

JEAN COMTE RAPP

MEMOIRS OF GENERAL
COUNT RAPP, FIRST
AIDE-DE-CAMP TO
NAPOLEON

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**Memoirs of General Count Rapp,
First aide-de-camp to Napoleon**

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Rapp J.

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CHAPTER I

I do not pretend to be an historical character; but I was long near a man who has been the object of base misrepresentations, and I commanded brave troops whose services have been disowned. The former overwhelmed me with favours; the latter would have laid down their lives for me: these things I cannot forget.

I served in the army for several years; and I was successful in some enterprises, though without gaining distinction, as is usual with those who hold subaltern rank. At length I was fortunate enough to engage the attention of General Desaix. Our advance guard, which had been thrown into disorder, was speedily rallied. I hastened forward with a hundred hussars; we charged the Austrians, and succeeded in putting them to flight. We were almost all covered with wounds; but for these we were amply rewarded by the praises that were bestowed on us. The General made me promise to take all requisite care of myself, and he delivered to me the most flattering attestation that ever a soldier obtained. I mention this circumstance, not because it procured me a pair of epaulettes, but because it obtained for me the friendship of that great man, and was the origin of my fortune. The attestation was as follows:

ARMY OF THE RHINE AND THE MOSELLE

*"Head Quarters at Blotsheim, 30th Fructidor, year
III. of the French Republic one and indivisible.*

"I, the undersigned General of Division, commanding the right wing of the above mentioned army, certify that citizen Jean Rapp, lieutenant in the 10th regiment of Horse Chasseurs, has served under my command with the said regiment during the two last campaigns; that on all occasions he has given proofs of singular intelligence, presence of mind and courage; that he has been wounded three different times; and that, on the 9th Prairial of the year II, at the head of a company of chasseurs, he attacked a column of the enemy's hussars, whose number was five times greater than his own force, with such devoted intrepidity, that he cut them to pieces, covering the retreat of a portion of our troops, and bearing away the honour of the victory. It cannot be too deeply regretted that he has been the victim of his valour, and has been dangerously wounded in such a way as to be deprived of the use of his arm. He is a worthy object of national gratitude, and well deserves to be appointed to some honorable post, should he be rendered incapable of more active service. I attest that citizen Rapp bears with him the friendship and esteem of all who know him.

Desaix."

Having become the aide-de-camp of the modest conqueror of Offenburgh, I fought under him in the campaigns of Germany and Egypt. I was made the chief of a squadron at Sediman; where I had the happiness, at the head of two hundred brave troops, to carry off the last remnant of the Turkish artillery, and I was promoted to the rank of Colonel, at Samanhout, near the ruins of Thebes.

I was severely wounded in this last affair; but I was honorably mentioned in the dispatches of the General-in-chief.

On the death of the brave Desaix, who was killed at Marengo, at the moment when he had decided the victory, the First Consul deigned to appoint me to a post about his own person. The favour which he would have conferred on the conqueror of Upper Egypt was extended to me. From that time I was in some manner permanently established, and my connexions became more extended.

Zeal, frankness, and some degree of military talent, procured for me the confidence of Napoleon. He frequently remarked to those about him, that few possessed a greater share of natural good sense and discernment than Rapp. These praises were repeated to me, and I must confess I was flattered by them: if this be weakness, I may be excused; every one has some foible. I would have sacrificed my life to prove my gratitude to the First Consul. He knew this; and he often repeated to my friends that I was a grumbler—that I had a poor head but a good heart. He treated both me and Lannes familiarly, using the pronoun *thou* when he spoke to us; if he addressed us by *you* or *Monsieur le General*, we became alarmed, we were sure that we were out of favour. He had the weakness to attach importance to a gossiping police system which for the most part deceived him by false reports. That odious system of police embittered the happiness of his life; it frequently incensed him against his best friends, his relations, and even his wife.

Napoleon attached but little importance to mere courage, which he regarded as an ordinary kind of merit, common to all Frenchmen: he set a higher value on intrepidity; and he was willing to pardon every fault in an intrepid soldier. When any one solicited a favour, either at an audience or a review, he never failed to enquire whether he had been wounded. He declared that every wound was a quarter of nobility. He honoured and rewarded the individuals who were thus distinguished, and he had good reasons for so doing. However, he soon perceived that they did not attend the antechambers, and he opened them to the old nobility. This preference offended us; he remarked this, and was displeased at our taking offence. "I see plainly," said he to me one day, "that these nobles whom I have placed in my household are disagreeable to you." I, however, very well deserved the privilege. I had erased several gentlemen from the list of emigrants; I had procured places for some, and had given money and pensions to others. Some have remembered these favours, but the majority have forgotten them; and consequently my purse has been closed since the return of the King. Though my object was to relieve misfortune, and not to obtain gratitude, yet I did not choose that the emigrants should interpose between us and the great man whom we had raised on the shield.

I had forgotten this disagreeable scene; but Napoleon did not forget any offensive observations that might escape him. In vain he sought to assume the mask of severity; his natural disposition subdued his efforts, and kind feelings always gained the ascendancy. He called me to him: he spoke to me of the nobles and the emigrants; and suddenly recurring to the scene above alluded to, he said: "You think, then, that I have a predilection for these people; but you are mistaken. I employ them, and you know why. Am I connected with nobility? I, who was a poor Corsican gentleman?"—"Neither I nor the army," I replied, "have ever inquired into your origin. Your actions are sufficient for us." I related this conversation to several of my friends, among others to Generals Mouton and Lauriston.

Most of these same nobles, however, allege that they had yielded only to compulsion. Nothing can be more false. I know of only two who received Chamberlain's appointments unsolicited. Some few declined advantageous offers; but with these exceptions, all solicited, entreated, and importuned. There was a competition of zeal and devotedness altogether unexampled. The meanest employment, the humblest offices, nothing was rejected; it seemed to be an affair of life and death. Should a treacherous hand ever find its way into the portfolios of M.M. Talleyrand, Montesquiou, Segur, Duroc, &c., what ardent expressions may be found to enrich the language of attachment. But the individuals who held this language now vie with each other in giving vent to hatred and invective. If they really felt for Napoleon the profound hatred which they now evince, it must be confessed that, in crouching at his feet for fifteen years, they did strange violence to their feelings. And yet all

Europe can bear witness, that from their unrestrained manner, their never-varying smile, and their supple marks of obedience, their services seemed to be of their own free choice, and to cost them but little sacrifice.

CHAPTER II

Many persons have described Napoleon as a violent, harsh, and passionate man; this is because they have not known him. Absorbed as he was in important business, opposed in his views, and impeded in his plans, it was certainly natural that he should sometimes evince impatience and inequality of temper. His natural kindness and generosity soon subdued his irritation; but it must be observed that, far from seeking to appease him, his confidants never failed to excite his anger. "Your Majesty is right," they would say, "such a one deserves to be shot or broken, dismissed or disgraced: I have long known him to be your enemy. An example must be made; it is necessary for the maintenance of tranquillity."

If the matter in question had been to levy contributions on the enemy's territory, Napoleon, perhaps, would demand twenty millions; but he would be advised to exact ten millions more. He would be told by those about him, "it is necessary that your Majesty should spare your treasury, that you should maintain your troops at the expense of foreign countries, or leave them to subsist on the territory of the confederation."

If he entertained the idea of levying 200,000 conscripts, he was persuaded to demand 300,000. If he proposed to pay a creditor whose right was unquestionable, doubts were started respecting the legality of the debt. The amount claimed was perhaps reduced to one half, or one third; and it not unfrequently happened that the debt was denied altogether.

If he spoke of commencing war, the bold resolution was applauded. It was said war enriched France; that it was necessary to astonish the world, and to astonish it in a way worthy of the great nation.

Thus, by being excited and urged to enter upon uncertain plans and enterprises, Napoleon was plunged into continual war. Thus it was, that his reign was impressed with an air of violence contrary to his own character and habits, which were perfectly gentle.

Never was there a man more inclined to indulgence, or more ready to listen to the voice of humanity: of this I could mention a thousand examples; but I confine myself to the following.

Georges and his accomplices had been condemned. Josephine interceded for M.M. Polignac, and Murat for M. de Rivière, and both succeeded in their mediation. On the day of execution, the banker Scherer hastened to Saint-Cloud, bathed in tears, and asked to speak with me. He begged of me to solicit the pardon of his brother-in-law, M. de Russillon, an old Swiss Major, who had been implicated in the affair. He was accompanied by some of his countrymen, all relatives of the prisoner. They observed that they were conscious the Major merited his sentence; but that he was the father of a family, and that he was allied to the most distinguished houses in the Canton of Bern. I yielded to their entreaties, and I had no reason to regret having done so.

It was seven in the morning. Napoleon was up and in his closet with Corvisart, when I was announced. "Sire," said I, "it is not long since your Majesty settled the government of Switzerland by your mediation. But you know that the people are not all equally satisfied; the inhabitants of Bern in particular. You have now an opportunity of proving to them your magnanimity and generosity. One of their countrymen is to be executed this day. He is connected with the best families in the country; if you grant his pardon it will certainly produce a great sensation, and procure you many friends."—"Who is this man? What is his name?" inquired Napoleon.—"Russillon," I replied. On hearing this name, he became angry.—"Russillon," said he, "is more guilty than Georges himself."—"I am fully aware of all that your Majesty now does me the honour to tell me; but the people of Switzerland, his family, his children, will bless you. Pardon him, not on his own account, but for the sake of the many brave men who have suffered for his folly."—"Hark ye," said he, turning to Corvisart, while he took the petition from my hand, approved it, and hastily returned it to me; "immediately despatch a courier to suspend the execution." The joy of the family may be easily

guessed: to me they testified their gratitude through the medium of the public papers. Russillon was imprisoned along with his accomplices; but he afterwards obtained his liberty. Since the return of the King, he has several times visited Paris, though I have not seen him. He thinks that I attached but little importance to the act of service I rendered him; and he is right.

CHAPTER III

No man possessed greater sensibility, or evinced more constancy in his affections than Napoleon. He tenderly loved his mother, he adored his wife, and he was fondly attached to his sisters, brothers, and other relatives. All, with the exception of his mother, caused him the bitterest vexation; yet he never ceased to overwhelm them with riches and honours. Of all his relations, his brother Lucien proved himself the most determined opposer of his views and plans. One day, while they were disputing warmly on a subject which has now escaped my recollection, Lucien drew out his watch, and dashing it violently on the ground, he addressed to his brother these remarkable words: "You will destroy yourself, as I have destroyed that watch; and the time will come when your family and friends will not know where to shelter their heads." He married a few days after, without obtaining his brother's consent, or even signifying his intention to him. This, however, did not prevent Napoleon from receiving him in 1815; though it was not without being urged to do so: Lucien was obliged to wait at the out-posts; but he was speedily admitted to the Emperor's presence.

Napoleon did not confine his generosity to his relatives; friendship, services, all met their due reward. On this I can speak from experience. I returned from Egypt, in the rank of aide-de-camp to the brave General Desaix, and with two hundred louis which I had saved, and which constituted my whole fortune. At the time of the abdication, I possessed an income of 400,000 francs, arising out of endowments, appointments, emoluments, extraordinary allowances, &c. I have lost five sixths of this income; but I do not regret it: that which I still possess forms a vast contrast to my early fortune. But what I regret is the glory acquired at the price of so much blood and exertion: it is for ever lost, and for that I am inconsolable.

I was not the only one who shared the bounty of Napoleon; a thousand others were in like manner overwhelmed with favours; and the injury which he suffered, through the misconduct of some, proved no bar to the exercise of his kindness. Whatever might be the depth of these injuries, they were forgotten as soon as he was convinced that the heart had no share in producing them. I could cite a hundred instances of his indulgence in this respect; but the following will suffice.

When he took the title of Emperor, the changes that were made in his household, which had been hitherto exclusively military, gave umbrage to several of us. We had been accustomed to enjoy the intimacy of the great man, and we felt displeased at the reserve imposed upon us by the imperial purple.

