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DAS BILD DES KAISERS.
NOVELLE.

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Pitt Press Series

DAS BILD DES KAISERS.

NOVELLE

VON

WILHELM HAUFF.

EDITED

(WITH AN INTRODUCTION, ENGLISH NOTES, ETC.)

BY

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EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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PREFACE.

THE text of the present edition is based on a careful comparison of various previous editions¹ which in many cases differ slightly though the various readings are of no great importance. The short sketch of the chief features of Napoleon's career is merely intended to enable the student to understand the allusions of the novel and to give him a general idea of the course of events. To give on a few pages an adequate description of Napoleon's plans and achievements is an impossibility, and a brief enumeration of his successes and disasters is all that could be reasonably aimed at. Any more detailed information should be obtained from books of history based on recent research, such as Professor Seeley's 'A Short History of Napoleon the First' (London, 1886) to which the present editor is indebted for much valuable information. According to the purpose of the book Napoleon's domestic policy, his legislation etc. have been almost entirely passed over, nor has it appeared expedient to give here a general estimate of the man, the general and the sovereign—which would have swelled the Introduction to an undue extent. On the other

¹ The first edition of the present novel appeared in 1828 in the *Taschenbuch für Damen* under the title *Des Kaisers Bild* and in the same year it was published along with other novels of Hauff in a volume under the title *Novellen von Wilhelm Hauff*. Both editions however were inaccessible to the editor of this book.

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hand it is hoped that no passage of the text requiring historical explanation has been overlooked. To more than the satisfaction of this practical need the sketch of Napoleon's Life has no pretensions.

The chapter on the Etymological Comparison of the German and the English Language which was added to the previous editions of *Lessing and Gellert's Fables* (Pitt Press Series, 1887), and *Dr Wespe* (P. P. S. 1888) has been omitted in this book, as it is easily accessible to all who take an interest in comparing somewhat more closely and methodically the phonology of the two most important Teutonic languages.

The Notes to the text are addressed to various classes of readers. The chief aim in writing them has been to explain any real difficulty occurring in the text and to give a brief and accurate account of all points of special interest. They are not meant to render the use of grammar and dictionary superfluous. Mere translation of passages of ordinary difficulty has as a rule been avoided, and such words as are to be found in every ordinary dictionary and about the meaning of which there can be no doubt, have not been given. Whitney's dictionary (London, 1884) has been mostly taken as a standard. Ordinary constructions, which are explained in all German Grammars, have also, as a rule, not been discussed at any length. References to Grammars have been omitted, as there is no standard grammar to refer to. The indexes of most of the English Grammars of the German language (e.g. Brandt, Whitney, Eve, Aue) will enable the student to find his way and to obtain the necessary information.

The space thus saved in the notes has been devoted to some points in which neither grammar nor dictionary affords sufficient help. In many notes the composition or derivation

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of words has been fully explained and illustrated by similar word-formations. Some few instances of form-association (often called 'false analogy') or popular etymology occurring in the text have been pointed out in the notes. The homonyms as well as synonymous words and phrases have been carefully discussed. Our acquaintance with a foreign language consists, to no small extent, in a familiarity with the synonyms and the various ways of saying the same thing. This acquaintance cannot be obtained from the ordinary dictionaries, and it is therefore hoped that the notes which explain the different meanings of words and phrases and trace their history will not be unwelcome to earnest students of the German language.

The notes on German pronunciation have been largely increased, as experience has shown how little attention is often paid to this very important point. No one can be said to have in any degree a satisfactory acquaintance with a modern language who does not pronounce it properly. Many hints concerning the pronunciation of certain words have been inserted, the placing of the stress in Teutonic and foreign words and in compounds has been generally discussed. Only the general *rhythm of the phrase* has not been taken into consideration, which, although of the greatest importance for a correct pronunciation, yet would have gone beyond the purpose of the present notes. This is to be left to the oral teaching of the master and to the gradual training of the ear of the pupils to catch the rhythm of a foreign sentence. In the notes on pronunciation it has not been thought advisable to adopt any one of the various systems of phonetic transcription. To attempt such a thing in a book like the present would certainly cause many misunderstandings and probably do more harm than good. The case would be different if there existed one generally

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adopted system which was known to the vast majority of students, but as long as this is not the case beginners should not be puzzled by phonetic transcription of speech-sounds.

