

wish it to become the civil law of your states, dating from the first of January next.* Germany has adopted it; and Spain will do so soon. This will be very useful.

“You ought to arrest at M. B——, a French emigrant pensioned by England; let him be shut up in a fortress till we have peace. Treat in the same way Lombardi, Perano, Cara, Martini, the two brothers Cerutti, Laurant Durazzo, the Abbé del Arco and the Chevalier de Costes. Prepare a prison in some fortress, and let all these people be confined in it. I have given orders to arrest all Corsicans pensioned by England. I have already sent many to Fenestrelle—among others, one Bertolazzio. I advise you to take the same measure in your kingdom. Order the detachment of the 81st, which is at Corfu, to join its dépôt in Italy. It has nine officers and one hundred and eighty-three men.”

NAPOLEON TO JOSEPH.

“FONTAINEBLEAU, November 2, 1807.

“MY BROTHER—I have received your letters of the 23d. I have not yet quite made up my mind not to go to Italy; I should not like to cross you on the road: as soon as I have decided I will write to you.

“Pray make the expedition to Reggio and Scylla, and deliver the continent from the presence of the English. You have ten times as many troops as are wanted for that purpose, and the season is favorable. I see with pleasure that you have ordered the Russian garrison of Corfu, which has landed at Manfredonia, to be well received.”

* This allows only two months for a change of the whole civil law of the country. The prophecy that Spain would soon adopt the Code Napoleon shows that Napoleon already contemplated the seizure of Spain.—T.

Two weeks after the last date, Napoleon suddenly signified to Josephine his intention of proceeding to Italy, and bade her to be ready to accompany him in a few hours. His ostensible reason was to secure the grand duchy of Tuscany for his sister Eliza, and to confirm by his presence the treaty of Presburg, which had annexed Venice and other Italian provinces to the kingdom of Italy. But his main object was doubtless different from either of these. The conclusion is irresistible that his determination to divorce Josephine was fixed soon after the death of the prince royal of Holland, and that his present journey to Italy, was mainly for the purpose of sounding Eugene upon this point.

The viceroy with his attendants came out to meet him as he approached Milan; “Dismount, dismount,” cried Napoleon to Eugene; “come seat yourself with me, and let us enter your capital together.” The viceroy did as desired, and the imperial carriage bearing Napoleon, Josephine, and Eugene, entered the gates of the city. The emperor signified to Eugene his approbation of all that he had done, and loaded him with favors.

Jerome, who had married Miss Patterson of Baltimore during a cruise to this country, was compelled to send her home again upon his return to France, because she had no place in the new dynasty, and Napoleon refused to recognize her alliance with his family. And incidents of this tour increased the alienation between the emperor and Lucien, who met at Mantua. Napoleon thought of Charlotte, Lucien’s daughter, a brilliant woman, for queen of Spain. His letter to Joseph, and M. Thiers in his history, give some account of the mysterious interview.

NAPOLEON TO JOSEPH.

"MILAN, December 17, 1807.

"MY BROTHER—I saw Lucien at Mantua, and had with him a conversation of several hours. He has no doubt acquainted you with the sentiments with which he left me. His notions and his expressions are so different from mine that I can hardly make out what it is that he wants; I think that he told me that he wished to send his eldest daughter to Paris to live with her grandmother. If he still is thus disposed, I desire to be immediately informed of it; the girl must reach Paris in the course of the month of January, either accompanied by Lucien or under the charge of a governess who will take her to Madame. It appeared to me that there was in Lucien's mind a contest between opposite feelings, and that he had not sufficient strength to decide in favor of any one of them. I exhausted all the means in my power to induce him, young as he is, to devote his talents to my service and to that of his country. If he wishes to let me have his daughter, she must set off without delay, and he must send me a declaration putting her entirely at my disposal; for there is not a moment to lose; events are hastening on, and my destiny must be accomplished. If he has changed his mind, let me know it immediately, for I shall then make other arrangements.

