Catastrophes, Urban Renewal, and Modernism:
London after the Great Fire of 1666;
Lisbon after the Great Earthquake of 1755;
Paris under Napoleon III and the Baron Haussmann.

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I would like to begin by thanking Professor Josiah Blackmore and Juliano Gomes for organising this first colloquium on Luso-Brazilian culture and for bringing together such a splendid galaxy of scholars from Portugal, Brazil, the United States and beyond. And to the Smith Chair and Harvard for sponsoring this event today and tomorrow.

It is also worth remembering that Professor Blackmore's predecessor, the first holder of the Smith Chair, Professor Francis Rogers, the former Dean of the GSAS, also hosted a colloquium of Luso-Brazilian studies here at Harvard in 1966. I hope we will not have to wait almost sixty years for the next symposium.

But I am also very grateful to Professor Blackmore and Juliano Gomes for the invitation to return to Harvard where I spent many very happy years.

1. London: the great fire and failed plans for the reconstruction of the city

Inigo Jones is buried at St. Benetton Welsh Church, West Paul's Wharf, now 93 Queen Victoria Street, in the City of London. He was born in Smithfield in the City of London in 1577, and he died at Somerset House on 23 June 1652. Inigo Jones was the son of a Welsh cloth worker. His assistant, also born in Smithfield, John Webb, also died in Somerset House in 1672.

Inigo Jones designed revolutionary buildings: The Queen's House in Greenwich, in 1616. The Banqueting House at Whitehall was completed in 1622. His design and layout of the great residential piazza and church of Covent Garden. He designed a magnificent new palace which was never built for King Charles I.

Inigo Jones was the first to introduce the classical architecture of Rome and the Italian Renaissance to Britain. He had spent time in Rome and Italy and had then worked for King Christian IV of Denmark.

Queen Anne of Denmark, the consort of James I, became his patron in London. He was appointed in 1613 to be the surveyor of the King's Works. He was a skilled costume and scenery designer who together with Ben Johnson produced many court masques for Queen Anne. Rubens magnificent ceiling for the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall was painted in Antwerp and installed in 1636. It celebrated the union of the crowns of England and Scotland and the creation of Great Britain.

Inigo Jones Queen's House at Greenwich was built for Queen Anne facing the Thames. It was the first building in England to be designed in pure classical style. It followed the designs in Palladio's "Four Books of Architecture."

Inigo Jones designed the great residential square or piazza of Covent Garden following the piazza of Livorno following a commission from the Earl of Bedford. It was the first planned urban development in London.

Inigo Jones's assistant John Webb (1611-1672) worked with him from 1628. In the 1640s Jones and Webb jointly designed Wilton House near Salisbury. John Webb acted as a spy for Charles I in London during the Civil War. After Jones death in 1652 Webb inherited a substantial fortune and many of Jones designs and drawings...

The Civil War in 1642 saw the end of Inigo John's career. But the influence of his architectural plans and of his building style on future British architecture was considerable. The opportunity and the challenge to rebuild London was the result of twin catastrophes: The great plague of 1665-1666 and the great Fire of London of 1666.

The great plague of 1665-1666 was the last great flea and louse borne epidemic of bubonic plague in England. The plague killed 100,000, or one quarter of London's population, and forced King Charles II and his court to flee London, first to Salisbury, and then to Oxford.

The Great Fire of London 1666 destroyed much of the city from the Tower of London to Fleet Street.

Samuel Pepys took to safety on the south bank of the Thames and watched the flames consume the medieval city. Pepys wrote: "It made me weep to see it… the horrid noise the flames made, the cracking of houses at their ruin".

Five-sixths of the walled city was destroyed. Charles II issued a proclamation promising "a much more beautiful city than is this time consumed." He also outlined his wish to impose main thoroughfares like Cheapside and Cornhill which would be "of such breadth as may God's blessing prevent the mischief that may suffer if the other be on fire."

As the fire still smoldered, Christopher Wren, aimed to create a new city from the ashes: "rendering the whole city regular, uniform, durable and beautiful". He submitted his ambitious vision for a new London in 1666 to King Charles II personally on September 11, a little more than a week after the blaze was extinguished. Before the Great Fire, the City of London was a huddled mass of timber-framed buildings with the city stretching from the Tower of London in the east to Fleet Street and the Strand in the west.

The 1666 fire began in Thomas Farryner's bakery in Pudding Lane, a narrow street just yards from the head of London Bridge, in the early hours of Sunday 2 September. By Monday the fire had destroyed Thomas Gresham's Royal Exchange. The roads leading out of the city were clogged with carts and wagons. On Tuesday the fire had spread past the city boundaries at Ludgate and up Fleet Street.

The fire reached St. Paul's Cathedral where the burning timbers fell on the piles of books in the churchyard. St Paul's went up in flames with streams of molten lead running down the surrounding streets.

The fire raged for four days and destroyed most of the medieval part of the city. Rumours spread that the fire had been deliberately set by the French, the Dutch, the Papists. Mobs roamed the streets savagely beating anyone who looked or sounded like a foreigner.

When it became clear that the Lord Mayor Bludworth was incapable of responding to the fire, King Charles placed his brother, James Stuart, the Duke of York, in charge. He organised a string of stations in a great arc round the fire each supervised by a courtier, aided by three justices, thirty soldiers, the parish constables, and a hundred civilians.

King Charles and James, the Duke of York, personally oversaw the demolition of whole streets of houses and managed to create a series of firebreaks which slowed the westward spread of the fire.

By nightfall on Wednesday, the 5th of September, the worst was over. In five days over 200,000 Londoners had been made homeless. 13,000 buildings had been destroyed. An area of 436 acres

was in ruins, including St Paul's Cathedral, the Exchange, the Custom House, the halls of 44 of the City Companies, and 86 parish Churches.

From Oxford, as the sky turned red, Christopher Wren saw opportunity. He went to London to inspect the smouldering ruins and then set to work on his most ambitious architectural plans: a design for not only a new cathedral but for an entire new city.

King Charles II invited architects and surveyors to present alternative reconstruction plans. The proviso he stipulated, was that: "No man whatsoever shal [sic] presume to erect any House or Building, great or small, but of Brick or Stone".

Several plans were submitted: Richard Newcourt proposed a series of public squares. In the middle of each a church and churchyard. This plan could be extended over and over again: Some architectural historians believe that Newcourt's idea formed the basis of the plan for Philadelphia – which in turn became the model for the American grid system.

Army captain, Valentine Knight, proposed long east/west streets and occasional north/south cross-sections. He also proposed a new canal "for which the King could charge a toll, to raise money to help rebuild London after the fire." The canal would have met the River Fleet in the north-west, emerging into the Thames just to the west of the Tower of London. But King Charles was not keen, and he had Valentine Knight arrested for suggesting that the King might benefit financially from such a calamity.

