Mon Cousin, le nouvel an ne s'annonçait en forme avec

Audinard en Espagne, j'ai rappelé le 1er est le 6e Coop et

un division de Dragons de la Grande Armée pour faire ces

troupes de la nation. Depuis de lastournie un accroc,

la montrerautant d'impétus que de possibilité. Grand

vou apprendre cela ce jour, la chevaux vous demandez par

l'âme j'en force bien jurer, et de out tache autant habillé,

il fonda qu'il a leurant. — Je vous ai donné le commandement

dela Poigne et de la Silène : vous y avez le 3e Coop, la

division d'Bayard, campagne de l'Espagne et la division de

Cuirassiers qui est Alain ; le regiment de cavalerie de 1800

hommes, formé de hussards de votre gracieux Corps, a passé pour

vouz rejoindre ; un autre régiment avec 1800 hommes

egalement tiré de deux tours Coop qui seront au marché

Alexandre Davout.
THE AGE OF NAPOLEON, NELSON AND WELLINGTON

MAGGS 1477
2015 marks the bicentenary of the battle of Waterloo. Waterloo - the name is evocative of the most decisive victory of all, a victory of the Allies over Napoleon, of stability over constant upheavals, of the old order over the revolution and the Corsican usurper.

And yet it is the quarter century which preceded Waterloo which continues to fascinate us. It was a period which changed Europe irrevocably. The Bourbon monarchy was restored in France, yet it would only lead to revolution in 1830. Another revolution in 1848 would bring the French monarchy to an end.

For Britain, it would mark the beginning of a century of industrial and mercantile ascendance. The age of the railways, the shift from the country to the great Victorian cities lay ahead.

For the rest of Europe, a period of stabilization would be followed by the rise of nationalism, with the emergence of Germany and Italy as united countries. The seeds of this movement had been sown by Napoleon, with the Confederation of the Rhine and the Cisalpine Republic, but it would take another fifty years before it arrived at its logical conclusion.

This catalogue, arranged chronologically, offers glimpses into the vast changes which took place during this period, both in society and in the constantly changing map of Europe.

The cast of characters includes the obvious major names: Napoleon, Wellington, Nelson, and the marshals - Ney, Massena, Murat, Bernadotte, Berthier, Soult, Jourdan – as well as the monarchs, George III and Louis XVIII. There are, of course, generals and admirals: Hardy, Collingwood, St. Vincent, Calder, Sidney Smith, Junot, Blucher, Gneisenau, William Prince of Orange, Napier, Paget, Mackenzie and Sherbrooke. Among the women feature Napoleon’s wives, Josephine and Marie Louise, his sisters Pauline and Elisa, his intellectual foe Madame de Staël and the exiled Madame Tallien. The important ministers are here: Melville, Fox, Talleyrand, Fouquet, Chartal.

But there is also a cast of minor characters, whose presence gives us a privileged insight into the social, intellectual, indeed everyday life at the time: the francophile Spaniard Marchena; John Moor, an English inventor and manufacturer living in France; the barrister William Garrow; Laure Dillon, step-mother of the great memoirist Madame de la Tour du Pin; the diplomat Henry Williams Wynn; the duc de Montmorency writing to the Duchess of Devonshire.

The urgency of the battles – two of the letters are dated ‘from the battlefield’ and one was annotated by Napoleon while on the battlefield – is meshed together with the minutiae of daily life and social concerns.

Seeing this catalogue take shape has been a fascinating journey, and I hope you will enjoy it as well.

Autograph Letter Signed ("Horatio Nelson") written with his right hand, to his uncle William Suckling, giving his thoughts on the situation in the Mediterranean, remarking that "if we are to finish the War with France we must not be disposed to stop at trifles . . ." and expressing the hope that "if my conduct is approved of in September we shall be at Nice & perhaps across the Var[,] for Provence will I am sure declare for us the first opportunity".

2½ pages 4to with integral address leaf and major portion of his red wax seal, Leghorn, 27 July 1795. £10,250

An early letter, written when Nelson was Captain of the 64-gun Agamemnon during the French Revolutionary Wars.

"I have I hear so many letters gone to the fleet and to Genoa that I hope to have one of yours amongst them and to hear that all my worthy friends at Kentish Town are well. I was blown in here yesterday morning in a heavy gale of wind from my station off Genoa, at which place I am fixed to co-operate with the Austrian Army . . . the orders I have given by the advice of The Ministers of Turin & Genoa are strong & I know not how my admiral will approve of them for they are in a great measure contrary to those he gave me but the service requires strong & vigorous measures to bring the war to a conclusion. My orders are to take & detain all vessels to whatever nations they may belong bound to France[,] the Genoese begin to quake[,] Tuscany will do the same & the Dey of Algiers seems the only power which England fears, but if we are to finish the War with France we must not be disposed to stop at trifles, it has already continued much too long more by an opposition & fear of an opposition at home than want of power in England. We have much power here at present to do great things if we know how to apply it by[sic] Hotham must get a new head no mans heart is better but that will not do without the other, if my conduct is approved of in September we shall be at Nice & perhaps across the Var for Provence will I am sure declare for us the first opportunity . . . . I must conclude with begging you to present my kindest remembrances to Mrs Suckling Miss Suckling and our friends at Hampstead . . . ."

Both the Austrian General de Vins and Admiral Hotham proved lacking in energy in pursuit of the French. On 17 June, Admiral Hotham had issued orders to the effect that all those under his command were to "take all possible care not to give any just cause of offence to the Foreign Powers in amity with His Majesty . . ." However, in Francis Drake, British Minister at Genoa, Nelson evidently found a man whose thinking was more in tune with his own, writing to him that ". . . if your Excellency will tell me that it is for the benefit of His Majesty’s service . . . that I should stop all trade between the Neutral Towns and France . . . I will give proper directions to the Squadron under my command for that purpose.”

Nelson’s hopes that he would be able to take Nice and see Provence fall were not unrealistic, as there was significant anti-revolutionary sentiment in the south. Less than two years earlier, Toulon had seen a royalist uprising, supported by the British, which might well have succeeded, but was finally crushed, largely thanks to a then all but unknown young officer, Napoleon Bonaparte.

This letter is published in Nicolas. Remains of guard to the verso of the second leaf.
Leghorn July 27: 1796.

My Dear Sir,

I have just heard of your letter, and to secure that I may have one of your agents amongst them and to hear that all the worthy friends at Leghorn are well, I was blown in. I have just received money in a heavy fine of wind from my station offshore, at which time I enquired for, operate with the Austrian Army, with 8 frigates under my command, the orders I have given by the advice of the Minister of War, as far as I know not how many divisions are at more of them for they are in great danger contrary to those he gave me but...
Montebello le 17 joyful. 1801

11 dép. f.

L'adjutant General Ney

au General de Division Coloud.

jusque moindre g n'abhorre je vois que je viens de être de donner le haut de l'ouvrage d'Enkheim qui avait été établi d'Enkheim pour établir l'ouvrage en attendant que la défense de l'ouvrage soit abandonnée. J'attends plusieurs renseignements et ma façon de penser, de voir de faire en baril. C'est faire d'autant plus et soit à l'ouvrage d'Enkheim, qui aurait bien marché jadis que si je n'étais pas que la situation ne serait pas qu'il serait assez de la faire après pisque la défense d'Enkheim n'est pas facilement envoyé un parti pour le disculter. En partant demain je l'aurai un fort détachement pour la garde de c'est-à-dire pour l'attente et pour l'ordre pour la marche en ces moments - l'ennemi à l'ouvrage étant son...
2. NEY, Michel, Duc d’Elchingen and Prince de la Moskova (1769-1815). French Marshal.

Autograph Letter Signed (“Ney”) to Division General Colaud, informing him that he has just pursued eight hundred of the enemy who had been sent to destroy the munitions and stores left behind at Ehrenbreitstein, and saying that the enemy is “extremely disheartened”.

1¼ pages 4to in French, Montabauer, 17 prairial an 4 [5 June 1796].

£1400

At the time of the French Revolutionary Wars, when France sought first to protect its borders from the threatening Austrian army, then to pursue the war in enemy territory, French troops under Jourdan and Moreau crossed the Rhine, while Napoleon was cutting a victorious swathe through Italy. Ney had distinguished himself the previous day at the battle of Altenkirchen.

Trans: “I have just returned my dear General from a rigorous pursuit of eight hundred men, both infantry and cavalry, who had been sent from Ehrenbreitstein to destroy the considerable munitions which the enemy have abandoned. I hold several. And houses full of stores, such as 1340 hundredweight of flour in kegs – 600 sacks of oats and 300 thousand rations of hay. I would have marched on Dietz had I not feared that the Austrians might return to set fire to it. It would be important to evacuate it, as the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein can easily send a party to disperse it. By leaving tomorrow, I will leave a large detachment to guard the provisions. I await your orders for tomorrow’s march. The enemy has entirely evacuated its camp at Neuwied and has passed to Cahn [Caan] near Dietz. They are extremely disheartened. I have a few prisoners . . . and a deserter from Bercheny’s regiment – a hussar who I will send to you tomorrow . . .”

As the French army continued its progress east of the Rhine, Ney continued to gain recognition for his courage and skill, capturing Wurtzburg where he took two thousand prisoners. The German campaign ended badly for France after Archduke Charles defeated Jourdan’s forces in September of this year, but by then Ney’s qualities had earned him promotion to the rank of Brigadier-General.

Ney’s correspondent, General Colaud, was a much-respected soldier. In recognition of his services, Napoleon made him a senator in 1801 and a Count in 1808, as well as awarding him the Legion of Honour.

In 1815, he took part in Marshal Ney’s trial, speaking in his defence.

The letter has been torn at the left margin, with no loss of text and has been sympathetically repaired and mounted onto card.
3. JOSEPHINE BONAPARTE (1763-1814). First Wife of Napoleon I; Empress of the French.

Letter Signed (“Lapagerie Bonaparte”) to Citizen Carusson, the French Consul at Malta, requesting that he assist her relative Citizen du Roure Brison, a member of the Order of Malta, in any way he can.

1 page folio in French with integral address leaf, Milan, 27 vendemiaire an 5 [18 October 1796].

£2250

A letter from a momentous period in Josephine's life, barely seven months after her marriage to Bonaparte.

Josephine married the brilliant general, Napoleon Bonaparte in March 1796. Within days, he left to take up his command of the Army of Italy, and soon sent a series of messages asking, then ordering, her to join him. Not only did she fail to obey, within two months of the marriage she embarked on a love affair with the dashing Hippolyte Charles.

Josephine was eventually persuaded, much against her will, to join her husband in Milan, now firmly in French hands. Initially fêted by the Italian nobility and adored by her new husband, Josephine nevertheless remained dissatisfied, longing for a return to Paris.

Trans: “The desire I have, Citizen Minister, to be of assistance to one of my relatives, Citizen du Roure Brison M[aste]r of the Order of Malta, who has come to Milan to deal with some of his Order’s affairs, and who must return to Malta, I undertake to ask you to give him every assistance which your position enables you to do.

I beg you to rest assured, Citizen Minister, of the special gratitude which I will have for everything which you will do for Citizen Durroure Brison my relative...”

Josephine's request for a favour for a friend or relative is quite typical. Throughout her life, she would use her position, even when she was still the “Citoyenne Beauharnais”, to beg favours for those who asked her to intercede for them, though her intercession was not always entirely without self-interest. In this particular instance, it would appear that there was some uncertainty as to the name of the addressee of the letter. The name has been filled in in a darker ink, both in the heading of the letter, and on the address leaf.

It seems likely that Josephine may have been stretching the facts slightly when calling du Roure Brison her relative. The family of du Roure de Beaumont, Baron de Brison, were Royalists, nobles of ancient lineage, many of whom had fled France at the time of the Revolution and were only to return after Napoleon's rise to power.

The letter has some light foxing, not affecting its legibility.
MILAN LE 7 VENDÉMAIRE AN 3. J. DELA DEP.

La cité Bonaparte au citoyen corso, ministre
de la République française à Malte.

Le 7 octobre, jour où j'ai, citoyen ministre, été utile
à un de mes parent, le cit. d'Arles, on m'a
ordre de dire à Malte, venu à Milan pour
des affaires relatives à son ordre, et devant incessamment
retourné à Malte, m'engage à vous prier de lui
rendre tous les services dont votre place vous rend
susceptible.

Je vous prie d'être persuadé, citoyen ministre, de
la reconnaissance particulière que je vous accord,
dès que vous voudrez bien faire pour le cit. D'Arles
mon parent.

J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer, citoyen ministre
avec beaucoup de considération.

La Peyrèse Bonaparte.

Document Signed (“Massena”) as division general, ordering compensation to the commissariat officer Pelizzone for a horse taken during the expedition at Ronco.

1 page large 4to in French with integral blank leaf, countersigned by Pelizzone, Ronco, 25 Brumaire an 5 [15 November 1796]. £895

A document signed on the day Napoleon seized the flag and attempted to lead his men across the bridge at Arcola, an event commemorated, in rather romanticised fashion, in Antoine-Jean Gros’ famous painting.

The previous day, Massena had left Verona, using a roundabout route. Napoleon positioned Massena at Ronco, on the west bank of the Adige. Massena crossed the Adige, and headed for Belfiore, where he successfully attacked the Austrians. He returned to Ronco, but two days later crossed the river again, this time to attack the bridge at Arcola. Finally, late on 17 November, it was Massena, together with Augereau, who finally entered Arcola, securing French victory over the Austrians.

The horse in question was a mare, aged seven years and of “taile dragon” [i.e., a horse between 1.502 and 1.543 metres, suitable for dragoons], for which its owner was to be paid 450 livres, in accordance with the amount determined by law.


Autograph Letter Signed (“Alex. Berthier”) to an unidentified correspondent, asking him to send a drawing which his correspondent’s daughter had made of him.

1 page 4to in French with integral blank leaf, Milan, 15 nivose an 5 [4 January 1797]. £325

Berthier assures his correspondent that he will do what he can to help a general, whose cause had obviously been put to him, and continues [trans:] “I recall that your amiable daughter had made a little sketch of me from my portrait. If you still have it, you would give me great pleasure if you would have it framed, put it in a small box and send it to Citizen... aide de camp of General Bonaparte, who at the moment is in Paris with Director [i.e., member of the Directory] Letourneur... and he will bring it to me...

As Napoleon’s Chief of Staff, Berthier was to prove an invaluable support. After the battle of Lodi in May 1796, Napoleon sent a despatch to the Directory, praising his troops, but singling out Berthier as “the intrepid Berthier, who was on that day cannonier, cavalry and grenadier.”
The French had defeated the Austrians at Salo in August of the previous year. French forces, led by Bonaparte, with some of his ablest generals, Massena, Augereau and Murat among them, had succeeded in pushing the Austrians from much of northwestern Italy. It is unsurprising that the Austrians, still fiercely defending their positions in Italy, would have had spies and agents in the region, especially in territory under French control.

Trans: “I have the honour to send you . . . the name of the Austrian agent for provisions at Idro; I request that you have him arrested, and to make . . . this district responsible for all the grain which would be sent to the enemy, either by the lake or by land. I will write to General Ney for the salt . . . I beg you to believe that I am happy to do everything for your Excellency which honour and duty will allow me to do . . .” Two lines on the facing page identify the man in question “Name of the smuggler Paulo Giorgio, at Idro”.

The siege of Mantua, begun in July 1796, was soon to end in yet another French victory, one month after this letter. The loss of Mantua was devastating to the Austrians, and as French forces continued to make their way east and north – Napoleon’s ultimate aim was to march on Vienna – the Austrians finally agreed an armistice.

The Treaty of Campo Formio, signed on 7 October 1797 ended the war of the First Coalition. France’s only remaining declared enemy was Britain.
7. NAPOLEON I (1769-1821).

Annotation Signed (“Bonaparte”) on a letter from Lieutenant Vincent, requesting his recommendation for promotion to captain.
1 page folio in French, Paris, 22 frimaire an 6 [14 December 1797].

Vincent, a Lieutenant, at the Hotel des Invalides, requests a promotion to the rank of Captain from Napoleon, writing to him in flattering tones.

Trans: “You were kind enough, general, to take an interest in me, when you were commander of the Army of the Interior. You even deigned to write on my behalf to the Ministry of War in order to obtain the rank of captain for me. Unfortunately for me, the changes in the Ministry and your departure for the Army of Italy cancelled out your recommendation. I now have recourse to your kindness a second time. Could you, my Brave General, obtain for me the rank of captain. I would owe you my happiness and my gratitude would equal my admiration for the conqueror of Italy and the father of all Soldiers.”

An annotation at the bottom right, signed “Bonaparte” reads [trans:] “Recommended to the Ministry of War. Paris, 24 frimaire an 6.” However, another hand, evidently at the Ministry of War dashed Vincent’s hopes, noting at the right that he “cannot aspire to the rank of captain”.

Napoleon became General in Chief of the Army of Italy in March 1796, his primary aim to dislodge the Austrians from Italy and safeguard French interests. By the end of 1797 he had created the Cisalpine Republic, obtained an advantageous treaty with the Pope and seen the Austrians beg for an armistice which would recognise the Lombard republic and accept French influence in Italy. In December 1797 Napoleon returned to Paris, the conqueror of Italy.
Paris, le 22 janvier 1791.

Mr. citoyen Piniat, Lieutenant, à l'hôtel où on a

Destiné,

Préfet de la Général. Aventuriers, le grade de

Capitaine auprès.

Soumis, etc. la bonté, mon général, de vous interroger à

moi, lorsque vous commandez l'armée de l'intérieur, pour

ainsi même, vous fit exécuter en ma faveur le Ministère

de la guerre, pour m'établir le grade de capitaine,

malheureusement pour moi le changement de Ministère

et fût déposé par l'armée de l'intérieur au temps de

l'effet de cette recommandation.

J'ai reçu une lettre, foi à l'auteur, heureuse?

Guillot. Président, m'informe avoir signé le grade de capitaine.

J'étais depuis mars, Bourguet, et ma reconnaissance

équitable, mon admiration, pour la guerre de

L'Italie, et la père de Morlaison.

S'il est ainsi.

Vincent, lieutenant

du génie.

Pendant ce temps, le

conduit à l'armement

n° 190. 14° Division.

Le prit suite à

grade de caput.
Vienne le 16 Germinal du 6ème de la République Française

Liberté
Egalité

L'ambassadeur de la République Française
Près la Cour de Suède

Au journal le Chér

Je tiens à mettre que, pour de mon départ pour Rameas,

j'ai charge de me faire faire par l'officier successor

pour les armées civiles, que que le gouvernement,

ne m'aurait pas donné une lettre de crédit pour la

Rumain et Commercant, qui le Commercant hasté

et le voyage de Rameas d'une somme de 100 taht

Klits d'argent. J'avais été deux lettres de change

de 2000 d'argent par la trésorerie nationale

au profit de celui qui me paye le général

de l'année d'État. Ce n'est parvenu à l'instant

une lettre du citoyen paixvagni qui m'annonce

que cette somme a été acquittée par le

citoyen M. Rousseau je nous pour le nommé

sans espace de

M. Rousseau
Letter Signed (“J Bernadotte”) to General leClerc [Charles Leclerc, husband of Pauline Bonaparte],
asking him to deal with payments which had not been made.
1½ pages folio in French, Vienna, 16 germinal an 6 [5 April 1798]. £950

Following the French victory at Rivoli the previous year, Bernadotte was accorded the honour of bringing the captured enemy standards back to Paris. Soon thereafter, the Directoire named him ambassador to Vienna. Peace was finally achieved between the French Republic and the Austrian Empire with the signing of the Treaty of Campo Formio, bringing to an end the War of the First Coalition. One can well imagine that Bernadotte considered France’s honour before the Austrian Empire was at stake.

Trans: “Citizen Halleu who . . . was charged with supplying me with the funds required for the payments accorded by the Government, had two letters of credit given to me by the banker, Cavagnagni, with the bankers . . . in Vienna for one hundred and eight thousand francs. I had two letters of exchange for similar sums from the National Treasury in the name of Citizen Lepine, paymaster general of the army of Italy. I have just now received a letter from Citizen Cavagnani who tells me that this sum was not paid by Citizen Halleu. I would ask you, my dear Leclerc, to employ all means to meet this obligation, which appears even more sacred as on this depends all the esteem of all the agents of the Republic in foreign lands . . . Please send my respects to Madame your wife.”

When Napoleon left Italy in the autumn of 1797 to sign the Treaty, he left the Army of Italy in the hands of his brother-in-law, General Leclerc. Leclerc, who had married Pauline Bonaparte that summer, proved an able administrator. Relationships were soon to become even more tangled when Bernadotte married Napoleon’s former fiancee, Désirée Clary, in August of 1798. Napoleon later sent Leclerc to Santo Domingo, where he defeated Toussaint L’Ouverture’s rebellion, but soon thereafter died of yellow fever.

Document Signed (“St. Vincent”) as Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Fleet, addressed to Captain Duckworth [later Admiral Sir John Duckworth] of the Leviathan, ordering a manoeuvre to bring Transports to anchor near his own ship the Ville de Paris.
1 page folio, Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 8 September 1798. £375

A document signed during St. Vincent’s long and successful Mediterranean command, when he was blockading Cadiz. St. Vincent, Nelson’s friend and Commander-in-Chief, was Nelson’s senior by twenty-four years but survived him by eighteen. He derived his title from his great victory over the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent on 14 February 1797.

“The Commander in Chief directs that the barges and Launches of the advanced Squadron are immediately employed in towing up to the Ville de Paris, the Transports which are done with, and bring them to an Anchor near to that Ship as is consistent with their safety from swinging on board of her, which done, they are to repair on board the Ville de Paris for further Orders.”
LIBERTÉ.
ÉGALITÉ.
RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

Au Quartier-général à u'Caire le 13 Vendémiaire an 7.

BONAPARTE, Général en Chef,

Allô 10 première.

Le chef menu du village de Baden ayant rendu la vie à
l'amirale, je donne l'ordre de vous aviser.

Les officiers généraux et d'une façon ouолжceği, quantité de

Yamout, Princesse de Massay Gerbié.
10. NAPOLEON I (1769-1821).

Letter Signed (“Bonaparte”) to Citizen Poussielgue, requesting him to make enquiries regarding appropriate reward to a Sheik for his assistance to the army.
1 page folio in French, Cairo, 12 vendemiaire an 7 [3 October 1798]. £3000

Trans: “Sheik Missa[?] in the village of Hanout having rendered service to the army, I would wish to reward him. I ask you to consult with the Intendant General and to let me have a report on the extent of his land and what lands we could give him.”

Much has been written about Napoleon’s fascination with Egypt, and he did much to present his campaign in Egypt as one of liberation for the Egyptian people, liberation from the Ottomans and the rule of the Mamluks. Indeed, his policy in Egypt frequently amounted to a charm offensive, during which he took great care not to offend local mores or beliefs. He studied the Koran, quoted from it, and proclaimed his respect for the Muslim faith.

Nevertheless, within a few weeks of this letter, a revolt broke out in Cairo. It was ruthlessly, but effectively, suppressed by Napoleon. Order was soon restored and the city remained tranquil.

Of all the French achievements in Egypt – and there were important improvements in administration – it was the advances in cultural and scientific understanding that proved the most enduring. The *Déscription de l’Égypte* remains one of the most impressive and important works on the region and the discovery of the Rosetta Stone – though not yet its deciphering – brought enormous strides forward in the West’s understanding and appreciation of ancient Egypt.

In the midst of all the human tragedy that followed the Egyptian rising during the Arab Spring, the country’s greatest cultural loss was certainly the burning of the Institut d’Égypte, founded by Napoleon.

Poussielgue, in charge of finance during the Egyptian campaign, was a trusted administrator. When Napoleon left for Syria, he left Poussielgue in a position to control the administration; the Egyptians considered him Napoleon’s “vizir”.

Autograph Letter Signed (“Girardin Dillon”) to Messrs Nesbitt & Stewart of Aldermanbury Street, London, informing them of the payment to the Chevalier des Angles for drawing lessons.
1 page 4to in French with integral address leaf, London, 20 November 1798. £260

Mme. Dillon informs her correspondent that she has drawn the sum on their account of fifteen pounds, twelve shillings [which she spells chelins], three pence, sterling for drawing lessons given by the Chevalier des Angles.

Laure de Girardin is primarily interesting through her connections. Born in Martinique, she was first cousin to the future Empress Josephine. After the death of her first husband, the Comte de la Touche, Laure had a brief affair with Josephine’s future husband, Alexandre de Beauharnais, shortly before his marriage, from which was born a son. She soon remarried Arthur, Comte Dillon, father, by his late wife, of Lucie de la Tour du Pin. Laure had a daughter by Arthur – Fanny - who went on to marry General Bertrand, who, together with Fanny, went to St. Helena with Napoleon, remaining with the Emperor until his death.

The above facts, perhaps confusing at first, are set out in very interesting detail in the Memoirs of Madame de la Tour du Pin, which are particularly illuminating, not to say entertaining for anyone interested in the French Revolution, the Napoleonic period, and the peregrinations of the French émigré nobility. In her memoirs, Madame de la Tour du Pin describes Laure Dillon as “a typical Creole”, presumably similar to Josephine, in her charming but indolent character. Laure Dillon’s charm was somewhat less in evidence during her exile in England, when she enjoyed a comfortable existence but refused to come to the aid of her poverty-stricken step-daughter.