The notes referring to the earlier part of the text are naturally fuller than those on the later chapters. The reader who carefully works through them will find that, though he may have to proceed somewhat slowly at the beginning, his progress will be all the more rapid and easy towards the end, as more and more difficulties will have been removed by the earlier notes. Some notes are, however, not written at all for beginners, for whom it is understood that the master will make a selection from the more elementary notes and leave the more advanced ones to more advanced pupils. It is, however, hoped, that as far as possible all the assistance that is really needed has been supplied, and that those who have gone through the notes carefully will acquire a solid knowledge of the chief peculiarities of the German language, which they will need only to extend in order to arrive at a thorough understanding of the German idiom. Some peculiarities of Hauff's Swabian dialect have been dwelt on in the notes, but these are on the whole not very numerous in the present book and not nearly so frequent as in *Lichtenstein*.

An English translation of the present novel has been published by Faber, but it is full of the most absurd mistakes.

My warmest thanks are due to the Rev. J. W. Cartmell, Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College, for most valuable assistance in revising the manuscript and of seeing the proofs through the press.

K. B.

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INTRODUCTION.

I. HAUFF'S LIFE AND WORKS.

WILHELM HAUFF,

BORN 1802, DIED 1827.

WILHELM HAUFF was born at Stuttgart, Nov. 29th, 1802¹. Both his father and his grandfather were men of education and refinement, and from them he inherited a taste for study and literature. He had the misfortune to lose his father when he was only seven years old, but he was carefully brought up by a tender and prudent mother. From her he in part inherited the faculty of story-telling which she—like Frau Rath Goethe—did her best to develop in her son. At school (at Tübingen and later on at Blaubeuren) he got a great reputation for his gift of reciting, but did not distinguish himself in the ordinary school-work, which at that time chiefly consisted in the study of the Greek and Latin classical authors. But he delighted in reading the classical literature of his native country, especially the writings of Goethe and Schiller, and

¹ More detailed information about Hauff's life may be obtained from Gustav Schwab's sketch which is prefixed to the edition of Hauff's collected works in ten vols. (Vol. I.) and from his cousin and friend Grüneisen's funeral sermon printed in the same volume. An engraving of a bust of Hauff (by Wagner) is contained in the same volume, and an interesting anonymous sketch of him in Könnecke's excellent 'Bilderatlas zur Geschichte der Deutschen Nationallitteratur' (Marburg: Elwert, 1887) on page 280.

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gave himself up with passionate zeal to the perusal of works of imagination. To gratify his desire for reading he had at his disposal the splendid library of his grandfather, where he found a large collection of foreign classics. Before he had attained the age of 14 he had devoured in this way, besides the German literature of his time, the novels of Smollett, Fielding and Goldsmith, which were, however, subsequently displaced in his favour by the historical novels of Sir Walter Scott. In this way he learned much more at home than he did at school, and when he left the latter his character was much more developed, his mind riper, his taste more highly educated than that of most boys of his age, although he was decidedly behindhand in his knowledge of the classical languages. At school he had made some experiments in German verse which did not receive much approval from his masters, who in fact altogether underrated him. In his elder brother he found his best friend and playfellow. With him he acted scenes from history of which they had read, their favourite period being the sixteenth century, the time of transition from the middle-ages to modern times. From this period he afterwards selected the groundwork of his historical novel *Lichtenstein* which is full of local interest for Swabian readers. Thus while quite at an early age playing with his brother, arranging scenes, inventing interesting situations and speeches suitable for the occasion, he exercised his remarkable gift for vivid representation, skilful arrangement and grouping of events, and acquired the art of composing a natural and easy-flowing dialogue. In 1820 he became a student at Tübingen, and naturally a wider field for observation presented itself to him. During four years he gave himself up to the study of Theology, Philosophy and Literature in that old and famous seat of learning. He seems to have thoroughly enjoyed the time which he spent there; the town and its surroundings being as pleasant as the circle of friends in which he moved. His health, which had been delicate during his school-days and during the first months of his academical life, became considerably improved. At Tübingen he did not write anything of importance and none of his friends seems to