Robert Hooke, the philosopher, and the surveyor proposed a radical vision. A grid system would have been made up of broadly similar-sized blocks with four large market squares with churches every few blocks.

Sir John Evelyn, who held prominent public positions under Charles II, had travelled widely in Italy and France, wanted London to be rebuilt according to an Italian style radial pan, with piazzas and broad avenues. Christopher Wren proposed that the narrow medieval streets be replaced by wide avenues spreading out from piazzas with the royal exchange piazza a huge round-point piazza surrounded by the location of radial streets with the post office, the excise office to the north of the piazza, the goldsmiths on either side of the piazza, and the bank, mint, and insurance house to the south.

The whole royal exchange pizza would be bounded in the south by the wide and straight Leadenhall Street. The new Saint Paul's cathedral would have stood at the intention of leaden hall street and Ludgate and Fleet Street facing a triangular piazza. The area along the Thames would have become a long public quay. Christopher Wren envisioned a commercial and mercantile city where trade and commerce would have pride of place.

King Charles II made Wren one of six commissioners appointed to oversee the rebuilding work, but property owners asserted their rights and began building again on plots along the lines of previous medieval streets.

King Charles II had no appetite to get involved in legal battles with Loudon's wealthy merchants and aldermen. A Fire Court in February began sorting out the remaining disputes and the Rebuilding Act of 1666 regulated the heights of the buildings (no more than four stories) and the kinds of materials used: Timber exteriors were banned. The new buildings were to be constructed of Brick and stone

In February 1667 the Fire Court began sorting out the remaining disputes. The final Bill for the rebuilding of London came before parliament on February 8, 1667: The grid-patterns and grand avenues, the round-points, and terminations to vistas, the architectural reorientation of the city as

a modern mercantile capital had all gone. The only element of Wrens's scheme that was implemented was the canalization of the river Fleet, which had also been part of Eyelyn's proposal.

130 years later, however, Wren's ideas were given concrete expression on the banks of the Potomac, when Thomas Jefferson and Pierre L'Enfant borrowed heavily from his engraving when laying out the new Federal capital of the United States in what was to become Washington DC.

That Wren's ideas did not become reality was also due to lack of money, caused by the second and third Anglo-Dutch Wars of 1665-1667 and 1672-1674. The second Anglo-Dutch War saw the audacious surprise raid on the midway when in June 1667 the Dutch attacked the English fleet in its home harbour at Chatham: It was the "most humiliating defeat suffered by British arms" in the words of Charles Boxer. The rebellious atmosphere in London forced Charles II to sign the treaty of Breda.

The complex land ownership issues in London prevailed. London's buildings were rebuilt on their original plots but using brick and stone instead of timber. The Rebuilding took over ten years with Robert Hooke, as the surveyor of works, and with Sir Christopher Wren re-conceiving and building the new St Paul's Cathedral as well as fifty new churches as well as the Royal observatory at Greenwich

This period also witnessed the birth of the British overseas empire in the West Indies and in India. During the second Anglo-Dutch War, James Stuart, the Duke of York, had seen the Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam in North America conquered and renamed it New York. He named the borough of Queens in honour of Queen Catherine of Bragança. James Stuart also became the governor of the Royal African Company which in 1660 was granted a monopoly of English trade with the Africa coast.

The Royal Africa Company traded initially in gold from West Africa, but very soon it found trading in slaves with the new English colonies in North America and the west indies, the island of Jamaica in particular, seized from the Spanish in 1655 much more profitable. 187,697 enslaved Africans were transported to the English colony in the Americas in 653 company owned ships between 1660-1731: Many of the enslaved Africans branded with the initials DoY for the Duke of York, or RAC for the Royal Africa company. The East India company also expanded its operations in India.

This period also saw the establishment of the Bank of England and emergence of state debt and finances. The emergence of the great commercial companies: The East India Company and The Royal Africa Company.

The Royal Parks, Hyde Park and St. James Park in London were also opened to the public and became popular public spaces.

Charles II also founded the Royal Society. The Royal Society began life as the Royal Society of London for improving natural knowledge and had received a royal charter from King Charles II on 28th November 1660. It was the seat of the new sciences and the society’s meetings took place at Gresham College. Among its founders was Christopher Wren, Robert Boyle, and John Wilkins. During the great fire it moved to Arundel house and returned to Gresham College in 1673. Sir Isaac Newton became the President of the Royal Society in 1703 until 1727.

Isaac Newton was the great English polymath, mathematician, physicist, astronomer, alchemist, and theologian, who was a key figure in the Scientific revolution and the Enlightenment. His pioneering work Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica) (Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy) first published in 1687, contested many previous results and established classical mechanics. The Royal Society moved to Crane Court off Fleet Street in 1710.

In the 1670s the only English precedent for a classical parish church was Inigo Jones's St. Paul's Covent Garden, an uncompromising temple consecrated in 1638. Its powerful simplicity was not to Wren's taste. Under King Charles I, the 5th Earl of Bedford had converted his estate into the first ever experiment in urban planning in London. In 1630 he commissioned Inigo Jones to create the first vast Italian style piazza, a public square which became a fashionable residence for members of the London aristocracy and ambassadors.

But after the great fire of London the great piazza of Covent Garden became the location of a market for fresh fruit and vegetables. By the 18th century the area became notorious for its brothels, coffee houses, and raucous taverns. Yet the early 18th century witnessed a revival and publication of the plans and designs of Inigo Jones and a renewed interest in his buildings, the Banqueting Hall on Whitehall, the Queen's House in Greenwich, and in his designs for the Covent Garden Piazza, as well as his design for the new Royal Palace that King Charles I had planned for Whitehall.

Though King Charles I had met his end when he was beheaded on a platform constructed for that purpose outside Inigo Jones's Banqueting Hall in Whitehall. A fate well remembered by his son King Charles II.

The Oxford anatomist, William Gould, told Hans Sloane (1660-1753), latter Newton's successor, and the long-term President of the Royal Society, in January 1681: It was a time of "troublesome, jealousies, fears, plot & counterplot" that left England an "unsettled and tottering nation."

Yet the period had seen major and long lasting changes: the catastrophe of civil war and the Stuart restoration, the establishment of the royal society and the scientific revolution, the rise of empire in the west and east indies, and the rise of the slave trade and the sugar colonies in the Caribbean, the emergence of the banking system and the policy of mercantilism, the introduction of classical architecture and town planning in England by Inigo Jones, in the Covent Garden residential piazza in particular, and the first attempt, thwarted as it was, by Christopher Wren, after the catastrophic great fire, and his attempt to redesign the city of London.