Manuscript Signed (“W. Sidney Smith”), copies of letters by French prisoners who had been captured after Nelson’s victory at Aboukir in August 1798 and held in prison at Constantinople, pleading for their release, addressed to Spencer Smith, British Ambassador at Constantinople and Sidney Smith’s brother; to the Spanish Ambassador the Chevalier de Boulogny; to the French Foreign Minister [Talleyrand] and to Sidney Smith himself; with two copies of replies from Spencer and Sidney Smith to the prisoners.
20 pages 4to of continuous manuscript, written in French in a neat secretarial hand, signed at the end by Sidney Smith evidently to authenticate the content, n. p. [Constantinople], the letters dated December 1798 – January 1799. £975
Sidney Smith was at this time acting in effect as his brother’s co-Ambassador to Turkey. Three months later he was able to organise the defence of Acre against Napoleon’s forces, making his reputation as the ‘Hero of Acre’. When writing his Memoirs on Saint Helena, the Emperor remembered him bitterly as the man who had caused his first reverse. Always sympathetic to the fate of prisoners, especially after his own incarceration as a prisoner of war for two years in the Temple in Paris, Smith evidently took an interest in the cases here brought to his attention. Despite a successful career fighting the French, he always remained something of a francophile and settled in Paris after the restoration of the monarchy.

Letter to Sidney Smith [trans:] “... You are a soldier and an Englishman, we recall with gratitude and esteem the manner in which we were treated by your companions in fortune and glory, the conquerors of Aboukir, and in addressing ourselves to you, we trust in this same generosity. If some faults in our claims [to prisoner of war status] do not allow us to appeal to your sense of justice alone, our fate depends on you and the Minister your brother, you alone are our support here . . .”

Letter from Sidney Smith to the prisoners [trans:] “... Your letter of yesterday was given to me this morning on board the Tiger, I hasten on arriving on land to at least give you the consolation of a prompt reply, knowing from long and sad experience how painful waiting can be in your unhappy situation . . . I have employed my first moments in the attentive examination [of your plea], it is easier to recognize the lack of proof [of your claim] than the rights to the sacred title of prisoners of war of my country. This title will always have its true value with me; your own government’s bad examples do not at all influence me, and I do not hesitate to point out to you a way of making good the faults which I find . . . When I have the best evidence . . . I hope to be able to present it to those on whom your fate depends . . . at least I will do all I can, and I say everything in saying that I suffer every hour that soldiers remain in chains . . .”

Autograph Letter Signed (“St. Vincent”) to “your Royal Highness” [probably the Prince of Wales], acknowledging that he has received his commands.

1 page oblong 8vo, Gibraltar, 26 July 1799. £350

“I was very happy to receive your Royal Highness commands (through a Channel always partial to me) and I shall be proud to obey them, upon all occasions, having the honor to be . . .”

Though still dedicated in his service, St. Vincent’s health had been failing for some time, and he reluctantly relinquished his command of the Mediterranean fleet in July of 1799. After some months rest in England, he was soon given command of the Channel Fleet.

Minor remains of mounting on the verso.


Autograph Letter Signed (“Frederick”) to the Postmaster General, Lord Auckland, regarding his satisfaction with “arrangements … for the regular conveyance of letters”.

1 page 4to, Schagen Bruck, 30 September 1799. £525

“I take the earliest opportunity [sic] in my power to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordships Letter of the 20th Instant, and to express to Your Lordship how perfectly satisfied I am with the arrangements which you have been so good as to make for the regular conveyance of Letters to and from the Army. I am very happy that You have determined to send two Packets per Week, as it will be a great satisfaction to every Body to hear as frequently as possible from their friends at home. . . we must expect some of our friends to make a little Noise upon every point which concerns the Militia...”

Frederick had the misfortune to be involved in two unsuccessful campaigns of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, first in Flanders in 1793-95, and then in Holland in 1799. It was the second of these which gave rise to the popular rhyme The Grand Old Duke of York.

He learned the lessons of these setbacks, and, as Commander-in-Chief set about reforming the army. His reforms bore fruit in the army’s successes in the Peninsula some ten years later. By then, however, Frederick had resigned in the wake of the commissions selling scandal caused by his mistress, Mary Anne Clarke.
15. MASSENA, André, Duc de Rivoli and Prince d’Essling (1758-1817).

Letter Signed (“Massena”) to Citizen Bonaparte [Napoleon’s brother Lucien], requesting the reinstatement of Citizen Pagani, Consul for Liguria at Marseille.

1½ pages 4to in French on letterhead with an an attractive vignette of the Republican figure of war, Genoa, 22 Pluviose an 8 [11 February 1800].

£1100

A letter written the day Massena was named General in Chief of the Army of Italy.

Trans: “I have the honour to inform you, Citizen Minister, that I have made the official request to the provisional government commission of Genoa to reinstate Citizen Pagani as Consul for Liguria at Marseille. This estimable citizen was removed from his position through the work of a despicable cabal. He fulfilled his obligations at all times and gave service to the French; during my recent stay in Marseille, he worked zealously to procure, at my request, grain for the needs of the army, charged to the account and on transport of Genoa; I valued this service, and I seize this opportunity of recognising it by seeing justice done to him to whom we owe it.”

Massena arrived in Genoa in February 1800. By April, short of reinforcements, he was besieged by a vastly superior Austrian force and blockaded by the British. Sadly, the supplies found by Citizen Pagani proved far from sufficient. With too little food – it was said that the soldiers were advised to chew on their boots and all animals, including rats, were considered nourishment – Massena held out heroically until 4 June, when he surrendered with full honours. He had, however, diverted the attention of a significant portion of the Austrian forces, giving Napoleon an important advantage when he was able to defeat the Austrians at Marengo.

Interestingly, an error appears to have crept into the address, which is to “Citizen Bonaparte, Minister of External Relations”. In fact, Lucien Bonaparte was, at the time, Minister for Internal Relations, while the post of external relations, i.e., Foreign Minister, was held by Talleyrand.
J'ai été amené à connaître la situation de la République ...
16. BERNADOTTE, Jean Baptiste Jules (1763-1844).  
Autograph Letter Signed (“Bernadotte”) to “general Bonaparte 1er Consul”, asking for the command of an army against Portugal, and reporting on the situation in “the west” [Brittany].  
1½ pages 4to in French, Landerneau, 19 fructidor an 8 [6 September 1800].  
£2950  
A remarkable letter. Bernadotte, still a committed republican, had serious misgivings about Napoleon, particularly after the coup d’état which made him First Consul. But the Empire was still four years away, and Bernadotte here still refers to the “prosperity of the Republic”.  
Trans: “From the moment that the fate of the Cisalpine Republic was decided I knew that you would turn your sights towards England. I guessed correctly; I saw at last the chance of bringing to fruition a project which had been at the forefront of my thoughts for a long time, it is tied to the prosperity of the Republic, and restores to the commerce of France its initial splendor.  
The conquest of Portugal can bring to the Government all these advantages, and I believed without any presumption that I could be named its leader. I expressed my desire to Joseph who responded in the affirmative. So now, my general, it would be a sorry response to the affection which you have shown me, if I did not address myself directly to you immediately, allow me therefore to ask you for the command of this army. It would flatter me as much for the services which I would continue to give to my country as for the fact that it would come from you.  
All continues calm in the west. The respect which people are beginning to have for the government, and for which military authority alone is responsible, demands that the troops, which are not very numerous as it is, should stay in this area for at least six weeks. It is, my general, the means to contain the malicious ones, and to keep them from harming us within six months.  
The remains of my wife’s fortune have not yet been placed, once I have done my duty in the west and fulfilled your intentions, the situation of the region would allow me to beg you to allow me to spend a month in Paris, which should be enough to put in order my domestic affairs.  
In any case, I need to speak with you, no matter how much I write to you it would not give you such a correct account [of events].  
If you authorize me to do so, I will leave between the 15th and 20th vendemiaire . . . After having spent a little time near you, I will return to Rennes if you wish.  
You know, my general, my feelings towards you –”  
Napoleon’s victory over the Austrians at Marengo in June 1800 resulted in the establishment of the second Cisalpine Republic. With French control over northern Italy established, Napoleon turned to securing alliances elsewhere. By mid-September, a commercial treaty had been signed with the United States.  
A peace treaty was agreed with the Dey of Algiers, and by October, negotiations were under way for a peace treaty with Britain. These negotiations, however, soon foundered, and the Treaty of Amiens, heralding a brief respite in hostilities with England would not be signed until March 1802.  
Bernadotte seems to assume that Napoleon was contemplating an invasion of England as early as 1800. In fact, it was not until some years later that he turned his attention to England, and in 1805 he sent the order to Admiral Villeneuve to “enter the Channel with my combined squadrons. England is ours, we are ready”. That hope, unfortunately for Napoleon, but fortunately for the British, ended at Trafalgar.  
Portugal’s long-standing amicable relations with England, all the more essential at this time as the two maritime nations relied on these ties for secure trading routes, might have prompted France’s desire to conquer that nation. However, the French invasion of Spain, the only feasible route to Portugal, was not to take place until 1807, and Bernadotte never served in the Peninsula.  
Bernadotte’s remark that he had spoken to Joseph about his ideas is unsurprising, as the two were brothers-in-law. Bernadotte married to Napoleon’s former fiancée, Désirée Clary, sister to Joseph Bonaparte’s wife Julie.  
The letter has some visible foxing, but is in clear and legible condition. From the Crawford collection.
17. CHAPTAL, Jean-Antoine (1756-1832). French chemist; Minister of the Interior under the Consulate.

Letter Signed (“Chaptal”), to the Flemish artist Jan Frans Vandaël, informing him that a studio will be made available to him in the “musée des artistes”.
1 page 4to in French with integral address leaf, headed with the vignette of the figure of liberty and the words “Liberté / Egalité”, Paris, 7 fructidor an 10 [25 August 1801]. £245

A brief letter. Trans: “I am informing you, citizen, that I have invited Citizen Moreau to place one of the artist’s studios which will be built in the museum of artists at your disposal.”

The Antwerp-born artist Jan Frans van Daël had moved to Paris as a young man, where he soon became popular as a painter of fruits and flowers in the Dutch manner. Both the Empress Josephine, and later the Empress Marie Louise, were known to have purchased some of his pictures.

Jean-Antoine Chaptal, a respected chemist, did much to reorganise the administration of France under the Consulate. He resigned his post as Minister of the Interior with the advent of the Empire, although his disapproval of the change in the political landscape does not seem to have incurred Napoleon’s disfavour. He spent his ‘retirement’ working to improve French agriculture, with admirable results.

The letter is slightly frayed at the edges, but is nevertheless in good, clear condition.

18. NEY, Michel, Duc d’Elchingen and Prince de la Moskova (1769-1815).

Annotation Signed (“Ney”), a testimonial added to a letter from Claude Robert, commissioner of war, addressed to General Bonaparte, First Consul, requesting a position as assistant inspector of revenues.
1 page folio in French, Paris, 4 nivose an 10 [25 December 1801]. £925

In his letter, Claude Robert sets out his hopes for a post in the revenue, for which his name had appeared as a suitable candidate following his service in the military and in administration. He stresses that he was wounded at Chatillon in October 1793, and had served with distinction under Generals Bernadotte, Colaud and Ney.

Of the generals mentioned, only Ney has added his endorsement to this letter, in generous terms [trans:] “I have the honour to ask the First Consul to include the commissioner of war Robert on the list of assistant inspectors of revenue. His administrative talents in addition to his distinguished service with the army warrant this special consideration. His morality and his attachment to the Government are further qualifications which allow one to hope he will succeed in his request.”

Ney’s endorsement is typical of a general who was always generous towards his men. His word could be expected to carry some weight after several notable victories during the French Revolutionary Wars, although, having fought mainly in Germany, his merits were known to the First Consul by reputation rather than observation. Ney was among the first group of men to obtain the field marshal’s baton at the creation of the Empire in May 1804.
Démarche d'une plaque de l'Armée française auprès du gouvernement.

D'après un service militaire administratif, le courtier avait été
sous-lieutenant de la Garde nationale.

Sous le commandant de la Garde nationale,

Le général Dumas,

Citoyen Ramon conserv,

D'après des services militaires administratifs, le courtier avait été
sous-lieutenant de la Garde nationale.

Sous le commandant de la Garde nationale,

Le général Dumas,

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sous-lieutenant de la Garde nationale.

Sous le commandant de la Garde nationale,

Le général Dumas,

Citoyen Ramon conserv,

Autograph Letter Signed (“C.J. Fox”) to General de Grave, making arrangements for an excursion to St. Cloud.

I page 4to in French with integral address panel, n.p. [Paris], Sunday 11 o’clock in the evening [29 August 1802].

Trans: “Having thought through the matter, we think it would be better to dine at St. Cloud after having seen the house, then visit the garden . . . and return after sunset. So please be good enough to come here a little before two o’clock and we will go together, there is space for you in our berline.”

The Peace of Amiens in 1802 attracted a great many English visitors to Paris, including Charles James Fox as well as his nephew, Lord Holland. Fox had been a supporter of the revolution, and was an admirer of Napoleon. However, his first port of call upon arrival in Paris was the National Archives, where he spent time researching for his biography of James II.

Fox, accompanied by his wife and a small party, including General de Grave, was unable to visit the interior of St. Cloud in the end, but is said to have very much enjoyed the gardens. Fox was himself particularly interested in horticulture, and took a keen interest in his own gardens at St. Ann’s Hill.

General de Grave, who joined them on the day, had briefly served as a minister in the early days of the revolution, but soon retired. At the time, he was described as good-natured but unfit for the difficult tasks facing him.

A few days after this excursion, Fox found himself in far grander surroundings when he met Napoleon, who greeted him with great warmth.


Letter Signed (“ch. mau. Talleyrand”) to the Minister of Finance [Francois Barbe-Marbois], interceding in favour of an Englishman, Col. Scott, who wished to bring various belongings into France where he intends to remain for a year with his family.

I page 4to in French with integral address leaf, on letterhead with the vignette of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris, 5 pluviose an 11 [25 January 1803].

Talleyrand was in large part responsible for the success of the negotiations which led to the Treaty of Amiens, and it is unsurprising that he would welcome an Englishman who wished to remain in France for a reasonable time after the treaty was signed. It is not known whether Colonel Scott remained in Versailles for a year, as planned, but it seems unlikely that would have been the case after the peace collapsed and England and France were again at war in May of that year.
Trans: “Mr. W. Scott, Colonel in the British army, who is currently in Versailles, has written to me to say that he intends to rent a house and remain there for a year with his family. He has asked my permission to have sent, via Dieppe, various items listed here, which are essential to him. The government is very happy to see this stranger here, and wishes that he be treated with the regard which he deserves in many regards. I beg you, Citizen Minister, to grant him this permission if possible and to send it to me…”

The items required by Colonel Scott, listed on the verso of the address leaf, seem, for the most part, quite modest for a year-long stay. They include two carriages, harnesses for one, two or three saddles, tablecloths and napkins, a little silverware, blankets for one or two beds, curtains and “perhaps a few other small articles”.

Talleyrand, the most skilful diplomat of his age, as well as a great intriguer, has been much criticized for his deviousness. His admirers have reason to consider the criticism unfair, as it was precisely this skill which was essential in his negotiations, which were, so often, beneficial to France. He was a key figure in the coup d'état which brought Napoleon to power in 1799, and participated in the key diplomatic events of the first half of Napoleon’s reign.
21. BERTHIER, Louis Alexandre, Prince of Wagram and Neuchatel (1753-1815).

Letter Signed (“Alex. Berthier”) to the Prefect of the Deux-Sèvres Department, interceding for Citizen Louis Foucher, a volunteer accused of desertion and who should have benefited from an amnesty, with a reply at the end of the letter explaining that the amnesty had been overturned a few days later.

2 pages folio in French on letterhead with a vignette of the Ministry of War, Paris, 5 pluviôse an 11 [25 January 1803]. £305

Trans: “Citizen Louis Foucher, volunteer in the 89th brigade, appeals, Citizen Prefect, against the order to return which has been made by the Captain of the Gendarmerie of your Department claiming that he is a deserter. Soldiers who were on furlough... and who were officially deserters on the 1st floréal had a right to amnesty under the law of the 24th of this month, and to be dispensed from re-joining... Citizen Foucher is free to return home. I would ask you to communicate the contents of this letter to the Captain of the Gendarmerie and to issue the orders required for its execution. Citizen Foucher is domiciled at Saint Cyr...”

It would appear that the acting Captain of the Gendarmerie was not to be so easily over-ruled, for his reply explains that “Louis Foucher... was arrested... on 12 frimaire in accordance with an order stating that the law of 24 floréal did not apply to this class of deserter; he was brought here where... he was given leave to freely rejoin his corps in Brussels... I do not know whether he has rejoined... but I will find out.”

This lettter was writtten at a brief period of relative peace in Europe. The Treaty of Amiens, signed in March 1802, brought a truce between France and England, but when the two countries were at war again a year later, troops would, once again, have to be found.

The top right hand corner of this letter has been cut away, not affecting the text.

22. NELSON, Horatio, Lord (1759-1805).

Autograph Letter Signed (“Nelson & Bronte”) to Major Baynton, offering to take his son, a young midshipman, on board the Victory.

1 page 4to, [Piccadilly or Merton], 17 March 1803. £5000

A warm letter, written during the short-lived Peace of Amiens, which was to end in May when Nelson was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean and hoisted his flag on the Victory. At this period Nelson received many applications to serve with him, most of which he felt he had to refuse.

“Your son is [a] very fine Lad and unless you had rather have him in a smaller ship he shall be in the Victory which is to bear my flag. She will be commissioned if these preparations go on in about a fortnight, and even if I should not
be on the spot Mr Carter? I will ensure his reception.”

The “lad” in question was Welsh-born Benjamin Baynton, who had joined the Navy eighteen months earlier at the age of twelve. He did indeed become a midshipman on the Victory and soon saw action, participating in the capture of a French frigate. Baynton served continuously throughout the Napoleonic wars, and in 1809 was recorded as Lieutenant on the Ocean, under Collingwood. He eventually rose to the rank of Commander.

Lightly browned, but clear and legible throughout. Signs of former framing at edges, not affecting legibility. Verso endorsed “Lord Nelson” with some calculations and two small heads drawn in profile by an unknown hand.
23. BERNADOTTE, Jean Baptiste Jules (1763-1844).
Autograph Letter Signed (“J Bernadotte”) to General Desfournaux, assuring him of his support.
1 page 8vo in French, n.p., n.d. [but probably 1803]. £750

Trans: “My destination is not yet decided
you will be the first to know. The more
your enemies agitate against you the more
you can count on my efforts to support
you. I have been promised that you will be
kept. Give me news of yourself often...”

The lack of place or date on this
note – which appears to have been
written on a leaf ripped from a
notebook – makes it both difficult and
tantalising. The recipient is identified
by a short line at the bottom of the
letter, telling us that it is addressed to
Desfournaux, whose name has been
carefully rubbed out but is still just
legible.

The facts which do suggest a date
sometime in 1803 are two-fold. In
Bernadotte’s case, he indeed did not
know where he was to be next. In the
spring of 1803, Bernadotte was at La
Rochelle, preparing to embark for the
United States where he was to be
Ambassador. However, the Louisiana Purchase, which was successfully completed shortly before his intended departure, made the appointment considerably less attractive to him, and Bernadotte requested a military appointment instead.

Desfournaux, meanwhile, had been in Santo Domingo serving with General Leclerc, where Toussaint L’Ouverture’s revolt had been successfully crushed. Despite L’Ouverture’s deportation to France, where he died in prison, there was continued local unrest. Leclerc died of yellow fever, a disease which did more to decimate the French forces than any enemy attack or insurrection. Desfournaux returned to France where Napoleon greeted him warmly and he was accorded the title of Baron and the Legion of Honour, but did not see active service again under the Consulate or the Empire.

The letter is browned at the top, but entirely legible.
24. [ENGLISH MANUFACTURE IN FRANCE]

Autograph Letter Signed ("John Moor") to the Finance Minister, M. Gaudin, asking to either rent or buy a "maison nationale" for his business.

2 pages 4to in French with integral blank leaf, Rue Charenton, au Couvent des Anglais, [Paris], 23 Brumaire an 12 [15 November 1803].

£450

A most interesting letter.

Trans: "I came to France a year ago, bringing with me an assortment of machines for the manufacture of lace ["dentelle à filet"]. I rented a house rue Thevenot, no. 5, and I have already successfully trained some pupils, all French, and I have taught them to use the machine for which I obtained a patent, as there is nothing similar on the continent.

As I wish to expand my manufacture in proportion to my capital, and finding the space at rue Thevenot too small, I rented from Citizen Gillet a part of the couvent des anglais on the rue de Charenton. But I would like to find a more permanent place; and to that end, allow me, Citizen Minister, to address myself to you to obtain, either by rent or by purchase, a space in a maison nationale [sic], in which I may execute my plans with certainty, security and advantage. As this manufacture can become something of great advantage to France, once it has been perfected, I hope that you will look kindly on my request . . ."

The Englishman John Moor had evidently emigrated to France at the Peace of Amiens, together with his associate G. Armitage. There is a record of a patent being granted to them for a lacemaking machine in 1805, giving their address as 5, rue Thevenot. Citizen Gillet, from whom they rented the space at the Couvent des Anglais, proved duplicitous; he accused Moor of smuggling, Moor was forced to leave France, and Gillet went into the lacemaking business with Armitage, settling in Brussels.

The sumptuous style and fashions of the Empire were encouraged by Napoleon in an effort to boost manufacture in France. This provided a welcome boost for Lyon, renowned for its silk manufacture, and lacemaking, largely concentrated in the north, would also have provided employment for many.
25. MURAT, Joachim (1771-1815).
Letter Signed (“J Murat”) as Governor of Paris to the President of the Council of War of the 1st Military Division, a partially printed letter requesting him to call together the members of the Council to hear the case of Antoine Milon of the 21st Regiment of Dragoons, who has been accused of murder.
1 page 8vo in French, Paris, 13 germinal an 12 [3 April 1804]. £925

The charge against Milon in French is “assassinat”, and accusations of assassination attempts were at the forefront of many minds at this period. Milon does not, however, appear to have been involved in the most dramatic of all the conspiracies, the plot to assassinate Napoleon, for which the duc d’Enghien was condemned and executed, unjustly and with no shred of proof, just a fortnight before this letter. On 6 April, General Pichegru, more realistically implicated in the plot, was found strangled in his prison cell, allegedly a suicide.

As Governor of Paris (a post he had held since January of that year), Murat was responsible for bringing together the Military Council that condemned the duc d’Enghien. Murat unsuccessfully pleaded for clemency for another accused, Georges Cadoudal, but gained only a reprimand from Napoleon.

An interesting letter, in very good condition.
Autograph annotation (unsigned) on a letter requesting a position in the army as brigadier general. 
1 page folio in French with integral blank leaf, Paris, 27 Brumaire an 13 [18 November 1804]. £425

Joseph de Laviohais[?] writes here to Louis Bonaparte, newly appointed Grand Constable of France soon before his brother’s coronation as Emperor, in flattering terms. Having risen to the rank of brigadier general, the supplicant explains that he was dismissed through the actions of his enemies four years earlier. He continues [trans:] “My Prince, my respect, my attachment and my fidelity for His Majesty the Emperor are without limits. I swear to your Imperial Highness that not one Frenchman is more attached to the government and to the family of our august Emperor. I humbly beg your Imperial Highness . . . to obtain [for me] employment at my grade, I will be happy to give my blood for the support of the government which I love . . .”

In the top left corner, Louis has scrawled a note to the effect that he should address his request to the Ministry as “This does not concern me.”

Louis Bonaparte’s life was eclipsed, not to say crushed, by his more successful brother. Bullied by Napoleon into marriage with Josephine’s daughter, Hortense de Beauharnais, the union proved singularly unhappy. Placed on the throne of Holland by Napoleon, he was subjected to endless criticism by his elder brother, though he was rather better regarded by his initially unwilling subjects. Estranged from Napoleon after the Emperor had forced him from the throne of Holland in 1810, Louis ended his days living misanthropically in Italy.

Rather dusty at edges.
27. NELSON, Horatio, Lord (1759-1805).

Autograph Letter Signed (“Nelson & Bronte”) to Major-General [William] Villetes, Commander of the British troops in Malta, expressing concern about deserters from one of his ships. 1 page 4to with integral blank leaf, Victory, 25 November 1804. £7000

In 1804 Nelson, as Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, was engaged in blockading the French fleet at Toulon and harassing as much as possible any ships which managed to break out. He also had to protect Gibraltar and Malta from attack. He longed for home leave, but any hope of an early return to Merton was banished in December by the news that Napoleon had forced Spain to declare war on England. In fact Nelson was not to set foot in England again until August 1805.

“I send you a letter from Capt. Adair of the Marines [Robert Adair, who was to be killed at Trafalgar] respecting four Recruits who deserted from the Elizabeth, if they should have enter’d into any Corps at Malta I shall thank you to order them to be deliver’d to the Madras for a passage to the fleet. Nothing from England it is very extraordinary nor from Gib[ralta]r since Octr. 22nd.”

Some wear and tearing along horizontal folds has been professionally repaired under our direction. No text is lost, but Nelson’s signature has been slightly affected.

Not in Nicolas and apparently unpublished. In a published letter of the same date, 25 November, Nelson wrote to Sir Alexander Ball that he had heard a rumour that the French fleet was about to break out of Toulon and that he was ready for them.
Victory Nov. 25th 1804

My Dear General

I send you a letter from Capt. Saum of the Marine, respecting your landscap, was executed in the Fregatte, if they should have entered into any of the Corps at Malta. I shall thank you better from the demerit he derived to the British for a rebate to the first nothing from England it is very extraordinary nor from this since Oct. 22nd. I am always

My Dear General most truly your

Capt. Nathan Horner

Major Sir &c. Villiers.
28. [BRITISH NAVY]

Manuscript Document, a “List of His Majesty’s Ships under the Command of Vice Admiral The Right Honble Lord Viscount Nelson KB and Duke of Bronte &c. The State of their Provisions Stores and Health of their Companies &c, at the 15th day of August 1805.”, signed “Nelson & Bronte” (secretarial signature).