Generals Regnier and Damas were at that time in disgrace: I was intimate with both, and I was not in the habit of abandoning my friends in misfortune. I had exerted every effort to remove Napoleon's prejudices against these two general officers; but without success. I one day resumed my intercession in favour of Regnier; and Napoleon becoming impatient and out of humour, told me, dryly, that he wished to hear no more about him. I wrote to inform the brave General, that all my endeavours had proved unavailing; I entreated him to have patience; and added a few phrases dictated by the disappointment of the moment. I was so imprudent as to entrust my letter to the conveyance of the post; and the consequence was, that it was opened and sent to the Emperor. He read it over three or four times, ordered some of my writing to be brought to him for the purpose of comparing it, and could scarcely persuade himself that I had written it. He flew into a violent rage, and despatched a courier from Saint Cloud to the Tuileries, where I was lodged. I thought I was summoned for a mission, and set out immediately. I found Caulincourt in the saloon of the household with Cafarelli, and I asked him what was the news. He had heard the whole affair; he seemed much vexed by it: but he said not a word about it to me. I entered the apartments of Napoleon, who came out of his closet, with the letter in his hand, in a furious rage. He darted upon me those angry glances, which so often excited dismay. "Do you know this writing?" said he.—"Yes, Sire,"—"It is yours?"—"Yes, Sire."—"You are the last person I should have suspected of this. Is it possible that you can hold such language to my

enemies? You, whom I have treated so well! You, for whom I have done so much! You, the only one of all my aides-de-camp, whom I lodged in the Tuileries!"—The door of his closet was ajar: he observed this, and he threw it wide open, in order that M. Menneval, one of the secretaries, might hear what passed. "Begone," said he, scanning me from head to foot, "begone; you are an ungrateful man!"—"Sire," I replied, "my heart was never guilty of ingratitude."—"Read this letter," said he, presenting it to me, "and judge whether I accuse you wrongfully."—"Sire, of all the reproaches that you can heap upon me, this is the most severe. Having lost your confidence, I can no longer serve you."—"Yes, you have indeed forfeited my confidence." I bowed respectfully, and withdrew.

I resolved to retire to Alsace, and I was making preparations for my departure, when Josephine sent to desire me to return and make my best apologies to Napoleon. Louis, however, gave me contrary advice, and I was not much inclined to obey the directions of the Empress, as my resolution was formed. Two days elapsed, and I heard no news from Saint Cloud. Some friends, among whom was Marshal Bessières, called on me. "You are in the wrong," said the Marshal, "you cannot but acknowledge it. The respect and gratitude you owe to the Emperor render it a duty to confess your fault." I yielded to these suggestions. No sooner had Napoleon received my letter, than he desired me to attend him in one of his rides on horseback. He was out of humour with me for some time; but one day he sent for me very early at Saint Cloud. "I am no longer angry with you," said he, with exceeding kindness of manner; "you were guilty of a great piece of folly; but it is all over—I have forgotten it. It is my wish that you should marry." He mentioned two young ladies, either of whom, he said, would suit me. My marriage was brought about; but unfortunately it did not prove a happy one.

Bernadotte was in the deepest disgrace, and he deserved it. I met him at Plombières, whither he had been permitted to go, accompanied by his wife and son, for the benefit of the waters; and I had visited the place for the same purpose. I had always admired Bernadotte's kind and amiable disposition. I saw him frequently at Plombières. He communicated to me the circumstance that most distressed him, and begged that I would use my influence to bring about his reconciliation with the Emperor, whom he said he had never ceased to admire, and who had been prepossessed against him by calumnious reports. On my return I learned that his friends, his brother-in-law, and Madame Julie herself, had uselessly interceded in his behalf. Napoleon would hear nothing they had to say; and his irritation against Bernadotte continually increased. But I had promised to do what I could for him; and I was bound to keep my word. The Emperor was preparing to set out for Villiers, where Murat was to give a *fête*: he was in high good-humour, and I determined to avail myself of this favourable circumstance. I communicated my design to Marshal Bessières, who, with myself, was to attend the Emperor: he tried to dissuade me from my intention. He informed me that Madame Julie had that very morning been at Malmaison, and that she had departed in tears for the ill success of her suit. This circumstance was not calculated to inspire me with confidence; but I nevertheless ventured on my mediation. I informed Napoleon that I had seen Bernadotte at Plombières, that he was dejected and deeply mortified by his disgrace. "He protests," added I, "that he has never failed in his love and devotion for your Majesty."—"Do not speak of him; he deserves to be shot," said Napoleon; and he set off at full gallop. At Murat's *fête*, I met Joseph and his wife; and I told them how unlucky I had been. The affair came to the knowledge of Bernadotte, who thanked me for my good intentions. Notwithstanding his numerous misunderstandings with Bernadotte, Napoleon subsequently forgave all his past offences, and loaded him with wealth and honours. The Prince Royal is now about to ascend the throne, while the author of his fortune is exiled to a rock in the midst of the ocean.

CHAPTER IV

It has been affirmed that Napoleon was not brave. A man who, from the rank of lieutenant of artillery, rose to be the ruler of a nation like France, could not surely be deficient in courage. Of this his conduct on the 18th Brumaire, on the 5th Nivose, and during the plot of Arena, are sufficient proofs, if proofs were wanting. He was well aware how numerous were his enemies among the jacobins and the chouans; yet every evening he walked out in the streets of Paris, and mingled with the different groups, never accompanied by more than two individuals. Lannes, Duroc, Bessières, or some of his aides-de-camp usually attended him in these nocturnal excursions. This fact was well known throughout Paris.

The affair of the infernal machine has never been properly understood by the public. The police had intimated to Napoleon that an attempt would be made against his life, and cautioned him not to go out. Madame Bonaparte, Mademoiselle Beauharnais, Madame Murat, Lannes, Bessières, the aide-de-camp on duty, and lieutenant Lebrun, now duke of Placenza, were all assembled in the saloon, while the First Consul was writing in his closet. Haydn's Oratorio was to be performed that evening: the ladies were anxious to hear the music, and we also expressed a wish to that effect. The escort picquet was ordered out; and Lannes requested that Napoleon would join the party. He consented; his carriage was ready, and he took along with him Bessières and the aide-de-camp on duty. I was directed to attend the ladies. Josephine had received a magnificent shawl from Constantinople, and she that evening wore it for the first time. "Allow me to observe, Madame," said I, "that your shawl is not thrown on with your usual elegance." She good humouredly begged that I would fold it after the fashion of the Egyptian ladies. While I was engaged in this operation, we heard Napoleon depart. "Come, sister," said Madame Murat, who was impatient to get to the theatre; "Bonaparte is going." We stepped into the carriage: the First Consul's equipage had already reached the middle of the *Place Carrousel*. We drove after it; but we had scarcely entered the *Place* when the machine exploded. Napoleon escaped by a singular chance. Saint-Regent, or his French servant, had stationed himself in the middle of the *Rue Nicaise*. A grenadier of the escort, supposing he was really what he appeared to be, a water-carrier, gave him a few blows with the flat of his sabre, and drove him off. The cart was turned round, and the machine exploded between the carriages of Napoleon and Josephine. The ladies shrieked on hearing the report; the carriage windows were broken, and Mademoiselle Beauharnais received a slight hurt on her hand. I alighted, and crossed the *Rue Nicaise*, which was strewn with the bodies of those who had been thrown down, and the fragments of the walls that had been shattered by the explosion. Neither the Consul nor any individual of his suite sustained any serious injury. When I entered the theatre Napoleon was seated in his box, calm and composed, and looking at the audience through his opera-glass. Fouché was beside him. "Josephine," said he, as soon as he observed me. She entered at that moment, and he did not finish his question. "The rascals," said he, very coolly, "wanted to blow me up. Bring me a book of the Oratorio."

The audience soon learned the danger he had escaped, and they saluted him with testimonies of the deepest interest. These, I think, are unequivocal proofs of courage. The men who have followed him on the field of battle, cannot be at a loss to quote many more.

CHAPTER V

Napoleon, whatever his detractors may say, was neither overbearing nor obstinate in his opinions. He was eager to obtain information, and he wished to hear the opinions of all who were entitled to hold any. Among the members of the Council, the wish to please him sometimes superseded every other consideration; but when he perceived this, he never failed to restore the discussion to its proper tone. "Gentlemen," he would say to his lieutenants, "I summoned you here, not to bring you over to my opinion, but to let me hear your's. Explain to me your views; and I shall see whether the plans which you propose are better than my own."

While we were at Boulogne, he gave a lesson of this kind to the minister of the Marine. He had proposed some questions, to which M. Decrès replied only by a string of compliments. Napoleon wrote to him thus:—"I beg you will send me, in the course of to-morrow, a memorial on the following question: *In the present state of affairs, what is most proper to be done, should Admiral Villeneuve remain at Cadiz?* Raise your mind to the importance of present circumstances, and the situation in which France and England are placed. Send me no more letters like that which you addressed to me yesterday; they can answer no purpose. I have but one wish, and that is, to succeed; for which, I pray God," &c.

Two days before the battle of Austerlitz, a portion of the army was stationed in an unfavourable position, and the general who occupied it exaggerated its disadvantages. However, when the Council was assembled, he not only admitted that the position was tenable, but he even promised to defend it. "How is this, Marshal?" said the Grand Duke of Berg. "What has become of the doubts you expressed but a short while ago?"—"What signifies flattering, when we have met for the purpose of deliberating?" said Marshal Launes, in his turn. "We must represent things in their true light to the Emperor; and leave him to do what he may deem expedient."—"You are right," said Napoleon; "those who wish to win my good graces must not deceive me."

But though he was always ready to receive advice from those who were qualified to give it; yet he could not endure remarks made by individuals who might happen to be ignorant of the subject of which they were speaking. Fesch was one day about to make some observations on the Spanish war. He had scarcely uttered two words, when Napoleon, leading him to a window, said, "Do you see that star?"—It was noon, and the archbishop replied that he saw none. "Well," said Napoleon, "so long as I am the only one who perceives it, I will pursue my own course, and will hear no reflections on my conduct."

On his return from the Russian campaign, he was lamenting, with deep emotion, the death of the many brave men, who had been sacrificed, not by Cossack spears, but by the rigours of cold and hunger. A courtier, who wished to throw in his word, said, with a very doleful air, "We have, indeed, sustained a severe loss!"—"Yes," replied Napoleon, "Madame Barilli¹ is dead."

He always sneered at folly; but he never shewed himself averse either to pleasantry or frankness.

Madame Bachiaci one day brought to the Tuileries her relation, M. d'A * * * *. She retired after introducing him to the saloon of the household, and he was left alone with me. This M. d'A * * * *, like many of his countrymen, had a very unprepossessing countenance. I was distrustful of him; but, nevertheless, I informed the Emperor he was waiting, and he was introduced. He had doubtless something important to communicate. Napoleon, by a motion of his hand, directed me to return to the saloon. I pretended not to observe him, and I remained, for I was apprehensive for his safety. He advanced towards me, and said that they wished to be alone. I then withdrew, but I left the door of the chamber partly open.

¹ A celebrated opera singer.

When Napoleon had dismissed M. d'A * * * *, he asked me why I had been so reluctant to withdraw. "You know," replied I, "that I am not officious; but I must frankly confess that I do not like your Corsicans." He himself related this anecdote, which displeased some of the individuals of his family. However, I am persuaded that he would rather not have heard me speak of his countrymen in this way.

One evening, after the battle of Wagram, we were playing at *vingt-et-un*. Napoleon was very fond of this game: he used to try to deceive those he was playing with, and was much amused at the tricks he played. He had a great quantity of gold spread out upon the table before him. "Rapp," said he, "are not the Germans very fond of these little Napoleons?"—"Yes, Sire, they like them much better than the great one."—"That, I suppose," said he, "is what you call German frankness."

CHAPTER VI

I was at the camp of Boulogne when the third war with Austria broke out. The French were passing the Rhine. The remnants of the enemy's army, which had been beaten and nearly cut to pieces, shut themselves up in Ulm, and they were immediately summoned to surrender. The account of this negotiation, which was conducted by M. de Segur, so well portrays the confusion and anxiety of the unfortunate general, that I cannot refrain from inserting it here. The following is M. de Segur's own statement.

"Yesterday, the 24th of Vendemiaire (16th of Oct.), the Emperor desired me to attend him in his closet. He directed me to proceed to Ulm, and to prevail on General Mack to surrender in five days, or, if he absolutely required six, I was to allow him that time: I received no other instructions. The night was dark; a terrible hurricane arose and the rain poured in torrents: it was necessary to travel by cross roads, and to adopt every precaution for avoiding the marshes, in which man, horse, and mission, might all have come to an untimely end. I had almost reached the gates of the city without finding any of our advanced parties. All had withdrawn: sentinels, videttes, out-posts, all had placed themselves under shelter. Even the parks of artillery were abandoned; no fires, no stars were visible. I wandered about for three hours before I could find a general: I passed through several villages, and interrogated all whom I met; but without receiving any satisfactory answer.