"Tell Lucien that I was touched by his grief and by the feelings which he expressed toward me; and that I regret the more that he will not be reasonable and contribute to his own comfort and to mine.

"I think that this letter will reach you on the 22d. My last news from Lisbon are dated the 28th of November; the prince-regent had embarked for the Brazils; he was still in the roadstead of Lisbon; my troops were only at a few leagues' distance from the forts which form the

entrance of the roadstead. I have heard from Spain no more than is contained in the letter which you have read. I am waiting with impatience for a clear and decisive answer, particularly with regard to Charlotte.

"P. S. My troops entered Lisbon on the 30th of November; the prince royal escaped in a man-of-war; I have taken five ships of the line and six frigates. On the 2d of December all was going on well at Lisbon. England declared war against Russia on the 6th of December. Pass this news on to Corfu. The Queen of Tuscany is here: she wishes to go to Madrid."

The reader may be interested by Thiers's relation of the interview between Napoleon and Lucien:

"M. de Meneval went during the night to bring Lucien from his inn to Napoleon's palace. Instead of throwing himself into his brother's arms, Lucien addressed him with a haughtiness excusable in a man without material power, but perhaps carried further than mere self-respect required. The interview was painful and stormy, but not useless. Among the possible arrangements in Spain one was that of the marriage of a French princess to Ferdinand. Napoleon had just received a letter from Charles IV., repeating his request for such a marriage, and, though he leaned toward a more radical solution, he did not exclude this middle course from his projects. He wished Lucien then to give him his daughter by his first wife to be brought up by the empress-mother, to imbibe the feelings of the family, and to be sent to Spain to regenerate the Bourbons. If it should not suit him to give her this part to play, there were other thrones, more or less lofty, to which he could raise her. As for Lucien, he wished to make him a French prince, and even king of Portugal, which would put him in

the neighborhood of his daughter, on condition of his dissolving his second marriage, the divorced wife being indemnified by a title and a great fortune.

“These arrangements were practicable, but they were demanded with authority and refused with anger; and the brothers separated, both excited and irritated, but without a quarrel, since a part of what Napoleon asked—the sending Lucien’s daughter to Paris—took place a few days after.”

Then followed the Milan Decrees, to avenge with greater severity than by the Berlin edicts the increased embarrassment of French commerce under new orders of the English government. Napoleon proclaimed all vessels a lawful prize which should submit to the British policy toward France. The United States were independent of dictation from England, and their government was assured by the emperor of exemption from his rigorous measures. He communicated the stringent law to the government of Naples.

NAPOLEON TO JOSEPH.

“TURIN, December 28, 1807.

“MY BROTHER,—I send you a copy of a decree which I have just issued in consequence of the changes in the commerce by sea. I wish it to be executed in your dominions.* Equip as many privateers as you can to pursue the ships which communicate with Sicily, Malta, or Gibraltar, and which go to and from England. I have ordered an embargo upon all Sardinian ships and ships coming from Sardinia. It is by means

* The Milan Decree, which declared subject to capture every ship which had touched at any port in the British islands or in the British colonies. It was provoked by Orders-in-Council, which declared subject to capture every ship which had *not* touched at a port in the British islands or in the British colonies. Between the two all commerce by sea by any nation whatever was prohibited.—*Tr.*

of Sardinia that the English correspond at present. I have ordered all vessels coming from thence to be stopped. It is advisable not to make this measure public. I start in an hour, and I shall reach Paris on the night of the 1st. Whereupon I pray God that he may keep you in his holy and honorable care.”

Napoleon, after a hasty tour through the other Italian provinces, returned with Josephine to Paris.

Meanwhile an army under Junot had advanced upon Lisbon, whose fugitive court sailed for the coasts of Brazil, to find security in their magnificent dominions there. Portugal, therefore, passed immediately from English into French possession. The people, indignant at the cowardly flight of their rulers, acquiesced for the time in Napoleon’s sovereignty.