1 page folio, n.p., 15 August 1805. £395

The list of eleven ships and their captains gives an account of the state of their provisions (mostly three months, apart from the Superb which had only one month’s provisions), stores, and health of the crew (where the problem was generally one of “little scurvy”, apart from the Belleisle which suffered form “much scurvy”), and “Remarks”, from “Fit for Service” to the Superb, which was “Greatly in want of docking & a new foremast”.

Not all of the ships on this list would be present at Trafalgar – the Superb’s foremast was presumably being attended to at the time – but we do find some notable names on this list, the Victory, the Leviathan, the Belleisle, the Swiftsure and the Spartiate, and Captains Hardy, Bayntun, Hargood, Rutherford and Laforey, all of whom took part, two months later, in the battle that would put an end to French maritime ambitions.


3 pages 4to with address leaf and red wax seal, Thomas’ Hotel, Berkeley Square, 18 September 1805. £850

“I send by the post some letters for your Lordship & Lady Gosford, with which I was entrusted by Lady Win Bentinck & Edward. They should have been sent to you on the day I arrived, only that I could not learn where you was; & Mrs. Sparrow who wrote to me on purpose to give me the information respecting your residence in the Country which I had required, entirely omitted it . . . I have the pleasure to inform you that I left Lady William much better than she had been, though still not strong. She embarked from Madras at the same time with me, to go to Colombo on the Island of Ceylon, where she proposed to pass the hot months of March April May June & July, & she was to return to Madras in August . . . I have a parcel for your youngest daughter . . .”
Wellington, or Arthur Wellesley as he still was, returned from India in September 1805, a considerably wealthier man than when he left, but more importantly, a man of some renown following his victory at Assaye.

Lord William Bentinck, as Governor of Madras during Wellesley’s period in India, had been able to provide welcome logistical support. Interestingly, Bentinck was present at the battle of Marengo in 1800, and would therefore have been well aware of Napoleon’s abilities at a time when Wellington was still serving in India.

Thomas’ Hotel was located at 25 Berkeley Square, where it remained until the late nineteenth century. It was conveniently close to the establishment in Berkeley Street run by Mrs. Porter, through whom Wellington met the famous courtesan Harriette Wilson.

Seal tear on the address leaf and final page, affecting two words of the text.
1 page folio, Ville de Paris off Ushant, 18 October 1805.
£495

This routine letter, sending a “demand for stores for the use of His Majesty’s Ship named in the margin [Ville de Paris], which you will be pleased to Order to be got ready for conveyance to the Squadron”, was sent only three days before the battle of Trafalgar.

Cornwallis was then in command of the Channel Fleet, and the Ville de Paris was his flagship. In August 1805, Napoleon ordered Admiral Ganteaume to leave Brest on 22 August, to arrive in the Channel where success would mean that “we will have avenged six centuries of insult and shame” at the hands of the English. When Ganteaume attempted to leave Brest, he was quickly driven back by Cornwallis. As his entry in DNB reminds us, “Cornwallis’s greatness lay in his ability to see the big picture, and adapt his tactics accordingly. He had to be content with a partial action, the moral significance of which was as great as any fleet battle.”

The letter has been frayed at the top and bottom and a tear at the central fold has been repaired, but it is in clear and legible condition.

Document Signed (“Soult”) ordering all French soldiers to respect the property of the Baron de Salteine.
Half page folio in French with integral blank leaf, with Soult’s armorial seal in red wax, Laupheim, 27 vendemiaire an 14 [19 October 1805].
£350

Trans: “In the name of His Majesty the Emperor and King. The Marshal of the Empire, Commander in Chief of the 4th Corps of the Grande Armée orders all French military personnel to respect and defend all the property and dependancies of the Baron de Salteine at Laupheim and on their honour to prevent any damage thereto.”

No record has been found to explain precisely why the Baron de Salteine was to be protected in this way. However, it is worth noting that the order is issued in the name of the Emperor, who had reviewed Soult’s corps the previous day. Napoleon may well have been in a generous humour, having taken Ulm a week earlier, surrendered by the Austrian General Mack.
32. FOUCHE, Joseph, Duke of Otranto (1763-1820). Napoleon’s Minister of Police.

Letter Signed ("fouche") to the Minister of War [Marshal Berthier] regarding the surveillance of former General Rigaud in Tours.

1 page folio in French with an attractive vignette of the Ministry of Police, Paris, 2 frimaire an 14 [23 November 1805].

Trans: “I have received, Sir, the letter which you sent me on 16 Brumaire last, regarding the former General Rigaud, coloured man, under surveillance at Tours. His Excellency the Minister of the Navy [Decrés] had already passed on to me the information contained in your letter, and the Councillor of State in charge of the first arrondissement for the Police was to have arranged for special surveillance on the part of the civil authorities on M. Rigaud.”

General André Rigaud, son of a white father and black mother, had travelled to Santo Domingo with General Leclerc [husband of Napoleon’s sister Pauline] on an expedition against Rigaud’s old rival, Toussaint L’Ouverture. Always uneasy with his parentage and of a volatile temperament, Rigaud had earlier proved a brilliant soldier, but a poor politician. The expedition failed and upon his return to France, Rigaud was briefly held prisoner. As we can see here, even after his release, he was kept under close surveillance by the police.

An attractive and interesting letter, in excellent condition.

Autograph Letter Signed (“HB Maret”) to an unidentified correspondent, announcing that “we are leaving in triumph and in peace”, weeks after the French victory at Austerlitz.

Half page 4to in French, with integral blank leaf, Schonbrunn, 6 nivose an 14 [27 December 1805].

£475

Napoleon’s minister, and one of his closest confidants, accompanied him on many of his travels and campaigns, and participated in the negotiations at Tilsit in 1807. But here, Maret writes to someone who is obviously a very close friend (he uses the familiar “tu” in this letter), the day after the signing of the Treaty of Pressburg.

Trans: “My dear friend, we are leaving in triumph and in complete peace. I will have no further bulletins to send you. It is now up to you to send us news of Naples. My first letter will be from Paris.”

The Treaty of Pressburg did indeed herald peace between France and Austria, but it was not to last. Although Austria lost considerable territory, it was the Prussians who felt most threatened by the outcome, which saw French gains in Germany. Continued friction with France would result in a Prussian-Russian alliance; war would commence again in the autumn of 1806, only to end in Prussia’s final humiliation at Tilsit a year later.

34. SMITH, Sir William Sidney (1764-1840).

Autograph Letter Signed (“W. Sidney Smith”) to Lord Keith, expressing concern about his belongings and ending with a postscript stating that he has heard from Berlin of “an action on the 4th advantageous to the Allies”.

3½ pages 4to, marked Private, Admiralty waiting room, 27 December 1805. £625

“... Mr. Marsden ... informs me that I shall immediately receive their Lordship's orders to hoist my flag in the Pompee in Cousand Bay. I have not hesitated under this notification of its being signed to give Captain Bazely orders to haul down my flag on board the Antelope ... a proportion of my things I find are going round on the Decks of the Explosion much exposed to wet – the rest are left at Dover there not being room for them, may I beg that ... any other vessel bound to the Westward may be deviated to take them as I ... shall be inconvenienced without my stores & furniture ... P.S. Letters from Berlin speak positively of an action on the 4th advantageous to the Allies saying the anxiety had been very great there but that a courier from Hangwitz to the Queen had tranquillised her – further that the Prussian troops had received definitive orders to act.”
Napoleon’s most spectacular victory came at Austerlitz on 2 December 1805, when he defeated the combined forces of Austria and Russia. However, in order to allay the fears of the gallant Queen Louise of Prussia, a message was sent to her implying that the Allies had been victorious, and it is no doubt this erroneous information which had been conveyed to Smith.

Autograph Letter Cover, unsigned, addressed “To His Royal Highness The prince Regent”
1 page 4to, folded, with an excellent and nearly intact impression of her black wax seal, n.p., n.d.
£395

The use of black wax for her seal would suggest that the letter originally enclosed in this cover was written after the death of Nelson, when Emma was known to have written to the Prince of Wales on various occasions, requesting financial assistance.
A previous collector has written “Emma Lady Hamilton” to the left of the seal.
36. NAPOLEON I (1769-1821).

Letter Signed (“Napol”), to his Minister of the Interior, Jean-Baptiste de Champagny, asking what can be done to assist Jean Pierre Tondu Lebrun, a student at the Lycée Impérial, who has become blind.

Half page 4to in French, Paris, 16 February 1806. £2800

An unusual letter, which displays Napoleon’s more benevolent character, just two months after his great victory at Austerlitz.

Trans: “Let me know what I can do to for Jean Pierre Tondu Lebrun whom the Headmaster of my Lycée Impérial tells me is worthy of my goodness and who has been forever deprived of his sight by an illness, at a time when he was about to be sent to Constantinople as a student of foreign languages. . .”

The Lycée Impérial, founded in 1563 as the Lycée Louis-le-Grand (by which name it is known today), continues to enjoy a reputation as one of the best educational establishments in France, with fiercely competitive entrance requirements. Alumni include Voltaire, Hugo and Derrida, as well as Robespierre. It is to be expected that Lebrun was a young man whose talents could not be wasted in spite of his disability.

An annotation by an official at the Ministry of the Interior, requests that a copy of the letter be sent to the Divisions, evidently exploring the possibilities open to Lebrun.

There are a few contemporary ink stains on the letter, and some very minor foxing at the bottom, not touching the text.
Monsieur Champaigne, faites moi connaître la question qui est faite en faveur de Jean Pierre Sonn de Flibron que le Préfet de mon lycée Impérial préte à
 comme Digne Demeur-Durgalt et Guillaume Malardé a
 pour toujours qui va de la vie tortueu est devenu à Constantinois en qualité d'Officier de Légue Française
 est une façade que je me suis en la Sainte-Garde. Père de 16 février 1866.

[Signature]

4773
Carnet café
aux Réalisations

59, 780

5° 5°
16, Buckingham Street
Feb. 17th, 1806

My Dear Brunley,

I have not yet had an opportunity of speaking to the New Board respecting you but rest assured that I will not lose a moment when opportunity offers and I feel myself bound to fulfill the last wishes of my dear friend Lord Nelson and had he lived I am fully assured that you would have been Purser of a first rate this day. Lord St. Vincent I believe
37. HARDY, Thomas Masterman (1769-1839). Nelson’s Captain Hardy; later Admiral, and Governor of Greenwich Hospital.

Autograph Letter Signed (“T.M. Hardy”) to Richard Bromley, evidently a fellow sailor who had asked him for a recommendation.

2 pages 4to with a three-line postscript and the original address leaf which has postal markings and the remains of the black wax seal. 16 Buckingham Street, 17 February 1806. £1950

A letter written a month after Nelson’s funeral at St. Paul’s, where Hardy played an important part in the ceremonial.

“I have not yet had an opportunity of speaking to the New Board [of the Admiralty] respecting you but rest assured that I will not lose a moment when opportunity offers and I feel myself bound to fulfil the last wishes of my Dear friend Lord Nelson and had he lived I am fully assured that you would have been Purser of a first rate this day. Lord St. Vincent I believe would be happy to serve me and I shall not forget to mention you to him but at present he has so much on hand that I fear it would not be attended with the desired effect. I leave town for Dorsetshire this evening and shall return again in a few days . . .”

Small split in a horizontal fold has been professionally repaired under our direction.
38. BERTHIER, Louis Alexandre, Prince of Wagram and Neuchatel (1753-1815).  
Letter Signed (“Ml Berthier”) to the Inspector in Chief of Revenues for the Grande Armée, informing him which servicemen will or will not be eligible for bonuses paid at the end of the Austerlitz campaign.
1 page folio in French, Munich, 14 March 1806.  
£425

Trans: “... regarding the payments of campaign bonuses. 1. All officers who rejoined the army since the 1st of January, that is to say after the ratification of the peace treaty, should not receive any bonuses for the campaign; this decision is based on the fact that an officer only has a right to his appointment and his campaign bonus from the time he joins his corps, he only acquires his equipment after he has joined ... 2. All the officers who were promoted in the army after the Battle of Austerlitz equally have no right to the campaign bonus, nor to the supplement, because they were aware of the preliminaries to the peace, and will certainly not have incurred any costs to increase their equipment for the campaign.”

The bonuses in question were paid to help defer the costs of the various items officers would have had to purchase before rejoining their regiments.

The Treaty of Pressburg, signed at the end of 1805 after the French victory at Austerlitz, marked the zenith of the French Empire.

Very slightly frayed at the top, and a little browned at the edges, but otherwise in sound condition.


Autograph Letter Signed (“Collingwood”) to “My dear Sir” [identified in the text as Mr. Reay], complaining that he has not received letters which he knows have been sent to him, and continuing “I wish we could provoke Bonaparte to hoist his flag ...”
3 pages 4to, Queen, 4 April 1806.  
£1600

“... For the subject of your letter Mr. Richard, I know him very well – his father was mate of my watch when I was Lieutenant more than 30 years since ... when his father died, I understood the family was not very well provided for and proposed to keep this youngster with me, and take care of him – but his friends provided otherwise for him ... My wife tells me that several letters have been written to me from my friends and townsmen of Newcastle, of congratulation to me – from the Mayor – from Sr. Mathew Ridley & the Trinity house, and I am quite provoked that not one of them has come to me – they will naturally expect my thanks, and grateful acknowledgements for so great an honour – it is the approbation & regard of my countrymen, I have looked up to all my life – but you know my dear Sir how difficult it is to answer a letter before you receive it ... Though the deed was not done by myself in person, I think you will be highly gratified at the success of Sr. John Duckworth – one of my Admirals whom I detached from hence in quest of the Enemy – I knew him an officer of skill & perseverance and he has justified my opinion fully – those frenchmen my dear Reay must be content to fight
The subject nearest to my heart at this moment is the death of my dearest, most intimate, and revered friend of Christ Church: I had a sincere regard for him, which he also returned to me, and though we were not always on the same Page, yet his affection for me, and my affection for him, is constant. To reflect on those affaires gives me much pleasure, and I am feeling his loss more sensibly.

For the subject of your letter, Mr. Richardson, I know him very well: his father was one of my creditors when I was lieutenant in the navy for more than thirty years; I knew him also when he was in the Cambridge and the...
40. TALLIEN, Thérésa Cabarrus, Princesse de Chimay (1773-1835). Friend of Josephine, wife of Jean-Lambert Tallien and later of the Prince de Chimay; “Notre Dame de Thermidor”.

Autograph Letter Signed (“Th. Cabarrus de Caraman”) to an unidentified gentleman, discussing her precarious financial position.
2 pages 4to in French with integral blank leaf, Paris, 19 May 1806. £695

An anguished letter from one of the most remarkable women of her time.

Trans: “My God, what is to become of us? . . . you are leaving Florence, M. Bedouelle is already far off . . . all our revenues are lost . . . our affairs here needed those in Florence to succeed . . . here is a letter for my father [Francois Cabarrus, founder of the Banco de San Carlos, later Spain’s central bank] who will be happy to see you if you pass through Barcelona . . . we beg you to send us all the funds which you will receive, less those which are payable to Rome and Genoa . . . the Cardinal Maury is expected here [an emigré during the later part of the revolution, the Cardinal returned to France under the Empire and in 1809 was named archbishop of Paris]; you should send me a letter . . . and recommend me . . . let me know if you are going to Madrid via Valencia as I wish my mother could also have the pleasure of your acquaintance . . . you will find a letter for her in Barcelona.

My father has just sent me (thinking I am still in Florence) a letter for His Majesty [probably Eugène, Viceroy of Italy] – would you have the kindness to ensure he receives it . . . Adieu, Monsieur, do not abandon us, do not forget us . . . one day in kindness you promised me a letter for Madame Artaud [wife of the diplomat Alexis-Francois Artaud, who had been posted at Florence] . . . The address on the letter to H.M. was written by my son, what do you think of it?”

Thérésa Cabarrus, Madame Tallien, and finally Princesse de Chimay led a life which would put many adventure novels in the shade. Born into a wealthy Franco-Spanish family, adherents of the Enlightenment, she married the equally wealthy Devin de Fontenay on the eve of the French Revolution. Abandoned by her husband, she allied herself with the moderate revolutionaries, but escaped the guillotine not once, but twice, rescued both times by her second husband Jean-Lambert Tallien. During her second imprisonment, she became friendly with another prisoner, Rose Tascher de Beauharnais, better known as Josephine. Both women were subsequently to become mistresses of the leader of the Directoire, Barras, and Madame Tallien is best known in Britain from the famous Gillray cartoon showing her and Josephine disporting themselves naked before Barras, spied upon by Napoleon.

Napoleon, who was known to dislike independent minded women and disapproved of “loose” women (and few had been “looser” than Madame Tallien) forbade Josephine from seeing her after their marriage (at which Madame Tallien had in fact been one of the very few in attendance). Divorced from Tallien, she married Francois Joseph de Riquet de Caraman, Prince of Chimay (though he was unable to assume his title until 1824), who returned to France under the Empire and was received by Napoleon.

Their financial woes did not extend to later life, as they retired to his chateau at Chimay, where she held musical evenings at the theatre in the chateau’s courtyard.
41. GEORGE III (1738-1820).

Document Signed (“George R” – blind signature), a licence permitting “Messrs. Gordon and Murphy, Messrs. Reid, Irving and Co. and other British Merchants . . . on board the Portuguese Ship “Indiano” . . . to Export and Convey from the port of Cadiz notwithstanding the present Blockade . . . to Vera Cruz in South America . . .”

3 pages folio with paper seal, countersigned by Lord Spencer, St. James’s, 6 June 1806.

£750

The merchants in question were to transport British manufactured goods, as well as “quicksilver, paper and Cards of Spanish Manufacture, Wines, Brandies, and all other innocent articles . . . not being military or Naval Stores nor otherwise prohibited to be exported”. The present licence grants their vessels safe-conduct “without molestation by any of Our Ships of War or privateers, either on account of the existing War or of any other Hostilities . . .”

In May 1806, Britain blockaded the ports of Europe from the Elbe to Brest. Known as Fox’s Blockade, after the great Whig politician Charles James Fox, this increased the pressure on France’s already precarious financial position. Later that year, when military success was followed by the subjugation of Prussia, Napoleon proclaimed the Berlin Decree, banning British imports to any countries under French control. Harsh as they appeared, these blockades and bans were in fact circumvented by smuggling and laxity bordering on corruption.
42. NEY, Michel, Duc d’Elchingen and Prince de la Moskova (1769-1815).

2 pages folio in French, Guttstadt, 10 April 1807. £1400

A lengthy and extremely detailed set of orders.

Stating that the following orders were to be issued by General Dutaillis, to be executed the following day, 11 April, the orders continue – [trans:] “The 31st Light Infantry will be temporarily attached to this division . . . General Brun will have the command . . . the first battalion of this Regiment will take the outskirts of Guttstadt the right bank of the Alle and will provide a chain of posts from the bridge at Kassen . . . to Lindenbrun . . . General Marchand will send an officer . . . to reconnoitre . . . all the posts will send small patrols to the stream which runs parallel to the Alle . . . it joins the Alle just before Guttstadt . . . the second battalion of this Regiment will lodge at Guttstadt, it will provide no service for the left bank but it will serve the right bank of the Alle . . .

The 69th and 76th will alternate holding the garrison at Guttstadt . . .

The 1st Battalion . . . will tomorrow occupy Glottau . . . the 2nd Battalion will tomorrow occupy Queetz in case of attack . . . The company of the 25th light infantry employed to guard the Alle . . . will return to their Regiment . . . General Bisson and the headquarters of the 2nd division will be stationed at Queetz. General Colbert will leave the village of Queetz and will base himself at Warlak . . .

There follow details of the dates and time when Ney plans to review the troops, instructions for the departure of various companies of voltigeurs and grenadiers to Deppen, Mohrungen and Saalfeld, orders that an officer and twenty men to go to Truckendorff to guard the horses which had been left there, and further specific orders.

The first months of 1807 were particularly difficult for the French. Two months earlier, the battle of Eylau had proved inconclusive and Ney set up his winter quarters at Guttstadt, while Lefebvre besieged Danzig. More conscripts were to be sent as reinforcements, but the men already in Prussia with Ney and with Napoleon were calling for peace rather than for victory. In Guttstadt, food was scarce, the cold difficult to bear and Ney wrote that his men had not been able to change their clothes for months. To add to their hardships, the town was struck by an epidemic of typhus.

The fall of Danzig at the end of May was perhaps the first piece of good news the French had had for some time. But on 5 June Russian forces attacked Ney’s vastly outnumbered troops at Guttstadt. Although the result was, technically, a Russian victory, Ney, as ever the master of the orderly retreat, succeeded in withdrawing his men with relatively few losses. One of the wounded was the recipient of these orders, General Dutaillis, who lost an arm at Guttstadt.

One week later, Napoleon was able to win a decisive victory over the Russians at Friedland, a town on the river Alle, where Marshal Ney once again distinguished himself. The peace his soldiers had asked for would come, at least temporarily, when Napoleon and Tsar Alexander met ten days later.

The document, slightly browned, has been repaired under our direction, but is entirely clear and legible.
43. BERTHIER, Louis Alexandre, Prince of Wagram and Neuchatel (1753-1815).

Letter Signed (“Le Prince de Neuchatel Ml. A Berthier”) to Count Otto, informing him that they had just won a brilliant victory over the Russians.

1 page 4to in French, “du Champ de bataille” [from the battlefield] Friedland, 15 June 1807.  £2500

On 14 June 1807 – the seventh anniversary of the battle of Marengo – Napoleon achieved a decisive victory over the Russian army at Friedland. Eight months earlier, he had won an equally decisive victory over the Prussians at Jena. By 15 June, when Berthier wrote this letter, France’s supremacy on the continent was at its zenith.

Trans: “We have just, my dear Otto, won a brilliant victory yesterday, before Friedland, over the Russian Army. Twenty five thousand men were killed or wounded and remained on the battlefield. We have taken a few thousand prisoners. At the moment we have [captured] 80 guns; the remains of Army are fleeing towards Wehlau; we will chase them, our swords at their backs. In all this, my dear Otto, you will see, like me, peace, which is the desire of the Emperor . . . Send a message to Luyeu and to Androossy.” In a postscript he adds: “I won’t mention the Prussians. They only have to see our troops to lay down their weapons.”

The contrast between the two statements, that of twenty five thousand men killed and wounded (a figure which does not take into account French losses) and “peace . . . the desire of the Emperor” is chilling. Yet this battle did in fact bring with it a temporary peace in that part of Europe. A few weeks after the battle, Napoleon and the Emperor of Russia signed the Treaty of Tilsit. Peace, of course, would be elusive. Napoleon’s attentions would, temporarily, shift to Spain, before being brought back to central Europe in 1809 when Austria launched another offensive against him.

Berthier’s contemptuous postscript about the Prussians was, sadly, mirrored by the harsh terms imposed on Prussia at Tilsit, which saw the country humiliated and dismembered.

Berthier’s correspondent, Count Otto, at the time Minister Plenipotentiary at Munich, was one of the most able diplomat of the Empire. He was a key figure in seeing to fruition two of the most important negotiations of the period – the Treaty of Amiens, bringing a temporary peace with Britain in 1802, and the negotiations with the Austrian Empire which resulted in Napoleon’s marriage to Marie Louise.
Mon nom, Mon Chrétien, de rapporter
mes, devant de Vriendland, aux Victoires
notre, dont l'Arme, aux
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Mon Cousin, faites connaître à M. Vincent mon désir
à Varsovie que j'ai désiré vendre vingt millions de domaines
pour être donné aux Polonais, d'enfants il faut ôter deux millions,
gui ont été donnés aux Scéaux Zaytchikto à Bombowsky. 
Je prie vous de bien vouloir faire connaître que je vous ai remis trois cent mille francs de
rente et 200,000 francs, longue il faudrait réunir.
Cette somme rapporte 150 milles fr. J'ai chargé M.
M. de faire toute la explication touchant ce qu'on a droit
Mon frère, vous souhaitez tout ce que vous avez dans
Côté de Varsovie, et si l'année prochaine est bonne.
Faites-moi connaître aussi la situation de vos héritiers. 
Je suppose que vous restez,
avec une division à Thon, Massowick, Now, Brandenbœck,
avec à Varsovie, Rawa, Bдаńki, P Matter, et en outre Kaliat,
Hron. ainsi distinguer, il semblera impossible que la France
soit paisible par agréablement placée » Restez toujours bien à

Oui Marchal Davout
44. NAPOLEON I (1769-1821).

Letter Signed (“Napoleon”) to Marshal Davout, then Governor General of Warsaw, giving him detailed instructions for the formation of a Polish legion, the revenues of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and enquiring whether “they are happy in Warsaw with the constitution I have given them”.

3½ pages 4to in French, St. Cloud, 4 August 1807. £4200

A month after Napoleon’s legendary meeting with Tsar Alexander on a raft on the Niemen, and the signing of the Treaty of Tilsit, he here sends detailed instructions to Davout, Governor General of the newly created Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Napoleon infrequently signed his name in full on his letters; his use of the full signature here gives greater weight to the importance of the matters discussed.