"At length I found an artillery trumpeter, beneath a cassoon, half buried in mud, and stiff with cold. We approached the ramparts of Ulm. Our arrival had doubtless been expected; for M. de Latour, an officer, who spoke French very well, presented himself on the first summons. He tied a bandage over my eyes, and made me climb over the fortifications. I remarked to my guide that the extreme darkness of the night rendered it unnecessary to blindfold me; but he replied that it was a custom that could not be dispensed with. We seemed to have walked a considerable way. I entered into conversation with my guide; my object was to ascertain what number of troops were shut up in the city. I inquired whether we were far from the residences of General Mack and the Archduke. 'They are close at hand,' replied my guide. I concluded that all the remains of the Austrian army were in Ulm, and the sequel of the conversation confirmed me in this conjecture. At length we reached the inn where the general-in-chief resided. He was a tall elderly man, and the expression of his pallid countenance denoted a lively imagination. His features were disturbed by a feeling of anxiety which he endeavoured to conceal. After exchanging a few compliments, I told him my name; and then entering upon the subject of my mission, I informed him that the Emperor had sent me to invite him to surrender, and to settle with him the conditions of the capitulation. These words evidently offended him; and at first he seemed disinclined to listen to me further: but I insisted on being heard; and I observed that having been received, I, as well as the Emperor, might naturally suppose that he knew how to appreciate his condition. But he replied, sharply, that his situation would soon be changed, as the Russian army was advancing to his assistance; that we should be placed between two fires, and it would then be our turn to capitulate. I replied, that situated as he was, it was not surprising he should be ignorant of what was passing in Germany; but that I must inform him Marshal Bernadotte was in possession of Ingolstadt and Munich, and that he had his advance posts on the Inn, where the Russians had not yet shewn themselves. 'May I be the greatest —,' exclaimed General Mack, angrily, 'if I am not positively informed that the Russians are at Dachau! Do you think to impose on me thus? Do you take me for a boy? No, Monsieur de Segur, if I receive not assistance within eight days, I consent to surrender my fortress, on condition that my troops shall be prisoners of war, and my officers prisoners on parole. Eight days will allow time for affording me assistance; and I shall thus fulfil my duty. But I shall receive aid, I am certain!'—'Allow me to repeat, General, that we are masters not only of Dachau, but of Munich also: besides, allowing your supposition to be correct, if the Russians be really at Dachau, five days will enable them to advance and attack us, and

these five days his Majesty is willing to grant you.'—'No, Sir,' replied the Marshal, 'I demand eight days. I can listen to no other proposition; I must have eight days; that period is indispensable to my responsibility.'—'Then,' resumed I, 'the whole difficulty consists in settling the difference between five and eight days. But I cannot conceive why your Excellency should attach so much importance to this point, seeing that the Emperor is before you, at the head of 100,000 men; and that the corps of Marshal Bernadotte and General Marmont are sufficient to retard for three days the advance of the Russians, even supposing them to be where they are really very far from being.'—'They are at Dachau,' repeated General Mack.—'Well, Baron! be it so: and even allowing them to be at Augsburg, we should only be the more ready to come to an agreement with you. Do not force us to carry Ulm by assault; for then, instead of waiting five days, it will be but a morning's work for the Emperor to gain possession of it.'—'Sir,' replied the General-in-chief, 'do not imagine that fifteen thousand men are so easily subdued. The conquest will cost you dear.'—'Perhaps a few hundred men,' I replied; 'while Germany will reproach you with the loss of your army and the destruction of Ulm; in short, with all the horrors of an assault, which his Majesty seeks to prevent, by the proposition which he has charged me to make to you.'—'Rather say,' exclaimed the Marshal, 'that it will cost you ten thousand men! The strength of Ulm is known.'—'It consists in the heights which surround it, and which are in our possession.'—'Come, come, Sir, it is impossible that you can be ignorant of the strength of Ulm!'—'Certainly not, Marshal; and I am the better able to appreciate it, now that I am within the walls of the city.'—'Well, Sir,' resumed the unfortunate General, 'you see men ready to defend themselves to the utmost extremity, should your Emperor refuse to grant them an armistice of eight days. I can hold out for a considerable time. Ulm contains 3000 horses, which, rather than surrender, we will eat, with as much pleasure as you would were you in our place.'—'Three thousand horses!' I exclaimed: 'alas, Marshal! you must look forward to dreadful misery before you can think of trusting to so pitiful a resource.'

"The Marshal eagerly assured me, that he had provisions for ten days; but I believed no such thing. Day was beginning to dawn, and the negotiation was no farther advanced than at the commencement of our interview. I might have granted six days; but General Mack so obstinately insisted on eight, that I concluded the concession of a single day would be useless. I would not incur the risk, and I rose to depart, saying, that my instructions required me to return before day-light; and, in case my proposition should be rejected, to transmit to Marshal Ney the order for commencing the attack. Here General Mack complained of the conduct of the Marshal towards one of his flags of truce, whose message he had refused to hear. I availed myself of this circumstance to remark, that the Marshal's temper was hasty, impetuous, and ungovernable; that he commanded the most numerous corps, and that which was nearest the city; that he impatiently awaited the order to commence the assault, which order I was to transmit to him on my departure from Ulm. The old General, however, was not intimidated; he insisted on being allowed an interval of eight days, and urged me to make the proposal to the Emperor.

"Poor General Mack was on the point of signing his own ruin, and that of Austria. But notwithstanding his desperate situation, in which he must have suffered the most cruel anxiety, he still refused to yield: he preserved his presence of mind, and maintained the dispute in an animated way. He defended the only thing that he could defend, namely, time. He sought to retard the fall of Austria, of which he had himself been the cause, and wished to procure her a few days longer for preparation: when lost himself, he still contended for her. His character, which was political rather than military, led him to exert cunning in opposition to power. He was bewildered amidst a crowd of conjectures.

"About nine in the morning of the 25th, I rejoined the Emperor at the Abbey of Elchingen, where I rendered him an account of the negotiation. He appeared quite satisfied; and I left him. He however desired me to attend him again; and finding that I did not come at the very moment, he sent Marshal Berthier to me, with a written copy of the propositions which he wished me to induce General Mack to sign immediately. The Emperor granted the Austrian General eight days, reckoning

from the date of the 23d, the first day of the blockade; thus their number was in reality reduced to six, which I might at first have proposed, but which I would not concede.

"However, in case of obstinate refusal, I was authorized to date the eight days from the 25th, and thus the Emperor would still have gained a day by the concession. The object was to enter Ulm speedily, in order to augment the glory of the victory by its rapidity; to reach Vienna before the town should recover from the shock, or the Russian army could be in a situation to act; and, finally, our provisions were beginning to fail us, which was another reason for urging us on.

"Major-General Marshal Berthier intimated to me, that he would approach the town; and that if the conditions were agreed on, he should be glad if I would procure his admittance.

"I returned to Ulm about noon. The precautions which had been observed on my first visit were again repeated; but on this occasion I found General Mack at the gate of the city. I delivered to him the Emperor's ultimatum, and he withdrew to deliberate upon it with several of his Generals, among whom I observed a Prince of Lichtenstein, and Generals Klénau and Ginlay. In about a quarter of an hour, he returned, and again began to dispute with me respecting the date. He mistook some particular point in the written propositions, and this induced him to believe that he would obtain an armistice of eight whole days, reckoning from the 25th. In a singular transport of joy, he exclaimed, "M. de Segur! my dear M. de Segur! I relied on the Emperor's generosity; and I have not been deceived. Tell Marshal Berliner I respect him. Tell the Emperor, that I have only a few trifling observations to make; and that I will sign the propositions you have brought me. But inform his Majesty, that Marshal Ney has behaved ill to me—that he has treated me most disrespectfully. Assure the Emperor, that I relied on his generosity." Then, with increased warmth of feeling, he added, "Monsieur de Segur, I value your esteem: I attach importance to the opinion that you may entertain of me. I wish to show you the paper I had signed; for I assure you my determination was fixed." So saying, he unfolded a sheet of paper, on which were written these words: *Eight days, or death!* signed, *Mack*.

"I was thunderstruck at the joyful expression which animated his countenance. I was unable to account for the puerile triumph he evinced at so vain a concession. When on the point of sinking, to what a frail twig did the poor General cling, in the hope of preserving his own reputation, the honour of his army, and ensuring the safety of Austria! He took my hand, pressed it cordially, and suffered me to depart from Ulm without being blindfolded: he moreover allowed me to introduce Marshal Berthier into the fortress without the observance of the usual formalities; in short, he appeared perfectly delighted. He started, in the presence of Marshal Berthier, another argument respecting the dates. I explained the mistake that had occurred; and the matter was to be referred to the Emperor. In the morning the General assured me that he had provisions for ten days; but I had already intimated to his Majesty, that he appeared to have a very short supply; which, indeed, proved to be the case, for that very day he solicited permission to have provision conveyed to the fortress.

"Mack, on finding that his position was turned, conceived, that by throwing himself into Ulm and remaining there, he would draw the Emperor beneath the ramparts, where he hoped to detain him, and thus favour the flight of his other corps in different directions. He thought he had sacrificed himself, and this idea served to uphold his courage. When I entered upon my negotiations with him, he was of opinion that our army was drawn up before Ulm, and unable to move. He made the Archduke and Werneck secretly quit the city. One division attempted to escape to Memmingen; another was flying to the mountains of Tyrol: all were either actually made prisoners, or were on the point of being taken.

"On the 27th, General Mack came to see the Emperor at Elchingen: all his illusions had vanished.

"His Majesty, to convince him of the uselessness of detaining us longer before Ulm, described to him all the horrors of his situation. He assured him of our success on every point; informed him that Werneck's corps, all his artillery, and eight of his Generals had capitulated; that the Archduke himself was in danger, and that no tidings had been received of the Russians. All this intelligence

came like a thunderbolt on the General-in-chief: his strength failed him, and he was obliged to support himself against the wall of the apartment. He was overpowered by the weight of his misfortune. He acknowledged the extremity to which he was reduced; and frankly told us, that the provisions in Ulm were exhausted. He however said, that instead of 15,000 men, there were 24,000 fighting men, and 3000 invalids; but that all were plunged into the deepest confusion, and that every moment augmented the dangers of their situation. He added, that he was convinced all hope had vanished, and he therefore consented to surrender Ulm on the following day (the 28th) at three o'clock.

"On quitting his Majesty's presence, he saw some of our officers; and I heard him say, 'It is mortifying to be disgraced in the estimation of so many brave men: however, I have in my pocket my opinion, written and signed, in which I refused to have my army parcelled out. But I did not command; the Archduke John was there.' It is very possible that Mack was obeyed only with reluctance.

"On the 23th, 33,000 Austrians surrendered themselves prisoners. They defiled before the Emperor. The infantry threw down their arms on the other side of the ditch; the cavalry dismounted, laid down their arms, and delivered up their horses to our cavalry on foot. The troops, while surrendering their arms, shouted 'Vive l'Empereur!' Mack was present: he said to the officers, who had addressed him without knowing who he was, 'You see before you the unfortunate Mack!'"

I was at Elchingen with Generals Mouton and Bertrand when Mack came to present his respects to Napoleon. "I flatter myself, Gentlemen," said he to us, as he passed through the saloon of the aide-de-camp on duty, "that you do not cease to regard me as a brave man, though I have been obliged to capitulate with a force so considerable: it was difficult to resist the manœuvres of your Emperor; his plans have ruined me."

Napoleon, who was overjoyed at his success, sent General Bertrand to examine the returns of the army that was in Ulm. He brought intelligence that there were 21,000 men in the city: the Emperor could not believe this. "You speak their language," said he to me; "go and ascertain the truth." I went; I interrogated the commanders of corps, the generals, and the troops; and, from the information thus collected, I learned that the garrison contained 26,000 men fit for service. Napoleon, on hearing this, said, "I was mad, and that the thing was impossible." However, when the army defiled before us, its number, as M. de Segur had stated, amounted to 33,000 men, and nineteen generals: the cavalry and artillery were superb.

CHAPTER VII

We had not been able to shut up all the Austrian force in Ulm. Werneck escaped by the way of Heidenheim, and the Archduke hastened after him. They were both in full flight; but Fate had pronounced her decree, and against that there is no appeal. Napoleon being informed, in the middle of the night, that they were advancing on Albeck, immediately summoned the Grand-duke. "A division," said he, "has escaped from the garrison, and threatens our rear; pursue and destroy it: let not one escape." The rain descended in torrents, and the roads were in a dreadful condition; but fatigue and danger were forgotten in the triumph of victory. Our troops hastened onward intent on conquest. Murat came up with the enemy, attacked and routed him. He pursued him closely in his flight for the space of two leagues, scarcely allowing him time to take breath. Some masses occupied Erbrechtingen with cannon. Night had set in and our horses were exhausted: we halted. The 9th light arrived about ten o'clock. We then advanced; the attack was resumed; village, artillery, caissons, all were taken. General Odonel endeavoured to keep his ground with his rear-guard; but he was observed by one of our quarter-masters, who wounded him and made him prisoner. It was midnight, our troops were overcome with fatigue, and we pursued our triumph no farther.