2. Lisbon: The great earthquake of 1755 and the reconstruction of Lisbon

After the great fire of 1666, London expanded with the rich moving to the west in new buildings and squares, while the poor moved to the east where the docks and warehouses of the East India Company were located and from where London conducted its burgeoning mercantile trade with its new colonies in the West Indies protected by the navigation acts as well as England's extensive overseas trade with France, the Iberian Peninsula, and the Baltic. .

Portugal had a special place in England's overseas trade since as in 1703 the Methuen Treaty was signed which gave special access of Portuguese wine to the English market and gave the English privileged access for English woollen goods to Portugal.

In 1714 King George I, became the first Hanoverian monarch and he was succeeded by George II in 1727 who reigned until 1760.

In this period Hans Sloane exemplified a new era. He was the classic outsider, an Ulster man. That is he was a Protestant who was born to a family who were "planted" in Catholic Ireland during the reign of King James I.

The "Plantation' of Protestants in Ulster was opposed by the earls of Tyrone and the Ulster Gaelic lords who were displaced as the settlers who moved into the northern part of Ireland. The settlers came mainly from the Scottish lowlands and these English speaking Protestants were called 'Planters" in the "Plantation" of Ulster.

Moving to London Hans Sloane became a shrewd resident, a gentleman, and a pillar of the establishment and the physician to an increasingly influential group of Patients.

At the age of 27 in September of 1687 he had gone to Jamaica in the West Indies as physician to the Governor the Duke of Albemarle, and he was to spend 15 months there. His sojourn on the Island provided the materials for the his lavishly illustrated "Natural History of Jamaica" which was published in 2 volumes between 1707-1725

After Sloane's return to London from Jamaica he became a leading natural historian, botanist, doctor, and tangentially an observer and commentator on race. But his Jamaican experience proved profitable for Sloane. He had complete medical oversight of the Duke of Albermale fleet. He was paid £600 a year with an additional £300 to be paid upfront.

Sloan was well aware that planters give a great deal of money for "good servants, black or white" and he was well aware that Jamaican planters would pay well for his medical services and to keep the slaves alive and well.

He stopped on the Portuguese island of Madeira on the outward voyage. Madeira wine had replaced sugar as the most lucrative commodity and vast quantities were shipped to all the West Indies plantations.

Sebastião Jose de Carvalho e Mello, the future count of Oeiras and marques de Pombal, was the Portuguese ambassador in London between 1739 -1743. He lived on Golden Square. This was part of the expansion of squares (or piazzas) in West London after the great fire which included the St. James Square, south of Piccadilly, which became after Covent Garden deteriorated as the residence of the upper classes, the preferred town residence of members of the aristocracy and ambassadors, just as Golden Square was to the north of Piccadilly. ..

Lord Burlington's House on Piccadilly was close to Golden Square. The Portuguese Ambassador's Catholic chapel backed onto his residence on Golden Square with its entrance on Warwick Street

The two houses Pombal lived in on Golden Square survived the London Blitz during the Second World War, and the Catholic chapel, although it was attacked and burned down during the Anti-Catholic Gordon Riots in 1789, was subsequently rebuilt and is still today a Catholic chapel .

The future Marquês de Pombal while he was in London was elected to the Royal Society, the premier circle of English enlightenment thinkers who pursued policies that reflected greater rationality, practicality and utilitarianism. This also the period during which Lord Burlington was developing his urban buildings in neo-classic style. Pombal's sponsors for membership in the Royal Society were Hans Sloane, the earl of Cadogan, and Castro Sarmento. Castro Sarmento was a New Christian who had fled to London and was now a leading member of London's Jewish community of Bevis Marks, the oldest synagogue in London and was Pombal's personal physician. Lord Cadogan married the daughter of Hans Sloan and inherited the manor of Chelsea. Since this is where the rich of London now migrated to the elegant new squares and urban housing, his property there made him one of the richest landholders in the county (and his family still is).

Pombal's posting to Vienna as the Portuguese ambassador from 1745 until 1750 was also a critical influence. Here he became a close friend of the Duke Silva Tarouca, an aristocratic Portuguese emigre. who had risen high within the Austrian government and was the confidant of the empress Maria Teresa. Pombal also married in Vienna the daughter of the General Daun., His Austrian marriage put him in good stead in Lisbon. He was recalled to Lisbon on the death of King Joao V by the queen dowager, Maria Anna of Austria, where he entered the Portuguese government as the secretary of state of foreign affairs.

“Such a Spectacle of Terror and Amazement, as well as the Desolation to Beholders. As perhaps had not been equalled from the Foundation of the World.” Thus, an English merchant writing from Lisbon to a friend on November 20th 1755 described the “Late dreadful Earthquake which had left the Portuguese capital in ruins.

Many were not slow to attribute blame. It is retribution for past and present sins. This was the view of the Jesuit Father Malagrida. Voltaire did not help. There was little in Portugal that he approved of. The country formed the perfect butt for his digressions on superstition and irrationality. Voltaire often returned to Portuguese topics in his writings, and not only and most famously in Candide.

Lisbon is situated on the northern shore of the estuary of the Tagus River. In 1755 the ceremonial and commercial heart of the city was centered on the Royal Palace built directly on the water front. On the eastern side of the palace was a large open palace square (terreiro do paço).

Merchant and retail houses stood along a series of jumbled alleyways and narrow streets constructed over alluvial landfill between steep hills. The other urban axis was inland to the north, a large public square called the Rossio. Lisbon was a great port into which flowed the spices of the far east, pepper from India, porcelain and silk from China, and sugar, diamonds and gold from Brazil.

The royal Palace with its four-storied tower built by Philip II when the crowns of Spain and Portugal were united under him, literally abutted the Tagus estuary and the House of India, the customs House, and the Royal Shipyard.

In the minds of eighteenth-century enlightenment thinkers in northwestern Europe, Portugal was a nation locked in obscurantism. The best-known images of Portugal were of the burnings at the stake, the so-called “Acts of Faith.” Some 45,000 people were investigated by the Portuguese Inquisition between 1536 and 1767 and several thousand of them condemned and burned prior to the earthquake.

The great Earthquake occurred on All Saints Day, November I. 1755. The scale was probably the equivalent of 8.5 to 9 in magnitude in the Richter scale, or possibly 9.1 on the moment magnitude scale (Mw). Shortly thereafter a tsunami, a towering tidal wave, very rare in the Atlantic Ocean, hit Lisbon. Then an immense fire took hold and consumed much of the ruined city.

The first tremor occurred about 9:45 am. Many were attending mass as the buildings toppled on the congregations. “I could hardly take a step without treading on the dead and dying," an eyewitness recalled. The origin of the 1755 earthquake (the hypocenter or focus refers to the point where the earthquake occurs, and the epicentre refers to the point on the surface of the earth or sea directly above the hypocenter), lay several hundred miles off the southeast coast of Portugal along one of the faults that marks the boundary separating the African and Eurasian continental plates.

