

entering a conquered country. Naples is richer than Vienna, and not so exhausted. Milan itself, when I entered it, had not a farthing. Once more, expect no money from me. The five hundred thousand francs in gold, which I sent to you, are the last I shall send to Naples. I care not so much about three or four millions, as about the principle. Raise thirty millions, pay your army, treat well your generals and commanders, put your material in order."

The purpose to make the people pay the invading army; the establishment of nobility, and all the supports of a splendid monarchy, are apparent in a subsequent letter to Joseph, who was an amiable, kind-hearted man, and too yielding and sympathizing to suit his younger, but imperial brother:

NAPOLEON TO JOSEPH.

"PARIS, March 8, 1806.

"MY BROTHER—I see that by one of your proclamations you promise to impose no war contribution, and that you forbid your soldiers to require those who lodge them to feed them. It seems to me that your measures are too narrow. It is not by being civil to people that you obtain a hold on them. This is not the way to get the means to reward your army properly. Raise thirty millions from the kingdom of Naples. Pay well your army; remount well your cavalry and your trains; have shoes and clothes made. This cannot be done without money. As for me it would be too absurd if the conquest of Naples did not put my army at its ease. It is impossible that you should keep within the bounds which you profess. Back yourself, if you like, by an order of mine.

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"You must establish in the kingdom of Naples a

certain number of French families, holding fiefs either carved out of domains of the crown, or taken from their present possessors, or from the monks by diminishing the number of convents. In my opinion your throne will have no solidity unless you surround it with a hundred generals, colonels, and others attached to your house, possessing great fiefs of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. Bernadotte and Massena should, I think, be fixed in Naples, with the title of princes, and with large revenues. Enable them to found great families: I do this in Piedmont, the kingdom of Italy, and Parma. In these countries and in Naples three or four hundred French military men ought to be established with property descending by primogeniture. In a few years they will marry into the principal families, and your throne will be strong enough to do without a French army—a point which must be reached. In the discussions between Naples and France, France will never desire to supply Naples with more troops than are absolutely necessary. She will always wish to keep them together to meet her other enemies. I intend to give Dalmatia to a prince, as well as Neufchatel, which Prussia has ceded to me.

"There are about one hundred old gardes-du-corps here, good men, who may be useful in your body-guard, mixed with the Neapolitan nobles."

Holland, which had been overswept in her revolutionary struggles by England, and delivered from the enemy by the interposition of France, was now induced to ask the emperor for a king in the person of Louis Bonaparte. This amiable prince, who had married the graceful Hortense, Josephine's daughter, was established at the Hague, May 6th, 1806. He became a deservedly popular ruler.

The kings of Wirtemberg and Bavaria, with fourteen other princes of various degrees of rank, occupying the valley of the Rhine in the west of Germany, associated themselves together in an alliance called the *Confederation of the Rhine*, and Napoleon became, according to his design, *Protector*. This reach of authority virtually dismembered the German Empire, and added some of its most beautiful portions to the realm of France. Napoleon, while thus increasing his power, was raising barriers against his foreign foes. He was a noble monarch in his schemes of national progress and universal sway, but nevertheless, a king whose law of conquest and control, was *force*—and whose pole-star of wondrous thought was *glory*, with little reverence for man in his individual worth, and as little for God in his real character and spiritual worship.

Mr. Fox had succeeded Pitt in the cabinet of England, and was his antagonist in politics. His friendly relations to Napoleon, awakened the hope and expectation among the people, of peace. But the aristocracy of England were unchanged in that hostility to the emperor, which had its stern and unalterable expression in the government of Pitt. Napoleon's views were expressed in a letter to Mr. Fox: "France will not dispute with England the conquests England has made. Neither does France claim anything more on the continent than she now has. It will, therefore, be easy to lay down the basis of a peace, if England has not inadmissible views relative to commercial interests. The emperor is persuaded that the real cause of the rupture of the peace of Amiens was no other than the refusal to conclude a commercial treaty. Be assured that the emperor, without refusing certain commercial advantages, if they are sought, will not admit of any treaty prejudicial to French industry, which he means

to protect by all duties and prohibitions which can favor its development. He insists on having liberty to do at home all that he pleases, all that is beneficial, without any rival nation having a right to find fault with him."

The entire intercourse between Napoleon and Mr. Fox was frank and cordial. Exchange of several prisoners of note was had, and no bitter words were passed. Besides the storm in parliament, the prospect of a treaty declined as the conditions were more distinctly announced. England wanted Malta, and also Hanover given to Prussia by Napoleon after the peace of Presburg. Napoleon was determined to have Sicily. To complete the difficulties, and remove the last ground of anticipated reconciliation, Mr. Fox died, September, 1806.