The enemy fled precipitately in the direction of Nordlingen, where we possessed artillery and depôts. It was important to prevent his reaching that point. Murat detached some parties, who, by harassing and impeding him in his march, forced him to take up a position, that is to say, to lose time. On the other hand, General Rivaud was to put the bridge of Donnavert in a state of security, and to proceed with the surplus of his force to the Wiesnitz. Every passage was intercepted. These arrangements being made, the Prince began his march and came up with the Archduke, who was deploying on Neresheim. We attacked him with the enthusiasm inspired by victory: the shock was irresistible; the cavalry fled, and the infantry laid down their arms. Guns, standards, troops, all were taken in a mass: the most terrible disorder prevailed. Klein, Fauconet, and Lanusses, continued the pursuit, intercepted the enemy on every side, and dispersed him in every direction. Werneck was summoned to surrender; he hesitated; but a combination of extraordinary circumstances at length induced him to do so. The officer appointed to escort the French flag of truce crossed several plains in quest of his chief. He met the Prince of Hohenzollern, to whom he communicated the object of his mission. The Prince accompanied him, not doubting that the Field-Marshal would accept the conditions. They directed their course to Nordlingen, which they found occupied, not by the Austrians, but by French troops. On the other hand, General Lasalle had advanced on Merking, and had taken a thousand men. The fugitives spread alarm in the enemy's head-quarters. These accounts staggered Werneck, and he shewed himself disposed to treat. He detained the French officer and sent as a hostage the Major of the regiment of Rannitz. He deferred the negotiation until next day; for he wished to try the chances of the night. As soon as it was dark, he proposed to combine his forces with those of the Archduke; but the French intercepted the road, and General Rivaud drove back Lichtenstein, and penetrated the great park, which our hussars attacked in the rear. Werneck dared not go farther; he thought himself surrounded, and he negotiated. Our troops occupied the heights in order to be prepared against a surprise: but night advanced; and Hohenzollern, who on the preceding day had regarded the capitulation as inevitable, now availed himself of darkness to elude it. General Miskiery followed his example: they escaped with the cavalry and a few infantry troops, which had formed a part of the corps that had laid down arms. It might have been supposed that they were bound by the engagements of their chief; but no such thing; at least they thought so, for they rejoined the wrecks of the Archduke's force, with which they threw themselves on the Prussian territory. We came up with them at Gunderhausen, and demanded the fulfilment of the convention. The Prince of Schwarzenberg referred to orders, wished to clear up doubts, to write, to explain; in a word, to gain time.

The Prussians insisted on their neutrality; they required that the city should not be attacked, and that the enemy's column should evacuate it. A person in magisterial robes came, escorted by a party of the Archduke's officers, to threaten us with the displeasure of King William. Klein was not the man to be intimidated by this kind of masquerade: he sent to the Grand Duke the magistrate in the Austrian interest, and gave the signal for the attack. The Prince of Schwartzberg was quite disconcerted: he had not imagined that the General was so near at hand. He protested against the violation of the Prussian territory, and proposed that we should respect it and not occupy Gunderhausen. Klein told him to set a good example, and he would follow it. We continued to advance, and yet Schwartzberg came to no decision. Murat, tired of being taken for a dupe, gave orders for terminating the discussions and marching forward. The enemy's rear-guard then set off at full gallop, and left us in possession of the place. We pursued him for several leagues, without being able to come up with him. It was night, and we took a position. We resumed our march at daybreak; but the Archduke had fled so rapidly that we did not overtake the rear of his baggage until we reached Nuremberg. A piquet of our advance-guard charged him, and obliged the escort battalion to lay down their arms. The piquet then pressed forward, and entered a woody road, thronged with artillery and baggage, pursuing some hundreds of dragoons, who vainly endeavoured to rally themselves. The great body of the Austrian force was awaiting us in an advantageous position. Our chasseurs were obliged to fall back; but the hussars and carabinieri advanced, and the army was completely routed. The Archduke himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner. This was a finishing stroke to the corps who had escaped from Ulm. In the short space of five days, 7000 brave men marched over forty-five leagues, destroyed an army of 25,000 men, took their military chest and baggage, carried off 128 pieces of cannon, 11 standards, and made from 12 to 15,000 prisoners. Of all the Archduke's force nothing now remained but a few thousand unfortunate men scattered about in the woods.

Klein, however, persisted in his demands, and Werneck himself urged the fulfilment of the conditions that had been entered into. They required that the officers included in the capitulations should surrender themselves prisoners. The French General addressed his remonstrances to the Archduke, or, in his absence, to the General commanding the Austrian army; but such disorder prevailed, that the flag of truce was obliged to advance into the very heart of Bohemia before he could find an officer to receive his dispatches. The answer was long expected; but it at length arrived. It was a letter from General Kollowrard, who transmitted to us the following correspondence:

To Count Hohenzollern, Lieutenant-General in the Service of his Imperial and Royal Majesty.

"You have submitted Lieutenant-general Werneck's letter to my consideration. I must inform you that, according to the rules of war and the law of nations, I regard the pretensions of the French General as very illegal. "Consequently I declare that you, and the troops with whom you have returned, cannot be included in the capitulation. I therefore order you as well as them to continue to serve as before.

Signed, Ferdinand.

Countersigned, Morvahl.

Major and Aide-de-Camp.

"Egra, Oct. 23, 1805."

By this document the capitulation was rendered no capitulation; and thus Hohenzollern had fled without any violation of honour. He seemed astonished at being required to surrender in a mass troops which he was losing no less effectually in detail. His letter was curious; it was as follows:

To Field Marshal Baron Werneck

"Dear Comrade,

"I cannot conceal my astonishment at the proposition that has been made to me to surrender with the cavalry which formed part of your corps. When I left you, you in my presence refused to enter into any capitulation; and, for my part, I intended to bring back the cavalry to the army at all hazards, if you could not extricate yourself with the infantry. I endeavoured to do this, and I succeeded. I do not understand by what law I can be accounted a prisoner of war, not having been present at your arrangements, in which I should never have suffered myself to be included. Having been separated from you since yesterday, I no longer conceive myself bound to fulfil your orders: I receive the commands of his Royal Highness our General-in-chief.

"I have the honour to be your very humble and obedient servant,

*Signed, Lieut.-Gen. Hohenzollern,
Privy Counsellor."*

Napoleon was satisfied with himself, with the army and with every body. He expressed his approbation of our conduct by the following proclamation:

"Soldiers of the Great Army!

"In the space of fifteen days we have finished the campaign. All that we proposed to do has been accomplished. We have driven from Bavaria the troops of the House of Austria, and restored our ally to the sovereignty of his States.

"That army which, with equal presumption and imprudence, came to station itself on our frontiers, has been annihilated.

"But what does it signify to England? Her object is fulfilled. We are no longer at Boulogne, and her subsidy will be neither more nor less.

"Of the 100,000 men who composed that army, sixty thousand are prisoners: they will supply the place of our conscripts in agricultural labours.

"Two hundred pieces of cannon, the whole park, ninety standards, and all their Generals, are in our hands. Scarcely 15,000 men have escaped.

"Soldiers! I announced to you a great battle; but thanks to the ill concerted plans of the enemy, I have obtained all the success I anticipated without encountering any risk; and it is a circumstance unparalleled in the history of nations that so great a triumph should have diminished our force only by 1500 men rendered unfit for service.

"Soldiers! this success is due to the full confidence you reposed in your Emperor, to your patience under fatigue and privation of every kind, and to your singular intrepidity.

"But we shall not stop here. You are eager to commence a second campaign.

"The Russian army, which English gold has transported from the further extremity of Europe, will experience a similar fate.

"The present campaign is particularly connected with the glory of the French infantry; the question which has already been determined in Switzerland and Holland, will now be decided for the second time; namely, whether the French infantry be the first or the second in Europe.

"There are among the Russians no Generals over whom I can hope to obtain glory. All my care will be to gain the victory with the least possible effusion of blood: my soldiers are my children."

CHAPTER VIII

We had now done with the Austrians, and we advanced to meet the Russians. Kutusoff affected resolution, and we thought him disposed to fight. We congratulated ourselves on this new opportunity of augmenting our glory. But all this was mere pretence on the part of Kutusoff; he abandoned the Inn, the Traun, and the Ems, and disappeared. We pressed forward on Vienna; we advanced with inconceivable speed: never was a movement executed with such rapidity. The Emperor became apprehensive; he feared lest by this precipitancy our rear might be endangered, and our flank exposed to the Russians. "Murat," said he to me, "runs on like a blind man; he presses forward as though the only object were to enter Vienna. The enemy has nobody to oppose him; he may dispose of all his forces and destroy Mortier. Direct Berthier to stop the columns." Berthier came; Marshal Soult received orders to fall back as far as Mautern. Davoust took up his position at the junction of the roads of Lilienfeldt and Neustadt, and Bernadotte stationed himself at Mælck. But these arrangements did not prevent the engagement of which Napoleon feared the issue. Four thousand French were attacked by the whole of the enemy's force; but skill, courage, and the necessity of conquering, made amends for our inferiority of numbers: the Russians were driven back. The intelligence of this astonishing victory set our whole force in motion: the Emperor pursued his march with even more eagerness than he had before evinced in suspending it. He wished to come up with the Austrians, to take the passage of the Danube, to turn and cut off their allies, and beat them before they could receive reinforcements. He hastily dispatched orders: men and horses, all were immediately in motion. "The field is open," said Napoleon, "Murat may yield to his natural impetuosity; but he must take a wider range, he must surprise the bridge." He immediately wrote to him as follows:—"The grand object at the present moment is to pass the Danube, in order to drive the Russians from Krems by attacking their rear. The enemy will probably destroy the bridge of Vienna; and yet, if there should be any possibility of gaining it undamaged, that must be done. This consideration alone can induce the Emperor to enter Vienna; and in that case you must introduce into the city only a portion of your cavalry and the grenadiers. It is necessary that you should ascertain the force of the civic guard in Vienna. The Emperor presumes that you have planted some pieces of cannon to intercept the passage across the Danube between Krems and Vienna. Some parties of cavalry should be stationed on the right bank of the river; but you mention nothing of this to the Emperor. His Majesty thinks it necessary to know what he has to trust to; so that if it should be possible to intercept the Danube below Vienna, it may be done. General Suchet's division will remain with a portion of your cavalry on the great road leading from Vienna to Bukersdorf, at least if you be not master of the bridge across the Danube, and if it has not been burned. In that case, Suchet's division must repair thither, in order to be enabled to cross the river with your cavalry and grenadiers, and to march on as rapidly as possible to fall on the communications of the Russians. I think it probable that the Emperor will remain all the day at Saint-Polten.

"His Majesty recommends you, Prince, to transmit to him frequent accounts of your proceedings.

"When you arrive at Vienna, provide yourself with the best maps that can be procured, of the environs of that city and of Lower Austria.

"Should General Count Giulay, or any other individual, wish to have an interview with the Emperor, send him hither with all speed.

"The civic guard on duty at Vienna must amount to upwards of five hundred men.

"When once you reach Vienna you may easily obtain intelligence of the arrival of the other Russian columns, as well as of the design of those who have established themselves at Krems.

"You will have your own cavalry, together with the corps of Marshals Lannes and Davoust, in the operation of turning the Russians and falling on their rear. As to the corps of Marshals Bernadotte

and Soult, they cannot be disposed of until we shall definitively know what course the Russians may adopt.

"After ten o'clock in the morning, you may enter Vienna. Endeavour to surprise the bridge of the Danube, or, if it should be destroyed, adopt the most speedy means of crossing the river: that is the grand affair at present. But if, before ten o'clock, M. de Giulay should present himself with proposals for negotiating and inducing you to suspend your march, you may stop your movement on Vienna, but you must nevertheless direct your attention to the best means of crossing the Danube at Klosterburgh, or some other favourable point.

"The Emperor directs that between Seghartz-Kirchen and Vienna you shall station, at the distance of two French leagues from each other, posts of cavalry consisting of ten men each, whose horses will serve as relays to the officers whom you may send with accounts of your movements. The men forming these posts may bear despatches from Seghartz-Kirchen to Saint-Polten. Marshal Bessières will station posts of the Emperor's guard."