Trans: “Inform M. Vincent our resident at Warsaw that I have reserved twenty million esates for the Poles, from which two million, which have been given to Generals Zazoucheick and Dombrowsky, must be subtracted. The principality which I gave you should yield 250 thousand francs in income and 300,000 francs once it is properly managed. . . I have asked M. Maret to explain everything to M. Vincent regarding these principalities. Let me know all that is new by the Niemen and if the Russian army has been disbanded. Let me know also the situation in your hospitals. I assume that you must have a division at Thorn, Wracklauvec, Plock, Bromberg & one at Warsaw, Rawa, Pultusk, Ostrolenka, & one between Kalitch & Posen . . . Concentrate on completing the bridgehead at Prag and the work which I specified at Sierock. The work at Thorn must also be continued. I do not think that you should have more than one or two regiments of infantry at Warsaw. – Savary is at Petersburg, as is Lesseps. You must take advantage of the many opportunities you no doubt have to correspond with them. – General Oudinot must remain at Danzig with all his reserves. – Let me know if they are happy at Warsaw with the constitution I have given them.

By a treaty with the King of Saxony, I have retained for myself all the rights of the King of Prussia . . . which consist of the revenues of the King of Prussia in the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, amounting to fifty or sixty million . . . consult with M. Vincent and let me know what I can expect from it. . . Have the 5th and 6th Corps gone to Silesia? I have always had a Polish legion in my service, I believe it is assembling at Breslau. . . But this corps must be well made up. It will always be a force of 6000 infantrymen and 1500 cavalry who will be ready to hasten to Poland’s aid. Generals Dombrowsky and Zazoucheick must remain in the Polish service. I urge you to take care that my guard regiment of Polish light cavalry be well formed; I want only nobility. One squadron should have arrived at Berlin . . . Arrange matters with the government so that no building work is permitted in the outskirts of Prague near the fortifications. Send the enclosed letter . . . to General Rapp in Danzig and at the same time send him the news from France . . .”

Poland had ceased to exist on the map of Europe more than a decade earlier, victim to the territorial ambitions of its larger and more powerful neighbours. Now, Napoleon’s conquests and his empire renewed hopes in Poland of a restoration of their nation and many Polish generals and nobles allied themselves with France. Their hopes were misplaced, for Napoleon would never allow Polish interests to stand in the way of France’s advantage, but the Treaty of Tilsit, signed in July 1807, created a Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which many hoped would be the beginning of a new Poland.

The great loser at Tilsit was Prussia, which was severely reduced and its King, Frederick William, humiliatingly ignored and sidelined. The King of Saxony, Frederick Augustus, became Duke of Warsaw, but as Saxony was part of the Confederation of the Rhine, the Grand Duchy would come under the indirect control of France. The new Grand Duchy did not have access to a port, but Danzig, now declared a Free City with a French garrison in residence, was to provide this.

General Dombrowski, mentioned here, had fought at Friedland and, upon the creation of the Grand Duchy, served in Warsaw under Poniatowski. He took part in the Russian campaign, during which he was wounded, and was at Leipzig, where he took over command of the 8th corps after Poniatowski’s death.

There is a contemporary ink stain at the bottom of the third page, and someone – possibly contemporaneously – has marked off a section with a line. The letter is otherwise in very good condition.
45. CLARKE, Henri Jacques Guillaume, Duc de Feltre (1765-1818). Napoleon’s Minister of War.
Autograph Letter Signed (“Clarke”) as Governor of Berlin to Marshal Soult, saying that he is enclosing the translation of three intercepted letters [not present] and quoting part of the troubling content of yet another intercepted letter.
1 page folio in French with integral blank leaf, Berlin, 14 August 1807. £595

Writing just one month after Napoleon and Alexander I had met in highly theatrical circumstances in a pavilion hurriedly erected on a raft on the river Nieman, Clarke expresses his alarm at the implications of some intercepted letters.

Trans: “M. Daru having held back the post, I will take advantage of this delay to send Your Excellency the translations of the three intercepted letters which I mentioned in today’s letter. I find that another letter in English, German, and Italian from M. de Scheppeler, which has not yet been translated, includes the following:

“The King and Queen (of Prussia) have shown themselves by their conduct to be Princes in a manner [dissimilar to] that the feeble Emperor of Russia [Alexaander I] who, guided by traitors, has, by this scandalous peace [the Treaty of Tilsit] (is it not indeed scandalous, and dishonourable for Russia) lost his crown and – his head, etc.”

I am struck by these words and even more those of the conspirators which M. de Scheppeler uses in one of his letters. I feel that this has something in common with one of the English gazettes which I have just received and of which I enclose an excerpt. The death of Paul I [murdered father of Alexander I] comes to mind. The circumstances and the opinions in the newspapers are the same. You may well feel, M. le Maréchal, that there is not a moment to lose to warn the Emperor of Russia and General Savary, although the latter may already have left Petersburg?”

By the Treaty of Tilsit, signed in July 1807, Alexander I abandoned his previous alliance with the British and other enemies of France. Indeed, he embraced Napoleon, and greeted him with the assertion that he hated the English as much as Napoleon himself hated them. His admiration and affection for the French emperor seemed overwhelming, though to what extent this was genuine is very much open to question. Alexander was a master of byzantine politics.

Prussia, on the other hand, was humiliated, stripped of much of its territory. Beautiful, courageous and determined, Queen Louise of Prussia pleaded with Napoleon on behalf of her country, but to no avail.

It would appear from this letter that Clarke feared that Russians opposed to the French alliance would deal with Alexander as they had with his father, Paul I, assassinated in 1801 after pursuing policies unpopular with the nobility.
46. GEORGE III (1738-1820).

Document Signed (“George R” – fine large ‘blind’ signature), addressed to “all Commanders of Our Ships of War, and Privateers”, informing them that William Strachan has been granted a Licence “for permitting Three Vessels belonging to to any Country not at War with Us, to proceed from Cadiz or St. Lucia to the Port of Plymouth or Portsmouth with Three Cargoes of Wine and such Goods as are allowed” and that the ships should be allowed to proceed, “Notwithstanding the Ports of Cadiz or St. Lucia are or may be in a stage of Strict and Rigorous Blockade.”

I page folio with integral blank leaf and Royal paper seal, printed and completed in manuscript, signed at the head by the King and countersigned at the foot by the Home Secretary Lord Hawkesbury, later Prime Minister as Earl of Liverpool. On the verso William Strachan has noted that “one Cargo is to be shipped on board the American Ship Golden Age.” St. James’s, 19 March 1808. £750

A document exemplifying the porousness of the blockades then in force. After the Battle of Trafalgar, Napoleon became ever more obsessed with defeating Britain. By the Berlin Decree of November 1806, he had prohibited any country within France’s sphere of influence from trading with Britain, thus seeking to ruin her economically. Britain retaliated with the Orders in Council, which subjected France and all its allies to a counterblockade. Both sides claimed the right to search and seize neutral vessels. Smuggling and mild corruption helped to alleviate the worst effects of the blockade, and both the British and French governments were in practice prepared to issue licences to allow the import of goods considered important.

Some wear along horizontal folds, but in acceptable condition.
Sir Henry Williams Wynn sat as an MP for Midhurst, but soon joined the Foreign Office. He was eventually to be appointed ambassador to Switzerland and later to Denmark. As a grandson of the late Prime Minister George Grenville and younger brother of Charles Williams Wynn, who had served at the Home Office, Sir Henry was very well connected politically.

His correspondent, the Comte d’Antraigues, is particularly interesting. An arch-intriguer, he was a Royalist and indeed a very conservative Royalist. In 1790 he emigrated to Switzerland. This was followed by a series of emigrations to Venice, Trieste, Vienna, Dresden and finally, in 1806 to that last refuge of French Royalists, England. He served Louis XVIII in exile, but was repudiated by him when suspected of having revealed secret plans to Napoleon in order to secure his release when d’Antraigues was captured in Trieste. He was later in the pay of the Russians, although as a spy he was notoriously unreliable, embellishing his information and ready to betray all sides. He was living in Devonshire Street, where this letter is addressed, in 1808 but soon moved to Barnes in southwest London, where he and his wife were killed in 1812 by a servant who had been dismissed.

Opinion remains divided as to whether the servant was taking personal revenge or whether he had been paid by one of d’Antraigues’ many enemies.

The address leaf has been torn and repaired, not affecting the text. From the Crawford collection.

48. [BONAPARTE, Jerome (1784-1860). Youngest brother of Napoleon; King of Westphalia 1807-1813.]

‘Copie Conforme’ of a document in his name (secretarial signature), appointing Francois Leopold de la Tour as canon of the church of St. Maurice, Hildesheim, following the death of Canon Schiller.

1 page folio in French with integral blank leaf, on letterhead with Jerome’s coat of arms as King, 6 February 1808. £225
A decorative document, written less than two months after Jerome became King of Westphalia. The Kingdom of Westphalia was created by Napoleon and significantly included territory taken from Prussia by the terms of the Treaty of Tilsit. Determined to make it a model of good government in German territory, Napoleon perhaps foolishly placed his youngest brother, Jerome, on the throne. More interested in the pleasures of life than the support of his brother’s empire, Jerome proved amiable but unequal to the task. After the disaster of Leipzig, Jerome fled to France, never to return to Westphalia.

Light brown stain at the bottom right of the document, but this remains an attractive piece.

49. SOULT, Nicolas Jean de Dieu, duc de Dalmatie (1769-1851).
Letter Signed (“Soult”) to Monsieur Villemarzy, Inspector in Chief, regarding additional payments to be made to officers and soldiers who fought at Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau or Friedland. 1½ pages folio in French, Stettin, 16 April 1808. £340

Trans: “I . . . thank you for sending me the instructions which you gave regarding the distribution of exceptional rewards accorded by the Emperor and King to officers . . . and soldiers who were at the battles of Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau or Friedland. I must mention that the instruction does not appear to cover all cases, nor answer the questions which the Regiments have brought up. They ask in the first place if servicemen who did not take part in any of these battles, even though they were in the army, and are currently employed in some service, or in hospital, should be excluded from these rewards? If the soldiers who took part in one of these battles, but who have since been pensioned, should be included? Should we exclude those who only re-joined afterwards? Finally, there are some Regiments (all those of General Molitov’s division) which, although they were not present at any of these battles, nevertheless received a notice that the Emperor accorded them a reward of 40,000f. each, under the same conditions as the other Regiments. What form of distribution must we follow in these cases? . . .”

The question of additional payments made to soldiers and officers was considered one of great importance to all concerned, for obvious reasons. Apart from any financial reward at the end of this series of campaigns, Soult was granted the title Duke of Dalmatia.

The granting of a title was welcome, although Soult had hoped to be made Duke of Austerlitz.
Cheltenham Aug. 1st 1800.

My dear Sir John,

I hope you received a letter which I sent myself the day of sailing to you from Gibraltar for Cadiz - the convoy arrived from thence the day after I wrote. Just entering with a strong breeze in the gale we were obliged to put back, and we remained for ten days afterwards wind bound in the bay. On the 6th of July we had again a favourable breeze which brought us safely to the anchored off the River Bank in the 26th. Well, where we were kept in quarantine for upwards of eight and twenty days before they would give us parole - I was on board the Ocean for near three hours at anchor off land - Lord Eldon and I received me very kindly and I found him in great good humour. His Lordship so professed himself much pleased at the earnest I had made to get the chapel.

To General Sir John Stuart R.B. R. 1805.
50. SHERBROOKE, John Coape (1764-1830). British General; later Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia.

Autograph Letter Signed (“J.C. Sherbrooke”) to Lt. Gen. Sir John Stuart, giving news of a meeting with Lord Collingwood, an exchange of prisoners, the situation in Naples and Rome, and many further details relating to the situation in the Mediterranean.

4 pages folio, Cheltenham, 1 August 1808. £725

“I hope you received a letter which I did myself the Honor of addressing to you from Gibraltar per Packet. . . on the 20th Ulto. . . . we were kept in quarantine for upwards of eight and forty hours . . . I was on board the Ocean [Collingwood’s flagship] for near three Hours at Anchor off Cadiz. Lord Collingwood received me very kindly . . . . His Lordship expressed himself much pleased at the exertions I had made to get the Ships Company of the Delight and the other seamen who had been prisoners with the French in Calabria exchanged. . . he had got favourable answers . . . to have pensions granted to those seamen . . . wounded in bringing away the troops from Scylla . . . Lord Castlereagh was not in town when I arrived there. Your letters to His Lordship . . . I left . . . at the Office in Downing Street. . . . Lord Castlereagh among other questions asked whether in my opinion the people in Italy were likely to follow the example of the Spaniards. I told him that I thought the people ripe for revolt against the French both in the Kingdom of Naples and in the Roman States, but that I could not help entertaining some doubts whether the inhabitants of the former would if they did rise declare in favor of King Ferdinand. . . . [I told him] how necessary I thought it that a larger proportion of Transports should be kept up in the Mediterranean.

The Commander in Chief [the Duke of York] was also out of Town but I have since been honoured with an Audience of H.R.H. . . . I also gave . . . for H.R. Highness’s perusal Major Williams’s report of the capture of the French Privateer off Scylla . . .”

Sir John Coape Sherbrooke served in the Peninsula under Wellington until his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia in 1811. The information he conveyed from his correspondent, Sir John Stuart, commander of the land forces in the Mediterranean, was particularly important.

In the summer of 1808, Joachim Murat became King of Naples. One of his first acts was an attempt to re-take the island of Capri, which had fallen to British forces under Admiral Sidney Smith two years earlier. Two months after this letter, in October 1808, Stuart received an urgent call for assistance from Sir Hudson Lowe, the commandant at Capri. Although he immediately sent a convoy, it arrived too late. Lowe had surrendered.

The exiled King Ferdinand had taken refuge in Sicily, protected by British troops. Stuart remained wary of Murat’s intentions towards Sicily, with good reason, after the capitulation of Capri. In 1810, Stuart resigned from what he saw as an impossible position given the forces available.

The following year was to see the arrival in Sicily of Lord William Bentinck as British representative, who would impose a more liberal, or British-based, constitution on the island, to the great benefit of Sicily. His reforms were unfortunately reversed when the British left and Ferdinand was restored in 1815.
Monsieur, je reçois votre lettre du 30 mai. La Polonaise fut légère, ajout. la grande ville, en général sur la côte, mais Varsovie, observée plus qu'ailleurs, elle est connue la tête d'une des forces les plus récentes qui ont donné la victoire. Elle est soumise, mais la Polonaise est soumise, attachée à la France.

Voici ce qu'immensément la Polonaise à son service. J'ai consulté l'intention de la Plébiscite. J'ai de soldats engageant cette action, que c'est votre connaissance que sur la composition qui a été faite pour cet objet, on a cru qu'il faudrait les Polonais qui pourraient être embarqués pour engager de belles personnes, mais les Polonais. Enfin, envoyer la procédure pour qu'il accélère le départ de ses armées, pour qu'on en fasse part à la Compagnie, à moins qu'elle n'en fasse à 40 hommes, effectivement, a-t-il pas une résolue officiellement, c'est de corps sans je puis en dire que le

Belle Marshal Davout.
51. NAPOLEON I (1769-1821).

Letter Signed (“Np”) to Marshal Davout, praising Polish soldiers who are “very attached to France” and specifying that he does not want officers, but a “corps which I can use”.

1¼ pages 4to in French, Bayonne, 17 August 1808. £4250

A slightly unusual letter, in which Napoleon starts by waxing lyrical about the virtues of the Poles.

Trans: “... The Poles are light, active. Their major cities have that characteristic, Warsaw more than any other; they are like the surface of the sea which is never the same two days running. But the Poles are, all things considered, attached to France. You know that in taking Poles into my service, I thought of the best interests of Poland. I have all the soldiers I need in France. I even agreed that in the capitulation that was made for this purpose, there should be a clause inserted to the effect that Poles would not be embarked for service either at sea or in the colonies. Write to Sieur Bougoin that he should hurry along the departure of these troops and that they should not send companies unless they are made up of 140 men. It is not officers that I want, but a corps which I can use.”

Many Poles, inspired by the hope that Napoleon would restore their homeland to something approaching its earlier borders, attached themselves to the French army, serving in a great many campaigns, including the Peninsula. It is reasonable to assume that Napoleon derived far greater benefits from his Polish regiments than the Poles had from Napoleon, for in spite of the creation of the Duchy of Warsaw in 1807, the Polish nation as such did not return to the map of Europe in his time.

Napoleon had arrived in Bayonne a few days earlier, ostensibly for a meeting with Ferdinand, son of the Spanish king, Charles IV. Spain was in chaos. The king, faced with a popular revolt during which his minister Godoy had narrowly avoided being lynched, had abdicated in favour of his detested son Ferdinand. A few days later, he withdrew his abdication.

The disorder on France’s southern border was potentially dangerous for France, and also potentially advantageous. Ferdinand travelled to Bayonne to meet Napoleon, expecting to be recognised as king. Perhaps the fact that Napoleon, writing to him shortly after his arrival in that city, failed to address him by his royal title might have given him a hint of what was to come. By the end of May, Charles, briefly reinstated as king, had ceded his throne to Napoleon who promptly placed his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne. Charles lived in exile in France, while his son Ferdinand had what may have been the most comfortable exile of all, occupying Talleyrand’s chateau at Valencay.

Matters in Spain had, however, already erupted into the first salvo of the vicious six-year war to come. On 2 May, immortalised by Goya as the Dos de Mayo, an anti-French insurrection had taken place in Madrid. It was quickly, and brutally, put down, but for the French, the war was to become ‘the Spanish ulcer.’
Letter Signed (“Napole”) to Marshal Davout, a highly important letter giving details of the formation of the forces at Davout’s disposal in case of hostile moves from Austria (“Austria is arming”), his intention to implement the Treaty of Tilsit, and angry comments regarding General Dupont’s behaviour during and after the battle of Bailen.

Trans: “The English having landed a considerable force in Spain, I have recalled the 1st and 6th corps and three divisions of dragoons from the Grande Armée in order to complete the submission of this country this winter. Dupont has dishonoured our army; he has shown as much ineptitude as pusillanimity. When you hear about it one day, your hair will stand on end. I will have justice; they have stained our uniform, and they must clean it. – I have given you command of Poland and Silesia; you have there the 3rd corps, Oudinot’s division, a division of dragoons and the division of cuirassiers which is at Bayreuth. A regiment de marche of 3000 men, formed of detachments from your fifteen corps, will go to join you, another regiment de marche of 4000 men. . . will go to bring your corps to 39,000 infantrymen, and Oudinot’s division to 11,000 men, which will bring you effectively 50,000 men; and 20,000 Poles and Saxons who could join it would give you 70,000 infantry. Detachments of cavalry will also go to reinforce your corps, so that you will have 13,000 horses, which together with 4 or 5000 Saxons or Poles would bring you 18,000 horses, and with 12,000 French or foreign artillerymen, you would have yourself an army of nearly 100,000 men. The Saxons and the Poles are easily as good as the Austrians.

Marshal Mortier with the 5th corps is on his way to Bareuth. I would like to have him in France, but I have not yet decided. If any unexpected events were to take place, you could use them. Austria is arming, but she is arming because she is afraid. Our relations with that power are excellent; however, she is arming, and I have started by asking firmly for an explanation. I am confident about Russia, which means that I fear nothing from Austria. However, one must be ready and keep one’s eyes open. My intention is to evacuate Prussia and implement the treaty of Tilsit. I think the convention will be signed tomorrow or the following day; and before October I will bring my troops towards the Rhine. I will keep Stettin, Custrin and Glogau, until everything has been completed. Some
regiments de marche will also go to reinforce Marshal Soult. All the forces of the Confederation are ready for combat and at the least sign of hostile preparations on the part of Austria, they would march. Be reassuring in your words, for I want nothing from Austria..."

Following the Treaty of Tilsit, when Napoleon and Alexander embraced and Prussia was dismembered, Napoleon was justified in feeling that he had little to fear from Austria, who, if she decided to attack, would be acting virtually alone.

He had, by this time, turned his attention to Spain, and had only recently returned from Bayonne, where he had spent three months in meetings with the former king of Spain and his son, now replaced by his brother Joseph. But Spain was to prove a continual nightmare; as early as April, the unfortunate Dupont had marched on Toledo to deal with riots. The brutally suppressed insurrection in Madrid soon followed and, in July, at the battle of Bailen, General Dupont surrendered his 18,000 men to the Army of Andalucia. The defeat was probably even more important psychologically than tactically, a source of pride to the Spaniards and shock as well as shame to the French. Napoleon’s fury when he heard the news was fierce, as can be seen. The news continued bleak, as on 24 August, the day after this letter, Ferdinand VII was again proclaimed king in Madrid; by November, Napoleon would himself be in Spain in a short-lived, and unsuccessful, attempt to subdue the country.

Napoleon returned from Spain in January 1809, already aware that Austria was cause for concern. Davout had written to the Emperor in September 1808, telling him of Austria’s preparations for war and that the court at Vienna was entirely in thrall to “English intrigues”. The worst intriguer and “spy”, however, as far as Davout was concerned, was the Austrian representative at the Duchy of Warsaw, Count von Neipperg, who was destined some years later to become first the lover, then the second husband, of Marie Louise.

By April, Napoleon was again on campaign, which would end with the French victory at Wagram. The Austrians did not capitulate easily, but by the end of the year, the Treaty of Schönbrunn had brought hostilities to an end, and Napoleon had divorced Josephine. The Austrian alliance was to be sealed the following year when he married Marie Louise, daughter of Emperor Francis I of Austria.
53. CLARKE, Henri Jacques Guillaume, Duc de Feltre (1765-1818).

Letter Signed (“Cte d’Hunebourg”) as Minister of War to Marshal Lefebvre, Duke of Danzig, sending him instructions for troop movements going to Orleans and thence to Bayonne.  
2 pages folio in French, Paris, 9 September 1808.

A letter marking the earliest days of the Peninsular War.  
The troops which were to mass at Bayonne would eventually make their way into the Iberian peninsula. Napoleon himself was to follow, arriving at Bayonne on 3 November, en route to Vittoria, Burgos, and eventually Madrid. By mid-January, Napoleon again passed through Bayonne, never to return to Spain.

Trans: “It is the Emperor’s intention that you be in Orleans on the 14th of this month, in order to review the troops of General Lecol’s division, made up of the corps of Nassau, Baden, Hesse Darmstatt and the Prince Primate’s battalion.

His Majesty intends that these troops will stop at Orleans and thence continue to Bayonne.

As a result, the Duke of Nassau’s regiment, which will arrive in Orleans on the 14th September will stay there the 15th and 16th and will leave on the 17th going towards Bayonne where it will arrive on 11 October.

The Grand Duke of Baden’s regiment . . . will arrive at Orleans on 15 September, will remain there the 16th and 17th, and will leave on the 18th, travelling to Bayonne where it will arrive on 12 October.

The Grand Duke of Hesse Darmstatt’s regiment . . . will arrive at Orleans on 16 September . . . and will leave on the 19th, going to Bayonne where it will arrive on 13 October.

The Prince Primate’s battalion will arrive at Orleans on the 21st September . . . and will leave on the 24th, also going towards Bayonne where it will arrive on 18 October.

I have the honour to send herewith to Your Excellency the orders for the route for these various corps, so that they may make their way to Bayonne on the dates designated.

I would ask you . . . to give the commanders of these corps the orders and instructions required to ensure the most exact discipline . . . I would ask Your Excellency . . . to inform me of their departure for Bayonne.”

In May 1808 Joseph Bonaparte became king of Spain, following the deposition of Ferdinand VII. Spain immediately erupted in a popular rising. The English, who clearly saw Spain as Napoleon’s weakest point, were only too happy to take advantage of the situation, and in June of the same year, Arthur Wellesley learned that he would be despatched to the Peninsula with 9000 men to assist the Spanish and Portuguese in their struggle against the French.
An interesting letter, displaying Napoleon’s attention to the minutiae of all aspects of his government and his careful control of finances.

Trans: “Send me next Sunday a report showing me the financial situation as at 1 January 1809 . . . including everything relating to the caisse d’amortissement [essentially the government’s sinking fund], and to the Grande Armée. I wish to see in this report everything which is yet to be paid, and which is yet to come in, from previous years: thus you will send me the 1807 budget as it has been finalised . . . you will do the same for the 1808 budget. You will send me that for 1809 as I approved it with income and expenditure. You will include in this report all the budgets for the various ministries . . . The fourth part will concern the sinking fund and the Grande Armée. You will show what has been received, the funds coming from the third Coalition, its outgoings, what remains to be paid – you will follow the same pattern for the fourth Coalition . . . it is necessary to let me know at the same time the situation regarding receipts, and what expenses to come as at first of January 1809, as well as the Budget for the Grande Armée for the years 1806, 7, 8 and 9 – and for the Army of the Rhine for the year 1808, indicating what is to be paid by the Grande Armée and what by the Treasury. – You will find it easier to deal with the difficulties of this task by talking with M. Daru and M. Lebouillerie. I wish to have a precise picture of my position as at 1 January 1809, and of the state of the finances, in order to see at a glance what my resources are . . . You will add to this report the various decrees . . . I have made, and which were used to arrive at the accounts for the years 1806, 7 and 8. You will also include the sums which I advanced either for canals, or for various cities, so that I can see what is left at my disposal for other operations . . .”

Napoleon has added in a postscript in his own hand: “If this is not possible for Sunday have it ready for a week later.”

Although Count Mollien was extremely
well-connected in financial circles, married to the daughter of a close friend of both Necker and Talleyrand, it was his ability to rationalize public finances and present the Emperor with a clear and accurate picture of the state of affairs which brought him to prominence. Briefly exiled to England during the revolution, he returned to ally himself with Napoleon from his accession as First Consul. He retired to private life after the first abdication, but was called back by Napoleon immediately after his return from Elba, and served him faithfully throughout the hundred days.

Napoleon's concern with the state of the country's finances, and more especially the finances of the army, would have been greater than ever at this juncture. Recently returned from Spain, where a significant portion of his army was to be engaged over the next five years, he was also about to embark with the Grande Armée on a campaign against the Austrians which would culminate in his victory at Wagram.