But Spain, the greater prize, was not his own. He had said before the battle of Jena, referring to the unreliable course of that kingdom, “The Bourbons of Spain shall be replaced by princes of my own family.” Manuel Godoy, one of the king’s body guard, had by his fine person and attainments won the affections and control of the licentious queen. Of the three sons of Charles IV., Ferdinand, Carlos, and Francisco, Ferdinand was the heir-apparent to the crown; and although a profligate youth of twenty-five, more popular than his equally imbecile father or Godoy, with the majority of the people. It was with him Napoleon contemplated the marriage of Charlotte, the daughter of Lucien. Godoy was the object of universal scorn. His house, March 18th, was pillaged; and on the following day he was rescued from violent death by the guards. Charles IV., greatly alarmed, abdicated the throne, and Ferdinand was proclaimed king amid the wild applause of the people. Murat, Grand Duke of

Berg, commanding the army in Spain, marched to Madrid, and took possession of that capital. He refused to recognize Ferdinand's right to the crown, and waited for the mandate of Napoleon. The trembling Charles appealed to the emperor. The conqueror of Spain revealed his unfolding plans to its future king :

NAPOLEON TO JOSEPH.

" ST. CLOUD, March 31, 1808.

" MY BROTHER—You have seen the news from Spain in the *Moniteur*. I will tell you, *as a secret*, that my troops entered Madrid on the 24th; that King Charles protests against all that has been done;* he believes his life to be in danger, and he has implored my protection. Under these circumstances I shall go. I have many troops in Spain; they have been well received there. I need not tell you that I have not recognized the new king,† nor has he been acknowledged by the Grand Duke of Berg.‡ They have made each other civil speeches without meeting, as the Grand Duke could not treat him as a king until I had recognized him. I may start any day for Madrid. This information is for your use, and for you alone."

April 2d, Napoleon set out for Bayonne, a town on the frontier, and at the base of the Pyrenees, to meet the new monarch of Spain, who had been persuaded to believe that a personal interview with Napoleon would secure to him his scepter. He arrived on the 20th, and was soon followed by the anxious old king, the queen, and Godoy. Here were mutual recriminations, the repetition of domestic broils, and disclosures of their almost idiotic follies in government, and brutal vices in private life. If crimes so manifold could jus-

* His abdication and Ferdinand's succession.—Tr.

† Ferdinand VII.

‡ Murat.—Tr.

tify the policy of a majestic, ambitious mind, then was there an excuse for the grasp of power with which the emperor took this splendid prize.

The result of the conference was, the resignation by Charles IV. of all sovereignty, for a magnificent domain and pension, which was immediately followed with a similar submission, as the only alternative, by Ferdinand VII.

Manuel Godoy, who, because of his success in effecting the treaty of Basle, had received the sounding title of Prince of Peace, assented to the disposal of the crown, for the sake of safety and luxury with the guilty queen, whose unblushing shame sought, rather than avoided, the eye of the world.

Napoleon issued his proclamation to the Spaniards, promising them fresh political and commercial life, and a constitution which should secure their national freedom and glory. He announced to the king of Naples his prospective transfer to the vacant throne :

NAPOLEON TO JOSEPH.

" BAYONNE, May 11, 1808.

" MY BROTHER—You will find annexed the letter of King Charles to the Prince of the Asturias and a copy of my treaty with the king. The Grand Duke of Berg is lieutenant-general of the kingdom, president of the junta, and generalissimo of the Spanish forces. King Charles starts in two days for Compeigne. The Prince of the Asturias is going toward Paris. The other Infants are to occupy villas in the environs of Paris. King Charles, by his treaty with me, surrenders to me all his rights to the crown of Spain. The prince had already renounced his pretended title of king, the abdication of King Charles in his favor having been involuntary. The nation, through the Supreme

Council of Castile, asks me for a king ; I destine this crown for you. Spain is a very different thing from Naples ; it contains eleven millions of inhabitants, and has more than 150,000,000 of revenue, without counting the Indies and the immense revenue to be derived from them. It is besides a throne which places you at Madrid, at three days' journey from France, which borders the whole of one of its frontiers. At Madrid you are in France ; Naples is the end of the world. I wish you therefore, immediately after the receipt of this letter, to appoint whom you please regent, and to come to Bayonne by way of Turin, Mont Cénis, and Lyons. You will receive this letter on the 19th, you will start on the 20th, and you will be here on the 1st of June. Before you go, leave instructions with Marshal Jourdan as to the disposition of your troops, and make arrangements as if you were to be absent only to the first of July. Be secret, however ; your journey will probably excite only too much suspicion, but you will say that you are going to the north of Italy to confer with me on important matters."