CHAPTER IX

We were at Saint-Polten. Napoleon was riding on horseback on the Vienna road, when he perceived an open carriage advancing, in which were seated a priest and a lady bathed in tears. The Emperor was dressed as usual in the uniform of a colonel of the chasseurs of the guard. The lady did not know him. He enquired the cause of her affliction, and whither she was going. Sir," she replied, "I have been robbed at about two leagues from hence by a party of soldiers, who have killed my gardener. I am going to request that your Emperor will grant me a guard. He once knew my family well, and lay under obligations to them."—"Your name?" enquired Napoleon—"De Brunny," answered the lady; "I am the daughter of M. de Marbœuf, formerly governor of Corsica."—"I am delighted to meet with you, Madam," exclaimed Napoleon, with the most charming frankness, "and to have an opportunity of serving you. I am the Emperor." The lady was amazed. Napoleon consoled her, and directed her to wait for him at head-quarters. He treated her with the utmost attention, granted her a piquet of chasseurs of his guard, and sent her away happy and contented.

Napoleon had received a report, which he was reading with an air of satisfaction. I entered his closet. "Well, Rapp," said he, "do you know that we have parties of our troops in the very heart of Bohemia?"—"Yes, Sire."—"Do you know what sort of cavalry has beat the Houlans, captured posts, and taken magazines?"—"No, Sire."—"Our infantry mounted on draught horses!"—"How?"—He handed me the report. Some of our detachments who had penetrated into Bohemia, suddenly found themselves in an open tract of country: they had but twenty dragoons; they would not fall back, and they dared not advance further. In this perplexing situation, the commander thought of an expedient. He collected together all the baggage horses, mounted his infantry, and thus equipped, led them through the thick forests in the neighbourhood of Egra. Some parties of the enemy's cavalry who advanced to oppose them were driven back; we took men, horses and provisions; the latter were committed to the flames. I returned the report to the Emperor. "Well," said he, "what think you of this new kind of cavalry?"—"Admirable, Sire."—"Men who have French blood in their veins," observed he, "always know how to deal death among the enemy's ranks."

We marched close upon the enemy's rear-guard. We might easily have taken it; but we avoided doing so. We wished to lull his vigilance: we did not press him closely, and we circulated reports of peace. We suffered both troops and baggage to escape us; but the loss of a few men was of little consequence. The preservation of the bridges was the important point: if they should be broken, it was determined that we should repair them; we took our measures accordingly. The troops, who were posted in *echelon* on the road, were warned to allow no demonstration to escape them that was likely to put the enemy on his guard. No one was permitted to enter Vienna; but every thing being examined, and every arrangement completed, the Grand Duke took possession of the capital, and directed Lanusses and Bertrand to make without delay a *reconnaissance* on the river. They found at the gates of the suburb a post of Austrian cavalry. There had been no fighting for upwards of three days. It appeared as though an armistice had been entered into. Lanusses and Bertrand accosted the Austrian commandant, commenced a conversation with him, followed him closely, and would not suffer him to quit them. On reaching the banks of the river, they still persisted in following him, in spite of his wish to get rid of them. The Austrian became impatient; the French generals asked leave to communicate with the general commanding the troops stationed on the left bank of the river. They obtained permission to do so; but the 10th hussars were not allowed to accompany them, and they were consequently obliged to halt and take a position. Meanwhile our troops were advancing, led by the Grand Duke and Marshal Lannes. The bridge still remained undamaged; but the trains were laid, and the gunners held their matches in readiness: the least sign that might have indicated the intention of passing by force would have ruined the enterprize. It was necessary to resort to artifice; and we succeeded in imposing on the simplicity of the Austrians. The two marshals dismounted, and

only a small detachment entered upon the bridge. General Belliard advanced, walking with his hands behind his back, accompanied by two officers of the staff: Lannes joined him with some others; they walked about, talking together, and at length joined the Austrians. The officer commanding the post, at first directed them to stand back; but he at length permitted them to advance, and they entered into conversation together. They repeated what had already been affirmed by General Bertrand, namely, that the negotiations were advancing, that the war was at an end, and that there would be no more fighting and slaughter. "Why," said the Marshal, "do you keep your guns still pointed at us? Has there not been enough of bloodshed? Do you wish to attack us, and to prolong miseries which weigh more heavily on you than on us? Come, let us have no more provocation; turn your guns." Half persuaded and half convinced, the commanding officer yielded. The artillery was turned in the direction of the Austrians, and the troops laid down their arms in bundles. During this conference the platoon of our advance-guard came up slowly, and at length it arrived, masking sappers and gunners, who threw the combustible matters into the river, sprinkled water on the powder, and cut the trains. The Austrian commander, who was not sufficiently acquainted with the French language to take much interest in the conversation, perceived that the troop was gaining ground, and endeavoured to make us understand that he could not permit it. Marshal Lannes and General Belliard tried to satisfy him; they observed that the cold was severe, and that our men were only marching about to warm themselves. But the column still continued to advance, and it was already three quarters over the bridge. The commander lost all patience, and ordered his troops to fire: they instantly took up their arms, and the artillerymen prepared their guns. Our situation was terrible: a little less presence of mind on our part, and the bridge would have been blown up, our troops in the river, and the campaign at an end. But the Austrian had to deal with men who were not easily disconcerted. Marshal Lannes seized him by the one arm and General Belliard by the other. They threatened him, and drowned his voice when he attempted to call for help. Meanwhile the Prince of Hogsberg arrived accompanied by General Bertrand. An officer set off to render an account of the state of affairs to the Grand Duke; and on his way transmitted to the troop an order to quicken their march and arrive speedily. The Marshal advanced to meet the Prince, complained of the conduct of the commander of the post, requested that he might be punished and removed from the rear-guard, where he might impede the negotiations. Hogsberg fell into the snare: he deliberated, approved, contradicted, and lost himself in a useless conversation. Our troops made the most of their time; they arrived, debouched, and the bridge was taken. Reconnaissances were immediately ordered in every direction; and General Belliard led our columns on the road leading to Stockrau, where they took a position. Hogsberg, mortified at his ill-timed loquacity, proceeded to the Grand Duke, who, after a short conversation, referred him to Napoleon, and also crossed the river.

The Austrian piquet still kept guard on the bridge. We bivouacked in confusion: the troops were mingled together at Stockrau as on the banks of the river. Napoleon found that this interspersion was not convenient, and he sent the Houlans to Vienna, where they were disarmed.

We arrived at Austerlitz. The Russians had a force Superior to ours. They had repulsed our advance-guard, and they thought us already subdued. The attack commenced; but instead of that easy conquest which had been obtained merely by their guard, they every where experienced the most obstinate resistance. The battle had already lasted an hour, and it was still far from being decided in their favour. They resolved to make a last attempt on our centre. The Imperial guard deployed; infantry, cavalry, and artillery, advanced on the bridge, without the movement being perceived by Napoleon; for the nature of the ground screened it from his observation. A discharge of musketry was soon heard: a brigade, commanded by General Schinner, had been penetrated by the Russians. Napoleon ordered me to take the Mamelukes, two squadrons of chasseurs, and one of grenadiers of the guard, and to go forward to reconnoitre the state of things. I set off at full gallop, and it was not until I came within gun-shot of the scene of action, that I discovered the disaster. The enemy's cavalry was in the midst of our square, and was sabring our troops. A little further back we discerned

masses of infantry and cavalry forming the reserve. The enemy relinquished the attack, and turned to meet me. Four pieces of artillery arrived and were placed in battery. I advanced in good order; I had the brave Colonel Morland on my left, and General Dallemagne on my right. "Do you see," said I to my troop, "our friends and brothers trampled on by the enemy: avenge them, avenge our colours." We rushed on the artillery, which was taken. The cavalry, who awaited us, was repulsed by the same shock; they fled in disorder, and we, as well as the enemy, trampled over the bodies of our troops, whose squares had been penetrated. The men who had escaped being wounded were rallied. A squadron of horse grenadiers arrived to reinforce me; and I was enabled to receive the reserves, who came up in aid of the Russian guard. We resumed the attack, which was maintained with terrible fury. The infantry dared not venture to fire; all was confusion; we fought man to man. Finally, the intrepidity of our troops triumphed over every obstacle. The Russians fled and dispersed. Alexander and the Emperor of Austria witnessed the defeat. Stationed on a height, at a little distance from the field of battle, they saw the guard, which was expected to decide the victory, cut to pieces by a handful of brave men. Their guns and baggage had fallen into our hands, and Prince Replin was our prisoner. Unfortunately we had a great number of men killed and wounded. Colonel Morland was no more, and I had myself received a sabre wound in the head. I went to render an account of this affair to the Emperor. My broken sabre, my wound, the blood with which I was covered, the decided advantage we had gained with so small a force over the enemy's chosen troops, inspired Napoleon with the idea of the picture which was painted by Gerard.

The Russians, as I have already mentioned, hoped to defeat us with their guard alone. This presumption offended Napoleon, and it was long before he forgot it.

After the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon made me a General of Division, and sent me to the Castle of Austerlitz until I should recover from my wound, which, however, was not dangerous. The Emperor visited me several times; once on the day on which he granted an interview to the Emperor of Austria. He put into my hands two letters which had been intercepted by our advanced posts; one was from Prince Charles, and the other from a Prince Lichtenstein. Their contents were rather important; and I got them translated. On his way back in the evening, Napoleon came and had these letters read to him. He talked to me a great deal about Francis II., his complaints and regrets; and told me many curious circumstances respecting him.

We set out for Shoenbrunn; and in about a fortnight after our arrival thither, Napoleon sent for me: "Are you able to travel?" said he:—"Yes, Sire."—"Well, then, go and give an account of the battle of Austerlitz to Marmont, in order to vex him for not having come; and observe the effect that it will produce on the Italians." He then gave me the following instructions:

"Monsieur General Rapp, you will proceed to Gratz, where you will remain as long as may be necessary to communicate to General Marmont the details of the battle of Austerlitz. Inform him that the negotiations are open, but that nothing is concluded; and that he must therefore hold himself in readiness for any event that may occur. You must also make yourself acquainted with General Marmont's situation, and ascertain what number of the enemy's force is before him. Tell him, that I desire he will send spies into Hungary; and that he will communicate to me all the information he may collect. You must next repair to Laybach, where you will find Marshal Massena, who has the command of the eighth army corps; and transmit to me a correct report of his situation. You will inform Massena, that if the negotiations are broken off, as it is possible they may be, he will be sent to Vienna. Let me know what amount of the enemy's force Marshal Massena has before him; and report to me the situation of his corps in every point of view. You will next proceed to Palmanova, after strongly urging Marshal Massena to arm and provision the fortress in an effectual way, and you will inform me of the state in which it is. Next proceed and examine the posts which we occupy before Venice, and ascertain

the state of our troops. Thence you will repair to the army of General Saint-Cyr, who is about to march on Naples: you must ascertain the nature and the amount of his force. You will return by the way of Klagenfurth, where you will see Marshal Ney, and then rejoin me. Do not fail to write to me from every place at which you stop. Despatch estafettes to me from Gratz, Laybach, Palmanova, Venice, and the place where the army of Naples may be stationed. I pray God to take you into his holy keeping.

"Napoleon.

Schœnbrunn,
25 Frimaire, year XIV."

I rejoined Napoleon at Munich, whither he had gone to be present at the marriage of Prince Eugène. The Prince came from Italy, and I accompanied him. During my absence, peace had been concluded at Vienna. The Emperor had an interview with Prince Charles: he intended to have presented him with a magnificent sword; but he was displeased with the Archduke, and the sword was not given.

We set out for Paris. Acclamations resounded on every side: Napoleon was never received with so much enthusiasm.

CHAPTER X

During our stay at Ulm, the Prussians suddenly conceived the idea that they had an ancient inheritance of glory to defend. They were roused, and they took up arms. Haugwitz came to inform us of this sudden reminiscence. But the battle of Austerlitz had taken place in the interim. When the Minister arrived, nothing was thought of but alliance and devotion. Napoleon was not the dupe of these diplomatic protestations: he was aware of the intrigues and the chivalric scenes that had been resorted to for the purpose of exciting the multitude. Previous to the action he had said; "If I am beaten, they will march upon my rear; if I am victorious, they will say that they wished to have taken part with me." They knew not how to make choice either of peace or war; and they watched the progress of events. This indirect policy was not without its effect; it cost them Anspach, Bareuth, a part of the grand duchy of Berg, and their possessions in Westphalia. They became enraged. I was sent to Hanover, which we had abandoned to them. The ostensible motive of my journey was the delivering up of the fortress of Hameln; its real purpose was to learn the state of the public mind. I was directed to discover what was the general opinion with regard to the Prussians, whether war was spoken of, whether the army wished for it, and finally, to buy up at Hamburgh all the pamphlets against Napoleon and France which I could procure.