The specific reference to canals is interesting. France already enjoyed the benefits of roughly 1000 kms of canals at the time of the revolution, but the subsequent upheavals put an end to their construction and maintenance. Upon his accession as First Consul, Napoleon immediately saw the need to build more canals, both to help trade – increasingly important when the English blockaded French and allied ports from 1807 – and to facilitate the delivery of materials for the French ships in the Channel ports. Napoleon continued to take a keen interest in the development of canals, but sadly the monies available too often had to be diverted to the needs of the army.

55. [TOPOGRAPHICAL BUREAU]

Group of letters and accounts relating to the Topographical Bureau, comprising:– the accounts of expenses incurred for the period 1 January to 20 November; the list of salaries for April 1809 and November 1809; a list of the expenses incurred by M. Latour-Maubrey and M. Heins during a trip to Germany, April-October 1809; three letters from Edouard Mounier, cabinet secretary, to the Chamberlain, the Comte de Montesquiou-Fezensac, two recommending translators for the department and one regarding funds allocated to the department; a retained copy of a letter from the Comte de Montesquiou to Mounier acknowledging receipt of a letter regarding the English translator; and two extracts from the minutes of meetings held on 3 April and 6 April regarding the salaries and duties of those employed in the Topographical Bureau.

In all, 12½ pages folio in French, Paris, April-November 1809. £425

In 1795 Napoleon had himself spent a brief period working at the Topographical Bureau, part of the war department. The importance of the bureau can be judged from the fact that the sum of 50,000 francs was set aside for salaries and expenses. The expenses incurred for the trip to Germany came to 1970 francs for M. Latour-Maubrey for 13 April to 26 October and 1710 francs for M. Heins for 13 April to
30 September. Among the miscellaneous expenses features the sum of 365 francs paid to “Boutellier, for extraordinary services for the Topographical Bureau during the campaigns in Spain and Austria.”

There is provision for translators who could speak English, Italian, German and Spanish, and it is specified that the translators should be able to write in their appointed language as well as translate from it.

Altogether, an interesting set of documents which give an insight into the workings of the Empire’s very efficient bureaucracy.


Autograph Letter Signed (“Arthur Wellesley”) to Admiral Berkeley, regarding troop movements shortly before the battle of Talavera.

1½ pages folio with integral blank leaf, Abrantes, 15 June 1809. £995

“I have the Honor to inform you that I have received the order . . . to send to Gibraltar the 2nd Batln. 9th regt. to relieve one of the regts for which transports have been ordered to that Garrison; and I shall be much obliged by you if you will give directions that transports may be prepared to convey the 2nd 9th to Gibraltar as soon as that Corps will arrive at Lisbon.

I have also received the directions of the Secretary of State to send to Cork those transports containing stalls for 1300 Horses; to convey to Portugal one rgt of Dragoons consisting of 800 Horses; 300 Horses for the service of the Artillery & one such of Horse Artillery 200 . . .”

Wellington returned to Portugal in April 1809, exonerated at the inquiry into the controversial signing of the Convention of Cintra. He insisted on more troops, more cavalry, more supplies, and the government met his demands. He was well aware of the importance of keeping his supply channels running smoothly.

Few men could have been better able to assist him in this than Admiral Sir George Berkeley, commander-in-chief of the naval forces on the coast of Portugal. DNB reminds us that “Nearly all the men, horses, weapons, equipment, money and provisions required by Wellington arrived in Berkeley’s ships” and it was his efficient supply of arms that “enabled Wellington to defeat Soult at Porto in May.”

The battle of Porto on 12 May was his first encounter with French troops during this campaign. Barely a month after his arrival in Portugal, Wellington not only defeated Soult, but forced him to retreat into Spain. The road was clear for Wellington to move into Spain to attack the French, which came six weeks later at Talavera. Although Wellington may have prudently retreated after the battle, it was nonetheless a victory for the British, and one that would change his name from Arthur Wellesley to Viscount Wellington.


£875

A very interesting and detailed correspondence, about a little-known moment of the Napoleonic wars.

In the first letter, dated 30 June, Mackenzie says that he has nothing to add to the previous day’s despatch, but continues “I understand however that 9 or 10 men of the Chasseurs are wounded or missing, and one of the 21st killed. I have heard nothing from the other side to-day; the French soon spread themselves all over the Country opposite us . . . I propose completing the two Companies of Calabresi . . . This description of men have been of very great use to us on the other side, and Colonel Smith reports most favourably of them. . . . A courier for the Court of Palermo arrived here last night . . . bringing us the best possible news. . . Buonaparte severely defeated on the 3d of June. MacDonnel’s [sic] Corps destroy’d or made Prisoners, and Eugene’s cut to pieces . . .”

Mackenzie’s intelligence regarding Napoleon’s forces was inaccurate. Macdonald was victorious at Laybach on 22 May, taking 4000 Austrian prisoners; on 14 June Eugene defeated the Austrians at Raab; and Napoleon was to win a decisive victory over the Austrians a few days later at Wagram.

By 9th July, things had become rather livelier, and Mackenzie reported that “We have here at least more variety in our military operations than you appear to have at Ischia. The French have again returned . . . they were met by an express from Naples at one days march from Monte Leone with orders to fall back on lower Calabria . . . whether this has been occasioned by your detaching the Neapolitan Brigade or . . . in consequence of the strong reinforcements which Murat has received from the Roman States, I cannot say . . . I . . . send a letter . . . from Cavaignac . . . it is clear . . . that he intends to reoccupy every thing opposite to me . . . What can all this marching and countermarching mean? . . . Mr. Broadband assures me that . . . two French frigates and a small brig have crossed over from Corfu and are now
some where on that [Adriatic] coast. . . I have some thoughts of sending the Alacrity to look out there . . . I feel no regret . . . at our being obliged to give up all communication with Calabria . . . it hangs . . . as a Millstone about our necks. The conduct of the Count of Palermo relating to Calabria is inconceivable . . . we cannot continue to be connected with them . . . Never will the Neapolitans submit themselves to any promises made in which the Queen [Maria Carolina] has anything to do . . . I hear the Nobilita of Naples have raised and given Murat 15000 men. I think it likely . . . If they [the French] should get any hold in Sicily, everything may be apprehended from the universal disposition of the Inhabitants to assist them . . . and still every act of the Government is to inflame and irritate the inhabitants. Is it worth while supporting such a Government . . . I am so disgusted, so shocked with . . . every thing that I see done by these people that I am resolved to have nothing more to do with them . . . I shall do every thing that my military duties may require of me, but I never will allow myself . . . to have anything to do with their dirty work . . ."

This exceptionally long and detailed letter is here only quoted in part, and Mackenzie gives further vivid details of the thoroughly appalling behaviour of the court in exile, led by Maria Carolina.

English forces based at Messina, at the northeastern tip of Sicily, separated from the Italian mainland by only a narrow strait, would have been able to observe any movement of French troops threatening Sicily with ease. In view of Mackenzie’s comments on the government imposed on the Sicilians, there is good reason to believe that a significant number among them would have preferred French rule. Indeed, it is at this time that Murat, as King of Naples, travelled to Calabria, contemplating an invasion of Sicily, which, in the end was never attempted.

Further evidence of the feelings of the local population comes from Lt. Col. Smith, who reports that “I am sorry to observe that the Inhabitants with very few exceptions shewed no disposition whatever to support us; not one Person of respectability came to our Camp . . . The highest class of the people either kept aloof or joined the Enemy . . .”

An interesting anecdote is related in a biography of the geologist, Sir Roderick Murchison, Mackenzie’s nephew and, at the time, his aide-de-camp. One day a flag of truce was seen flying from a French ship. When the ship arrived, it was with a package of tobacco from Paris, and a message from Murat, who had met Mackenzie many years before, sending him a friendly present. From the Crawford collection.

Letter Signed (“Fouche”) to the Minister of War [Clarke] sending him a letter [not present] from the American Consul at Le Havre, explaining that he has given a passport to the Englishman, James Care.
1 page folio in French, Paris, 28 July 1809.
£595

Trans “You asked me in your letter of the 6th inst. to send you any information I could gather on the Englishman James Care. In fulfillment of your Excellency’s wishes in this respect, I have the honour to send him a letter from the Consul of the United States at Le Havre, who delivered a passport to Sr. James Care, considering him to be an American and who claims that his conduct is justified by this fact . . .”
It has not been possible to discover precisely what constituted James Care's "conduct" which required justification. However, the conjunction of French, British and American concerns is interesting. French and British forces were fiercely engaged in the Peninsula, and in fact were fighting one of the most important early battles of that conflict at Talavera as Fouché was writing this letter. But relations between the British and the Americans were hardly warm. In an attempt to defend its neutrality, America had imposed an unpopular embargo on goods to both Britain and France. Continued trade disputes with Britain, and the incidence of American sailors impressed into the Royal Navy would eventually erupt into war between Britain and America some years later. Care's conduct – one suspects misdemeanours, or possibly spying – and the helpfulness of the American Consul towards this Englishman can perhaps be viewed in that context.

59. FOUCHE, Joseph, Duke of Otranto
(1763-1820).

Letter Signed ("Fouché") to M. Eschasseraux, French Minister Plenipotentiary to the court at Lucca, an irate letter regarding export duties unexpectedly imposed on a shipment of Carrara marble.
3 pages folio in French, Paris, 10 September 1809. £475

The sumptuous Empire style had an obvious need for marble, be it for statues or for building. The famous quarries at Carrara came under the jurisdiction of the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, Napoleon's sister Elisa.

Elisa appears to have been an energetic and capable administrator of the territory, and maintained close and cordial relations with the Emperor. It is therefore likely that the problem was provoked by a difficult official.

Trans: "... I have just been informed that M. Henraux, Government agent for the acquisition of marbles in Italy, has encountered many problems and irritations from M. Gonolet, Director of the Elisane Bank in Carrara, regarding the export of the marbles which this agent is buying on behalf of the French government. M. Gonolet is trying to force him to pay enormous duties which the Court at Lucca established on 7 February last... he had impounded eighteen blocks belonging to the Government; he even dared rub out the initial letters of the French Empire, and substitute the mark of his bank... I would hasten to put together a report on this affair for H.M. the Emperor, if I were not certain, Sir, that your intervention before H[er] R[oyal] H[ighness] the Grand Duchess of Tuscany will suffice... I have given orders to M. Henraux to purchase... all the marble which it is to acquire for the Government, but this will only happen on condition 1. that the expropriation of the blocks belonging to France will be lifted without delay; 2. that the verdicts delivered against the French regarding the right to export will be regarded as void; 3. that no charges will be payable with regard to these verdicts; 4. that all the marbles which the bank will purchase for the Government, and those already purchased, will not be subject to export duty; 5. finally, that the Bank will supply the marble at the same price and of the same quality as those which it has purchased heretofore from the owner of the quarries..."

Autograph Letter Signed (“Elisa”) to her brother Lucien Bonaparte, sending him a letter from their brother Joseph [not present] and saying that Spain would “feel the effects of this war for a long time.”

1 page 8vo in French, Pitti [Florence], 13 October 1809. £525

Trans: “I am sending you my friend a letter from Joseph. It seems that things are going fairly well, but Spain will feel the effects of this war for a long time. My health is fairly good. I am leaving for Pisa at the end of the month, the weather in Florence is dreadful. My daughter is well, as is the Prince who benefited from the waters. I kiss you my dear Lucien, as well as your wife and the children. Let me know your news. Things are very quiet in the Grand Duchy.”

In fact, things were far from well in Spain. The arrival of Arthur Wellesley in the Peninsula in April heralded a period of increasing conflict which would continue unremittingly for the next five years. In July, Wellesley had secured a victory at Talavera, which brought him the title of Viscount Wellington. Although the cautious Wellington soon retreated to Portugal, Spanish forces continued to present significant resistance.

Elisa, who had been made Grand Duchess of Tuscany in the spring of 1809, established herself in some splendour in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence. She had, at the time of writing, incurred Napoleon’s displeasure by attempting to open gambling salons in Florence, something of which the Emperor sternly disapproved.

Lucien Bonaparte, then resident in Rome under the protection of the Pope, had incurred the even more long-lasting displeasure of the Emperor by daring to marry, after the death of his first wife, a widow of whom Napoleon disapproved. Napoleon’s firm hold on his siblings’ alliances had failed with Lucien and their relationship never recovered, despite Lucien’s key role in the brumaire coup d’état which had brought his brother to power.

Elisa’s detailed report of her and her family’s health seems to have been a Bonaparte characteristic, something frequently found in all the family’s letters to each other.

Remains of guard to the verso, not affecting the text.

From the Crawford collection.
Letter Signed (“Napol’) to General Clarke [Henri Clarke, Duc de Feltre, Minister of War], giving lengthy and detailed instructions for the composition of the troops for the war in Spain.

Trans: “The Imperial Guard must be ordered to be in readiness for the Spanish campaign. You will give the necessary orders for the 1st division of the Guard to assemble at and near Chartres on 13 December, provisionally commanded by Brigade General Roget, and will comprise one squadron of Polish light cavalry, one squadron of chasseurs and the Mamelouk company, one squadron of dragoons [the word “grenadiers” has been crossed out and corrected by Napoleon] and one squadron of grenadiers, a total of 600 horse. Our first choice will be the men who are in Paris and who were not on the German campaign and General Walther will designate a major of the Guard to command this regiment of cavalry. The infantry of this division will be composed of the 2nd regiment of conscripts and the 2nd regiment of chasseurs infantry forming the 1st brigade and the 2nd regiment of conscripts and the 2nd regiment of grenadiers infantry forming the 2nd brigade. Each of these regiments will be made up of 1600 men upon departure. There will be two cannon of 3 or 4 attached to each regiment, together with the necessary infantry caisson. These 8 cannon will be served by one of the three artillery companies of the Guard which are being assembled at la Fere. To this division will also be added caissons for the transport of grain, ambulances, one commissary, one detachment of the administration of the Guard, bakers, and everything required for a campaign. General Dorsenne will review this 1st division on 15 December; and further to the report he will give me, on the 17th I will give the order for its ultimate destination. The review will take place on the square at Chartres.

The 2nd division will be composed of the 1st regiment of conscripts and the 1st regiment of chasseurs infantry, the 1st regiment of conscripts and the 1st regiment of grenadier infantry, each regiment having 1600 men . . . one regiment of cavalry formed of a squadron of Polish light cavalry, one squadron of chasseurs, one squadron of grenadiers and one squadron of dragoons of 600 men, taking care to choose the least exhausted men. Each regiment of infantry will have two cannon, which will make eight cannon in all, which will be borne by one artillery company formed at la Fere, caissons, administration, etc. This division will be commanded by General Dumoutier of the Guard. I will review this division on the 15th at the Carousel; it will have to be ready to depart on 16 December.

The 3rd division will consist of two regiments of fusiliers and two regiments of the old Guard, each made up of 1600 men . . . and will have 8 cannon.

All the cavalry of the Guard, with 60 pieces of artillery, 4000 outils attelés and six pontoons with the company of pontoniers and sailors, will be ready to leave on 1st January. I will review it on 1st January at noon at the Carousel. Thus the Guard will, upon its departure for Spain, be composed of 19,000 infantrymen, 4000 cavalry, and 84 cannon, with all the caissons, administration and other requirements. This corps will be commanded by the duc d’Istrie [Bessières] but under my direct orders. Give the orders immediately that the generals of my Guard make all the necessary arrangements and give you an account of the caissons, the personnel, material, administration, bakers etc. It is essential that the Guard have the transport required to carry bread for at least four days. . .”

A note at the end, in another hand, informs us that on the day the letter was received it was passed to M. Gerard, who would communicate the instructions to those concerned.

In July, Napoleon had won a significant victory over Austria. But only weeks later, French forces were defeated by Wellington at Talavera. The war in Spain continued to drain France’s resources and men. Bessières, as well as Generals Dumoutier and Dorsenne, fought with the Grande Armée during the campaign which culminated at Wagram in July of that year, when Bessières’ horse was hit, and fell on the unfortunate rider. The fresh troops called up for service in Spain would have served on this campaign, and, one hopes, have enjoyed a brief rest before their departure.

Perhaps the most extraordinary thing about this letter is the attention which Napoleon was still able to give to the most minute detail at one of the most turbulent moments in his private life. A few days earlier, Napoleon had announced to a distraught Josephine that it was his intention to divorce her. However necessary the move may have seemed at the time if he was to have a legitimate son and heir, he later came to believe, superstitiously but perhaps rightly, that his luck had changed from that time onwards.
Monseigneur le Général Clarke, la suite impériale doit revoir l'ordre de trève prise à cette en campagne pour la campagne d'Espagne. Vous donnerez l'ordre nécessaire pour renvoyer le 18 décembre à l'armée et renvoyer la 1ère division de la garde qui provisoirement est commandée par le général de brigade Rogel, et sera composée d'un esquadron d'infanterie légère, d'une escadre de chasseurs et de la compagnie de la garde. J'en Envoi un esquadron d'escadrons, dont seront 600 chevaux, ou prendre à la garde de la Couronne que je suis à Paris et qui sont par la suite la Compagnie d'infanterie et le 3e bataillon de la Garde, pour commander ce régiment de cavalerie. L'instruction de cette division sera composée de la 2e division de cavalerie et de la 1ère division d'infanterie. Chacun des régiments formera la 1ère bataillon, de la 2e division de cavalerie et de la 1ère division d'infanterie. Chacun des régiments formera la 2e bataillon. Chacun des régiments formera les 1600 hommes au retour du dépôt. Il y aura deux pces de 3 ars. attaquées à chaque régiment, aux caisses d'infanterie nécessaire : en 2 pces d'infanterie, pour un grand campagne d'artillerie de la garde qui se renforce à la bataille, pour donner également à cette division des canons pour la campagne du printemps, du combat, ou l'instruction du groupe, en détachement.
Much like Henry VIII some centuries earlier, by 1809 Napoleon realised that he needed an heir to consolidate his empire, and that the ageing Josephine was unlikely to provide one. Unlike Henry, the path from this decision to the divorce itself proved remarkably swift. On 30 November 1809, he announced to Josephine his intention to divorce. On 15 December, the decision was announced to the Imperial family. On 16 December the marriage was dissolved, and the following day his foreign minister sent out the notification to France’s ambassadors.

Trans: "I send you today’s Moniteur. History does not present us with a more wonderful page. The event it announces . . . the divorce of the sovereigns . . . But a divorce brought about by motives so pure and so generous, a divorce which is, for both parties, the most painful of sacrifices, this victory of two great souls over their most cherished affections, in which their own individual happiness is immolated in the interest of the public good . . . this event without precedent is perhaps the most admirable in a reign where everything seems wonderful . . .” The announcement explains at length that the Emperor chose this path at the constant urging of his ministers, for the good of France, so that it will not again be “exposed
to all the evils of anarchy . . . the Emperor ceded . . . his glory is increased by this rare example of devotion without limit to the welfare of his people. This painful sacrifice has just been made. The Empress proved herself worthy of her rank, worthy of the Emperor’s pain, and of the nation which idolises her and she will be more and more the object of the love and gratitude of that nation for whose interests she has sacrificed herself. The Emperor, gentlemen, while making this difficult sacrifice, has not yet been able to think of another attachment . . . The Emperor will remarry, because he has only divorced in order to have children. But who will he marry? Will she be French or a foreigner, a princess or a commoner? He has not yet thought of this . . . 

The Emperor will pursue only one goal, that of ensuring a successor for his empire from its founder.”

The numerous deletions and inserted words indicate that this was the draft Champagny prepared, to be copied out by a secretary and sent to the ambassadors listed in the margin on the first page. Notable among those names are the duc de Vicence (Caulincourt), then ambassador to the Russian court, and M. Otto, who had been named ambassador to Vienna only four days earlier.

The Moniteur was Napoleon’s most effective propaganda machine, well-known for its exaggerations and dissemination of the news which the government wanted to see made public. As an instrument of what today be called “spin” it worked extremely well, though the population soon learned to take its news with more than just a grain of salt. In this case, the assertion that the Emperor was not yet thinking of another attachment was a sentimental lie. Caulincourt had already entered into negotiations with Alexander I, and an alliance between Napoleon and the Tsar’s sister seemed quite possible. As those negotiations dragged on, however, another possibility was envisaged, of an alliance with Austria. It was another ambassador, Otto, who was called upon to carry out the more successful negotiations which resulted in Napoleon’s marriage to Marie Louise of Austria, great-niece of Marie Antoinette.
63. NEY, Michel, Duc d'Elchingen and Prince de la Moskova (1769-1815).

Letter Signed (“Ney”) to General Loison, asking him to send him a report of his situation of his troops and any information possible about the enemy.

1 page 4to in French with integral blank leaf, Salamanca, 16 February 1810. £995

Trans: “... The Prince of Neuchatel [Berthier] tells me, my dear General... that, in line with the Emperor’s orders, your division is part of the 6th Corps. I would therefore request you to send me a report of the situation and position of your troops, and to give me also any information you might have about the enemy...”

The enemy in question here would most likely the largely ineffectual Spanish army or perhaps the rather more threatening bands of Spanish guerrillas.

Having reformed the 6th Corps at Salamanca, Ney soon found himself under the orders of Marshal Massena for the attempted French invasion of Portugal. The relationship was far from happy. Ney and Massena were temperamentally vastly different, and the antipathy between them caused a series of problems during the campaign. Nevertheless, they were successful in capturing Ciudad Rodrigo, which Wellington had left with only token defences, in July. Eventually, the French army was faced with Wellington’s most impregnable defences, the lines of Torres Vedras. After fruitless, painful months, the French were forced to retreat. Ney was to return to France in March 1811.
Letter Signed (“Nap”) to the Duc de Feltre [Henri-Jacques Clarke, Minister of War], sending instructions about the munitions required in Rome and Civita Vecchia.

1½ pages folio in French, Paris, 15 December 1810. £3750

Trans: “I have been told that there is a foundry in Rome. Let me know the state of the artillery at Civita Vecchia and at Rome, so that I can see whether it is necessary to keep this foundry. There must be cannons . . . in the various forts which, from the report I have before me . . . there are 72 in Rome. It is necessary to remould . . . it is necessary to recast the piece of 13 and that of 15 . . . in order to have two of 16, to make 4 pieces of 11, four of 12 . . . and to destroy the 5-pounders, 2½ and 2. With these 72 pieces [of artillery] the Castel S. Angelo is insufficiently armed, and cannot do enough damage to the enemy. There should be at least six mortars . . . in order to dominate the city. Civita Vecchia appears to me to be equally badly munitioned. The 49 pieces which are there are of poor quality. Have these pieces recast. I should be advised of how many cannon-balls there are, so that the armament can be organized . . .”

After some years of uneasy relations between Pope and Emperor, Napoleon had ordered French troops to march on Rome. They entered the city in January 1808 and Pius VII became a virtual prisoner in the Quirinal. By May of the following year, Napoleon had ordered the annexation of Rome, declaring it a “free imperial city”. Pius VII immediately responded by excommunicating the Emperor. Napoleon in
turn ordered his troops into the Quirinal, where the Pope was arrested and the French tricolor replaced the papal flag over the Castel Sant’Angelo. (An excellent account of Pius VII’s tribulations during this period can be found in John Julius Norwich’s *The Popes*.)

Three months after this letter, Napoleon’s only legitimate son was born, and would be named King of Rome. Despite this, Napoleon proved, quite understandably, hugely unpopular in Rome, having robbed the city of the Church and its attendant bureaucracy, which were central to the city’s identity. Despite this, after Waterloo both Napoleon’s favourite sister, Pauline, and his mother, Letizia, lived the rest of their lives in Rome, Pauline at the splendid Palazzo Borghese and Letizia at the Palazzo Bonaparte.

Pius VII was eventually freed and allowed to return to Rome; he arrived in May 1814, after Napoleon’s abdication. The Papal States were restored to their previous boundaries at the Congress of Vienna.

65. NEY, Michel, Duc d’Elchingen and Prince de la Moskova (1769-1815).

Letter Signed (“Mal duc d’Elchingen”) to General Count Loison, informing him that he is sending him supplies of grain for his troops.

1 page 4to in French, Thomar [Tomar, Portugal], 2 February 1811. £950

A letter from the end of Ney’s time in the Peninsula. The war in Spain was undoubtedly one of Napoleon’s greatest mistakes, as he later acknowledged himself. A difficult situation, fighting on a terrain which did not lend itself to the French army’s usual *modus operandi* was made considerably worse by the squabbling of several marshals, notably Ney, Massena and Soult.

Ney, having quarrelled with Soult, briefly returned to France, but was sent back to Spain, under Massena’s command. The two men were temperamentally unsuited to working together, despite Ney’s remarkable support to Massena, during the latter’s retreat from Portugal in March 1811. Ney was finally recalled to France at the end of that month.

Trans: “I am letting you know . . . that the 6th regiment of light infantry yesterday sent . . . twenty quintains of corn for the troops of your division. I am enclosing with my letter a bond for thirty nine quintains of corn flour which the 76th regiment is also putting at your disposal; I would ask you to give orders that these should be delivered to you, and to notify me when you have received them. The 39th and 69th will not delay to let us know what they can do for your troops.”

Ney’s correspondent, General Loison, was already a veteran of the conflict in the Peninsula, having been among those repatriated to France after the Convention of Cintra. He subsequently returned to Spain where he took part in the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida.
66. BERESFORD, Sir John Poo (1766-1844). Naval officer; brother of William Carr Beresford.

Autograph Letter Signed (“JP Beresford”) to “My dear Croker!” [John Wilson Croker, Secretary to the Admiralty], commenting on news of a skirmish near Badajoz and adding that “the noble Lord Cochrane . . . took 15,000£ . . . at Cadiz . . .”