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have divined the literary ability which he subsequently displayed. He wrote only for his nearest friends, not with a view to publication, and in his writings he showed a vein of humour which, as in the case of Lessing and Goethe, did not shrink from ridiculing follies of his own as well as of others. After he had finished his University course he became for two years (1824—26) private tutor (*Hauslehrer*) to the children of the Freiherr von Hügel at Stuttgart. In this refined and amiable family he was introduced to a higher circle of society and had ample opportunities for extending his knowledge of human life and character. It was for his pupils at Stuttgart that he composed during his leisure hours his well-known fairy stories, of which the first series was published in 1826 and the two others in the two following years. The ice being once broken his other literary productions succeeded each other with extraordinary rapidity. In 1826 he gave up his tutorship in order to devote all his time to his literary work. He travelled through France, Holland and the North of Germany, and then settled in his native town as editor of a literary magazine, Cotta's *Morgenblatt*. Early in 1827 he married a cousin of his to whom he had been long attached. In the same year he visited the Tirol in order to become acquainted with the country, as he was planning an elaborate historical novel of which the Tirolese revolt of 1809 was to be the subject. This design of his was however not destined to be carried into effect. Soon after his return home a nervous fever attacked him, which put a sudden end to a life so full of hope before he had completed his 25th year, Nov. 18th, 1827. The news of the victory of Navarino (Oct. 20th) over the Turks which he received on his death-bed was the last great joy of his life.

Hauff was a noble soul, a clear, graceful and ingenious writer. He is not always very deep, but he does not lack a sort of aesthetic refinement which enabled him to triumph over the licentious and mawkish novels of Claren. His natural disposition was gay, his spirit lively, ready to receive impressions from every side, and he had a sound and vigorous judgement. His heart was full of enthusiasm for all that was

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good, but at the same time he was ready to criticise boldly and to punish by his keen wit and satire all that was bad. His short life was happy throughout: he was happy in love and friendship, he saw his genius universally acknowledged, and found himself esteemed and beloved by all who knew him. In his poem *Auf Wilhelm Hauff's frühes Hinscheiden* Ludwig Uhland, the most famous Swabian poet, speaks of Hauff's life as *jung, frisch, farbenhell* and calls it a *reicher Frühling, dem kein Herbst gegeben*.

The style of Hauff's writings is easy-flowing, natural and euphonious. The language is not always free from *Language and Style*. South German peculiarities nor even occasional grammatical mistakes, to which attention has been drawn in the notes of this book. But in all his writings there are numerous idiomatic expressions, many of them having a conversational or familiar character, which render his writings particularly interesting to students of the German language.

Hauff's chief importance consists in his prose-writings. His style is mainly epic; his lyric poems are of less importance, and he did not write any dramas. His prose writings are partly purely imaginary, partly they are sketches (*Skizzen*), partly novels. His reputation was established by his *Märchen* and by his historical novel *Lichtenstein*.

The *Märchen* belong to the purely imaginary class and exhibit true poetical genius. The subject matter of many of them is not original, but Hauff allowed his imagination free play in moulding the material which he found ready to hand and diffused over the whole the peculiar charm of his language. They are really less 'popular' than the well-known fairy-tales which were collected so to say from the lips of the people by the brothers Grimm; they cannot be compared with Andersen's fairy-tales for imaginative power, but they are still much in favour throughout the whole of Germany and fully deserve their reputation. They first appeared (1826—28) in a *Märchenalmanach*. Another very ingenious imaginary work is his *Phantasien im Bremer Rath-*

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keller (1827), the outgrowth of his tour to the North of Germany.

Hauff's *Skizzen* (4) do not pretend to be of great importance but show in their small compass all his chief qualities as an author: kindly humour, occasional bitter satire, witty and good-natured representation of human life and character. The first of them *Die Bücher und die Lesewelt* is the most interesting on account of its importance for judging Hauff's relation to Sir Walter Scott.

Hauff's novels belong to two different classes. Some are chiefly modern *conversational* novels, written in a light and elegant style, and representing the life of the higher classes of society. To these belong *Die Bettlerin vom Pont des Arts* (1828) and others of less importance. An earlier novel of this kind which attracted much attention in its time is *Der Mann im Monde* (1826), intended to be a satire against the frivolous Clauren, whom he succeeded in rendering ridiculous and contemptible by imitating and exaggerating his way of writing and by attacking him directly in a bitter pamphlet which was appended to the novel. Other novels are more or less *historical*, most of them being moreover of a special local interest. Both *Jud Süß* (1827) and *Lichtenstein* (1826) treat of a period of Swabian history. The latter novel, in which the influence of Sir Walter Scott is clearly visible, is especially popular in Swabia, as it treats very vividly and with much patriotic warmth of feeling of one of the most interesting periods of the history of Würtemberg, viz. of the life and times of Duke Ulrich. Although the plot of the novel is a pure invention, the historical character of the time has been very faithfully exhibited. Here he introduced a man of the lower class as one of the principal characters and aimed at imitating the language of the soldiers and of the peasantry, the latter in the dialect of the 'Schwäbische Alp'. It has already been remarked that another historical novel of greater compass was planned but never written.