My mission was not difficult of execution. The Prussians were exasperated and insolent; the Hanoverians detested them. The north of Germany, however, relied on Prussia, whose power remained undiminished. The Count of Schulemburgh was governor of King William's new acquisition: he gave me rather a cold reception. Our success at Ulm and Austerlitz appeared to him but indifferent. The latter battle he affirmed was indecisive. He said it was like the battle of Zorndoff, which was fought by Frederick the Great against the Russians, and in which Count Schulemburgh had himself been engaged. "What sort of victories would he have?" said the Emperor, when I told him this anecdote.

I went from Hanover to Hamburgh, where I found Bourienne. Here I was well received, and I knew the reason why.

I returned to France, and on my way passed through Munster, where I saw General Blucher, whom I had known some years before. I paid him a visit. He was not well disposed towards the French; yet he received me with a great deal of civility.

I remained a week with Augereau at Frankfort, in order to see and hear all I could; for such were my instructions. Napoleon had just made a demand for contributions on that town, and the inhabitants were alarmed lest they should be obliged to pay them.

We occupied Darmstadt. Marshal * * * * *, who had established his head-quarters in the capital of that principality, was neither a favourite with the Court nor with the people; and his staff was still less liked. The Grand Duchess sent me an invitation, through Augereau, who seemed to be partial to that country; I declined it, not having any instructions to that effect. She commissioned him to transmit to me her complaints. They were very severe.

I departed for Wesel. I was to examine the state of feeling in that quarter, which was already occupied by our troops.

On my return, I gave Napoleon an account of all that I had seen and heard. I concealed nothing from him. I spoke particularly in behalf of Darmstadt; but he was enraged against the Duchess. She had written a terrible letter to the King of Bavaria, relative to what she termed the ill-assorted union of her niece Augusta with Prince Eugène. Among other insulting expressions she made use of the words *horrible marriage*. The Emperor, who conceived that the glory of having achieved great deeds was well worth the advantage of having descended from those who probably had no glory to boast of, could not pardon the feudal prejudices of the Duchess. He was on the point of depriving her of her states; but Maximilian interceded for her, and she escaped with the punishment of a six months'

occupation by our troops; that is to say, her people were obliged to atone for the offence which her vanity had led her to commit.

Scarcely a fortnight had elapsed since my return to France. The Court was at Saint-Cloud, and Napoleon was at the theatre. In the middle of the performance he received a despatch from the Grand Duchy of Berg. He opened it. It contained an account of an attack made on our troops by some Prussian detachments. "I see," said he, "they are determined to try us. Mount your horse and seek the Grand Duke at Neuilly." Murat was already acquainted with the affair; he came immediately. Napoleon conversed with him for an instant, and gave me orders next day to take the command of the military division at Strasburg; to organise battalions and marching squadrons at that place; to direct them in succession upon Mentz, and to send to the latter place a large quantity of artillery. The infantry embarked on the Rhine in order to arrive earlier at the place of their destination.

I corresponded directly with Napoleon. I employed couriers, telegraphs, and all the most speedy modes of communication. I could not venture to put a hundred men in motion, to change the place of a gun, or to move a musquet, without informing him. I had been two months engaged in these preparations, when he arrived at Mentz, whence he wrote to me to join him at Wurtzburg. He sent me a letter for the Grand Duke of Baden, and directed me to deliver it to the Prince myself. The object of this letter was to request him to send his grandson, the present Grand Duke, to the army. I found the venerable old man in his ancient castle of Baden; he seemed at first much affected by the contents of the letter; but he soon made up his mind to send the young Prince, and he ordered preparations for his departure. He did me the honour to recommend his grandson to me in a very affectionate manner. The Prince set out on his journey two days afterwards, and joined us at Wurtzburg. The King of Wirtemberg was already there. He had just determined on his daughter's marriage with Jerome. Napoleon was in particularly good humour. The alliance pleased him. He was no less satisfied with the Grand Duke; for Murat had singularly prepossessed him in favour of that Prince. In a letter which Murat addressed to the Emperor some days before, he said;—"I waited on the Grand Duke of Wurtzburg, whom the letter, and the news which I communicated to him, that the treaty admitting him into the confederation had been signed at Paris, have relieved from the greatest anxiety; for he very much dreaded not being received into the Confederation. He seemed particularly affected by the sentiments of good will on the part of your Majesty which I expressed to him. He evinces the greatest readiness to contribute every thing in his power to the service of the army. To-day his admission into the Confederation of the Rhine was proclaimed. Every preparation has been made for receiving your Majesty at the Castle, where nothing seems to be neglected which may render your stay here convenient and agreeable."

We had yet received no positive information with regard to the Prussians; we knew not whether they were on the road to Magdeburg, in Saxony, or at Gotha; or even what was the amount of their force. We had, however, a sufficient number in the field. Gentlemen are not more scarce on the other side of the Rhine than elsewhere: but the reports were so contradictory, that it was impossible to form any distinct idea on the subject. At one time it was said that the enemy's advance-guard was at Hoff; that Coburg and Memmingen were occupied; that the Prussians avoided partial actions, and wished to try their fortune in a pitched battle. At another time it was affirmed that Hohenlohe was advancing on Schleitz; that Ruchel had formed his junction; that the Queen had gone to Erfurt; and that the head-quarters were removed from Hoff to Nauenburgh. This arrangement did not correspond with the nature of the places. It seemed inconceivable. We were as uncertain with respect to the extent of the enemy's forces as we were concerning their line of operations. Amidst all these various accounts we learnt that Cronach was occupied. The Grand Duke sent to inform us, that that citadel was under repair, and would soon be in a state of defence. Napoleon was astonished that the Prussians had not made themselves masters of it. "What could have prevented them," said he, "since they absolutely wanted war? Was it the difficulty of the attempt?—The place was destitute both of provisions and artillery. They had sufficient courage for the enterprize. Did they not consider the place of sufficient

importance to try to secure it? That fort commands three great outlets; but these gentlemen care little about positions, they are reserving themselves for grand strokes; we will give them what they want."

Napoleon every moment received accounts of the Prussian army. Ruchel, Blucher, and the Duke of Brunswick, were impatient to commence the war, and Prince Louis was even more so. He urged and hastened hostilities, and feared to let the opportunity escape. He was, besides, a man of great courage and talent; all accounts agreed on this point. Napoleon, who did not dislike this petulant eagerness, was conversing with us one evening respecting the generals of the enemy's army. Some one present happened to mention Prince Louis. "As for him," said he, "I foretell that he will be killed this campaign." Who could have thought that the prediction would so soon have been fulfilled?

Prussia at length explained herself. She required us to abandon our conquests, and threatened us with her displeasure if we refused to evacuate Germany and recross the Rhine. The demand was modest, and worthy of those who urged it. Napoleon could not finish reading the document; he threw it away contemptuously. "Does he think himself in Champagne?" said he. "Does he want to give us a new edition of his manifesto? What! does he pretend to mark out a route for our march back. Really, I pity Prussia, I feel for William. He is not aware what rhapsodies he is made to write. This is too ridiculous. Berthier, they wish to give us a rendezvous of honour for the 8th; a beautiful Queen will be a witness to the combat. Come, let us march on; and shew our courtesy. We will not halt till we enter Saxony." Then turning immediately to his secretary, he hastily dictated the following proclamation:

"Soldiers!

"The order for your return to France was issued. You were already within a few days' march of your homes: triumphal fêtes awaited you, and the preparations for your reception had commenced in the capital; but while we thus too confidently resigned ourselves to security, new plots were hatching under the mask of friendship and alliance. Cries of war have been raised at Berlin, and for two months we have been provoked with a degree of audacity which calls for vengeance.

"The same faction, the same headlong spirit, which, under favour of our internal dissensions, led the Prussians fourteen years ago to the plains of Champagne, still prevail in their Councils. If they no longer wish to burn and destroy Paris; they now boast their intention to plant their colours in the capital of our allies. They would oblige Saxony, by a disgraceful transaction, to renounce her independence, by ranking her in the list of their provinces. They seek, in fine, to tear your laurels from your brows. They expect us to evacuate Germany at the sight of their army. What madness! Let them learn that it would be a thousand times easier to destroy the great capital, than to sully the honour of the children of the great people and their allies. In their former attempt the plans of our enemies were frustrated. They found in the plains of Champagne only shame, defeat, and death; but the lessons of experience are forgotten, and there are men in whom the feelings of hatred and jealousy never become extinct.

"Soldiers, there is not one of you who would wish to return to France by any other path than that of honour. We ought not to return except by passing beneath triumphal arches.

"What! have we braved the inclemency of the seasons, the ocean and the desert, have we subdued Europe often united against us; have we extended our glory from East to West, only to return now, like deserters, after having abandoned our allies, and to be told that the French Eagle has fled in dismay before the Prussians.

"But they have already arrived at our advance posts. Let us, then, march upon them, since forbearance will not check their infatuation. Let the Prussian army experience the fate which it shared fourteen years ago. Let us teach them that if it

is easy to obtain an increase of territory and power with the friendship of the great people, their enmity (which can only be provoked by the neglect of prudence and reason) is more terrible than the storms of the ocean."

Our soldiers only wished to fight. The Prussians occupied Saalfeld and Schleitz; we charged them, routed them, and made a thousand prisoners. These were the two first engagements which we had with them. I quitted Murat, whom I had been ordered to follow, and went to render an account of the affair of Schleitz to Napoleon, who had established his head-quarters some leagues in the rear, at the residence of a Princess of Reus-Lobenstein. On my arrival I found Napoleon engaged with Berthier. I informed him of the success of the Grand Duke, and of the defeat of Tauenzien. "Tauenzien!" exclaimed Napoleon, "one of the Prussian intriguers! It was well worth our while to urge on the war to such a length." He told me I might retire and take some rest, as I should be roused in a few hours to set out on a mission. I had no idea whither I was to go. I was called about 5 o'clock. The Emperor gave me a letter for King William, who at that time, I believe, held his head-quarters at Sondershausen. "You must go," said he, "as fast as you can after the King of Prussia, and deliver to him this letter from me. I ask him once more for peace, though hostilities have already commenced. You must endeavour to convince the King of the danger of his situation, and the fatal consequences which may result from it. You will return immediately and bring me his answer: I shall now march on Gera." Our baggage was still in the rear. I had no carriage; but I procured one from the coach-house of the Princess of Reus-Lobenstein, put four good horses to it, and started about six o'clock. Before I had proceeded a league on my journey, Napoleon sent after me. I returned and went to his study, where he had been occupied the whole of the night. He desired me to deliver the letter to Berthier. "Upon reflection," said he, "I will not have one of my aides-de-camp charged with such a message. You are persons of too great importance to be exposed to the chance of meeting with a bad reception." The letter was sent two days after by M. de Montesquiou: he started, I believe, from Gera. The treatment he experienced is well known: he was stopped by the Prince de Hohenlohe, at that time general-in-chief of the Prussian army, who obliged him to be present at the battle of Jena, and did not send the letter, as it is affirmed, until after the action.

Several persons in Napoleon's suite were of opinion, that if I had executed the commission with which I was at first charged, I should have come up with the King of Prussia, and the war perhaps would not have taken place. I do not think so. The gauntlet was thrown, there was no alternative but to take it up. I do not even think that Napoleon was more inclined for peace than King William.

CHAPTER XI

We were now in possession of the whole course of the Saale, and in a fair way to turn the enemy's army. The calculations of the Duke of Brunswick were completely frustrated. He had formed the idea of coming up with us on the Mainc, of occupying our wings by detached corps, and penetrating our centre before we could concentrate our forces. He still possessed all the threads of that vast spy system which had harassed France since the emigrations. He knew the force and the route marked out for several corps which were marching from Meudon, and he did not doubt of anticipating us. Napoleon took a pleasure in cherishing this illusion; he made preparations, and caused reconnaissances to be taken through the whole of that line. The Duke had no longer any doubt of having penetrated our intentions; we were to debouch by Kœnigshaften; he made certain of that; he felt perfectly convinced of it. Our movements on his centre were only a snare, a *ruse de guerre*; we wished to deceive him, in order to prevent him from debouching by the forests of Thuringen, whilst we proceeded towards Coburg and Memmingen, in woody and mountainous countries, where his cavalry would have no opportunity of acting, or at least would be deprived of its advantage. It was of the utmost importance to anticipate us, and he hurried to Kœnigshaften.