3 pages 4to with integral address leaf with an almost intact red wax seal, Lisbon, 18 February 1811. £425

“You will add to yr. former kindness if you will send the order which you have obtained from their Lordships to pay me as commander in chief which I was in America to my agent Mr. John Atkins, No. 2 Austen Friars in the City. . . . we are all impatient for the arrival of Sir Joseph York. This is the mon[en]t for the reinforce[en]ts to come, I do believe your [friend]d Lord Wellington cou[ld do a great deal if they were now on the spot. Accounts have come from near Badajos of a partial skirmish; we may hourly expect to hear from thence of some attack between the French & Spaniards without the Place . . . My Brother still continues at Chamousca with an excellent division . . . Nothing can excel Lord Wellington’s conduct. He is a surprisingly fine officer.

Sir John Poo Beresford spent the winter of 1810-11 stationed in Lisbon, supporting the army, hence his close observation of Wellington’s command. The following year, he was posted to the coast of America, where he served for two years in the war against the States.

His brother, Sir William Beresford, who had achieved remarkable results with the Portuguese troops under his command, was soon to march towards Badajoz, where he laid siege to the city. Reports of the approach of French reinforcements caused him to lift the siege, and soon thereafter he achieved a notable victory against the French at Albuera.

The reference to Lord Cochrane in the postscript of the letter to Croker is interesting. There was a great antipathy between the sober Croker and the more turbulent Cochrane. The question of prize money was, of course, of great importance to all sailors at the time, but perhaps even more so to Cochrane, always aware of his own father’s financial difficulties.

The last page of the letter has been somewhat torn at the folds, probably when the letter was opened, but it remains in clear and legible condition throughout.
67. BERTHIER, Louis Alexandre, Prince of Wagram and Neuchatel (1753-1815).
Letter Signed (‘alexander’) an order to M. de Septeuil to remain on the staff of the duc d’Istrie [Marshal Bessières].
1 page 4to with integral blank leaf, Paris, 26 March 1811. £695

Trans: “Monsieur de Septeuil is ordered to remain with the military staff of the Marshal Duc d’Istrie until he receives orders to the contrary. M. de Septeuil will make himself as useful as possible to the Duc d’Istrie . . . he will send me details twice weekly of what he is doing.”

M. de Septeuil, who had been on Berthier’s staff, was sent to Spain as a result of a direct order from Napoleon. Septeuil, a rather dashing young officer, was the lover of one of Pauline Bonaparte’s ladies in waiting and later, it is suspected, of Pauline herself. Napoleon ordered that he be sent away from Paris “where he was losing the good habits” formed while on campaign. Once on Bessière’s staff, Septeuil went with him to Fuentes de Onoro, where his horse was shot from under him and Septeuil himself lost a leg.

It was not unlike Napoleon to take a keen interest in the morals of those around him; Pauline proved particularly difficult in this respect. Septeuil’s fate was tied up with that of another of Pauline’s lovers, M. de Canouville, who had incurred the Emperor’s displeasure when seen wearing furs which Napoleon had given to his sister. Canouville suffered a harsher fate than Septeuil. He was sent east, and died during the disastrous Russian campaign.

The document is somewhat crumpled and slightly browned at the edges, with remains of mounting to the verso of the blank leaf, but remains in perfectly clear and legible condition.

68. BEAUHARNAIS, Eugene de (1781-1824). Viceroy of Italy and stepson of Napoleon I.
Letter Signed (‘Eugene Napoleon’) to “Monsieur le Ministre des Cultes” [Bigot de Préameneu], listing the Italian bishops who were on their way to Paris, and those who had begged to be excused because of their “age or their infirmities”.
2 pages 4to in French, Cherbourg, 27 May 1811. £1250

Trans: “I fear that I cannot yet entirely satisfy the demands you have made in your letter of the 16th inst. Here is the list of the Bishops of the Kingdom of Italy who I know at the moment to be on their way to Paris. They
are – the Archbishop of Ravenna and Udine, the Bishops of Padua, Como, Bergamo, Pavia, Chioggia, Crema, Vigezza, Brescia, Forlì, Adria, Trento, Rimini, Feltrì, Comacchio, Verona, Cervia, Sarsina and Treviso, in all 20, and the Patriarch of Venice, 21.

The Bishops who, because of their great age or their infirmities, have requested to be excused from attending are – the Archbishop of Urbino, the Archbishop of Ferrara, the Bishop of Novara, Modena, Lodi, Reggio, Concordia, Carpi and Ceneda, in all 9. I do not know if there will be any further requests for exemption. Nor do I know if requests of this sort will be accepted in part or in their entirety by His Majesty, to whom I had the honour to present them . . .

As to the confidential notes which you requested regarding the character and the principles of each of the Bishops who will attend, I will deal with that and I will have them sent to you . . ."

The perfect organization of the great ceremonial events of his reign were of paramount importance to Napoleon, who was well aware of their impact on his image. The effort required in organizing such events put enormous pressure on all those involved, as can be seen here. As Viceroy of Italy, Eugene was evidently expected to know which Italian bishops would be attending.

In July 1801, Napoleon had signed the Concordat with Pope Pius VII, re-establishing, to some extent, the position of the Catholic Church in France following the vehement anti-clericalism of the Revolutionary period. In 1804, the Ministry of Cults was established. Its primary function was to ensure that the Concordat was observed, and that the laws which had come into force as a result of the agreement were obeyed.
69. NAPOLEON I (1769-1821).

Document Signed ("Napole"), elevating Twent de Rosemberg, born in Delft on 5 February 1745, and formerly a minister in Holland, to the rank of Count of the Empire.
1 page large oblong folio on vellum, c. 44 x 59 cms, engraved and completed in manuscript, with de Rosemberg’s new coat of arms in silver, red and blue at the top left. The complete Great Seal of Napoleon I, c. 12 cms in diameter, a clear impression in red wax, showing the Emperor enthroned, is attached to the lower left with the original yellow and purple silk ribbons; the verso, not visible due to the framing, shows the imperial coat of arms.
An annotation at the lower left, signed by the Archchancellor of the Empire, Jean Jacques Cambacères, states that the Great Seal was attached to the document on 28 June.

St. Cloud, 13 June 1811.

A magnificent document. Napoleon’s titles, as Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine and Mediator of the Swiss Confederation are engraved at the head of the document, the “N” of Napoleon being formed by an eagle, leaning to the right.

It is interesting to find Napoleon conferring this honour on a Dutch minister at this period. Tensions between the Emperor and his younger brother Louis, who he had made King of Holland in 1806, were at their worst. From the first, Louis was dangerously independent in seeking to defend the interests of his new kingdom, even if it meant going against the wishes of his more powerful brother.

The continental blockade was one source of friction for a country which depended so much on trade, including trade with Britain. The conscription of Dutch soldiers to fight for France was another, as was the imposition of taxes which would benefit the Empire rather than Holland.

Louis had surrounded himself with capable Dutch ministers from the outset of his reign, one of these being Twent de Rosemberg, Minister of the Watterstadt. But in Napoleon’s view, Louis exceeded his authority when, two years into his reign, he attempted to confer titles on some of his deserving subjects. That privilege belonged to the Emperor, and not to a mere king of one of his dependent kingdoms.

Louis travelled, rather unwillingly, to Paris in December 1809 when Napoleon gathered together the sovereigns of all the kingdoms under French protection, or perhaps more correctly, control. By then, Louis had angered Napoleon to such an extent that he found himself a virtual prisoner in Paris and relations became impossible.

Napoleon ordered French troops into Holland early the following year. Louis formally abdicated on 1 July 1810; ten days later, Holland was annexed to the French Empire. With Holland now firmly under his control, Napoleon was to award titles to those who had served the state faithfully, including the minister, Twent de Rosemberg.

The document has been sympathetically framed in a black and gold frame with a blue-grey mount, and the original metal cylinder with attached skippet are separately included.
70. [WARSAW REGIMENT]

Autograph Letter Signed ("Coihorles") to "Monseigneur", requesting four months' leave for Lt-Major Kriyzanowski so that he may return home to deal with his affairs at home, which is "under the domination of H.M. the Emperor of Russia".
2 pages folio in French with integral blank leaf, Grenada, 5 August 1811. £425

Trans: "Monsieur Kriyzanowski . . . 9th Regiment of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw left his home to serve under the victorious flags of H.M. Emperor Napoleon the Great and he has served . . . for three and a half years with great zeal and distinction. His parents and his fortune are under the domination of H.M. the Emperor of Russia. This government has demanded his presence under pain of confiscation of that fortune the Prince Kourakin Ambassador in Paris . . . This officer ardently desires to continue his military career in the Regiment which I have the honour to command but as his affairs require his presence I beg Your Excellency to allow him leave for four months . . . after which he will be able to rejoin his Regiment . . ."

Many Poles, who had seen their country divided between Russia, Austria and Prussia, viewed Napoleon as the potential restorer of their nation. In fact, Napoleon would not sacrifice French interests to ensure a restoration of the Polish state, but the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, established by the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 (at which Prince Kourakin had been one of the negotiators), went some way to giving Poles hope and an attachment to the French cause which saw many excellent Polish officers join the French army. From the Crawford collection.

71. [PENINSULAR WAR MEDICINE]

Manuscript Document Signed ("Martinez D.M."), declaring that M. Quesnel, adjutant commander of the Imperial Guard, requires a change of climate to recover from a fever.
Half page folio in French with integral blank leaf, Valladolid, 15 November 1811. £225

Trans: "I the undersigned, Doctor in Medicine and Professor at the University of this city, certify that Monsieur Quesnel adjutant commandant of the Imperial Guard has been affected for nearly two months with an intermittent pernicious fever, whose several recurrences have reduced him to such a state of weakness that in order to obtain a complete recovery it is absolutely necessary that he have a change of climate and breathe his native air."

Quesnel’s “native air” was in Paris, where he
was born some forty years earlier. He was briefly an actor before joining the army where he served in Spain under Soult and, presumably having recovered his health, he fought in Russia the following year. He was taken prisoner, and remained there until he was liberated at Napoleon’s first abdication in 1814. It seems possible that the intermittent pernicious fever may have been a form of malaria. Among the casualties of war, one generally thinks of those killed or wounded in battle, but disease accounted for considerable mortality and incapacity among the forces. Conditions in the Peninsula proved insalubrious for both the French and the English, weakened by exhaustion and lack of proper nourishment.

The last two lines of the document have been underlined in red biro. From the Crawford collection.

72. [ARMY OF PORTUGAL]

document Signed (“Cazalrey”), a certificate attesting that Cazalrey, as surgeon, had examined Francois Perathon, Captain of the 2nd company of carabiniers of the 2nd Battalion of the 25th Regiment of Light Infantry, who, having suffered four serious wounds and weakened by a persistent fever is unfit for military duties and requires time to regain his health “if possible”. 1 page small folio in French, partly printed and completed in manuscript, on letterhead of Army of Portugal, with an attractive vignette of an eagle and crown. Bayonne, 12 December 1811. Together with a “Certificat de Contre-Visite”, a similar, partly printed form, completed by Dr. Bardol, head surgeon at the military hospital at Bayonne, who has examined Perathon and come to similar conclusions. Bayonne, 12 December 1811.

Captain Perathon is described as being 41 years of age and having 20 years and two months service. Although we do not know when Perathon received his wounds, the Army of Portugal, in 1811 under the leadership of Marmont, had taken part in the relief of Badajoz in June of that year.

We have, however, been able to discover that Perathon evidently recovered for his wounds, retiring from the army with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel after 49 years of service. From the Crawford collection.
73. BERTHIER, Louis Alexandre, Prince of Wagram and Neuchatel (1753-1815).


1½ pages 4to in French with integral blank leaf, Paris, 14 April 1812.

£425

“I am sending you . . . the decree . . . naming you General in Chief . . . replacing General Dorsenne who has been recalled to France. I am asking General Dorsenne to bring you up to date before his departure . . . I am informing the King [Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain] the Duke of Ragusa [Marmont], the Duke of Albufera [Suchet] and the Duke of Dalmatia [Soult] of the arrangements set out in the Emperor’s decree . . .”

Berthier adds: “The Emperor ... believes that your headquarters would be better placed at Vitoria [sic] than at Burgos.”

Berthier, one of the most devoted of Napoleon’s marshals, had been major-general of the Grande Armée since January 1812. The war in Spain had troubled him from the outset; as early as 1807 he had advised Napoleon that the key to success in the Peninsula lay in the effective provision of supplies for the army – a lesson which Wellington quickly grasped and the French failed to comprehend, to their cost. His attention was soon to be directed to the immense logistical problems of mounting the assault on Russia.

General Caffarelli, who was awarded the Legion of Honour after Austerlitz, was was among the men who successfully resisted Wellington at Burgos in November of this year.

74. MARCHENA, Jose (1768-1821). Spanish writer, translator, journalist; served under Joseph Bonaparte.


3¼ pages 8vo in French, Madrid, 16 May 1812.

£495

Trans: “I hear every day that the Emperor gives you further marks of his esteem, and I am angry because these well-deserved rewards rob me daily of the hope of seeing you again . . . When I dream . . . I do not fail to call you into my kingdom with General Dessolle . . . If you are curious to know news of this country, I will tell you that there is none; everything is as it was. Theologians say that the greatest miracle . . . is the sacrament of the Eucharist, which is no less [a miracle] than the presence of a few Spaniards in the cities. It is true that people there die of hunger by their tens and by their thousands, but we are not yet reduced to savages . . . In these circumstances, they have named
me head of the section of agriculture, manufacturing and commerce at the ministry of the interior, and all I can relate is about these three things, a tale which can be impartial, as none of these is a living person... Know, sir, that there is no one in Spain who... loves you as well as I..."

Marchena, a firm supporter of the French Revolution, had fled to France in 1792. He did not return to Spain until 1808, as secretary to Murat, and remained to serve in Joseph Bonaparte's administration. As well as working at the Ministry of the Interior, Marchena was also chief archivist. Earlier in his career, he had been exposed as the forger of some erotic verses allegedly by Catullus, but the episode appears to have taught him a lesson and by the time of this appointment he was a thoroughly reformed character.

As an afrancesado, who saw French rule as a liberating influence, dragging Spain from the suffocating influence of the conservative monarchy and church, he was forced into exile in France once again at the end of the Peninsular War. He is noted as the translator of two of the great figures of the Enlightenment, Voltaire and Rousseau, into Spanish.

General Dessolle, mentioned here, had served in Spain from 1809, where he presumably met Marchena. He returned to Paris in 1811, and later served on the Russian campaign.

Remains of guard to the verso of the final leaf. From the Crawford collection.

Autograph Letter Signed ("Robt Calder") to "My dear Bickerton" [Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton], asking him to allow Captain Smith of the Orestes to visit Southampton for three days.
1 page 4to with integral address leaf, Plymouth, 30 May 1812. £350

“This will be delivered to you by Captain Smith of the Orestes, one of my Couriers, whose Father lives at Southampton and I will thank you to let him go there for three days when he will return to Plymouth – he is a very steady young man...”

Admiral Sir Robert Calder had been present at the battle of Cape St. Vincent, and was well thought of by his colleagues. This changed after his
failure to pursue the French Admiral Villeneuve at the indecisive battle of Cape Finisterre in July 1805, and Calder returned to England to face a court martial. He was reprimanded for not pursuing the action, but cleared of cowardice. Calder did not see active service again; in 1810 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief at Plymouth.

In fact, it was the engagement at Cape Finisterre which caused Villeneuve to sail not to Brest, as he should have done had Napoleon’s plan for the invasion of England been put into action, but towards Cadiz. Three months after the battle of Cape Finisterre, Villeneuve confronted Nelson at Trafalgar and French plans for the invasion of England were abandoned. Nelson is reputed to have said, as the battle of Trafalgar commenced, “What would poor Calder give to be with us now.”

Smolensk, together with many of his most experienced generals and marshals, including Ney and Murat as well as Eugene de Beauharnais, also embarked on the Russian campaign. Meanwhile, Soult, Jourdan and Marmont were occupied in Spain, Lannes was dead and Massena had been relegated to a command in Marseille. The situation with the officers and the troops was not dissimilar, and we therefore find an experienced, but ageing, commander placed in charge of an important site.

76. CLARKE, Henri Jacques Guillaume, Duc de Feltre (1765-1818).
Letter Signed (“Duc de Feltre”) as Minister of War, ordering General Seroux to go to Magdeburg to take command of the artillery.
1 page folio in French with integral blank leaf, Paris, 22 August 1812. £550

Trans: “General, you will depart upon receipt of this order, and go to Magdeburg. There you will take command of the artillery and you will adhere to the instructions which had been given to General Bourgeat whom you will replace and who has received a new posting.

You will inform me of your arrival at Magdeburg and of the hand-over of the command which has been entrusted to you.”

A note below, in another hand, rather confusingly states that payment for the expenses was made in 1813.

The appointment of the 70-year-old General Seroux de Fay to this post is a reminder of the very over-stretched resources of the Grande Armée at the time. Napoleon himself was in
77. JUNOT, Jean-Androche, duc d’Abrantes (1771-1813). French General.
Autograph Letter, unsigned, to his wife Laure, telling her that “we have just had a great battle” and that he is well.
1 page 8vo in French, “sur le champ de bataille” [“on the battlefield”, i.e., Borodino], 7 September n.y. [1812].

A short, but compelling letter, written at the end of one of the bloodiest battles in history. In the annals of the Napoleonic wars, a few battles stand out as decisive – Austerlitz, Borodino, Leipzig and Waterloo on land and Trafalgar at sea.

In War and Peace, Tolstoy described the result of the battle as a Russian victory, not one that relied on captured flags, nor the ground occupied by troops, but “a moral victory which demonstrates to the enemy his own weakness.”

Trans: “My dear Laure, we have just had a great battle[.] I lost a great many men[,] Lagrave has been killed. I am well. I can only tell you this[,] Adieu[,] Be calm. The enemy was crushed on all sides. Your friend kisses you and the children. Pass this news to my family.”

Junot had a chequered career, endlessly hoping to receive the marshal’s baton, and always disappointed either because of his undiplomatic character, his erratic behaviour or his siding with those out of favour with Napoleon, notably Madame Récamier. His recurring lack of success on the battlefield, starting with his ignominious return from Portugal in 1808, made his promotion unlikely to say the least.

In spite of this, when Napoleon set out for Russia, Junot was given command of the VIII Corps of the Grande Armée. But on 19 August, at Valutino, Junot proved indecisive, failed to advance soon enough, and robbed the French of a decisive victory over the Russians, a victory which might well have changed the course of what was to come. The Emperor’s displeasure was made abundantly clear.

Weeks later, the two armies met again, on the bloodiest day of the Napoleonic wars. The battle, which had started at six in the morning, ended as Kutuzov withdrew his forces at nightfall. The Russians had left the field, but Napoleon had not won the decisive victory he sought and needed.

Lagrave, who is mentioned here, had served as Junot’s aide de camp in the Peninsula, and was well liked by Junot’s wife, Laure. Laure d’Abrantes’ memoirs are as famous as they are biased. On the verso of Junot’s letters are a few lines in her hand, which may well be notes for a footnote in those memoirs, [trans] “[1] M. de Geouffre my brother in law, husband of my sister – he did not like him, did not esteem him and unfortunately he was right – he was angry that I had taken him with me to Aix where that year the entire imperial family was to be found.” It is possible that this note was written immediately Laure had received her husband’s letter, as she was, at the time, in Aix with several members of the imperial family, including Madame Mère and Pauline.

The letter has some slight staining, and tape repairs and guard have been removed.
78. NEY, Michel, Duc d’Elchingen and Prince de la Moskova (1769-1815).
Letter Signed (“Le Mal duc d’Elchingen Poe de la Moskowa”) to the Finance Minister, the Duc de Gaète, requesting a position of Inspector for M. Esmenard, formerly on his general staff.
1½ pages folio in French with integral blank leaf, Erfurt, 23 April 1813. £725
Trans: “I have received the letter which you did me the honour to write to me on 16 March, regarding the request for a position of Inspector in the droits réunis [part of the tax department] which I requested for M. Esmenard, formerly one of my staff officers. Although I do not know how strictly the rules of advancement which Your Excellency mentions must be followed, I wish that the distinguished services given before me, and his obvious talents deserve that an exception be made in favour of the person who I am again recommending. I thought that the intervention of the Minister of Police [Savary] would give an official tenor to my proposition, and the Duc de Rovigo hastened to write to M. le Comte Français on this subject. And so . . . I continue to hope that you will be able to remove the obstacles which delay the nomination of M. Esmenard . . .”
Months earlier, Ney had been embraced by Napoleon as the hero of the retreat from Moscow, and given the title of Prince de la Moskova; some months later, in September, he would be severely criticized by Napoleon for his defeat at Dennewitz, a defeat which would soon be eclipsed by the disaster of Leipzig. It is remarkable that Ney appears to have been unaware of the events which had overtaken M. Esmenard. Esmenard had indeed served on Ney’s staff in the Peninsula, at which time Ney sent him to Paris on a special mission. Upon his arrival in Paris, in 1810, Esmenard was imprisoned. The precise charge has never been clearly explained, but it was generally suspected to involve a Royalist plot. Esmenard remained in prison until Napoleon’s first abdication in 1814, which leads one to suspect that Savary’s support of this application for the post of Inspector was intended to mislead Ney into believing that matters had been resolved.

Autograph Letter Signed (“Pauline”) to her uncle, Cardinal Fesch, announcing her imminent arrival in Lyon after an exhausting journey.
1 page 8vo in French with integral blank leaf, Macon, Saturday 15 May n.y. [but most likely 1813]. £695

Trans: “Finally my dear uncle after much fatigue I arrive tomorrow in Lyon at five o’clock[,] My journey was longer than I anticipated, the bad weather and bad roads delayed me and I was forced to stop at some bad inns. I beg you my dear uncle not to interrupt your slumbers. I will go to bed when I arrive. I would like, dear uncle, to have a bath in my apartment. I will have much pleasure in seeing you again after such a long absence, which caused me such heartache.”

There are only two possible years in which the 15th of May fell on a Saturday, 1813 or 1819. It seems rather more likely that this letter was written in 1813, as Cardinal Fesch had left Lyon definitively for Rome after 1815.

In spite of her extravagance and her many affairs, Pauline was undoubtedly the most loyal of Napoleon’s siblings; she shared his exile on Elba, made endless attempts to be allowed to share his exile on St. Helena and gave him the Borghese diamonds to help pay for his final campaign. Her time on Saint-Domingue cost her her health and her first husband, who died of yellow fever. One surmises that her complaints about the bad roads and bad inns came from a combination of delicate health – she frequently had to be carried from place to place – and a desire for greater luxury than was available.

Her uncle, Cardinal Fesch, half-brother of her mother Laetitia, was appointed archbishop of Lyon in 1801 by the First Consul. His position was frequently a difficult one, caught between conflicting loyalties to the Emperor and the Pope. In 1809, Napoleon appointed him archbishop of Paris, which would place him at the head of the Church in France, but Fesch declined the honour and remained in Lyon. A collector of some discernment, he left many of his pictures and his treasure to the city at his death.
NAPOLEON, par la grâce de Dieu, EMPEREUR DES FRANÇAIS, ROI d’ITALIE, PROTECTOR DE LA CONFÉDÉRATION DU RHIN, MÉDÉTATEUR DE LA CONFÉDÉRATION SUISSE, &c. &c. &c., à tous ceux qui présentent les présentes lettres reçoivent, salut.

Valentin Gilsa, Comte de Ligne, se réclame généralement en son nom.

Nous avons fait exposer les dispositions et les ordres qui le portent à veiller sur un service de

et nous avons résolu d’en faire appeler de lui accréditer notre autorité pour cet effet, nous avons bien voulu entendre à sa demande.

En conséquence, sur le rapport de notre Grand-Juge Ministre de la paix, nous avons accordé et par ces présentes accordons à M. Valentin Gilsa

Comte de Ligne,

la permission d’exécuter au nom de

ne les conditions stipulées au titre IV de notre décret impérial du 26 août 1814, en spécifiant de ressortis ici nous le cependant, soit par une disposition

générale, soit par un ordre d’arrêté, c’est-à-dire de se préier réunir à

la Cour de la ville de

et de suivre les dispositions qui lui seront communiquées.

En cas de non-respect, ou de non-observation de ces ordres, il pourra être soumis à une amende de

Le présent décret sera inscrit au bulletin des lettres et enregistré à notre Cour impériale, le dernier jour de chaque mois.

Done en notre Palais impérial à

Vive par nos Archichancelier de l’Empire,

Délibéré par nous,

Grand-Juge Ministre de la Paix.

Par l’Empereur Napoléon.

Le Ministre d’État Sédée de la Couronne.
80. MARIE LOUISE (1791-1847). Empress of the French; second wife of Napoleon I.

Document Signed (“Marie Louise”) as Regent, confirming the continuation of service of Valentin Salha as Minister of War to the King of Westphalia [Napoleon’s younger brother Jerome], under the same conditions as the Imperial Decree of 26 August 1811, namely, that he should return to France immediately if recalled, and never bear arms against the Emperor should conflict erupt between France and the King of Westphalia.

Countersigned by the Minister of Justice, the Duc de Massa and by the Minister of State for the Regency, the Duc de Cadore.

I page partly printed large oblong folio, 44 x 58 cms in French on vellum, St. Cloud, 10 August 1813. £995

Napoleon invested his wife with the Regency on 30 March 1813, before departing for what was to be one of his most ill-fated campaigns, culminating at Leipzig in October. The appointment of Marie Louise as Regent may well have been prompted at least in part by a concern to ensure the succession of their young son, should anything happen to him. Though the Empress was only 21 at the time, her upbringing at the Hapsburg court would have left her well equipped to deal with routine matters.