The interesting letters of the emperor furnish a vivid view of the crisis.

NAPOLEON TO JOSEPH.

"St. Cloud, September 12, 1806.

"MY BROTHER—I told you that Russia had not ratified. Prussia is arming in a most ridiculous manner; however, she shall soon disarm, or pay dearly for what she is doing. Nothing can exceed the vacillation of that cabinet. The court of Vienna makes me great protestations, and its total want of power inclines me to put faith in them. Whatever happens, I *can* face, and *will* face, every enemy. The conscription which I have just levied is going on in every direction. I am going to call out my reserve; * I am fully provided,

* In France, usually only half the conscripts are called out at first; the other half is called the reserve, and in peace is seldom called out. It remains, however, liable to serve; and on an emergency, the reserves of the four or five previous years are sometimes called out together. This was done in 1854.—Tr.

and in want of nothing. Whether it be war or peace I shall not diminish your army. In a few days perhaps I may put myself at the head of my grand army ; it consists of nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men, and with that force I can reduce to submission Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburg. There will be a somewhat formidable army in Upper Italy. Keep these dispositions secret ; they will be best proclaimed by victory.

“Press your enemies sharply ; drive them out of the peninsula ; recover Cotrona, Scylla, and Reggio. Jerome has landed ; I have made him a prince, and I have given him the great cordon of the Legion of Honor. I have arranged his marriage with the Princess Catherine, the Duke of Wirtemberg’s daughter. As I shall be obliged to call for a *plebiscitum* on his account, that is to say the sanction of the people to his succession to the crown, I wish Lucien not to let slip this opportunity.*

“Be quite easy about political affairs ; go on as if nothing were happening. If indeed I am again forced to strike, my measures are so well and surely taken, that the first notice to Europe of my departure from Paris will be the total ruin of my enemies. Let your newspapers describe me as occupied in Paris with hunting, amusements, and negotiations. If the war-like preparations of Prussia are mentioned, let it be supposed that they take place with my consent ; and M. Humboldt must have received orders to proceed to your court as Prussian minister. I will never lay down my arms unless Naples and Sicily are yours. I have called your attention to Pescara : keep there a

* Joseph wrote to Lucien. Lucien answered that he would not part with his wife or make any change in the position of his children, and that solicitations to him, which must meet with refusals, were useless.—Tr.

sufficient quantity of powder, of gun-carriages, a military commandant, an engineer officer, an artillery officer, a storekeeper, a commissariat officer, a garrison of four or five hundred men, and provisions for a month. Order the troops in the Abruzzi to shut themselves up in Pescara in an emergency, sending word at the same time to the general in command at Ancona. If the enemy succeeded in landing and throwing a thousand men into that place, he would soon be able to sustain a siege, which would be very inconvenient.

“In the midst of all these events I do not forget the sea. I have schemes which may possibly in a month or two make me master of the Mediterranean.”

NAPOLEON TO JOSEPH.

“St. Cloud, September 13, 1806.

“MY BROTHER—Everything proves that Mr. Fox is dead. Lord Yarmouth has been triumphantly received in London, because he was known to belong to the peace party. Mr. Fox’s illness has filled the nation with consternation. The ministers seemed delighted with these demonstrations, and all hope of peace is not yet lost. The English minister in Paris is too ill to see any body. He has attended no conference since the arrival of his last courier. Prussia makes me a thousand protestations, which do not prevent my taking my precautions : in a few days she will have disarmed, or she will be crushed. Austria declares her intention to remain neutral. Russia does not know what she wants, but her distance renders her powerless. Such, in two words, is the state of affairs.