The enemy were engaged in the woods; Napoleon marched on Schleitz, sixty leagues from the presumed point of attack. The third corps quietly reposed on the 10th at Nauenburgh, in the rear of the Duke of Brunswick. Hostilities were of only two days' date, and that Prince, who was already uncovered on his left, was on the eve of being entirely cut to pieces. His communications with the Elbe were in danger; and he was nearly reduced to the same extremities as Mack, whom he had so violently censured. His advance-guard, on arriving on the Mainc, found the field unoccupied. This circumstance seemed incomprehensible; but still it never led him to suspect the danger to which he was exposed. The rout of Saalfeld alone shook the confidence which he had placed in his own safety. He hastily retraced his course. Weimar and Hohenlohe were directed to come up speedily, and the army of reserve was ordered to make a forced march. But some parties mistook their route, and others did not use sufficient despatch, so that a portion of the troops were not engaged in the battle. The Duke, who was disconcerted at a system of movements so novel to him, knew not what determination to adopt. All these marches and arrangements, so rapidly succeeding each other, formed a mass of confusion, in which he could discern neither plan nor object. The occupation of Nauenburgh relieved him from this perplexity: he saw his left wing about to be turned, or at least exposed; he would not wait longer; he hastily rallied his army of reserve, which was advancing upon Halle, and left Hohenlohe at the camp of Capellendorf to mask the retrograde movement. His troops, who had not shared the disasters of Saalfeld and Schleitz, ridiculed the beaten corps; they shouted "The King for ever! the Queen for ever!" &c. They resolved to avenge the affront offered to the Prussian arms: there were not enough Frenchmen for them. The Duke himself had resumed his confidence. On the Auerstadt road he found not more than thirty chasseurs. His communications were free; it was impossible they could be intercepted: it was not easy to surprise a skilful manœuvrer like the Duke. Hohenlohe's Prussians were encamped behind the heights of Jena: their masses extended as far as the eye could reach; they were prolonged beyond Weimar. Napoleon reconnoitred them on the evening of the 13th, and fixed the attack for the following day. In the night he distributed orders for the movements of the different corps. "As to Davoust, he must march on Apolda, so as to fall on the rear of the enemy's army. He may take whatever route he may deem most expedient; I leave that to himself, provided he take part in the battle: if Bernadotte be at hand he may support him. Berthier, issue instructions accordingly." It was ten o'clock at night; all the arrangements were made, and yet the general commanding the enemy's force flattered himself with the hope that we could not debouch. But the axe of the pioneers removed every obstacle; the rock was cut, and trenches were opened: the action commenced on the right and the left; the conflict was terrible. Davoust, in particular, was placed in a situation in which

a man of less firmness might have found his courage fail him. Bernadotte refused to support him; he even forbade two divisions of the reserve cavalry, which, however, were not under his command, from taking part in the action. He paraded round Apolda, while 26,000 French troops were engaged with 70,000 picked men, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick and the King of Prussia. But this circumstance only added to the glory of the commander, whom it might have ruined. Davoust's plans were so well laid, his generals and his troops deployed with such skill and courage, that Blucher, with his 12,000 cavalry, had not the satisfaction to cut a single company. The King, the guards, and the whole army, attacked our troops without obtaining better success. Amidst the deluge of fire that surrounded them on all sides, the French preserved all their national gaiety. A soldier, whom his comrades had nicknamed *the Emperor*, impatient at the obstinacy of the Prussians, exclaimed, "On with me, grenadiers!—Come, follow the Emperor!"—He rushed into the thickest of the battle, the troop followed him, and the Prussian guards were penetrated. He was made a corporal: his friends remarked that he only wanted the protectorate.

At Jena the victory had been no less brilliant: the rout was complete and general; the enemy fled in the utmost confusion.

In the evening I was directed, together with the Grand Duke, to pursue the wrecks of the Prussian army. We took some Saxon battalions, and we entered *pêle-mêle* with them into Weimar. We stationed our posts before the town, despatched some parties of cavalry on Erfurt road, and presented ourselves at the castle. M. de Pappenheim, whom I recollected having seen in Paris, came out to meet us. He was quite alarmed; but we assured him he had no cause for apprehension. All the Court, with the exception of the Grand Duke and his family, were at Weimar. The Duchess received us with perfect politeness. I was acquainted with several ladies of her suite, one of whom has since become my sister-in-law. I endeavoured to calm their fears. They took courage. Some few disorders took place; but they were of little importance.

Murat took up his quarters at the castle. I set out to join Napoleon at Jena, in order to render him an account of the events of the evening. He did not think that they would go beyond Weimar. He was highly satisfied. The courage of the Duchess astonished him. He did not imagine that the Court would have waited for him. He did not like the family; this he often repeated. The night was far advanced, and Napoleon had just received despatches from the second corps. "Davoust," said he to me, "has had a terrible engagement: he had King William and the Duke of Brunswick opposed to him. The Prussians fought desperately: they suffered dreadful slaughter. The Duke has been dangerously wounded; and the whole army seems to be in terrible disorder. Bernadotte did not behave well. He would have been pleased had Davoust been defeated; but the affair reflects the highest honour on the conqueror, and the more so as Bernadotte rendered his situation a difficult one. That Gascon will never do better."

The battle was lost. The Russians were no longer eager to carry on the war; they wished for and invoked peace. They were anxious to terminate a contest in which they had had such ill success. By dint of wishing for an armistice, they at length persuaded themselves that one had been granted. Kalkreuth announced it: Blucher swore that it was concluded: how could it be discredited. Soult, however, was not to be caught in the snare. The imprudent generosity evinced at Austerlitz had rendered him distrustful. He refused to afford a passage to the troops whom he had cut off. "The convention you speak of is impossible!" said he to the Field Marshal. "Lay down your arms. I must receive the Emperor's orders. You shall retire if he permit it." Kalkreuth was unwilling to resort to this kind of expedient. It always has somewhat the appearance of a defeat: and he would rather have experienced one in good earnest. Some other columns were more fortunate. But it was only deferring the evil moment: they were obliged to surrender some leagues further on. It was not worth while to resort to the deception.

The King himself was disheartened by his misfortunes. Our hussars gave him neither truce nor respite. He recollected all that Napoleon had done to avoid hostilities; and he addressed a letter

to him. It was rather late to reply to overtures which had been so ill received. "It would have been better," said Napoleon, "had he explained himself two days sooner; but no matter, I am willing to accede to any thing that is compatible with the dignity and interests of France. I will send Duroc to the King of Prussia. But there is something still more urgent yet. Duroc, set out immediately. Proceed to Nauenburgh, to Dessau, wherever we have wounded troops. See that they want for nothing: visit them for me, each man individually. Give them all the consolation their situation requires. Tell them—tell the Marshal, that he, his generals and his troops, have acquired everlasting claims on my gratitude."

He was not satisfied with this message. He wrote to assure him how much he was pleased with his conduct. His letter was inserted in the order of the day. The troops were transported with it: even the wounded men could not refrain from expressing their delight.

The Emperor established his head-quarters at Weimar. He shewed every possible mark of respect to the Duchess, whom he found to be an amiable and sensible woman, and of very dignified manners.

Meanwhile the enemy was rallying on Magdeburg. The wrecks of the army that had been engaged at Jena, the army of reserve, and the troops of Old and New Prussia, hastily repaired to that place. The Duke of Wirtemberg had already taken a position at Halle; and Bernadotte proceeded thither. His corps had not been engaged at Auerstadt; and he was eager for an opportunity to compensate the portion of glory he had lost. He attacked the Prussians with the bayonet; killing and routing all that opposed him. The carnage was dreadful. On the following day, Napoleon visited the field of battle. He was struck with the sight of the heaps of dead which surrounded the bodies of some of our soldiers. He approached; and, observing on their uniform the numbers of the 32d, "So many of that regiment," said he, "have been killed in Italy, in Egypt, and elsewhere, that I should think none can now remain."

He proceeded to Dessau, and shewed every consideration to the old Duke, who was there with his son. Some months before, a M. de Gussau, who was attached to the Court of Baden, had said to me in Paris, "You will probably go to war with the Prussians. Should that be the case, and should you advance in this campaign as far as Dessau, I charge you to respect its venerable sovereign, who is the father of his subjects." M. de Gussau must have been very much astonished to find, that the French, instead of going only to Dessau, advanced as far as the Niemen, and subsequently to twenty leagues beyond Moscow.

CHAPTER XII

The Prussians fled at full speed; but the more rapidly they retreated, the more eagerly we maintained the pursuit. Being overtaken within sight of Magdeburg, they took refuge behind the entrenchments, where they were soon forced to lay down their arms. The garrison was invested; and William, who was there, thought himself happy in escaping. All around him had crouched beneath the storm. Prussia was no longer the valiant nation which entertained the idea of driving us back upon the Rhine. A reverse of fortune had overthrown her; a single blow had levelled her with the dust. She flew to meet defeat: she yielded, and delivered herself up. Never was a nation laid so low. Her fall was about to be completed: all our corps were preparing to march on Berlin, and to take possession of the city. Napoleon, however, reserved that honour for the corps which had most contributed to the victory; namely, that commanded by Davoust. The following are the instructions which he addressed to the Marshal:

"ORDER TO MARSHAL DAVOUST

"Wittenberg, Oct. 23d, 1806.

"If the parties of light troops, which you have of course despatched on the roads leading to Dresden and the Spree, inform you that you have no enemies on your flanks, you will direct your march so as to be able to make your entry into Berlin on the 25th of the present month, at noon. You will cause the General of Brigade, Hullin, to be acknowledged as commander of the garrison of Berlin. You may leave whatever regiment you think fit to do duty in the city. You will despatch parties of light cavalry on the roads to Kustrin, Langsberg, and Frankfort on the Oder. You will station your army corps at the distance of a league or a league and a half from Berlin; the right supported on the Spree, and the left on the road to Langsberg. Fix your head-quarters on the road to Kustrin, at some country residence in the rear of your force. It is the Emperor's intention to afford his troops a few days' repose; and therefore you will construct for them huts of straw and wood. Generals, staff-officers, colonels, and others, must be lodged in the villages in the rear of their divisions, and no one in Berlin. The artillery must be stationed in positions which cover the camp; the artillery-horses at the piquets, and all in the best military order.

"You will cut, that is to say, intercept, as early as possible, the navigation of the Spree by a strong party, so as to stop all the boats that may attempt to proceed from Berlin to the Oder.

"To-morrow our head-quarters will be at Potsdam. Send one of your aides-de-camp to inform me where you may be on the nights of the 23d and 24th.

"If Prince Ferdinand should be in Berlin, present your compliments to him, and give him a guard, with entire freedom from quartering.

"Publish immediately the order for disarming the troops in Berlin, leaving only 600 militia for the police-duty of the city. The arms of the citizens must be conveyed to some place that may be determined on, to be at the disposal of our army.

"Make known to your corps that the Emperor, in directing it to be the first to enter Berlin, gives a proof of his satisfaction of the excellent conduct of the troops at the battle of Jena.

"Be careful to direct that all the baggage, and particularly that which is in bad condition, shall halt at the distance of two leagues from Berlin, and rejoin the camp, without passing through the capital, but by proceeding along another road on the right. Finally, make your entrance into Berlin in the best possible order, and by divisions, each division having its artillery, and marching at the interval of an hour after each other.

"The camp being formed, give orders that the troops proceed to the city only by thirds, so that there may be always two-thirds at the camp. As his Majesty expects to make his entrance into Berlin, you may provisionally receive the keys of the city, informing the magistrates that they must nevertheless deliver them up to the Emperor on his arrival. You must require the magistrates and persons of distinction to receive you at the gates of the city, in all due form; and direct your officers to make the best appearance that circumstances will permit. The Emperor proposes that you shall make your entrance by the high road of Dresden.

"The Emperor will probably take up his abode in the palace of Charlottenburgh. Give orders that every thing may be prepared for his reception.

"There is a little rivulet which falls into the Spree, at the distance of a league and a half or two leagues from Berlin, and which intersects the road leading to En."

CHAPTER XIII

We set out for Potsdam; and we were overtaken by a storm: it was so violent and the rain fell in such torrents, that we took refuge in a neighbouring house. Napoleon was wrapped in his grey military great coat, and, on entering the house, he was much astonished to see a young female, who seemed to be much agitated by his presence. She proved to be a native of Egypt, and she evinced for Napoleon all the religious veneration which he had been accustomed to receive from the Arabs. She was the widow of an officer of the army of the East; and fate had conducted her to Saxony, and to the very house in which the Emperor was now received. Napoleon granted her a pension of 1200 francs, and undertook to provide for the education of her son, who was the only dowry her husband had left her. "This," said Napoleon, "is the first time I ever took shelter against a storm. I felt a presentiment that a good action awaited me."

We found Potsdam uninjured. The Court had even fled so precipitately that nothing had been removed. Frederick the Great's sword and belt, and the cordon of his orders, all were left. Napoleon took possession of them. "I prefer these trophies," said he with enthusiasm, "to all the King of Prussia's treasures. I will send them to my veterans who served in the campaign of Hanover. I will present them to the governor of the Hospital of Invalids, by whom they will be preserved as a testimony of the victories of the great army, and the revenge it has taken for the disasters of Rosbach."