A 150-600-kilometer-long segment of the fault thrust upward for as much as 10 meters releasing an enormous amount of energy, at least three times more powerful than the volcanic eruption of Krakatoa. It was the most powerful earthquake to strike the continent of Europe in recorded history.

The destruction was enormous: Some fifty-five convents and monasteries were severely damaged. The riverfront quay sank and disappeared, and the Royal Palace was destroyed. Over 15,000 people were killed. The British consul wrote to London on December 13, 1755: “The part of the town towards the water where the Royal Palace, the public tribunals, the Custom house, India House, and where most of the merchants dealt for the convenience of transacting their business,

are so totally destroyed by the earthquake and by the fire. that it is nothing but a heap of rubbish, in many places several stories high, incredible to those who are not eyewitnesses of it."

The earthquake caused widespread damage elsewhere in Portugal and was felt as far away as Venice and Southern France and also reached Morocco and northern Africa.

But it was Lisbon that bore the brunt of the disaster. The tidal wave and the fire had destroyed much of the central part of the city between the Rossio and the Palace square. The alluvial soil had likely liquified. The hills on either side of the Baixa, both to the East and to the West, were less affected. and the buildings along the estuary toward the Atlantic – where the royal family was in residence in their summer Palace at Belem – survived with less damage.

But the newly constructed patriarchal church was destroyed as was the new Opera House which had been inaugurated only a few months before on the 30th of March the birthday of the Queen. The first opera was "Alessadro nell'Indie" by David Perez and the magnificent sets were designed by Giovanni Carlo Sicini Bibiena. The damage suffered by the Opera House and the Patriarchal Church as well as other principal buildings in the city was documented in a series of engravings by Jacques-Phillipe Le Bas in 1757.

The scale of the earthquake shocked Europe, In Britain George II asked the house of commons to provide "speedy and effectual relief" The Commons responded allowing the treasury to appropriate £100,000 in specie, provisions and tools.

An earthquake had also occurred in Massachusetts on the 18th November 1755 East of Cape Ann. In Boston most of the damage occurred where buildings had been constructed over landfill near the wharves. John Adams, who was at Braintree, wrote in his diary that "The house seems to rock and reel and crack as if it would fall in ruins."

Professor John Winthrop in his lecture on earthquakes read in the chapel of Harvard College on November 26th, 1755, noted with approval the work of the "very ingenious Mr. Franklin of Philadelphia".

The most notorious reaction came from Voltaire. In his "Poem on the Lisbon Disaster or an Examination of the Axiom All is Well", Voltaire took a very pessimistic view of what had happened:

"Oh, miserable mortals! Oh, wretched earth!
Oh, dreadful assembly of all mankind
Eternal sermon of useless sufferings!
Deluded philosophers who cry, 'All is well.'"

Rousseau, shocked by what Voltaire had written, asserted the natural cause of such catastrophes and protested to him in a letter: "Would you have preferred that this earthquake had taken place in a desert rather than in Lisbon […] does it really mean that the order of the natural world should be changed to conform to our caprices, that nature must be subject to our laws, and that in order to prevent her from causing an earthquake in any particular place all we need to do is build a city there?"

In Lisbon the reaction was more prosaic and practical. The King of Portugal, Dom José I of Bragança and his wife Maria Anna Victoria de Bourbon, a Spanish infanta, had never shown much interest in government, preferring hunting and the opera. The King was utterly and completely paralysed and terrified by the earthquake, even though he had been at Belem, well to the west of the center of the city when the shocks and tidal wave occurred, Dom José was so frightened that for the rest of his life he refused to sleep on any building built of stone. The royal family moved into the gardens of Belem palace. And alter moved into canvas barrack, a barraca real, on the hill

above. The first actions of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, the future Marquês de Pombal, was to bury the dead and to impose order.

The scale of the destruction was such that the removal of bodies became essential to prevent the spread of disease and plague. Pombal persuaded the Patriarch of Lisbon to give permission for the bodies to be collected, put in boats, and sent out into the Atlantic, and dropped into the Ocean without funeral rites.

He brought in troops from the hinterland to contain disorder. He also gave magistrates the power to act instantly, in cases of murder and looting, and they acted expeditiously. According to one eyewitness report, there were soon about eighty gibbets set up throughout the city where those caught looting and committing other crimes were summarily hanged.

Pombal's immediate and draconian response was encapsulated in the famous phrase attributed to him: "bury the dead and feed the living."

In his singularly spidery handwriting, he gave his own account of the three immediate priorities: The first was to dispose of the dead in order to avoid disease; the second to feed and to achieve this and to deter speculators he imposed ceilings on the price of bread; and third, to impose public order.

Pombal's reaction was swift and effective. It was later summarized with the texts of decrees in a compilation. These “Providencias” include the immediate collection and disposal of corpses, the avoidance of food shortages, attention to the sick and wounded, temporary price controls of essential foods, and the planning for the reconstruction of the city.

It is sometimes claimed that Pombal was not responsible for these measures and claimed credit for them afterwards.

But in the Pahla collection in the Houghton Library at Harvard there is a handwritten draft of a decree written at Belem on November 3rd, 1755, three days after the earthquake, as well as a decree in his hand. This decree is printed in the Providencias volume also in Haughton Library. I have donated a copy of the providências to my collection of books and Portugal and Brazil at the Library of St. John’s College, Cambridge University.

The fact that the destruction of Lisbon offered great opportunity to urban planners was not lost on one ambitious young Scottish architect Robert Adam (1728-1791). In Rome at the time (1754-58). Robert Adam saw the earthquake as “Heavenly judgement on my behalf.” He aspired to be the royal architect of Lisbon and produced sketches of what he thought the newly constructed Lisbon should look like based on the Bernini’s Piazza before Saint Peter's in Rome. But Robert Adams theatrical Baroque extravagance was not what Pombal had in mind. He was thinking of the new Lisbon as a more modest, practical, pragmatic, healthy, neo-Palladian commercial city.

Pombal did not call on Italian, Austrian or French architects as the Portuguese had done so often for their great public buildings during the first half of the eighteenth century. Much less did he set up an international competition as the ambitious young Robert Adma had hoped.