Valentin Salha, described here as being from Bardos (near Bayonne), had enjoyed a career in the French navy before his appointment as aide de camp to Jerome Bonaparte in Westphalia. In 1810, he became Minister of War for the Kingdom. The appointment was to come to an untimely end in October. Jerome Bonaparte, who had already behaved disgracefully during the Russian campaign, fled his kingdom at the news of the disastrous defeat at Leipzig to take refuge in France.

It is unusual to find documents signed by Marie Louise as Regent, and this is a particularly attractive example.


Autograph Letter Signed (“W. Garrow”) to “Dear Madam” [Mrs. Leyson], responding to her enquiry about the health of “poor little Samuel” and commenting that “The Park Guns are now firing for Peace with Denmark”.

1½ pages 4to, Great George Street, 25 January 1814. £495

“I have forwarded yours to Miss Leyson just received – I am much obliged by your kind enquiries and good wishes - when I left Pegwell this day week poor little Samuel was somewhat better but he is most amazingly reduced and if it shall please God to spare him to us it will be very long before he recovers himself – My Daughter writes daily without fail but today I have no letter – the snow in some parts of the Road from Canterbury is 16 feet deep in the roads and quite impassable for carriages – such a Season has not been known in the Isle of Thanet for 30 years. . . The Park Guns are now firing for Peace with Denmark.”

Garrow, who achieved renown while still a young man as an outstanding barrister, entered Parliament in 1805 and was appointed Attorney General in 1813. He made important contributions to the development of the advocacy system and introduced the phrase “innocent until proven guilty.” At one time a friend of Charles James Fox, he later aligned himself with Burke and Pitt.

Denmark had been in a state of war with Britain since the bombing of Copenhagen in 1807. The Treaty of Kiel, signed in January 1814, brought peace, but with terms severely unfavourable to Denmark, which was staunchly pro-French throughout the wars.
82. NAPOLEON I (1769-1821). and BERTHIER, Louis Alexandre, Prince of Wagram and Neuchatel (1753-1815).

Letter Signed (“alexandre”) from Berthier to Napoleon, advising him of troop movements he has ordered, in accordance with the Emperor’s instructions.
With an unsigned two-line reply in Napoleon’s hand at the bottom.
1 page 4to in French, Plancy, 20 March 1814. £4950

Trans: “. . . in accordance with [Your Majesty’s] intentions, I have ordered . . . Commander at Meaux to send yesterday, 19 March, from that place, the convoy of 100 wagons of artillery from Paris . . .” and stating that, having spent the night at La-Ferte-sous-Jouarre, it should arrive that day at Montmirail.

At the bottom of the letter, Napoleon has scrawled “les diriger sur Sezanne et Arcis sur Aube” (“send them towards Sezanne and Arcis sur Aube”). The message, very likely dashed off on the battlefield and left uninitialled and unsigned, betrays the tension of the circumstances.

Napoleon’s hasty message at the end of the letter was written at a desperate moment. During the previous fortnight, Reims had been taken by the Allies, retaken by the French, and had seen the return of the Allies; Louis XVIII had been proclaimed king in Bordeaux, where his nephew, the duc d’Angoulême had arrived; the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia were in Troyes; the Comte d’Artois was in Nancy, and on the day Berthier wrote and Napoleon sent his reply, the battle of Arcis-sur-Aube took place, at which the Emperor had his horse shot from under him.

The battle continued the following day, and however gallantly the French fought, their forces were vastly outnumbered by Schwarzenberg’s Austrian troops. The fact that the French withdrew in good order and avoided being destroyed by the Austrians was in itself a victory of sorts, but was small comfort. Napoleon would fight another battle, six days later at Saint-Dizier – a day which also saw battle at Sezanne, and on the following day another combat at Meaux – but his provisional abdication in favour of his son, which came on 4 April, was now inevitable.
Napoleon à Alexandre - Berlin
Étampes le 1er mars 1814

Votre Majesté,

J'ai l'honneur de vous présenter mes respects et de vous informer que j'ai ordonné au général D'Elague, commandant à Meaux, de faire partir de onze heures, le 19, une flotte de 1500 hommes d'artillerie, devant de Paris, commandée par

- Le 6e bataillon de 8e régiment de ligne
- Le 3e bataillon de 4e régiment de ligne
- Le 1er bataillon de 5e régiment de ligne
- Le 3e bataillon de 6e régiment de ligne
- Le 2e bataillon de 7e régiment de ligne

Cette flotte a de la poudre lourde à la pointe de son canon et doit arriver aujourd'hui à Montmartre.

Ses armes sont emblématiques, major général

D'Elague

Etampes le 1er mars 1814
Document setting out the final agreements relating to Article 8 of the Armistice of 23 April, as agreed between the King of Prussia, the King of France [Louis XVIII], finalising the details for the execution of Article eight of the Armistice Treaty.

15 pages folio in French, Paris, 28 May 1814. £1750

Two days before the signing of the Treaty of Paris, the military authorities of the allies and the King of France continued to work on the details of the Armistice which had been signed the previous month. In this document, we find the final details respecting article eight of the armistice treaty.

This working document, naming the Baron de Bulow as representative for the King of Prussia and Generals Dulauloy, Doumerc, Charpentier, Michaux and Baron Marchant and chevalier Sartelon as representatives for the King of France, also specifies the representatives for Russia and Austria in the margin of the first page, in both cases headed by Baron de Bulow.
Article eight, the final article of the treaty for the capitulation of Paris, stated that “The city of Paris is entrusted to the generosity of the Allied powers.”

The terms of the armistice as a whole were not unduly punitive to Paris. Indeed, it was generally considered that there was an element of civil war, between the Bourbons and Napoleon, and in that sense Paris was being “liberated”. The agreements made here are based on that principle, the first article stipulating that, as requisition of food and drink would now cease, the French government (i.e, the Royalists) would supply these to the occupying troops, to be purchased at an agreed tariff.

Further details deal with the sick and wounded soldiers, making provision for their care, housing of doctors and surgeons, the supply of medicines and food, etc. It is further set down that all the Allied powers will arrange the repatriation of French prisoners, and give them adequate care until their return.

The last articles of the agreement are left entirely to financial matters, as the French government was to pay the Allies the sum of twenty-five million francs, specifically “in metal” (i.e., coinage) and under no circumstances would paper money be accepted. The value, or lack of value, of paper currency at times of uncertainty was well known, but circumstances would, in any case, change dramatically before the payments could be made. The first payment of one million francs was due in December 1814. The balance was to be paid in tranches of two million francs in monthly installments, ending in December 1815.
84. MONTMORENCY, Mathieu duc de (1766-1826). French Politician.

Autograph Letter Signed (“Mathieu de Montmorency”) to the Duchess of Devonshire, assuring her of his regard and hoping to see her soon in France “where we are no longer exiles.”

2 pages 8vo in French, Paris, 7 June 1814. £325

Trans: “I could not resist . . . taking advantage of the re-establishment of our communications to send you my faithful regards, and to give great pleasure to he who carries them to you . . . who is going to see your lovely and triumphant England . . . he will tell you something about our happiness, one could say, of our miracles, in which you rejoiced on our behalf. He will bring you the tributes . . . from my cousin Adrien and from Camille Jordan, and from all our friends. We are sometimes told you will pay us a visit . . . where we are no longer exiles – receive as well all the assurance of our affection and also to Lady Besborough and to all those who are kind enough to remember us . . .”

The duc de Montmorency had fought in America alongside Lafayette, and when the revolution broke out in France he allied himself with those in favour of a constitutional monarchy. But the storming of the Tuileries and the imprisonment of the King and Queen sent him quickly into exile in Switzerland, at Coppet, the home of his friend Madame de Staël. He devoted himself to good works and after his return to France at the restoration he surprised many by his allegiance to the ultra-conservative Comte d’Artois. During his exile he had, inevitably, met and befriended the francophile Duchess(es) of Devonshire, first Georgiana and later Elizabeth, née Foster.

After Waterloo, Montmorency was on the jury at the trial of Marshal Ney. To his eternal credit, he, together with Albertine de Staël’s husband, the duc de Broglie, voted against the death penalty.


Autograph Letter, at the end of an Autograph Letter Signed by her daughter, Albertine de Staël, requesting that the Duchess [of Devonshire] ask Lady Melbourne to intercede in reconciling her to Lady Cowper.

In all, 2½ pages 8vo in French, n.p. [Paris], 14 July 1814. £1200

Trans: “Do me the favour, dear duchess, of reconciling me with Lady Cooper [Lady Cowper, sister of Lord Melbourne] through Lady Melbourne. I have been told that she believes Lady Caroline [Lamb, wife of Lord Melbourne] has given me offense. My God all these vexations displease me – there is only you, my lady, who only does good and gives pleasure. I will come back to see you sooner than I had intended – I do not wish to miss a word of yours. My respectful tender regards to Lady Besborough [sic] [sister of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire and mother of Lady Caroline Lamb]. I can assure you that everything Lady Caroline said is pure imagination – but Mr. Evrard has attached great importance to it.”

Albertine de Staël’s letter, [trans]: “My mother is at this moment getting into the coach Madame la Duchesse and she asks me to tell you that she has not received the address which you mention in your letter . . . We are leaving for Coppet, have we no hope of seeing you in Switzerland or here? . . . I find Paris very amusing but I think of England all the time, I ask everyone not to forget me. I am counting most of all on Frederic Foster to remember me. I ask Madame Caroline to think of me and to speak of me to you now and again. . .”
The two letters present a splendid tangle of friendships between francophile British and anglophile French society figures.

Madame de Staël, daughter of Louis XVI's Swiss finance minister, Necker, was a fierce opponent of Napoleon, and spent much of his reign in exile, partly at her Swiss residence, Coppet. She was eventually kept under strict surveillance there, but made a dramatic escape, travelling via Vienna to Moscow, St. Petersburg and Stockholm to find refuge in London. It must be said that Napoleon, who notoriously disliked blue-stockings – and Madame de Staël was a leading example of the type – would probably have disliked her, even had she expressed approval of him. At the time of writing, she was living happily once again in Paris, with her fiercest enemy in exile on Elba.

Madame de Staël loved and admired England, as did her daughter Albertine, who was to marry the duc de Broglie. Among their friends and acquaintances in England were the francophile Devonshire set. The two most prominent leaders of this group, Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire and Charles James Fox, had both died in 1806. The Duchess of Devonshire to whom this letter is addressed was the Duke's second wife and Georgiana's close friend, Elizabeth, née Foster. (Frederic Foster, mentioned in Albertine's letter, was Elizabeth's illegitimate son by the Duke, later legally adopted by him.)

It is odd that Mme. de Staël felt the need to be reconciled to Lady Cowper, as the latter had a reputation as one of the gentlest ladies of her day, despite her intense dislike of her sister-in-law, Lady Caroline Lamb. Lady Cowper had enjoyed a long love affair with Lord Palmerston, whom she married after her husband's death. They were said to have remained as devoted as young lovers to the end of their lives. The dubious paternity of at least two of the ladies involved in this correspondence is indicative of the mores of the age. Albertine de Staël was generally believed to have been the daughter of Mme. de Staël's lover, the novelist Benjamin Constant. (It is remarkable that Mme. de Staël, with a reputation as a woman of no particular physical attractions and appalling dress sense seems to have aroused romantic passion in several men.) Lady Cowper’s paternity is indeterminate, the only consensus being that her father was almost certainly not Peniston Lamb, the first Lady Melbourne’s husband.

Together with an Autograph Letter Signed from Albertine after her marriage (“Staël de Broglie”) to an unidentified lady, regarding an invitation.
William, Prince of Orange had served as aide-de-camp to Wellington in the Peninsula and was later aide-de-camp to the Prince Regent, a post perhaps more prestigious socially but rather less demanding militarily. Whilst in the Peninsula, William became acquainted with Lord Fitzroy Somerset, later Lord Raglan, elder brother of Lord John Somerset whose services he requests here.

Less than a year later, William was to command the 1st English Corps at Quatre Bras and, two days later, at Waterloo. He proved brave and popular, but lacking in sound military judgement, much to the disapproval of some of his fellow commanders.

The postscript is particularly interesting. William had been engaged to Princess Charlotte,
only daughter of the Prince Regent and his estranged wife Caroline of Brunswick. Princess Charlotte was deeply unhappy with the proposed match, promoted and arranged by her father, but disapproved of by her mother. When Charlotte broke off the engagement, her furious father ordered her to be kept at Warwick House. The headstrong princess raced from her would-be prison and fled to her mother’s care at Connaught House with the assistance of a passer-by. This extraordinary business – Prince William’s words are well chosen – finally resulted in the end of the engagement. In due course, Charlotte married Leopold of Saxe-Coburg and William married the sister of Alexander I of Russia.


Autograph Letter Signed (“Le Duc D’Havré et de Croý”) to an unidentified official, recommending M. DuPont, a judge from Rouen, for a promotion.

1 page 4to in French, Paris, 7 October 1814. £295

A letter written at the time of the First Restoration, when royalists returned to France, and many unsurprisingly sought to regain their property and further their advancement under the new regime.

Trans: “Allow me to request your favours for M. Du Pont, judge in Rouen, whose request I enclose (not present). . . I have no doubt regarding the principles and conduct of M. du Pont and I know you are acquainted with his merits. He seeks advancement . . . He suffered greatly for the King’s cause which he defended with all his might. He would wish to be decorated with the Legion [of Honour]. I am assured that his greatest recommendation will be his own conduct . . .”

At the restoration in 1814, Louis XVIII reinstated the earlier honours, including the Order of Saint Louis, the precursor to the Legion of Honour which was created by Napoleon in 1802. However, the Legion of Honour was retained alongside this, and remains, to this day, the most distinguished honour awarded by France for exceptional service, be it military or civilian.

Joseph de Croý, duc d’Havré was an ardent royalist who emigrated at the time of the Revolution and spent the years from 1791 up to the restoration in 1814 on various missions, first for Louis XVI and later for Louis XVIII, with disappointing results for his cause.

From the Crawford collection.
88. NAPOLEON I (1769-1821).

Letter Signed (“Napoleon”) to “Monsieur mon frère et tres cher Oncle” [Ferdinand III, Grand Duke of Tuscany and uncle of Marie Louise], asking him to act as conduit to receive news of his wife and son.

1 page 4to in French with integral blank leaf, Porto Ferrajo, 10 October 1814.  £7500

A very unusual letter, allowing a glimpse of Napoleon’s family affections and concern for news of his wife and son.

Trans: “Having received no news of my wife since the 10th of August and nothing of my son for six months, I have given this letter to chevalier Colonna. I beg Your Royal Highness to tell me whether You would allow me to send You a letter for the Empress every week, and to send me in return news of her and letters from Madame the Countess of Montesquiou, governess to my son. I flatter myself that, despite the events which have altered so many people, Your Royal Highness retains feelings of friendship towards me. If You would be willing to assure me of this, I would gain great consolation from this. In this case, I would beg You to look favourably on this little canton [Elba], which shares the sentiments of Tuscany towards Yourself.

Your Royal Highness must not doubt the constancy of the feelings You know I have for You, as well as the esteem and consideration in which I hold You. Give my regards to Your children.”

One cannot help but feel sympathy for the pleading tone of this letter. Napoleon arrived on Elba at the beginning of May, and was joined by Madame Mère in August. Marie Walewska arrived with his illegitimate son, Alexandre, a month later and stayed for five months, and in November his sister Pauline, notorious for her affairs and her extravagance, but loyal to her brother, arrived to share his exile. But Marie Louise, who had already embarked on an affair with Count von Neipperg, wrote to Napoleon to tell him that she had had to return to Vienna. The letter mentioned here, which she wrote on 10 August, was the last he would receive from her.

The marriage between Marie Louise and Napoleon had been a diplomatic arrangement and, for him, the chance to father a legitimate son, so perhaps her lack of devotion to him is understandable. Despite this, she conceded that throughout their marriage, he had always treated her with kindness and respect. Napoleon’s devotion to his son was remarkable for the age, when so many other reigning families openly ignored, if not disliked, their offspring. He was known to play with and spoil his child, taking a fatherly interest in him which is distinctly modern.

Ferdinand III might have been forgiven for not feeling quite as warmly towards Napoleon as this letter might suggest. He had been forced out of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany by Napoleon in 1801, and in due course Napoleon’s sister Elisa became Grand Duchess. Ferdinand became Duke of Salzburg as compensation, but the Treaty of Pressburg in 1805 cost him that, after which he was given the title Grand Duke of Wurzburg. Having been pushed from pillar to post, as it were, by Napoleon’s continual redrawing of the map of Europe, he was only to regain Tuscany after Napoleon’s first abdication.
Mon fils, mon bien-aimé. 

Je vous écris pour vous annoncer que le 8 octobre dernier, j’ai reçu une lettre de la part de messieurs les rois de France et d’Angleterre. Ils hanno bien voulu me faire part de leur intention de vous donner en mariage à leur fille, la princesse de Constance. 

Je vous prie, donc, de bien vouloir me permettre de vous transmettre cette nouvelle. 

Je vous prie de bien vouloir me permettre de vous dire que je suis très heureux de cette nouvelle. 

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Je vous prie de bien vouloir m...
89. GENLIS, Félicité, comtesse de, née Ducrest (1746-1830). Writer, governess to the children of the Duc d’Orléans.  
Autograph Letter Signed (“D. ctesse de Genlis”) to an unidentified gentleman, apologizing for a misunderstanding and making alternative arrangements.  
1 page 8vo in French, n.p., n.d. [but annotated in another hand “Paris Oct. 1814]  
£225

Trans: “I am so sorry . . . about the misunderstanding which deprived me of the honour of seeing you . . . it was only when I saw your card that I realized the mistake. I beg you to make amends, I am out Sunday and Monday, and although I only receive on Saturdays, I would rather not wait until then . . . On Tuesday and Wednesday I will be at home to you Sir at any time . . .”

Madame de Genlis, sometime mistress of the Duc d’Orléans, known as Philippe Egalité, as well as governess to his children, had fled to England to avoid the excesses of the Revolution. Her return to France was welcomed by Napoleon, but by 1814 and the return of the Bourbon monarchy, she was obliged to survive by her pen. It was a remarkably prolific pen, which produced over 80 works, including novels, memoirs and pedagogical treatises.

The letter had been laid down (now removed), resulting in visible glue stains at all four corners, not touching the text.

90. LOUIS XVIII (1755-1824).  
Letter Signed (“Louis”) to the abbé de Montesquiou, minister of the Interior (here “Monsieur le Préfet”), ordering him to issue a call to all “men of goodwill”, see that they are armed and sent to join his forces at Melun.  
1 page folio in French with integral blank leaf, Paris, 11 March 1815.  £1200

A letter written in a state of great alarm, not to say panic, on the part of Louis. The king returned to Paris in May 1814, just a few weeks after Napoleon’s emotional farewell at Fontainebleau. But Napoleon’s return to French shores in March 1815 threw everything into question. His progress through southern France became ever more triumphant, and on 10 March, the day before this letter, Napoleon entered Lyon, which Louis’ brother, the Comte d’Artois, hastily left the same day. A similar scenario was repeated on 20 March, when Napoleon entered Paris, which Louis had equally hastily left that same day.
Trans: “I am sending you this letter to tell you that as the urgency of the situation requires that I assemble an army at Melun, I order you to send out a call in your département to all men of good will who you will arm and send to us, by the swiftest means possible, to the rendez-vous arranged… The welfare of the country depends on the prompt execution of this measure, which, if it is properly carried out, can put up an invincible resistance against the Tyrant who is bringing to France all the misfortunes of civil war and of war with foreign powers…”

Louis’ reference to a “civil war” is interesting, and is still viewed in that light by many in France; the final conflict of the Napoleonic Wars was not simply one of foreign powers against France, but one of the Bourbon monarchy against Napoleon.

91. NEY, Michel, duc d’Elchingen and Prince de la Moskova (1769-1815).
Letter Signed (“Ney”) to the duc d’Otrante [Fouché], Minister of Police, requesting a position for M. Rayot, who has served with him for ten years.
1 page 4to in French with integral blank leaf, Paris, 24 March 1815. £995

Marshal Ney made his decision to give his support to the Emperor only a few days before Napoleon’s entry into Paris on 20 March 1815. Three days later, he was given the task of inspecting the troops on the border, between Lille and Landau. He would almost certainly have been leaving Paris a very short while after writing this letter to Fouché, begging a favour for a loyal colleague.

Trans: “I would like to introduce M. Rayot, who has the honour of being known by you and who has been with me for ten years. I wish to find him an honorable employment which will be suited to his talents and his personal qualities. I would be greatly obliged to you if you would show him the kindness of employing him in a suitable manner, if at all possible, in a good position in your ministry. I would also have given you my verbal recommendation of M. Rayot, in addition to this recommendation, if I were not just about to leave…”

Ney, an honest soldier, threw in his lot with Napoleon out of loyalty and conviction. Fouché, on the other hand, was much more likely to have been swayed by the conviction that Napoleon’s return would be unstoppable and permanent, and therefore chose what he thought would be the winning side. On 15 March, the Comte d’Artois, the future Charles X, had offered Fouché a post in the King’s Household. Fouché declined the honour, and six days later took up once again his old post as Minister of Police. Napoleon, well aware of how useful Fouché could be, but feeling no affection for him, allegedly said that he would only wait until he had won his first victory before sending him to the gallows.
92. GNEISENAU, August Neidhart von (1760-1831). Prussian Field Marshal.

Letter Signed (“Agst v Gneisenau”) to Colonel von Borstel ordering von Borstel to move three battalions of the Middle Rhine landwehr to Neuss.
1 page folio in German, Liége, 20 April 1815.

As the Minister of the Grand Duchy of Berg has reported to Gneisenau that the country is overcrowded with troops, Gneisenau here orders von Borstel to move three battalions to Neuss, where they will remain under his command until Major General von Dobschütz decides under whose command they will come.

A note in the margin passes on the order that the core troops of the Middle Rhine Landwehr should be moved to Neuss.

Gneisenau’s own abilities, and his good working relationship with Blücher, whom he served as chief of staff during the Waterloo campaign, proved crucial to the Allies’ victory. When Blücher was temporarily hors de combat at Ligny, it was Gneisenau who took command of the Prussian army and directed it towards Wavre rather than Namur. As a result, they were in a position to move towards Waterloo to support Wellington in time to ensure the Allied victory. Blücher is undoubtedly the more famous in Britain, partly thanks to the image of his meeting with Wellington at Waterloo, but Gneisenau deserves a large share of the credit for ensuring that the German army was in the right place at the right time.

The document is rather browned and frayed at the left margin, but remains in clear condition.
93. BLÜCHER, Gebhard Leberecht von (1742-1819). Prussian Field Marshal.

Letter Signed (“Blücher”) to Colonel von Borstel in Dusseldorf, asking him to refer three officers to Major General von Dobschütz who will issue them with new orders.

1 page folio in German, Headquarters, Liége, 24 April 1815. £895

Further to Royal orders, Blücher here asks Colonel von Borstel, to send three officers, Captains Winterfeld, Behren and Liebermann to Major General von Dobschütz, who is to give the three men new roles and ranks.

Blücher and Wellington first met socially in Paris in 1814, although their conversation was somewhat hampered by Wellington's lack of German and Blücher’s lack of English. This was not, however, to prove an obstacle to mutual respect. While Wellington had forced the French out of Spain, Blücher had, by this time, already met Napoleon's Grande Armée at Leipzig, where his success had earned him his marshal's baton.

Despite his age – by 1815, he was well into his seventies – Blücher was again called upon when Napoleon returned from Elba. In the spring of 1815, he made his headquarters in the strategically significant city of Liége. It was whilst in Liége, a month after this order, that Blücher was faced with a mutiny after news reached the troops that part of Saxony would be handed over to Prussian control. But Napoleon's arrival soon called his attention to more urgent matters. He was defeated at the battle of Ligny on 16 June, where he had his horse shot from under him, then fall on him, and he was very nearly trampled to death by the Prussian cavalry. Despite this, it was his timely arrival at Waterloo two days later which turned the tide of the battle in the Allies' favour.

Major General von Dobschütz, to whom the officers are being sent, was not present at Leipzig, but earlier in 1813 he had the singular distinction of having taken prisoner Talleyrand's nephew (and husband of Talleyrand's mistress, the Duchesse de Dino) at Mühlberg.

Rather frayed at the top edge, and slight waterstaining at the lower right corner.

Autograph Letter Signed ("Wellington") to the Chancellor of the Exchequer Nicholas Vansittart, assuring him of his assistance.
1 page 4to marked “Private”, Brussels, 9 May 1815. £895

“I have received your letter of the 5th for which I am much obliged to you; and I assure you that I shall be happy to see Mr. Rosenhagen and to assist him by any means in my power in carrying into execution the orders he will have received from Govt. . . ."

Mr. Rosenhagen, a Comptroller of the Army Accounts, had evidently been despatched by Vansittart for financial supervision of sorts. One can only imagine Wellington’s reaction to this distraction at a moment when he faced far greater concerns. The Despatches record ten letters for this date, most of the
others regarding the news that French forces were at Valenciennes and Maubeuge and the rumour that Napoleon had left Paris.

A later letter from the Duke of Wellington indicates that Rosenhagen also brought with him a letter for the Duke from General Dumouriez, the victor of Jemappes who had defected to the Royalist cause. Living in exile in England, Dumouriez was able to give valuable advice to the war office, particularly regarding the area he knew so well in Belgium.

Wellington’s correspondent, Nicholas Vansittart, served as Chancellor of the Exchequer for eleven years, from 1812 to 1823, when he faced the grave financial difficulties of the post-war period.

95. [WELLINGTON, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of (1769-1852)].
Secretarial Letter in his name informing Charles Cunningham that it is impossible for the Duke to intercede for him with Lord Castlereagh.
1 page 4to with integral address leaf and broken black wax seal, Brussels, 26 May 1815. £275

Just three weeks before Waterloo, Wellington was still obliged to deal with the minutiae of personal requests, such as this one, soliciting an unspecified promotion.