No sooner had we entered Potsdam than we were besieged by deputations; they came from Saxony, from Weimar, and from all quarters. Napoleon received them with the utmost affability. The envoy of the Duke of Brunswick, who recommended his subjects to the generosity of the French, was, however, received less courteously than the rest. "If," said Napoleon to the person who presented the deputation, "I were to demolish the city of Brunswick, if I were to leave not a stone of the walls standing, what would your Prince think of me? And yet would not the law of retaliation authorize me to do in Brunswick what the Duke would have done in my capital? To announce the design of destroying cities may be the act of a madman; but to attempt to sully the honour of a whole army of brave troops, to wish to mark out a course for us to quit Germany merely on the summons of the Prussian army, is a fact which posterity will with difficulty credit. The Duke ought not to have attempted such an outrage. When a general has grown grey in the career of arms, he should know how to respect military honour. It was not, certainly, in the plains of Champagne that the Duke acquired the right of insulting the French standard. Such a proposition can reflect dishonour only on him who made it. The disgrace does not attach itself to the King of Prussia; but to the general to whom, in the present difficult circumstances, he resigned the care of his affairs; in short, to the Duke of Brunswick, whom France and Prussia will blame for the calamities of the war. The violent example set by the old General served as an authority for impetuous youth, and led the King to act in opposition to his own opinion and positive conviction. However, Sir, you may assure the inhabitants of Brunswick, that the French will prove themselves generous enemies; that it is my desire, as far as regards them, to alleviate the miseries of war; and that the evils which may arise from the passage of the troops through their territory, is contrary to my wish. Tell the Duke of Brunswick that he shall be treated with all the consideration due to an enemy's officer; but that I cannot acknowledge one of the King of Prussia's generals as a sovereign. If the House of Brunswick should forfeit the sovereignty of its ancestors, the blame must rest with the author of the two wars; who, in the one, wished to sap the very foundation of the great French capital; and, in the other, attempted to cast disgrace on 200,000 brave troops, who, though they may perhaps be defeated, will never be found to depart from the path of glory and honour. Much blood has been shed within a few days. Prussia is the victim of great disasters; and she may justly blame the man who, with a word, might have averted them, if, like Nestor, raising his voice in the Council, he had said:—

"Inconsiderate youths, be silent! Women, return to your domestic duties. And you, Sire, listen to the companion of the most illustrious of your predecessors. Since the Emperor Napoleon does not wish to maintain hostilities, do not oblige him to chose between war and dishonour. Do not engage in a dangerous conflict with an army, which prides itself in fifteen years of glorious achievements, and whom victory has accustomed to subdue every thing.

"Instead of holding this language, which would have been so well suited to the prudence of his age and the experience of his long career, he was the first to raise the cry of war. He had even violated the ties of blood, by arming a son (Prince Eugène of Wirtemberg) against his father. He threatened to plant his standard on the palace of Stuttgard; and accompanying all these acts by imprecations against France, he declared himself the author of that wild manifesto, the production of which he had disavowed for the space of fourteen years, though it was out of his power to deny having affixed his signature to it."

Spandau had been surrendered to Marshal Lannes. Napoleon visited the fortress, and inspected it minutely. He sent me to Berlin, which had been entered by Davoust, and directed me to present his compliments to old Ferdinand and his wife. I found the Prince very melancholy and dejected: he had just lost his son. The Princess appeared more calm and resigned. I also went to pay compliments to the Prince Henry and the Princess of Hesse, sister to the King of Prussia. The former appeared very sensible to the attention evinced by Napoleon; the latter had retired to a wing of the castle, where she lived tranquilly in the society of her grand-children. The situation of this Princess inspired me with interest and veneration. She appeared to take courage, and she begged me to recommend her to Napoleon, who paid her a visit immediately on his arrival. She inspired him with the same favourable sentiments which I had conceived for her.

The Emperor fixed his head-quarters at Charlottsburgh. On the following day, he made his entrance into the capital, and addressed the following proclamation to the army:—

"Soldiers!

"You have fulfilled my expectations, and fully justified the confidence of the French people. You have endured privation and fatigue with courage, equal to the intrepidity and presence of mind which you evinced on the field of battle. You are the worthy defenders of the honour of my crown, and the glory of the great French people. So long as you continue to be animated by the spirit which you now display, nothing can oppose you. I know not how to distinguish any particular corps.... You have all proved yourselves good soldiers. The following is the result of our exertions in this campaign.

"One of the first powers in Europe, which lately proposed to us a dishonourable capitulation, has been overthrown. The forests and defiles of Franconia, the Saale, and the Elbe, which our fathers would not have crossed in seven years, we have traversed in seven days; and in that short interval we have had four engagements, and one great battle. Our entrance into Potsdam and Berlin has preceded the fame of our victories. We have made 60,000 prisoners, taken sixty-five standards, (among which are the colours of the King of Prussia's guards), six hundred pieces of cannon, and three fortresses. Among the prisoners, there are upwards of twenty generals. But notwithstanding all this, more than half our troops regret not having fired a single musket. All the provinces of the Prussian monarchy, as far as the Oder, are in our power.

"Soldiers! the Russians boast of coming to meet us, but we will advance to meet them; we will save them half their march: they will meet with another Austerlitz in the midst of Prussia. A nation which can so soon forget our generous treatment of her, after that battle, in which the Emperor, his court, and the wrecks of his army,

owed their safety only to the capitulation we granted them, is a nation that cannot successfully contend with us.

"While we march to meet the Russians, new corps, formed in the interior of our empire, will repair hither, to occupy our present stations, and protect our conquests. My people all rose indignantly on hearing the disgraceful capitulation which the Prussian ministers, in their madness, proposed to us. Our frontier roads and towns are filled with conscripts, who are burning with eagerness to march in your footsteps. We will not again be the dupes of a treacherous peace. We will not lay down our arms until we compel the English, those eternal enemies of France, to renounce their plan of disturbing the Continent, and to relinquish the tyranny which they maintain on the seas.

"Soldiers! I cannot better express the sentiments I entertain for you, than by assuring you that I bear in my heart the love which you daily evince for me."

CHAPTER XIV

Napoleon next proceeded to the camp, and reviewed the third corps; and every individual who had particularly distinguished himself was rewarded, either by promotion or by a decoration. The generals, officers, and subalterns, were assembled round the Emperor. "I wished to call you together," said he "in order to express my satisfaction of your brilliant conduct in the battle of the 14th. I lost many brave men, whom I looked upon as my sons; I deeply regret them; but, after all, they fell on the field of glory—they perished like true soldiers! You have rendered me a signal service on this memorable occasion. We are, in particular, indebted to the excellent conduct of the third corps, for the great results we have obtained. Tell your men that I am satisfied with the courage they have displayed. Generals, officers, subaltern officers, and privates, you possess eternal claims on my gratitude and kindness." The Marshal replied, that the third corps would always prove itself worthy of the Emperor's confidence; that it would constantly be to him what the 10th legion was to Cæsar.

M. Denon was present at this interesting scene, which his pencil will, perhaps, commemorate: but, whatever be the talent of the artist, he can never convey an idea of the satisfaction and kindness which beamed in the features of the sovereign; or the devotedness and gratitude expressed in the countenances of all present, from the Marshal down to the meanest soldier.

The proclamation which Napoleon had addressed to the troops inspired them with new ardour. They rushed forward to pursue the wrecks of the forces, which had been engaged at Halle and Jena. The Prince of Hohenlohe had rallied a considerable mass, with which he might have escaped us; but he was not sufficiently speedy, he lost time, and these delays afforded us the hope of seeing him cut off. Napoleon impatiently looked for this event. "Bernadotte," said he to me, as we were entering the palace, "must by this time be at Bremen. He will surely have come up with the Prussians; Murat will attack them with his usual impetuosity; both together must have a greater force than is necessary to beat them. In a few days hence the Prince of Hohenlohe, with all his corps, will be in my hands; and I shall soon after have all their artillery and baggage. But we must act together; for it is not probable that they will suffer themselves to be taken without coming to an engagement."

Every thing happened as Napoleon had foretold. The Prussians, who were thrown into disorder by the attack of our cavalry, and the showers of grape shot, were summoned to surrender by General Belliard, and they laid down their arms. Twenty-five thousand picked troops, forty-five standards, seventy-four pieces of artillery, defiled before us: it was another conquest of Ulm. The Emperor was transported with his success: "This is well," said he; "but we have not yet got Blucher, who is so clever at making extempore armistices. We must have him also." He immediately addressed the following lines to Murat: "Nothing is done, so long as any thing remains undone. You have turned General Blucher's cavalry; let me soon hear that his force has experienced the fate of Hohenlohe's." Berthier also wrote to him as follows, to call his attention to the Duke of Weimar: "Independently of the little detached columns, there are three principal ones: 1st. That commanded by Prince Hohenlohe, which you have taken at Prentzlow; 2d. Blucher's column, which at daybreak on the 28th quitted Wissemburg, and which you must certainly have fallen in with to-day at Passelwalch; and 3d. The Duke of Weimar's column, which escaped Marshal Sout, and effected the passage of the Elbe, as it would appear, near Saudon and Havelsberg, on the 26th, whence it proceeded in the direction of Wursterhausen, Newrupin, Grausee, or Furstemberg. From Havelsberg to Furstemberg is a distance of twenty-five leagues; consequently the Duke of Weimar cannot reach Furstemberg on the 28th. But from Furstemberg to Passelwalch is only twenty leagues distance; and if the enemy's column should take that route, you will certainly fall in with it at Passelwalch on the 30th or 31st. Thus it may be presumed that nothing can escape between you and Marshals Lannes and Bernadotte. Such is the information which I am enabled to communicate to you from the accounts that have reached the Emperor."

But the Duke was tired of sharing the disasters of the Prussian army. He negotiated and transferred the command of his troops to Blucher, who, intent on his retreat, fled without caring or even knowing where he went. His route disconcerted Napoleon. "What does he intend?" said he; "whither is he going? I cannot imagine that he will throw himself into Holstein; for when once there, he will find no means of retreat. He cannot recross the Elbe; he will be driven up, and his troops will be drowned. He will never think of making such an attempt. We shall soon have him here." Blucher laid down arms some days after. He had passed through the whole of Prussia, and had violated the Danish territory, with no other object than to defer for a few days the surrender of between 20 and 25,000 men, the standards, and last artillery of the Prussians. With a little more skill, Blucher might have turned his obstinacy to better account. "Well," said Napoleon, on learning this news, "they are now advancing with the Austrians. They will be more reserved in future; they will say nothing more about Ulm. In three weeks they have four times renewed it. Blucher must be sent to France, to Dijon; there he may amuse himself in forging armistices. Write to General Belliard." The following despatch was sent off:

"Berlin, Oct. 13, 1806.

"To General Belliard, Chief of the General Staff of the Reserve of Cavalry.

"It is the Emperor's intention that the greatest care be taken that all the prisoners belonging to the column of General Blucher and the Duke of Weimar, should be sent to France. His Majesty wishes that all the generals and officers should also proceed to France. General Blucher will be conducted by an officer to Dijon. The young Prince of Brunswick must also be escorted by an officer to Chalons-sur-Marne. All the other officers must be conveyed to the different quarters of France fixed upon by the minister Dejean for the prisoners of war."

We did not venture to interrupt the Emperor until he had finished dictating the despatch; but when he had concluded it we interceded in favour of General Blucher. We represented that he had laid down arms, that he was no longer dangerous, and that it was necessary to make some allowance for his hussar habits. Napoleon acknowledged the justice of our suggestions, and Blucher retired to Hamburgh.

CHAPTER XV

Prince Hatzfeld had come to Potsdam as a deputy from the city of Berlin, and had been well received. He rendered an account of his mission, as well as I can recollect, to Count Hohenlohe, and reported to him the state of the troops, artillery, and ammunition, that were in the capital or which he had met on the road: his letter was intercepted. Napoleon delivered it to me, with orders immediately to arrest the Prince, and send him to the head-quarters of Marshal Davoust, which were two leagues distant. Berthier, Duroc, Caulincourt, and I, vainly endeavoured to appease the anger of Napoleon. He refused to listen to our representations. M. de Hatzfeld had transmitted reports relative to military affairs which were quite unconnected with his mission: he had evidently been acting the part of a spy. Savary, who, in his quality of commander of the military gendarmerie, usually took cognizance of affairs of this kind, was then on a mission. I was obliged to assume his functions during his absence. I gave orders for the arrest of the Prince; but instead of having him conducted to the head-quarters of Davoust, I placed him in the chamber of the officer commanding the palace guard, whom I directed to treat him with every mark of respect.

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