Pombal instead immediately brought in Portugal's own military engineers. Three in particular were to play key roles: Manuel da Maia (1677-1668) who in 1755 was almost 80 years old, the chief military engineer of the country and who had been the tutor in mathematics and physics to the heir apparent, Dom Jose, now the King; Eugenio dos Santos, (1711-1760) who was in his mid-forties, and a colonel in the engineering corps; and Carlos (Karoly) Mardel (c.1695-1763) a Hungarian emigre in his late fifties who had served in the Portuguese military engineering corps since 1733, when he came to Portugal to work on the Lisbon aqueduct which had survived the earthquake, under Manuel da Maia’s supervision

All three men were experienced professionals, accustomed to overseeing the construction of large-scale civil and military buildings and fortifications and the management of resources and manpower this involved. Pombal gave to Manuel da Maia the job of drawing up what he called a “dissertation” detailing the fundamental issues to be addressed and how these, once defined, might be handled most efficiently.

Pombal meanwhile introduced legislation to prohibit any building, action, or sale of property before the master plan had been devised. Maia quickly turned in his observation to Pombal on December 4, 1755. Maia’s dissertation examined a series of propositions regarding possible options for reconstruction of the city after the catastrophe. These included whether the debris should be used to build up the lowland areas, what size buildings should be in relation to the streets in front of them, and the provision that should be made to accommodate the runoff in lowland areas so as to make construction on landfill free from the risk of inundation at times of tidal flooding.

Maia recommended that any rebuilding should be prohibited until a plan was formulated and approved. He looked at the option of moving the city entirely, whether for example Lisbon should be relocated to the west toward the area of Belem where the subsoil was stronger, and buildings had resisted the earthquake. He argued that the principal streets should be on a grid pattern and designated for commercial purposes. and reflecting the importance of gold and silver in Lisbon's commerce. and that these streets be constructed without covered arches in order to improve security. He cited two models of rebuilt cities he considered important: Turin and London.

In each of these cases he looked back at the rebuilding histories. In Turin the new city had been constructed as an extension or adjunct to the old. In London he examined Christopher Wren’s plan for the rebuilding of the city after the great fire.

The key in the case of Lisbon, Maia observed, was that the King had not insisted that the royal palace be reconstructed on its previous site. This was of course because the King was terrified at the thought of spending a night at a palace in an earthquake zone. But this Royal aversion relieved the urban planners of an enormous impediment. If the King was prepared to give up prime real estate, then it would be difficult for anyone else to refuse to do so.

Maia’s plan was quickly approved locating the rebuilding of the city on its previous site and avoiding what had happened in London, where despite Wren's ambitious plans, property rights and old street lines were not superseded. With the general principles elaborated six detailed projects were drawn up, some less radical than others.

In the end it was the most radical grid pattern that was approved and adopted, the fifth plan drawn up by Eugenio dos Santos and Carlos Mardel. This involved a total reinvention of the city's core with a complete overriding of the previous street patterns and property rights.

The plan substituted the old royal square with a new square of commerce. The Praça do Comércio, this waterfront square was to have identical buildings on three sides with ground floor arcades and double pilasters. The north side was broken by a triumphal arch. Two three storied pavilions of pedra loiz (a pseudo marble limestone long used in Portugal), one pavilion of which was to house the merchants exchange, and these were to be anchored on the east and west arcades on the river side. The arcaded facades also made use of the contrast between the white pedra lioz used for the standardised stone window frames and the coloured plastered walls.

The art historian Robert Smith, and his chair at Harvard is our sponsor today, wrote that this use of pedra lioz gave "Lisbon a glittering appearance not unlike Venice."

Four main streets, with cross-street set at right angles ran inland from the Praça do Comércio towards two newly reconstructed parallel squares of identical buildings: The Rossio and the Praça da Figueira.

Facing the streets identical four-story blacks were to be built with shops at the ground level. Ocre-coloured walls were framed at each end by wide angled pilasters set flat. The buildings were surmounted by double hipped roofs: A unit of continuous architecture was created at the heart of the city - an area 1,800 by 1,250 feet that according to Robert Smith comprises one of the "greatest uniform architectural undertakings of the age of the enlightenment."

Legislation was passed in May 1758 to provide for the assessment and reallocation of property rights. Geometric measurements were substituted for actual locations so that property owners could be compensated for the land, houses, and old street space reallocated under the new urban plan. Loans were provided to people who needed them, and those who took on new property were given five years to complete the construction of the new buildings. All this was achieved with remarkable rapidity.

The new buildings were to follow standardized uniform dimensions. Most important, they were to be made earthquake proof by means of a pioneering anti-earthquake flexible wooden cage or gaiola formed of diagonal trusses reinforcing a horizontal and vertical frame. The reinforced buildings were in turn set on piles made of green pine topped by cross-hatched pine staves and morar pads. All the buildings in the Baixa were to be constructed in this manner. Each building was provided with a cistern in the back courtyard between the buildings. From here rainwater was directed toward a central cistern under the street. Eugenio dos Santos drawing was presented to Pombal by Maia on 19th April 1756.

The planners of the new Lisbon intended to create a more sanitary and healthier urban environment. Pombal called on the assistance of a Portuguese "new Christian" then resident in Paris, Antonio Nunes Ribeiro Sanches (1699-1783) s student of the great Dutch chemist, botanist and clinician H. Boerhaave, Ribeiro Sanches had been Pombal's personal physician while he was the ambassador in Vienna. Ribeiro Sanchez was employed by Pombal as a paid consultant and Pombal published his thesis on sanitation and the need for light and air in order to make inhabitants of urban areas less vulnerable to disease and illness.

As well as secular property the question of how to treat ecclesiastical landholdings, churches and parishes also had to be settled. Whether to keep the churches in the same palace or move them. it was decided that they should be rebuilt in new locations appropriate to the master plan. More decoration was permitted than for the secular buildings but none of the new Pombaline churches had towers.

The new Praça do Comércio retained a royal presence in the form of a bronze statue commissioned to stand at its center. with Dom Jose on horseback, the statue inaugurated in 1775 was designed by the court sculptor, Joaquim Machado de Castro (1731-1822) and was based on the monument of Louis XIV (1660) published by Jacques Francois Blondel in Architecture Française (1752-1756), the Royal presence was symbolic. The essence of the new square was that it was to be a place of government, of commerce, of the customs house, and of the stock exchange.

Pombal not only gave attention to the central squares and principal streets, but more modest houses were also designed and built as well, creating the firs industrial development zones in a European city. Where the great aqueduct terminated Pombal placed his industrial suburb with silk manufactory, ceramic works, and cotton textile mills.

In 1756 a school of architecture and drawing. Casa do Risco das Obras Públicas Reais was established to produce the blueprints for the new buildings that would stand on the principal squares and streets. The school functioned until 1760 under the supervision of Eugenio dos Santos when

he was succeeded by Carlos Mardel. The plans drawn up under the supervision of dos Santos and Mardel – every design drawn – down to the smallest detail bore Pombal's signature. All the buildings were provided with fireproof walls subdividing the roofs. windows and doors were standardized, and no one was permitted to build in any manner other than according to the approved plans. To prevent monotony subtle variations of door shapes and iron balconies were permitted and Maia recommended that people be allowed the freedom to paint windows and doors different colors in different areas.