Joseph was a generous, high-minded man, "too kind," as Napoleon expressed it, to be a king. The contrast between these brothers, in the milder virtues of humanity, is seen in their fraternal correspondence. The king of Naples reached Bayonne on the 7th of June, where he was waited upon by the Spanish congress, and welcomed to the sovereignty of the realm. July 9th he departed with an imposing train, for Madrid. His accession was transmitted to the powers of Europe, and acknowledged by nearly all of them ; but by none more cordially than by Alexander of Russia. Napoleon embraced the opportunity, as he regarded it, of "regenerating Spain," and under this brilliant form of ambition,

began there the career of kingly piracy which ultimately stranded his proud and resplendent fortunes upon the rocks of St. Helena. It is true, never was the pursuit of glory, and the hallucination that the world's redemption was in the hands of a gifted man, more grand in development and design, and more sadly baptized in blood, than was Napoleon's.

Joseph recoiled from his mission in Spain, and found it, as he anticipated, no pastime to take possession of an ancient throne. His burdened, unquiet heart was known only to his master, to whom he expressed his fears, but received little sympathy.

JOSEPH TO NAPOLEON.

" July 18, 1808.

"SIRE—It appears to me that no one has told your majesty the whole truth. I will not conceal it. Our undertaking is a very great one : to get out of it with honor requires vast means. I do not see double from fear. When I left Naples, I saw the risks before me, and I now say to myself every day, "My life is nothing, I give it to you." But if I am to live without the shame of failure, I must be supplied largely with men and money. *Then* the kindness of my nature may make me popular. Now, while all is doubtful kindness looks like timidity, and I try to conceal mine. To get quickly through this task, so hateful to a sovereign, to prevent further insurrections, to have less blood to shed and fewer tears to dry, enormous forces must be employed. Whatever be the result in Spain, its king must lament, for, if he conquers, it will be by force ; but, as the die is cast, the struggle should be cut short. My position does not frighten me, but it is one in which a king never was before. I have not a single partisan."

NAPOLEON TO JOSEPH.

“BAYONNE, July 19, 1808, 10. P. M.

“MY BROTHER—I received your letter of the 18th at three o'clock this morning. I am sorry to see that your courage seems to fail you; it is the only misfortune which I feared. Troops are pouring in continually from all quarters. You have a great many partisans in Spain; you have all the honest people, but they fear to come forward. I do not, however, deny that you have a task, but it is a great and a glorious task. Marshal Bessières' victory, entirely defeating Cuesta and the army of the line in Galicia, has greatly improved the whole state of affairs; it is worth more than a reinforcement of thirty thousand men. As General Dupont has been joined by the divisions of Gobert and Vedel, the attack must be vigorously pressed in that direction. General Dupont has good troops; he will succeed. I would rather that the 2d and 12th light infantry had reinforced Marshal Bessières; but, since you have thought proper to take them to Madrid, keep them for your guard; they will soon be joined by two thousand conscripts from the battalions on drill; and these two fine regiments, with those of your guard, will form you a splendid reserve. You ought not to be surprised at having to conquer your kingdom. Philip V. and Henry IV. were forced to conquer theirs. Be happy; do not allow yourself to be so easily affected, and do not doubt for an instant that everything will end sooner and more happily than you think.”

JOSEPH TO NAPOLEON.

“MADRID, July 23d, 1808.

