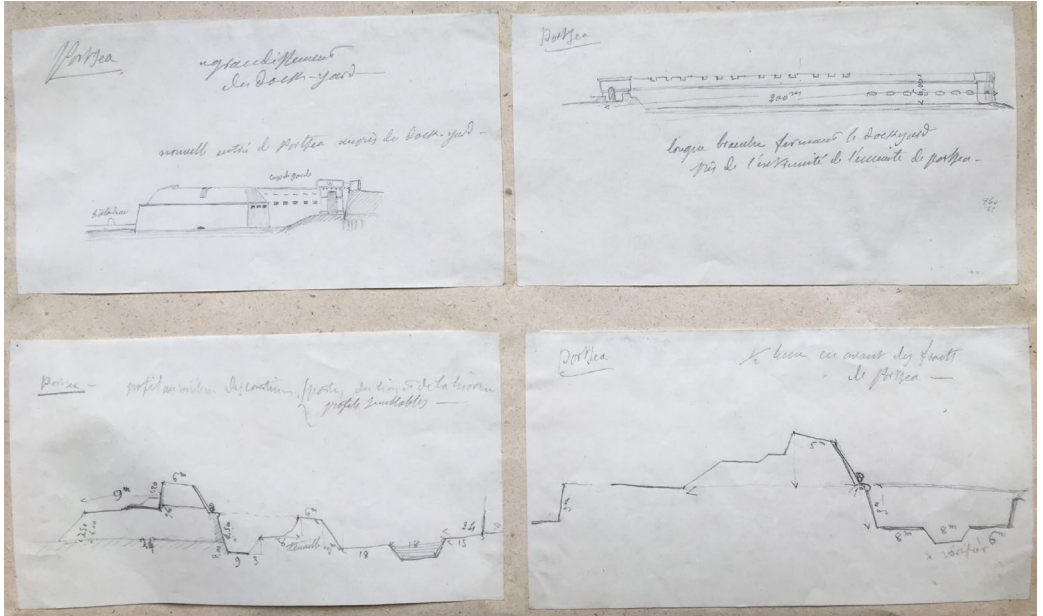
**Fig. 9**  
Emile Lachaud de Loqueyssie, *blockhouse Ft. - Gosport, vue de Portsmouth*, from the Preparatory sheet *Portsmouth, Portsea et Gosport*, 7,5 × 15 cm, © Service historique de la Défense, 1 VM 326





**Fig. 10**  
 Rock & Co (publisher), *Victoria Pier, Portsmouth*,  
 1853, engraving, Royal Collection Trust /  
 © HisMajesty King Charles III 2023,  
<https://www.rct.uk/collection/701523/victoria-pier-portsmouth>

Loqueyssie evidently placed some of the drawings next to each other on the preparatory sheets simply for the purpose of synopsis and comparison, as can be illustrated by an example from *Portsmouth, Portsea & Gosport* (Figs. 5–7). This large sheet is folded in the middle and contains a total of 24 slips of paper pasted onto it. On the front, the collection opens with two views of one of the new forts of Gosport, the “Blockhouse” (Figs. 8, 9). Loqueyssie sketched both of them from Portsmouth, on the opposite side of the strait. They were probably used for the editing of the plans for his 1858 report on Portsmouth, as we know from the final report’s table of contents that sheet 12 depicted “Fort Blockhauss” at a scale of 1:1 000. On the first of the sketches (Fig. 8), Loqueyssie names the position from which he took the view: “vue de Victoria pier”. This pier was open to the public and located directly opposite Gosport (Fig. 10). A note on the sketch, again addressed to himself, declares that the sketch is faulty: “This sketch could



**Fig. 11**  
Emile Lachaud de Loqueyssie, *New gate and fortifications of the dockyards of Portsea* (top), *profile sections through fortifications* (bottom), each 8.2 × 15 cm, from the Preparatory sheet *Portsmouth, Portsea et Gosport* © Service historique de la Défense, 1 VM 326

not be dimensioned and is not drawn exactly to scale”.<sup>40</sup> Loqueyssie executed the second, evidently more precise view of the fort (**Fig. 9**), labelled with dimensions, from his hotel room, as is also indicated on the sketch. By pasting the two images side by side, he kept the different items of information they contained present simultaneously. Other drawings on this preparatory sheet are similarly arranged in a comparative manner, such as the several sketches of Fort Monckton, and two others of Portsea showing different attempts to understand a section of the fortifications (**Fig. 11**). These examples make it clear why Loqueyssie combined the images in this