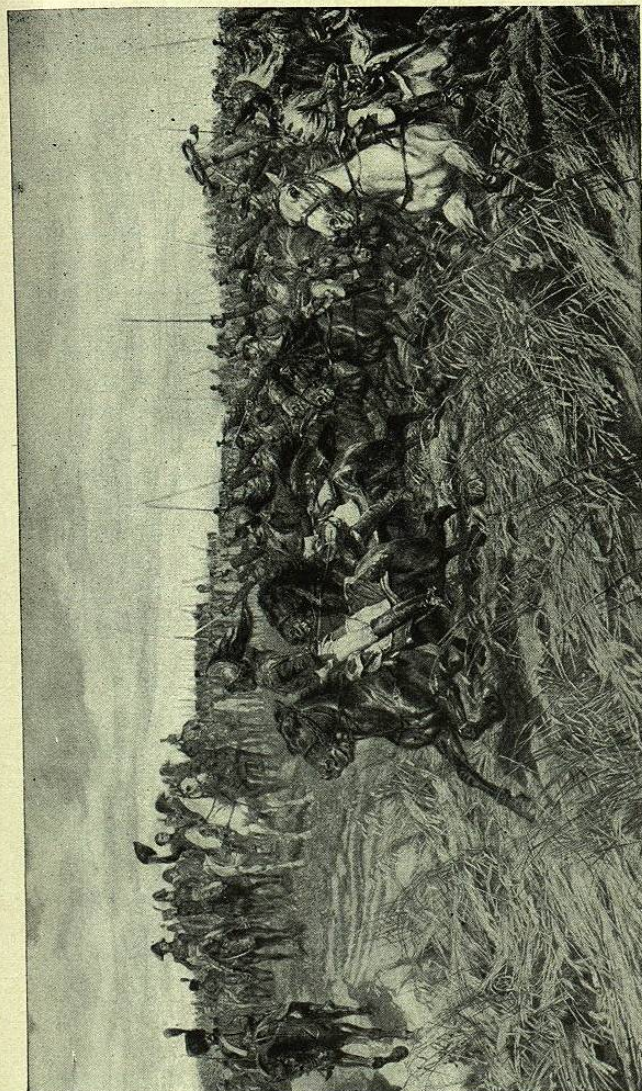
“I fancy that in the course of the next ten days the peace of the continent will be more settled than ever. As to England, I can conjecture nothing. Her conduct is decided, not by general politics, but by internal

intrigues. The last news announced that Mr. Fox was at the point of death ; his friends are deploring his loss as if he were already dead."

Prussia had never been satisfied with Napoleon's apology for violating her territory, when, surrounding Mack at Ulm, he crossed Anspach with his troops. Of this, amid the returning hostility to France in Russia, and its fresh intensity in England, she complained ; and mustering her legions, joined the new coalition with those mighty empires, to crush Napoleon. She marched her army, two hundred thousand strong, into Saxony.

"The conduct of Prussia, in thus rushing into hostilities without waiting for the advance of the Russians, was as rash as her holding back from Austria, during the campaign of Austerlitz, had been cowardly. As if determined to profit by no lesson, the Prussian council also directed their army to advance toward the French, instead of lying on their own frontier—a repetition of the great leading blunder of the Austrians in the preceding year. The Prussian army accordingly invaded the Saxon provinces, and the elector of Saxony, seeing his country treated as rudely as that of the elector of Bavaria had been on a similar occasion by the Austrians, and wanting the means to withdraw his own troops as the Bavarian had succeeded in doing under like provocation, was compelled to accept the alliance which Prussia urged on him, and to join his troops with those of the power by which he had been thus insulted and wronged."

Napoleon led his legions forward, confused the Prussians by rapid movements, and soon encamped in their rear, cutting off supplies, and possibility of retreat. He again made efforts to save the needless flow of blood,



1807. NAPOLEON AT THE BATTLE OF JENA.

and wrote the king, urging the cessation of hostilities and carnage. No reply was received, and his troops advanced in three divisions: Soult and Ney in the direction of Hof; Murat, Bernadotte, and Davoust toward Saalburg, and Lannes and Augereau upon Saalfield. At Saalfield there was a fierce battle with the corps of Prince Louis of Prussia, in which the French were victorious, and blew up Naumburg with its magazines. The prince was mortally wounded, and the Prussian forces completely surrounded by the enemy.

At Jena and Auerstadt, the great armies met in decisive conflict. Napoleon perceived on the evening of October 13th, that the battle must come the following day, although his heavy train of artillery was still many hours behind. But he encouraged his men, who, with what seemed superhuman strength, drew the guns which they had up a lofty plateau in front of Jena, and prepared for the desperate action. "Lannes commanded the center; Augereau the right; Soult the left; and Murat the reserve and cavalry. Soult had to sustain the first assault of the Prussians, which was violent and sudden; for the mist lay so thick on the field that the armies were within half gunshot of each other ere the sun and wind rose and discovered them; and on that instant Mollendorf charged. The battle was contested well for some time on this point; but at length Ney appeared in the rear of the emperor with a fresh division; and then the French center advanced to a general charge, before which the Prussians were forced to retire. They moved for some space in good order; but Murat now poured his masses of cavalry on them, storm after storm, with such rapidity and vehemence that their rout became miserable. It ended in the complete breaking up of the army—horse and foot all flying