“SIRE—If your majesty would write to General Caulaincourt that you are informed that in cold blood

he arranged the pillage of the churches and houses in Cuenza, it might do much good. I know that the public sale in Madrid of the church plate has done much harm. Every sensible person in the Government and in the army says that a defeat would have been less injurious.”

JOSEPH TO NAPOLEON.

“MADRID, July 23, 1808.

“SIRE—Marshal Monecy has arrived. He found everything hostile on his march. He complains bitterly that the pillage by General Caulaincourt has increased the general exasperation. Since Cuenza was plundered many of the wealthier families fly with their property.”

JOSEPH TO NAPOLEON.

“MADRID, July 24, 1808.

“SIRE—The honest people are as little on my side as the rogues are. No, Sire, you are deceived. Your glory will be shipwrecked in Spain. My tomb will be a monument of your want of power to support me, for no one will suspect you of want of will. This will happen, for I am resolved under no circumstances to recross the Ebro.

“Yet fifty thousand good troops, and fifty millions, sent before the end of three months, might set things right. The recall of five or six of your generals; sending hither Jourdan and Maurice Mathieu, who are honest men; on your part, absolute confidence in me; on my part, absolute power over the officers who misconduct themselves—the union of all this alone can save the country and the army.”

NAPOLEON TO JOSEPH.

"BORDEAUX, July 31, 1808.

"MY BROTHER—I have received your letters of the 24th, 25th and 26th. The style of your letter of the 24th does not please me. To die is not your business, but to live and to conquer, which you are doing, and shall do.

"I shall find in Spain the pillars of Hercules, but not the limits of my power.

"Troops and succors of every description are on their way toward you. Your forces are more by one third than are necessary if they are well managed.

"Caulaincourt did what was perfectly right at Cuenza. The city was pillaged: this is one of the rights of war, since it was captured while the defenders were still in arms. Russia has recognized you; the letter announcing it has been despatched to Count Stroganoff. On reaching Paris I shall learn that Austria has done the same. Your position may be painful as king, but, as a general, it is brilliant. There is only one thing to fear: take care not to impair the spirit of the army—not to sacrifice it to the Spaniards. No measures are to be kept with ruffians who assassinate our wounded, and commit every kind of horror; the way in which they are treated is quite right. I have told you already, and I repeat it, since the glorious victory of Medina de Rio Seco, which so promptly settled the question of Spain, Marshal Bessières is absolute master of the North. Make yourself easy as to the result. I am not surprised at what has happened; if I had not expected it, should I have sent one hundred and fifty thousand men into Spain, and raised two conscriptions, and spent eighty millions? I would rather have lost a battle than have had to read Moncey's report. My health is good.

I reached Bordeaux this morning. I am going to Rochefort."

Napoleon returned to Paris, again to be received as a god—the idolized and dazzling wonder of their deepest homage. His morality beyond a reasonable doubt, was unsullied by vice, and preeminent among monarchs. While adding vast empires to his own, France was covered with improvements begun or completed, which emanated from his exhaustless brain. But there are sublime and beautiful exhibitions of a ruling passion in human life, which do not change the selfish, immoral character of the motive, tried by the eternal principles of pure and righteous action. Napoleon can never, without violence to the conscience of mankind, be viewed in the light of self-forgetful love for oppressed humanity—a man whose benign patriotism borrowed strength and excellence from a serious regard to the benevolent sovereignty of the "King of kings." But he was a great conqueror, and a great monarch.

Austria now spread again upon the horizon a cloud of threatening. She had desired an occasion for rupture with expanding France. Prussia was equally restless. To prepare for the rising storm, by renewing the treaty of peace and united strength, made at Tilsit, the emperor appointed a meeting with Alexander of Russia, at Erfurth in Germany. He arrived there amid the gathered aristocracy and royalty of kingdoms, September 27th, 1808. The autocrat was friendly and pliable, pledging himself to sustain Napoleon in his plans, if he might be equally favored in his designs upon Turkey and Sweden.

A distinguished lady* who was an eye-witness of the splendid scenes at Erfurth, thus describes them:

*Madame de Schopenhauer.