This process of rebuilding led to the creation of an extensive infrastructure for the prefabrication of standardized stone facings, uniform ironwork, uniform cut timber for the gaiolas, as well as the production of mortar and quick drying cement, glass for the windows, and tiles.

As a consequence, the reconstruction of Lisbon was directly linked to the government's aim to stimulate an industrial artisan class in Portugal and thereby aid Portugal's overall economic development.

However, a model for the new Lisbon has been overlooked. Two English merchants in Lisbon were critical collaborators with Pombal in the reconstruction, Stephens and Parmentier. Stephans had a monopoly to provide glass for the new widows and Parmentier had a monopoly on the provision of quick drying cement for the coating of the new earthquake proof buildings. A culm act was passed by the Parliament in London to permitting the export of culm to Parmetier's kilns at Alcantara close to Lisbon,

But the British influence was wider than this. The late John Harris, the long time curator of drawing at the Society for British Architects looking at the Praça do Comércio in the mid 1960s found it strikingly similar to Inigo Jones designs for Covent Garden published in Colen Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus (1715-1777) in fact an examination of Eugenio dos Santos original design for the north side of the Praça do Comércio bears a striking resemblance to the northern and west sides of Covent Garden, identical apart from the two pavilions facing the river in the case of Lisbon.

It is curiously historical irony that Christopher Wren's plans for a mercantile city of London and Inigo Jones plans for Covent Garden should have ended up providing a model for Pombal's commercial center for his own mercantile and practical and stripped down architectural model for the new Lisbon. Brazil imperial project was also highly influential in this period: Pombal reorganised the entire administrative and financial and military organisation in Brazil, expanding and protecting the frontiers in the far west and in the Amazon basin. And expelling the Jesuits in the process.

Meanwhile in Lisbon he continued with his utilitarian neo-Palladian reconstruction of the city with his Portuguese military engineer and his English military engineers, such as Colonel Elsden, who designed the new scientific buildings for the reformed University of Coimbra, and the English entrepreneur residing in Lisbon (from Devon no less where I now live) William Stephens eventually sold his factories to the Portuguese state in the early 19th century, and he retired a very wealthy man. Among his descendants was Mr. Stephens, the so-called "richest commoner in the realm." He is portrayed clutching a wad of bank notes in his clenched fist. But he succumbed to a pretty dancer in the Paris opera comique who he married and she rapidly spent most of his fortune.

But the gruesome fate of the Jesuit Malagrida and the Portuguese aristocrats who had attempted to assassinate King Dom Jose, and Voltaire's reaction to it, rather than Ribeiro Sanches thesis on public health for the new city of Lisbon, consolidated the image of Pombal in the minds of European enlightenment thinkers and writers.

The commission of the abade Francisco Correa da Serra, the brilliant naturalist and co-founder of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences, to write an article on the reconstruction, did not help. His article was written but not published in the Encyclopedie because it arrived too late to be included.

So, the image of Pombal and Portugal remained that of Voltaire. Though it is also true that Pombaline Lisbon was also not much appreciated by many Portuguese, despite the great works of the art historians, Robert Smith and Jose Augusto Franca, who interpreted the reconstructed Lisbon as the the greatest expression of enlightenment town planning. When II was first living in Lisbon in early 1964 many Lisboetas still referred to the Praça do Comércio as the terreiro do Paço, even though the paço had been destroyed by the great earthquake of 1755.

The Praça do Comércio was then used in 1964 as a gigantic parking lot. Pombal tomb was unvisited, his Lisbon house on the Rua do Século abandoned, and the palace of his brother on the rua das Janelas Verdes had been repurposed as the Museu da Arte Antiga, and the only sign that it had ever been a Pombal residence was the Family coat of arms. located in the stonework high above the staircase leading up from the back garden.

Pombal early on in his career had complained bitterly about his lack of financial resources. He left office, however, as one of the richest men in Portugal, and much of that wealth was based on holdings of valuable real estate in Lisbon.

3. Paris: The reconstruction of Paris by Napoleon 3rd and Baron Haussmann.

Napoleon III was the second son of Napoleon Bonaparte's brother, Louis, the King of Holland and his wife, Hortense de Beauharnais. Their first son, Napoleon Louis, had died in 1831, which made Charles-Louis Napoleon the heir apparent. He was to marry Eugenie de Montijo, a Spanish aristocrat in 1853. They had one son, Napoleon Eugene Louis in 1856.

Charles-Louis Napoleon was a romantic and at times reckless and adventurous youth, prone to plotting, fruitless coups, and long periods of exile in England and in the United States, as well as long spells in prison after spectacularly failed invasions in France.

He was nevertheless elected president of the sound French republic on December 10th, 1848. And three years later he on December 2, 1851, he carried out a bloody coup d'etat which was overwhelmingly endorsed by a plebiscite which in turn saw him a year later to proclaim the second empire and his assumption of the title of Napoleon III.

His reign lasted 18 years until he led France into a catastrophic war with Bismarck's Prussia, when he was captured by the Prussians, and he was deposed and replaced by the Third Republic.

His was an authoritarian rule which led restrictions to the freedom of the press, assembly, speech and publication. And those who benefited were the new men of commerce, banking, the railroads. It was an epoch of sudden and gaudy wealth and mush corruption, of the expansion of the railway system throughout France, and of overseas imperial adventures in Algeria, Indochina, in Egypt with the Suez Canal, and the imposition by French arms of the archduke, Maximilian of Austria, as the emperor for Mexico.

But Napoleon III had the vision of a better Paris. A Paris where housing and sanitation would be better. And George Haussmann would be the man to carry this out. And for 17 years as the emperor's prefect of the Seine Haussmann tore up old Paris, both above and below ground, introduced modernised water and sewer systems, as well as broad and wide avenues lined with standardised uniform buildings known as "Haussmann buildings.'

But the young artists and writers such as Eduard Manet, Claude Monet, Emile Zola and Gustave Flaubert, and Claude Baudelaire, resisted the empire's restrictions. And from his exile outside France, Vitor Hugo, label him "Napoleon le Petit".

Karl Marx's Communist Manifesto, and his eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte helped frame the reign of Napoleon III. The Communist Manifesto and Marx's "the eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" were both written in response to the revolutionary spring of 1848.

In the Communist Manifesto rang with its rhetorical force: "A spectre is haunting Europe: the spectre of communism. The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle. Proletarians have nothing to lose except their chains… WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!"