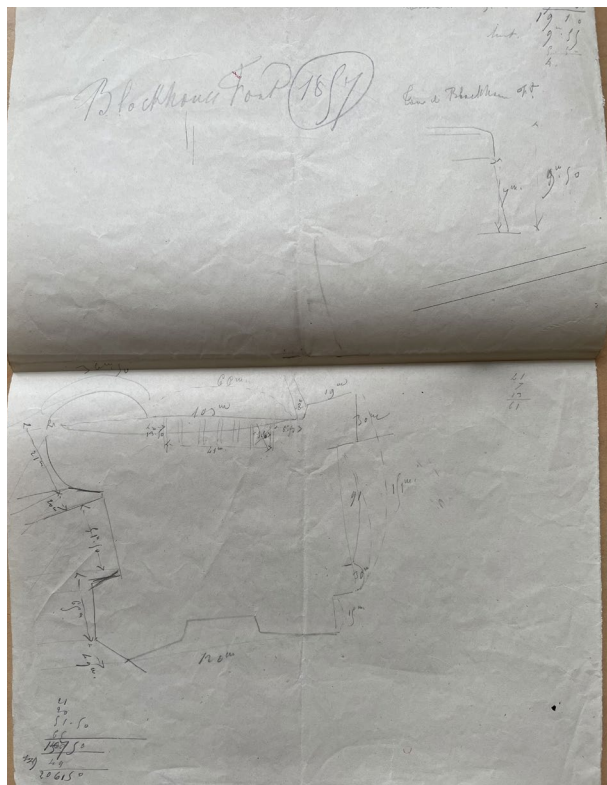
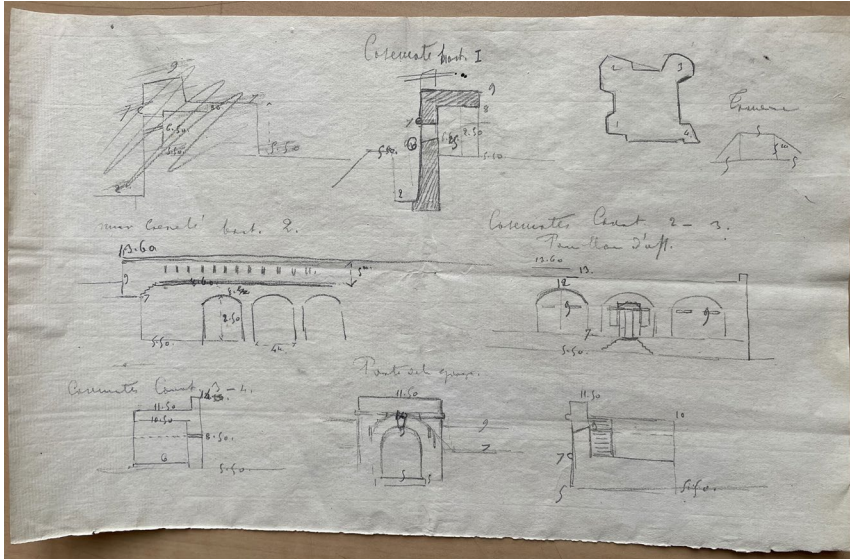
<sup>40</sup> Original French: “ce croquis n’a pas pu être coté et n’est pas exactement dessiné à l’échelle”, *Notes sur Portsmouth en 1860 / Gosport / Ayant servi aux*

*redactions faites en 1861*, Paris, SHD 1 VM 326.

way. It was his task to create the most accurate views, ground plans and sections of the fortifications and their position in the surrounding topographies as possible. The basis for these – apart from his own recollections – were solely these on-site drawings and notes that he had brought back with him.

Loqueyssie's preparatory sheets, however, do not only contain drawings but also slips of paper with text and no pictorial representations (e.g. **Fig. 5**, bottom right). If these were inscribed on both sides, then they were carefully glued at one edge so that they could be flipped over to be read from the back. This is in fact strange, because unlike the drawings, these notes, which were often folded several times and quite difficult to read, could have been copied with ease and without any loss of meaning. Instead, just like the drawings, they are presented on the sheets as documents created on site and carried along on the journey. It almost seems that they were not only pasted on for purely practical reasons, but that this gave them an additional meaning as mementos. Preserved in their original form as material remnants and thus evidence of the espionage mission, these pasted notes seem to testify to the paramount importance Loqueyssie attached to his journeys and to his presence in the field.