together, in the confusion of panic, upon the road to Weimar. At that point the fugitives met and mingled with their brethren flying, as confusedly as themselves, from Auerstadt. In the course of this disastrous day, twenty thousand Prussians were killed or taken; three hundred guns, twenty generals, and sixty standards. The commander-in-chief, the Duke of Brunswick, being wounded in the face with a grape-shot, was carried early off the field, never to recover. The loss of superior officers on the Prussian side was so great, that of an army which, on the evening of the 13th of October, mustered not less than one hundred and fifty thousand, but a few regiments were ever able to act in concert for some time after the 14th. The various routed divisions roamed about the country, seeking separately the means of escape; they were in consequence destined to fall an easy prey. Mollendorf and the Prince of Orange-Fulda laid down their arms at Erfurt. General Kalkreuth's corps was overtaken and surrounded among the Hartz mountains; Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg and sixteen thousand men, surrendered to Bernadotte at Halle. The Prince of Hohenlohe at length drew together not less than fifty thousand of these wandering soldiers, and threw himself at their head into Magdeburg. But it turned out that that great fortress had been stripped of all its stores for the service of the Duke of Brunswick's army before Jena. Hohenlohe, therefore, was compelled to retreat toward the Oder. He was defeated in a variety of skirmishes; and at length, finding himself devoid of ammunition or provisions, laid down his arms at Prenzlau; twenty thousand surrendered with the prince. His rear, consisting of about ten thousand, under the command of the celebrated general Blucher, were so far behind as to render it possible for them to attempt escape. Their heroic

leader traversed the country with them for some time unbroken, and sustained a variety of assaults, from far superior numbers, with the most obstinate resolution. By degrees, however, the French under Soult hemmed him in on one side, Murat on the other, and Bernadotte appeared close behind him. He was thus forced to throw himself into Lubeck, where a severe action was fought in the streets of the town, on the 6th of November. The Prussians in this battle, lost four thousand prisoners, besides the slain and wounded: he retreated to Schwerta, and there, it being impossible for him to go further without violating the neutrality of Denmark, on the morning of the 7th, Blucher at length laid down his arms—having exhibited a specimen of conduct and valor such as certainly had not been displayed by any of his superiors in the campaign.”

Bonaparte entered Berlin the 25th of October. The Prussian monarchy had crumbled before the march of his resistless battalions, and lay in ruins at his feet. He describes the grand success:

NAPOLEON TO JOSEPH.

“BERLIN, November 4, 1806.

“MY BROTHER—The bulletins will have informed you of what is going on here. I have taken one hundred and twenty thousand prisoners; park, magazines, baggage, everything has fallen into my power. The three fortresses on the Oder have capitulated. I have completely crushed the power of Prussia. Austria has begun to arm on the pretext of protecting her neutrality. We must make corresponding preparations in Upper Italy. If Austria were to attack us, you would gain this advantage by my position—that the Russians would concentrate their forces in Poland, and that England would direct hers upon Sweden.

* * * * *

"I am on the borders of Poland; to make war in that country one must have cavalry. Relying on your sending back yours, I have withdrawn eight regiments of horse from Italy, and if you fail me, enough will not be left there. The last two months have been spent in arming and victualing my strong places in Italy. I have just given orders that my army may be assembled by the 1st of December; it will consist altogether of more than sixty thousand men."

Napoleon took possession of the royal palace, with triumphal display; and in his bulletin having spoken severely of the queen who rode at the head of her troops, animating them with her fiery valor and beauty, Josephine remonstrated in a letter to him. In his reply, he narrates briefly the pardon of the Prince of Hatzfeld, who was governor of Berlin under Napoleon's protection, but secretly in correspondence with the Prussian army. He was arrested, taken before a court-martial, and sentenced to be shot.

NAPOLEON TO JOSEPHINE.

"November 6, 1806; 9 o'clock P. M.

"I have received your letter, in which, it seems, you reproach me for speaking ill of women. True it is, that above all things I dislike female intriguers. I have been accustomed to kind, gentle, conciliatory women. Such I love, and if they have spoiled me, it is not my fault, but yours. However, you will see that I have acted indulgently toward one sensible and deserving woman. I allude to Madame Hatzfeld. When I showed her her husband's letter, she burst into tears; and said in a tone of the most exquisite grief and candor, 'It is indeed his writing!' This was too much; it went to my heart. I said, 'Well, madame,

throw the letter into the fire, and then I shall have no proof against your husband.' She burned the letter, and was restored to happiness. Her husband is now safe. Two hours later, and he would have been lost. You see, therefore, that I like women who are feminine, unaffected and amiable, for they alone resemble you. Adieu, my love. I am very well."

Such an incident, is a pleasant interlude to the clangor of arms, the groans of the dying and the wail of anguish from the living. Napoleon had feeling, but with rare exceptions it was subordinated altogether to his lofty plans of national and personal grandeur. It never turned aside the wasting strokes of his avenging arms, when the terror they inspired was auxiliary to the ultimate object. Madame Hatzfeld was restored to happiness; but a great company, in the march of empire, were consigned to hopeless sorrow.