Hurriedly written by Marx based on earlier drafts by Engels in the first few weeks of 1848, the Manifesto appeared within days of a general European revolution stretching from the Baltic to the Balkans. Vitor Hugo also had little good to say about Louis Napoleon. His humpback of Notre Dame and Les Misérables, revelled in a Paris before the demolition of the old mediaeval city and its reconstruction, reorganisation, and modernisation, as the city of light, by the emperor Napoleon III and his prefect of Paris, the baron Haussmann.

The Haussmann's were Protestants who had fled Cologne, establishing themselves outside Colmar in French Alsace, in the late 18th century where they established a large cotton factory. One brother, the grandfather of the Prefect Haussmann became a naturalized French citizen and becoming a deputy in the National Assembly after the Revolution in 1789 he served a war contractor, for the first republic's arms in the Rhineland retired with a substantial fortune and acquired an estate at Chaville between St. Cloud and Versailles where his grandson, the future prefect of Paris lived his first seven years.

Twice outsiders – as Germans and Lutherans – all the Haussmann consciously spent three lives proving their loyalty to France and to the government of the day. In 1853 Haussmann received a government courier in Bordeaux from interior minister Gilbert Persigny, informing him that Louis Napoleon had personally nominated him to the senior prefecture of the Seine.

At the first meeting with the emperor, Haussmann was taken to Napoleon III office where Louis Bonaparte informed the new prefect that he would give him an entirely free hand in his work and that there would be no ministerial intermediaries. Haussmann recalled:

"The Emperor was anxious to show me a map of Paris on which he had traced blue, red, yellow and green lines, each colour indicating the priority of the work anticipated." Hausmann's grasped the task before him: he was expected to rebuild the entire central heart of the French capital with the demolition and clearing of hundreds of acres of medieval buildings and narrow streets. Replacing them with modern structures and wide boulevards. While introducing and entirely new sewage and fresh water system.

The relationship between the two men of trust and responsibility developed over the next sixteen and a half years. No other person in government was to hold such a position during the second empire. The final product of this collaboration was an entirely new Paris. Napoleon III had outlined his plans for completely transforming the French capital. Plans for which Haussmann would be solely responsible.

The key would be straight, wide, new avenues and boulevards that had to be driven through the medieval passageways and tenements. Thousands of properties would have to be condemned and razed. The process which included the seizure of private property based on the right of eminent domain, would be confirmed by a newly established legislature with its new president, Auguste de Monney. Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, Count of Monney, was the openly acknowledged

illegitimate son of one of Napoleon Bonaparte's favorite aide de camp. Monney's mother was Hortense de Bauharnais. Hence, he was the half-brother of Napoleon III.

The Paris tenements were a source of debilitating illness. Cholera was responsible for 30,000 deaths between the 183os and 1860s. Large portions of the old city were cleared and replaced with new structures, with access to fresh air, running water, and underground sewers. The funding for these vast schemes was provided by the parliament, the prefecture, and the municipality of Paris. Construction companies were obliged to complete their work within a specific time frame or risk forfeiting the substantial bonds (cautions) they were required to deposit with the city.

To begin the new network of avenues required modern gates to the city. The railway stations link with one another and to the center of the city. The government buildings and administrative center of the empire – the Tuileries, the Elyse Palace, and the palace of Saint Claud.

Haussmann wrote: "It is the duty of the Chief of State to have the reins of the capital's administration at his fingertips."

As part of this plan, the Ministry of the Interior - responsible for the counties prefectures and police - would be moved immediately to the building directly opposite the entrance to the Elysee Palace where Louis Napoleon spent more and more time.

Perfect Haussmann's first task was to divide the city into four sectors by completing the work on the rua de Tivoli from the east to the west, from the place de la Concorde to the place de la Bastille. On the other side of the Concorde, the Champs Élysées would continue westward towards the Round Point – the Arc de Triomphe – a new avenue, later to be named the Boulevard de Sebastopol driving a straight line as far as the Porte de St-Denis from where it would continue as the Boulevard de Strasbourg. Right up to the Gare de l'Est. Its southerly line, the new Boulevard St-Michel would extend from the Pont de St- Michel right through the Latin quarter. Several large Junctions would be created from which major avenues and boulevards would emerge.

By far the biggest and most impressive was the L'Étoile, personally designed by Haussmann with twelve thoroughfares shooting out like the spoke of a wheel. The Champs Élysées ended here. Haussmann commented that: "This beautiful ensemble I certainly consider to be one of the finest achievements of my entire administration."

Each avenue was built by a separate company. A law passed in 1852 allowed for the large-scale application of the right of eminent domaine. A declaration of utilité publique. The seizure of private property of a public purpose. The expropriation of houses, shops, apartment buildings to be demolished and then cleared away.

Each construction company was obliged to deposit a substantial bond or caution with the city to ensure full compliance. In 1858 prefect Haussmann created the Public Works Treasury of Paris which allowed him to speed up the process by issuing Bonds, or script, IOU's drawn on this fund.

With the completion of the boulevards there was a greater need for public transportation. Haussmann licensed taxis, horse drawn fiacre, and omnibus concessions. Contracts were issued for the laying of underground gas pipelines and by 1870, 33,000 new gas outlets for street light's, public buildings and private homes. The London which Louis Napoleon had so admired and attempted to imitate was now being overshadowed by a modern, new, spacious Paris. It was being fact, as well as in theory, becoming a "City of Light".

To provide clean drinking water Haussmann undertook major engineering works to bring in water by new aqueducts and artesian wells. And extensive new underground sewage canals were constructed and on his instructions many schools were modernised or enlarged, including the

Sorbonne, the faculty of Medicine, and Napoleon III also appointed Prosper Merimee as the first Inspector general of Historical monuments.

The prefect also had the Hôtel de Ville refurbished. Here the prefect and his wife hosted spectacular masked balls and diplomatic receptions. Including for the Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. And Haussmann prepared for Louis Napoleon first Exposition Univeselle in 1855. In 1861 the prefect of the Seine broke ground for Charles Garnier's new Opera House. And all the grand railway stations were erected, and the first telegraph was installed throughout the country.

In the second empire, however, everyone had his price. But this was not new. The staggering bribes received by the foreign minister, Prince de Talleyrand, of the fist Napoleon, was the talk of every European capital. The count, later duke de Morny, continued this tradition. And the bankers, the banking Perierre brothers, Portuguese Jews from Bordeaux, and the Rothschilds, competed for the loan business of Napoleon III's empire.

Haussmann who came with little left with little. He was irritatingly honest, though he became the ideal target for Louis Napoleon's enemies. And they were many. After Morney's death in 1865, Haussmann became the target of increasing attacks on his probity. He was after all responsible for many hundreds of millions of francs annually and he was the man who made the ultimate decisions.