Loqueyssie's pasted sheets were preparatory work for the subsequent stage of image production: preliminary drawings, which Loqueyssie often sketched on the back of already used pieces of paper (**Figs. 12–14**). Then, in order to transfer finished details drawn to scale, Loqueyssie worked with tracing paper (**Fig. 15**). After these further intermediate stages, the final drawings were created. Since we do not have the results of Loqueyssie's editorial work on Portsmouth, his slightly later clean drawing of the fortress of Bingen can serve as an example (**Fig. 16**). It stems from the final report from his reconnaissance of the Rhine area in 1867. Here, it becomes evident that certain parts of the drawing work, such as the careful shading and colouring of the images, were only carried out at the very end. Also, scales, inscriptions and references were added in the final version, and last but not least the dating and signature of the author, Loqueyssie. This does not just attest to his authorship; it also establishes the temporal connection to his commission and the mission. These final clean drawings stand at the end of a visual and medial transformation which renders useless the pasted-on source materials from the preparatory sheets that played their part at the beginning.



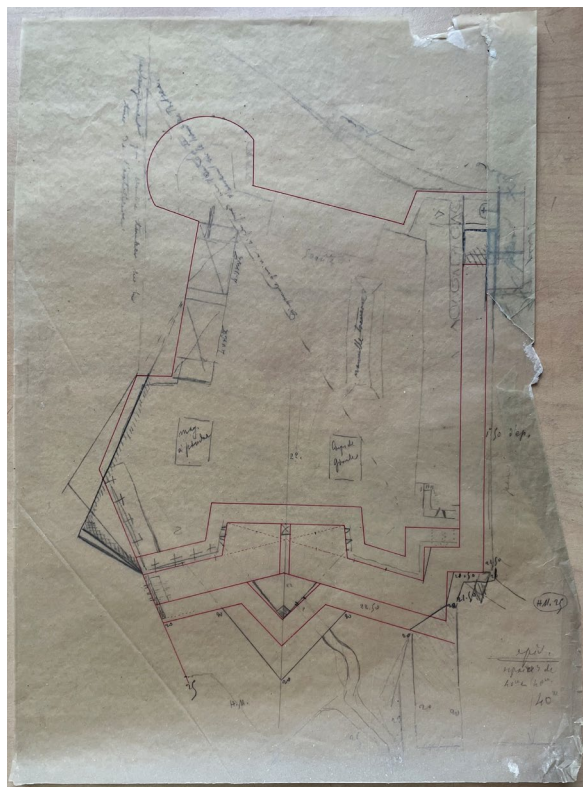
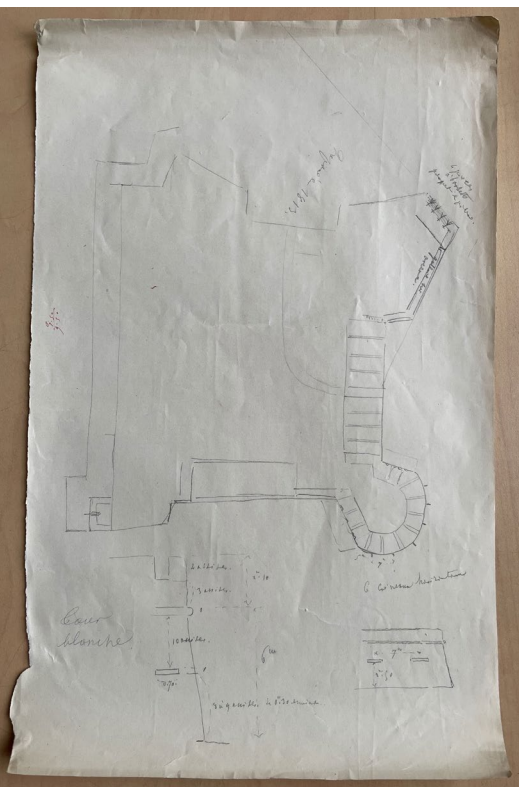