“The Duke of Wellington presents his Compliments to Mr. Charles Cunningham he would be very happy to be of Service to him, but he really has it not in his power. It is impossible for him to apply in his favour to Lord Castlereagh [then Foreign Secretary] or any other Minister, if he could apply it would be in favour of one of those officers to whose Services and assistance I have been so much indebted for many years.”

Among Wellington’s secretaries during the Hundred Days, the principal one was Fitzroy Somerset, later Lord Raglan, who was to lose his right arm at Waterloo.
96. NAPOLEON I (1769-1821).

Letter Signed (“Np”) to his Minister of War [Davout], giving detailed instructions concerning the fortification of Vincennes in order to protect Paris.

5 pages 4to in French, the letter bound by green silk ties, Paris, 26 May 1815. £5250

Two months earlier, Napoleon had re-entered Paris in the evening, as Louis XVIII had cautiously departed the city earlier in the day. His physical appearance led some to suspect that he was not altogether well, but this did not diminish his energy in dealing with administrative matters. Decree followed decree, including one abolishing the slave trade, as well as various urgent measures to ensure the country’s defences.

Trans: “On 10 June the artillery will hand over the fortress of Vincennes to the Police. Should the enemy approach, there is nothing to prevent the artillery from taking back the fortress to take advantage of shelter from bombs. I went to Vincennes yesterday. I saw there 120 field guns without gun carriages. Let me know from where we could bring gun carriages... I only found 4 pieces [cannon] of 12 for the defense of Paris, that is very little.

Instead of 300 cannon, I only found 200.

It appears to me that the reserve of equipment for the engineers was small, 20,000 sapper’s tools should be brought from our fortifications, if there are that many.

I found very little ammunition. Instead of 5 million cartridges, there are only 2 million. That place is armed with only 9 pieces of 24, there are, it is true, 20 small Cohorn mortars, but that is not enough. There should be 10, 12-inch gomer mortars at Vincennes to cover the entire plain. If there had been any there, the enemy could not have placed his artillery depot on the plain at Charenton. I also wish there to be a few long-range howitzers. 2 siege towers are
razed and contain pieces of 24. The other 2 should be razed . . . As matters stand, one cannot put any artillery there. Some pieces of 4-length which have been placed in the pillboxes below shake the building whenever they are fired.

I will arrange to have purchased a part of the garden which had been sold, and which it is necessary for us to have back. With the dungeon, there is enough space at Vincennes for 100 thousand guns, without the dungeon there is space for only 70 thousand. Some of the living quarters must be converted into arms stores. We should also set up new racks in the church. There could be 2 or 3 rows of guns, and there is only one.

I think we could put an additional 20 thousand guns in the church. Start work so that we will have space to put 200 thousand guns in that place. The whole of Vincennes must be an artillery factory . . . Have officers from the engineers and artillery corps work on fortifications and armaments. Instead of 24 pieces of cannon of 24-short, we must have longer ones which fire further. I think there should be 24 pieces of 24 at Vincennes, 10 to 12 mortars, 5 to 6 howitzers.

Build a covered path all around the place, except on the side of the town, where it would not be possible, so that there will be space for the troops and even some artillery depots. The central tower, opposite the town, commands [a wide aspect], but it is covered by a roof which must be taken away in case of war; we must put up a vaulted platform to take the cannon which would there command a range as far as the gates of Paris. The role which Vincennes must play in the defence of Paris makes all these alterations necessary.”

Napoleon's unwavering attention to detail can be seen in this letter, where it is obvious that his observations, and the alterations to be made further to those observations, are evident. What is different in this letter is the tone. One quickly senses that the orders are delivered not only at speed, but in haste, albeit without sacrificing accuracy. That sense of urgency was imperative; that same day, the Emperors of Russia, Austria and the King of Prussia left Vienna, to march on France. Napoleon left Paris on 12 June. When he returned to the capital, it would be only to accept the inevitable, and sign his second abdication.
97. JOURDAN, Jean Baptiste (1762-1833). French Marshal.
Letter Signed ("Jourdan") to the Minister of War [Davout], informing him of the goods he has requested from civilian suppliers for army pensioners, as these cannot be obtained from the depleted military stocks.
2½ pages folio in French, Besancon, 12 June 1815. £425
During the Hundred Days, Napoleon appointed Jourdan governor of Besancon, in eastern France. As is evident in this letter, he was conscientious in fulfilling his duties, if somewhat lacking in the panache of some of the other, less scrupulous, marshals.
Trans: ". . . you authorized me to obtain whatever may be available in terms of clothing and equipment from the military stores for the army pensioners. Your Excellency also ordered me to deal with the civilian authorities, should these stores prove inadequate . . . I must inform Your Excellency that the stores have no resources, and in accordance with your intentions I had to invite the civilian authorities to provide for the needs of these elderly servicemen, but as the prefects are busy with the clothing and equipment of the national guards, I felt that it would be impossible to satisfy my requirements. I have therefore limited myself to the most indispensable items, a cloak, trousers, hat and two pairs of shoes for each man. The pensioners in the garrison . . . come to about sixteen hundred . . . “
After some confusion with the orders, Jourdan ascertained that it was unlikely that sufficient supplies would be found, and he eventually limited his request to 1100 cloaks and 1100 pairs of shoes, and ordered hats rather than schalkos, as these would be easier to find.
In the chaos that was the Hundred Days, it is unsurprising that adequate provision of supplies of any kind would prove problematical. The implication here is that not only was there a shortage, but even where it might be possible to find the goods, suppliers were reluctant to risk selling their goods to those who might ultimately be unable to pay.
Soon after the defeat at Waterloo, Jourdan submitted to the restored Bourbon monarchy and four years later was called upon to serve in the upper house of Parliament.

98. [PAMPHLET – LOUIS XVIII]
8pp. 8vo in French, Nice, 22 June 1815. £395
A remarkably splenetic work, which deserves a place in any collection of Napoleonic material.
Dated four days after Waterloo, but evidently written before the event, or at least before the news had reached Nice, it starts as a call to arms (“Francais, aux armes!”), but immediately sounds a false note, “Cartouche has escaped his banishment”. Cartouche, a famous early eighteenth century outlaw, may indeed have been an outlaw, but, in the spirit of Dick Turpin or Robin Hood, he was known as the scourge of the
well-to-do and often the defender of the poor. The analogy of Cartouche with Napoleon is an amusing faux-pas.

The pamphlet goes on to extol “Louis le Désiré” [Louis the Desired] as he was often known, as well as the “virtue and magnanimity” of kings such as Louis XII and the “good Henri” – cleverly citing two of the most popular and effective kings of France over the centuries. The author may, however, be thought to exaggerate when he asks the people to rally to the Bourbons where they will find “that innate goodness, that unsullied probity, that love of the people, that candour, that respect for religion, that feeling of honour and true glory” which characterise them.

Citing the excesses of the revolution, the author hardly minces his words when he describes the Directoire as an “abortion”, but worse follows: “it only lacked to your wretched enslavement to have for a leader … a Corsican”.

The character-assassination of Napoleon which follows does occasionally hit home, accusing him of abandoning his troops in Egypt, Spain, Moscow and Leipzig, and of the notorious murder of the duc d’Enghien.

The final one and a half pages, calling on the people to “bless the paternal goodness” of their king, are printed in smaller type, as the printer apparently found himself running out of the space for this diatribe. By the end of this argument one cannot help but feel that the people are being called upon to return to a state of child-like obedience to the “paternal” care of the monarch.

Small stain at the upper right-hand corner of the first page, but this roughly-printed pamphlet is otherwise in very good condition.

Autograph Letter Signed (“Melville”) to Admiral Keith, advising him of reports that “it was the intention of Bonaparte to escape to America” and that he was sending similar letters to Admirals Duckworth, Thornborough and Freemantle.

1½ pages 4to, marked “Private & Secret”, Wimbledon, 27 June 1815. £3250

“Reports have reached His Majesty’s Government from various quarters that in the event of adverse fortune, it was the intention of Bonaparte to escape to America. If there is any truth in those statements, he will in all probability make the attempt now unless he should be forcibly detained at Paris. If he should embark in a small vessel from one of the numerous Ports along the Coast of France, it may be scarcely possible to prevent his escape; but if he should wait till a Frigate or Sloop of War can be fitted out for him, you may perhaps receive...”
Melville’s fears were not entirely misplaced. It is known that Napoleon did consider the possibility of escape to the United States, which, after several years at war with Great Britain, might well have been inclined to offer refuge to the deposed Emperor. Even at the last minute, Napoleon’s brother Joseph suggested that they exchange identities and Napoleon flee to America. The two brothers were sufficiently alike in physical appearance that the ruse might have worked, but Napoleon eventually refused the offer.

It was Joseph who was to leave Europe and spend twenty years in New Jersey, under the name of the Comte de Survilliers, living a happy and sociable life in the United States. Although Joseph and his wife Julie remained on close terms, she chose not to travel to America with him. During his time there, he met a young American who became his mistress and had two daughters by him, the start of an American branch of Bonapartes.

By mid-July, Napoleon had abandoned all thoughts of escape, surrendering to the British aboard the Bellerophon. He appealed to the Prince Regent, “the most generous of my enemies” to be allowed to live out his exile in Britain, but to no avail.
100. NEY, Michel, Duc d’Elchingen and Prince de la Moskova (1769-1815).

Group of twelve off-prints, pamphlets and a news-sheet surrounding the trial of Marshal Ney, as listed below.


A lengthy argument, setting out the reasons why Marshal Ney, as a Peer of the Realm, should be tried by the Peers of France rather than the military tribunal which had been convened. In the course of the argument, Ney’s lawyer, Berryer, sets out in a footnote that he (Berryer) had, since 1789, been an ardent Royalist, and was therefore undertaking Ney’s defence purely in the interests of justice rather than from political inclination.

The last two pages consist of the Judgement of the Military tribunal, headed by Jourdan as its President and consisting of Massena, Augereau, Mortier and Lt-Generals Cazan, Villatte and Claparède, declaring themselves incompetent to judge the case, and passing it to the Peers.


Although the document is printed under Marshal Ney’s name, the tone indicates that it had very likely been drafted by his counsel. In it is set out what should be proper procedure for the trial, including a demand that any of the Peers who had publicly expressed an opinion against his innocence should disqualify themselves.


Opening with a quotation from article 4 of the Charter, stating the “no one may be pursued nor arrested except in cases foreseen by law, and in the form prescribed by it”, the document sets out in great detail the reasons why Marshal Ney should be acquitted, laying emphasis on legal precedent from the time of Henri IV.
4. [Anon.] Note Additionnelle. 2¼ pp. 4to in French, n.p. [but Paris], n.d. [but November 1815].
An argument refuting the Duke of Wellington's reply to Ney's wife, to the effect that the king of France had not signed the Convention of 3 July and was therefore not bound by the articles agreed therein.
A printed note at the end of the document remarks that copies of this had been sent to the Prince Regent and to the Prime Minister and their answer is awaited.

5. [Anon.] Pièces Relatives au Maréchal Ney. Extrait du journal anglais the Public Ledezer [sic] and daily Advertiser. 8pp. 4to in French, London, 22 November 1815.
A French translation of an article which appeared in a London paper. The first six pages consist of an argument strongly in favour of Marshal Ney's case, appealing to article 12 of the Capitulation of Paris, signed by the Allies, which promised an amnesty to those who had previously been associated with Napoleon. When the point was made to the Duke of Wellington his reply was that although the Allies had signed the capitulation, Louis XVIII had not, and therefore could not be bound by it, and the Allies could not interfere in the affairs of France. The article, though obviously written by an Englishman, entirely refutes and condemns this assertion.
The last two pages, unfortunately incomplete, are an excerpt from a despatch from Paris, in which further arguments are set forth for the dismissal of the case against Marshal Ney.

A document presented by Ney's lawyers setting out very clearly the procedures the Peers should consider before commencing the trial. These include whether a simple majority of one vote is sufficient to condemn the accused (giving arguments from the ancient jurisprudence of France, British and American usage in law, the law of 29 September 1791 on the establishment of juries, and detailed arguments from the Revolution to the Consulate); whether Peers who are absent may vote by proxy; and whether the jury should vote **viva voce** or by secret ballot. The lawyers stress that the Peers' decision on these matters will affect not only this trial, but also future trials.
An address on the verso of this pamphlet indicates that it was sent to the Comte de Beurnonville, one of the Peers who was to pass judgement on Marshal Ney. Although Beurnonville had fought for the Empire, he allied himself to the Bourbons at the time of the first abdication and remained loyal to them thereafter. He had been taken prisoner by the Austrians in 1793, but was one of the prisoners freed two years later in exchange for Marie Thérèse, last surviving child of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, who was still incarcerated in France at the time.

Part of the argument for the defence presented by Ney's lawyers, Berryer père and Dupin.
The document presents convincing legal arguments in favour of the Marshal, citing legal precedent and, most importantly, arguing that the Convention, signed on 3 July 1815 by the Allies had stipulated that “all individuals in the capital [i.e., Paris] will continue to enjoy their rights and liberties without being troubled nor pursued for anything relating to the functions they fulfil or had fulfilled, their conduct or their political opinions”, effectively an amnesty for all who had served Napoleon.

8. Berryer, M[aitre], Exposé Justificatif pour le Maréchal Ney. 20pp. 4to in French, n.p. [but Paris], n.d. [November/December 1815].
This constitutes the major argument for the defence, giving, in great detail, the chronology of events from Marshal Ney's recall to service once Napoleon had arrived in France, false information received, his encounter with Napoleon, and the aftermath, ending with a vigorous defence of Ney's honourable character.

The only pamphlet in the present collection which is fiercely pro-Royalist and condemns Marshal Ney without pity. The author writes of the marshal appreciating the ten months he had lived under the reign of Louis XVIII, when “peace, agriculture and commerce flourished in France; joy reborn, all wounds almost healed . . .”

An American newssheet, combining local information (complaints about slow and irregular mail service), national news (reports from the U.S. Treasury) and a three-column article on the execution of Marshal Ney. The report speaks admiringly of the Marshal’s calm and dignified conduct during his last hours and at the moment of execution. A final paragraph makes the Weekly Register’s point of view abundantly, and bluntly, clear: “There seems a determination in the allies, through the deputy king, to kill every man whose genius may disturb the “repose” of despotism. The battle of Waterloo (won by gold as history shall tell posterity) is yet to be consummated in the destruction of the heroes of France . . .”

11. [Anon.] An Authentic Account of the Trial of Marshal Ney ... preceded by a Memoir of his Life”
A work translated from the French, and the Translator’s Preface makes the English (or more likely Scottish) translator’s sympathies quite clear: “. . . there was something vindictive in his punishment: and we could have wished that the future historian of our own great Captain [i.e., Wellington] might have had it to tell, that he raised his voice on the side of clemency . . .” In a final note with which many translators will sympathise, he adds that “those who are best acquainted with the heroic style of modern French writers, will best appreciate the difficulty which an English translator experiences in taming it down to the narrative style of English history.”
There follows a Memoir of Marshal Ney, half devoted to his military career, and the balance to his actions following Napoleon’s return from Elba. The second half of the pamphlet is devoted to an account of his trial. Although taken from a French source, there is a translator’s footnote in the section devoted to the trial: “We cannot help expressing our disgust at the manifest injustice of this decision of the Chamber, and the sophistry of the grounds of it; viz. that the king was no party to the Convention of the 3rd July, which is false in point of fact . . .” and speculating that had another battle taken place [after Waterloo] it would have been impossible to “predict what might have been the result, and whether . . . the obnoxious family of Bourbon would ever have sat upon the throne of France.”

A lengthy, detailed account of events from the return of Napoleon up to the execution of Marshal Ney, including a partial transcript of the trial itself. The account ends with a final note of the erection of the statue to Marshal Ney in the Luxembourg Gardens in 1853 during the reign of Napoleon III. The pamphlet includes a number of illustrations of events in the Marshal’s life.
In all, twelve pamphlets and off-prints. £1250

The trial and execution of Marshal Ney is without doubt one of the great miscarriages of justice in the annals of French history. Indeed, in one of the documents here, it is compared to the trial and execution of Louis XVI and of the duc d’Enghien. Like the duc d’Enghien, Marshal Ney emerges from this sad episode with far more honour and credit than his persecutors.

Ney’s wife had taken the unusual, but very clever, step of calling upon a convinced Royalist to defend her husband. Pierre-Nicolas Berryer, a respected and highly capable lawyer, declares himself in one of the documents here as a royalist from 1789, insisting that at no time had he espoused the principles of the Revolution, Directory, Consulate or Empire. He called in Dupin, an accomplished orator, to assist him.
However, she turned away the offer of help from Maître Bellard, who had been a friend of Ney. Bellard was later appointed prosecutor, and his anger at having been refused made him especially ardent in his attack.
Ney was to have been tried by a jury of Marshals and generals. But when Ney announced that he would find it unsuitable to be tried by any but his peers – and he was still a Peer of France – the initial jury, presided over by Jourdan and including figures such as Massena, Augereau and Mortier, declared itself
incompetent to preside. They came to this conclusion with some relief; Massena in particular had pleaded that his disagreements with Ney during the Peninsular War were so well known that he could not be considered an impartial judge.

The second jury, made up of several hundred peers of France (many of them, of course, declared Royalists) would prove far harsher, and one can only wonder as to why Ney chose not to accept the trial by his former comrades in arms, who could have been relied on to deliver a less disastrous verdict. Louis XVIII himself certainly saw the danger of executing a popular, heroic Marshal of France, and probably colluded in creating an opportunity for Ney to escape before his trial. But Ney was too honest to think that the world would not treat him with the same honesty, and preferred to remain to clear his name.

The argument about article 12 of the Capitulation returns in most of the documents included here. Article 12 guaranteed a general amnesty to all those who had worked or fought under the previous regime, allowing the country to heal its wounds. Under those terms, Marshal Ney should never have been tried. But Louis XVIII had not signed this, only the Allies – Russia, Britain, Prussia and Austria - and those Allies insisted that they could not interfere. This was Wellington's response to Ney's wife when she pleaded with him – despite the fact that Louis would never have returned to his throne had it not been for the Allies' consent.

And so Marshal Ney was condemned to death, with 161 members voting for the death penalty, 17 for banishment, 11 for exile among his relations and 5 asking for clemency. His fiercest enemy, the Comte d'Artois, succeeded to the throne as Charles X, perhaps the most unpopular king in French history, and was deposed in 1830. In 1848, the government voted that a statue be erected, at the place of his execution, to Ney, the 'bravest of the brave'.


Autograph Letter Signed (“Wellington”), as Commander-in-Chief of the Allied occupation force in France after Waterloo, to General Colin Macaulay in Downing Street, declining to reply to some military questions that had been put to him, as he does not have “an opportunity of consulting my papers which are somewhere in London.”

2 pages 4to with the integral address leaf which has a fine complete impression of Wellington's red wax seal.

Cambray, 10 December 1816.

£975

Eighteen months after his victory at Waterloo, Wellington was at the time in command of the Allied armies in France. His correspondent, General Macaulay, had served in India for
many years, and was imprisoned for two years by Tipu Sultan at Seringapatam. He was to be reunited with Wellington when both attended the Congress of Verona in 1822.

“I received by the last Post your letters of the 4th & 5th Nov. and your pamphlets... I confess that I feel great objection to come forward in this case; and unless I should have an opportunity of consulting my papers which are somewhere in London, in order to refresh my memory, I don’t think I could come forward to answer your first question. I have a confused notion that there was a momentary distress in the Army immediately after the Comd.-in-Chief joined it; occasioned partly by the junction of the troops; and partly by the influence used... to go with the Baramahal... in order to [illegible] the Army forwards. It is possible that this distress commenced after we passed Vellore but I think it was earlier. At all events I could not venture to answer the question without looking into my papers.

Of the other question I entertain no doubt; and none can be entertained by any Man of common sense... and I should have no objection to say so at a proper time and in a proper place. But I really think that I ought not to put myself forward in the state proposed in this discussion. It looks like officious interference in the concerns of others; which is what during my whole life I have endeavoured to avoid.”

Wellington’s reluctance to interfere in the concerns of others was evident during his time as part of the occupying force in Paris after Waterloo. It is possible that he might have interceded on behalf of Marshal Ney, but refused to do so.


Document Signed (“Le Mal. Duc d’Albufera”), testifying to the bravery and abilities of Captain Gajon, who had served under his command in Switzerland in 1799.

1 page 4to in French, with an intact impression of Suchet’s red wax seal, Paris, 10 July 1821. £225

In a letter of recommendation for Gajon, Suchet praises his exemplary conduct in an assault on an Austrian camp at Obert-Egri in 1799.

Trans: “Marshal the Duc d’Albufera certifies that he is acquainted with Captain Gajon, who served under him in Switzerland in 1799 and who was noted for a brilliant action. Having been ordered to dislodge the enemy who were encamped on the mountain of Montgarten at Obert-Egri, he executed this manoeuvre at the head of the 3rd battalion of the 36th regiment of line... he climbed this mountain, chased the Austrians in spite of their superior numbers, and captured their camp.

The Marshal hastens to add that he commended this brave officer at the time for his brilliant conduct...”

Suchet served under Massena in Switzerland in 1799 in the period immediately preceding the decisive battle of Zurich. Suchet distinguished himself and was named Quartermaster General in June of that year. The following year, his abilities would be confirmed when he led an offensive which enabled Massena to recapture Genoa.

Autograph Letter Signed ("William Napier") to Mr. Koch [former General, and author of the Mémoires de Masséna], discussing the frustrations of trying to obtain all the documents and figures necessary for his work [his History of the War in the Peninsula]. 4 pages 4to in French, 134 Sloane Street, 22 May 1823. £750

The first volume of Napier's monumental History of the War in the Peninsula appeared in 1828, and was only completed in 1840. Although it aroused controversy from the beginning, particularly from those former combatants who felt unfairly slighted by Napier, it also proved remarkably popular. Napier's frustration with the widely scattered archives he wished to consult is evident in this letter; perhaps more surprising is the fact that one of the most helpful of those he consulted was Marshal Soult, as was Wellington. In addition, he was given access to Joseph Bonaparte's correspondence, which had been captured by the British. A proportion of this correspondence was in code, which was successfully decyphered by Napier's wife.

Trans: "... historic and military materials [i.e., archives] are very scattered, as there is no Depot in which one is obliged to deposit them, as is the case in your country. We have no reports from the Head of Staff of the various Corps; not even one for Head of the General Staff. The papers are deposited, half with the Adjutant General and half at General Headquarters. In addition, some papers remain with the Military Secretary of the General in Chief: and it takes time and work in order to obtain any information on all points from these gentlemen, of whom some are in London and some are in the country. In short, we are still barbarians when it comes to administration of war, but courage! I have sent you very precise and detailed information on our losses in various battles... In a few days, I will also send the muster rolls up until Toulouse, both for the English and the Portuguese. The Spanish [numbers] are unknown at the moment, but it should still be possible to give you an estimate... As for me, I am missing a great deal, the historical reports of the General Headquarters of the 2nd corps of the army, for the operations of Marshal Soult against our army in 1808 and 1809, especially from first of December until the twentieth January of those years; also, the expedition made by the same Marshal in Portugal, and his great march with the 6th and 5th Corps on Placentia, to divide Wellington's Army when the ineptitude and boastfulness of your Duc de Bellune [Marshal Victor] had cost you the best opportunity of crushing us completely and make us wish to abandon continental expeditions. Also, I do not have the account of losses at Coruna and at Talavera, which you will give me out of self-interest, because, if I do not get it, I will kill half your men and will take countless prisoners!...

N.B. I have not yet had the time to make any observations on your account of the Battle of Toulouse, but your impartiality is plain to see, for we had far greater losses than you say."
Henry Paget, later Marquess of Anglesey, lost a leg at Waterloo while next to the Duke of Wellington, famously remarking “By God, Sir, I’ve lost my leg!”

“I had a letter from Curran of the 7th [Hussars, of which Anglesey was Colonel] informing me that a Box containing the Correspondence would leave Dublin on that day & wd. be sent from Liverpool . . . It is not arrived & I feel nervous about it . . . I have been very idle about the Waterloo business. I know I shall do nothing on it upon Paper. It is so difficult to recollect details at this distance of time, & to determine what might be useful for the purpose of Elucidation & what superfluous. But if the ingenious Officer who is employed in the interesting work would at any time call upon me, I would for his accommodation readily submit to be questioned & crossquestioned. Old Thornhill is to be with me at Christmas, & if then, or any time within a fortnight after that time, you & he would present yourselves at B.D., you wd. be les biens venus . . . I have been a good deal surprised by some late events.” A scrawled postscript informs Stovin that “The Box is arrived”.

Lord Angelsey had served as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland until 1833, a post which, in its early days, brought him into conflict with his former commander, the Duke of Wellington. It seems likely that the “late events” which surprised him concerned events in Ireland.
Clockwise from top left: No. 60, Elisa Bonaparte; No. 85, Madame de Staël; No. 11, Laure de Girardin Dillon; No. 40, Madame Tallien; centre: No. 79, Pauline Bonaparte

Back Cover: No. 99, Melville
Private 3 Sect.

Hambledon
27th June 1815

My Lord,

Reports have reached His Majesty's Government from various quarters that in the event of adverse fortune, it was the intention of Napoleon to escape to America. If there is any truth in these statements, he will in all probability make the attempt now unless he should be possibly detained at Paris. If he should embark in a vessel, either from one of the numerous seaports along the coast of France, it may be scarcely possible to prevent his escape; but if he should wait till a Frigate or Ship of War can be fitted out for him, you may perhaps receive...