Napoleon III had been thinking of cresting large parks and dozens of green squares and Haussmann had to deal with the complicated engineering problems of attempting to duplicate Hyde Park and its serpentine lake in Paris. Napoleon III has spent one of his early exiles living in London's Mayfair, close to Hyde Park and St James Park, and he wanted Paris to green spaces open to the public as well

Additional roads were built, and extensive flower gardens and tens of thousands of new trees were planted across the Boris de Boulogne's 2,090 bucolic acres. And Long champs became a prime racetrack much to Morney's delight. Haussmann next transferred the Bois de Vincennes the municipality. Louis Napoleon's desire for a greener Paris was realised. Haussmann also reorganised and expanded the boundaries of Paris incorporating the suburban areas and establishing the new organisation of the Paris arrondissements.

In 1867, Napoleon III weakened politically and in very poor health ordered Haussmann to resign. Haussmann resisted, but in January 1870 Napoleon III agree to remove Haussmann from office.

By the time Haussmann was removed from office he had overseen the demolition of 19,722 buildings. Which had been replaced by some 43,777 new structures, all with running water and sanitary facilities. He and designed and overseen the construction of 95 kilometres of new gas lighted street. He had never taken a single bribe. Nor had he speculated on or owned a single property. He had overseen the expenditure of the equivalent of more than $32 million dollars. All was properly accounted for, down to the last centime. His pension was suppressed after the fall of the second empire. He did not retire as a rich man.

4. Conclusion:

"Hegel remarks somewhere that all great world-historical events and personages appear, so to speak, twice. He forgot to add: the first as tragedy, the second as farce." Marx was speaking of Napoleon the First and Napoleon the Third.

So, what can we say at the end about all this? About the reconstruction of London, of Lisbon, and of Paris? On the fifteenth of January 1873, the coffin of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was placed on a horse outside Camden Place in Surrey, England, where he had gone into his last exile after

having been captured by the forces of Bismarck and the Prussian in the disastrous (for France that is) Germany-France War which marked the end of his rule and end of his empire.

Bismarck's Prussians had marched down the wide boulevard of the Champs Élysées, just as Hitler's German army was to march from the Arc de Triomphe during the Second World War. The German empire had in fact been proclaimed by Bismarck at the Palace of Versailles no less.

There must have been 20,000 persons at Chislehurst, the London Times reported. The early morning trains from London had brought down thousands. Louis Napoleon lay embalmed in his uniform of the lieutenant general of the Chambre Ardente with his sword by his side and at his feet a bouquet of yellow immortelles, the favorite flowers of his mother. He wore his own wedding ring and that of Napoleon I on his left hand.

The French government had refused to give any state recognition of his funeral and sent no official representatives – thereby preventing the English government or Queen Victoria and the royal family from participating. The royal standard at Windsor was lowered to half mast, however, as Queen Victoria and the royal court went into mourning for fifteen days.

Later the remains of Louis Napoleon were placed in a handsome sarcophagus donated by Queen Victoria. And the royal banner from Windsor Castle was suspended over the tomb.

Six year later the twenty-three-year-old Prince Louis Napoleon IV, a serving officer in the English army was killed in a Zulu ambush in South Africa. His coffin was borne back to Chislehurst and placed next to his father.

The French government did not mourn Luis Napoleon's death. The new French Republic would remove Napoleon III and the second empire from France's history, and Marshal Patrice McMahon, in return for surrendering the whole France Army to Bismarck in 1870 would be elected president of the republic.

Prince Edward, later to be King Edward VII, the Prince of Wales, had been devoted to Luis Napoleon since 1855 and had written almost daily to Luis Napoleon on behalf of himself and the Queen. He had been devoted to Louis Napoleon from the day of their first meeting in Paris during the Universal Exhibition of 1855.

Of course, the former Emperor or the French and Prince Edward also enjoyed another aspect of Paris: They both loved Paris and they were both insatiable and incorrigible philanderer's. Neither could resist a pretty woman. Especially if they were married.

Bismarck and the Paris commune framed the reign of Napoleon III and the French Second empire just as the uprising of 1848 marked its beginning.

The Imperial projects in Algeria, Indochina, and in Mexico also framed the reign of Napoleon III and of Haussmann's destruction and rebuilding of the new Paris. And Karl Marx, and Vitor Hugo and Manet and Monet, were to define the historical image of Napoleon III and Haussmann's reconstruction of Paris.

But what happened to the men who had attempted to remake London and had remade Lisbon and Paris?

It is ironic that the Prince Imperial, the son of Napoleon III, died in South Africa at the hands of the Zulus.

And that the Austrian archduke Maximiliano, the emperor of Mexico, was shot by a firing squad of Juaristas (not French soldiers as depicted by Manet's painting) on a mountain outside Oaxaca in Mexico.

Pombal died very ill and in disgrace in exile from Lisbon in the Portuguese hinterland and his body was later transferred and buried in the little visited Igreja da Memória in Lisbon.

The emperor Napoleon III's body lies in a small Abbey founded by his wife close to Farnborough Airport in Surrey and the site of the Farnborough Air shows at Farnborough airport. The Empress died in 1920 and now lies next to her husband and to her son. The Abbey is tended by a small handful of nuns. The Abbey is currently not open to the public.

Christopher Wren lies buried within his great cathedral of Saint Paul's in London.

Inigo Jones lies in the Welsh Church largely forgotten. Though in recent years Covent Garden has become an area of fashion again and culture with the Royal Opera House, and nearby fashionably hotels, and restaurants.

The streets of London remain much as they did before the great fire of London when Christopher Wren was denied the opportunity to replan and rebuild the capital city.

But Lisbon and Paris remain much as the marques de Pombal and Napoleon III envisioned them, both reconstructed to reflect modernity, Lisbon rebuilt after the catastrophic earthquake of 1755, and Paris rebuilt between the European wide revolutionary uprisings of 1848 and the catastrophic defeat of France by Bismarck and a resurgent Prussia, the siege of Paris, and the bloody days of the Paris commune.

But perhaps Georges Haussmann has the least laugh, or maybe the last grimace. He is buried in the Cimitière du Pere Lachaise in Paris: The first garden cemetery. Parisians may still regard him as corrupt, which he was not, though Napoleon III's half-brother. The count of Morney certainly was, but among his fellow corpses at the Cimetiere du Pere Lachaise are Jim Morrison, Oscar Wilde, Edith Piaf, Isadora Duncan, Maria Callas, Gertrude Stein, Chopin, Colette, Richard Wright, Miguel Angel Asturias, Rossini, Bizet, Sarah Bernhardt: Few would have been there had Napoleon III and Baron Haussmann not remade Paris as "the City of Light". Which despite political turmoil and many new regimes over the years it remains to this day.