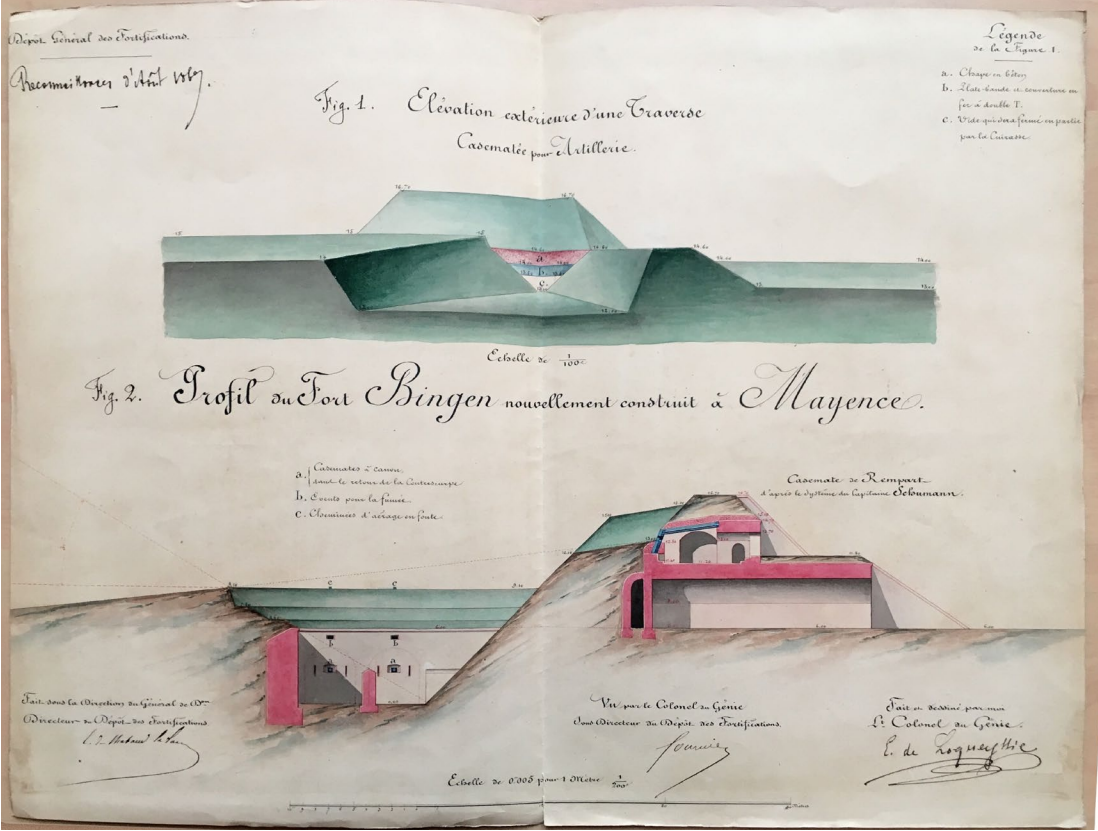
**Fig. 12**  
 Emile Lachaud de Loqueyssie, *Sheet with various preliminary drawings for Fort Blockhouse*, 20.5 × 31.8 cm, © Service historique de la Défense, 1 VM 326

**Fig. 13**  
 Emile Lachaud de Loqueyssie, *Preliminary drawing of the ground plan of Fort Blockhouse*, 30.5 × 20.3 cm, © Service historique de la Défense, 1 VM 326

**Fig. 14**  
 Emile Lachaud de Loqueyssie, *Preliminary drawing of the ground plan of Fort Blockhouse*, 36 × 22.5 cm, Paris, © Service historique de la Défense, 1 VM 326

**Fig. 15**  
 Emile Lachaud de Loqueyssie, *Preliminary drawing of the ground plan of Fort Blockhouse*, pencil and red ink on tracing paper, 21 × 33.3 cm, © Service historique de la Défense, 1 VM 326





**Fig. 16**  
 Emile Lachaud de Loqueyssie, *Fig. 1 Elévation extérieure d'une Traverse Casematée pour Artillerie, Fig. 2 Profil de Fort Bingen nouvellement construit à Mayence, 1867, from his Rapport sommaire sur la mission remplie en Prusse par le Lt. Colonel de Loqueyssie, pendant les mois de septembre Octobre et Novembre, © Service historique de la Défense, 1 VM 301*

While the slips of paper brought back from Loqueyssie's espionage missions make the practice of the military spy abroad somewhat comprehensible, their compilation on the pasted sheets lend an insight into the diligent editing of the results upon return. They remind us that even a high-ranking French military spy, after travelling abroad on an important secret mission, needed to spend months at his desk in Paris processing small pieces of paper in order to meticulously produce final drawings of the places he visited. Loqueyssie's ephemeral preparatory materials document the visual and medial process of clarification that the officer undertook for himself. The pasting of the original materials onto the preparatory sheets was evidently a crucial part of his handling, ordering and processing of the profusion of pieces of paper with visual and textual information that he had mostly recorded in the field on paper. Their contingency and chaos is still clearly perceptible in these compilations. Thus, the pasted sheets enable an understanding of the cumbersome process by which visual knowledge was produced in the context of the well-organised, secret reconnaissance missions of the French military in the 19th century – knowledge that, even when it was ultimately fixed, could very quickly become obsolete again when the military architecture in question or the surrounding terrain were altered in the wake of new defence measures.