The present novel *Das Bild des Kaisers* belongs more to the latter than to the former category. It is historical in so

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far as it endeavours to give a true idea of the state of Swabia about the year 1826 (cf. note to 93, 27). The various feelings with which Napoleon was regarded by people in the South of Germany are skilfully represented. The North German and especially the Prussian views are maintained by a young Prussian nobleman. The democratic and revolutionary tendencies of the time before the revolution of 1830 are also brought into play. The contrast between those who admire and those who detest the memory of Napoleon is, however, not the only one which calls forth our interest. In his novel Hauff also pleads the cause of his Swabian countrymen against the prejudices of many North Germans. To this topic the first chapter of the novel is almost entirely devoted, and we cannot fail to sympathise with Hauff's sincere efforts to be just to both parties and to do his best to bring about a better understanding and a greater sympathy between the North and South Germans. His visit to the North of Germany had perhaps suggested the leading ideas of the novel, which has even from this point of view not yet lost its peculiar interest.

Hauff's lyrical productions are most of them now forgotten.

b. LYRICS.

Two of his songs have, however, become truly popular on account of their simple and heartfelt tone and are sung all over Germany. These are *Soldatenliebe* (*Steh' ich in finstrer Mitternacht*) and *Reiters Morgengesang* (*Morgenroth, leuchtest mir zum frühen Tod?*).

Hauff belongs to the literary group of the so-called 'Swabian poets', the most important of whom are besides him Uhland, Schwab, Kerner and Möricke. One often hears them called *Schwäbische Schule* but they always protested against being classed as a separate 'School' and regarded 'Nature' as their only mistress. (Cf. Kerner's poem *Die schwäbische Dichterschule*.) All of them were highly cultivated men, Uhland a great scholar and a professor at Tübingen. Most of them were united by bonds of friendship; all looked up to Uhland. All of them cultivated lyric poetry in the first instance: Uhland, Kerner and Möricke are celebrated

*Hauff a
'Swabian
poet'.*

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for their songs, Uhland and Schwab for their ballads. Uhland was the only dramatist. Epic poetry was not much cultivated by the Swabian poets, but Schwab has written some fine cycles of romances, and it is in the prose epic, the novel, that Hauff is especially distinguished.

He was one of the first to introduce the *historical* novel into Germany, and in doing so he was directly influenced by Scott. Somewhat later Willibald Alexis wrote his North German historical novels, treating scenes from the history of Brandenburg and Prussia with as true patriotic feeling as Hauff showed in his Swabian stories. Down to the time of Goethe and Schiller no novels of this kind had appeared in Germany, Goethe's 'Wilhelm Meister', 'Die Wahlverwandtschaften' and other works being rather philosophical and psychological. But after the war of deliverance the interest in the past of the German nation had been mightily roused, and the historical novel which now covers so large a field in modern German literature, whether it be national (Laube, Scheffel, Freytag, Dahn, Wolff) or international (Eckstein, Taylor, Ebers, Hamerling), can be easily traced back to the patriotic national novel as written in the earlier part of this century by Alexis and Hauff.

II. A SHORT SKETCH OF NAPOLEON'S LIFE.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (originally Buonaparte) was born at Ajaccio the capital of Corsica according to the generally accepted opinion on August 15th, 1769, although modern historians are inclined to think that he adopted the birthday of his brother Joseph and was really born on Jan. 7th, 1768. His father was a poor Corsican nobleman, politically an adherent of France. Napoleon received from the very beginning a thoroughly military training, which no doubt had a great influence on his character. In 1779 he was admitted to the military school at Brienne, where he remained for more than

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five years, secluded himself from most of his comrades and turned his attention chiefly to the study of history and mathematics. After having passed his final examination at the military school at Paris he obtained his commission as lieutenant. At first he was a great Corsican patriot, or at least feigned to be such—but when he did not succeed in gratifying his ambition by advocating the cause of Corsican liberty he went into the opposite camp, chose France for his adopted country, and attempted even to seize the citadel of Ajaccio with the intention of surrendering it to the French. He became a thorough Frenchman and a thorough republican. He had witnessed at Paris the downfall of the monarchy and saw clearly that the anarchy which ensued would give ample opportunity to his ambition. He became acquainted with the younger Robespierre and was soon highly appreciated by him. He first attracted the attention of the Parisian leaders when in 1773 he succeeded in taking Toulon, which had withstood the Jacobin reign of Terror, and in forcing the English fleet to leave the harbour. He was thereupon appointed general of brigade, and soon exchanged civil strife for foreign aggression by joining the army of Italy as general of artillery and inspector general. He was, however, soon after involved in the downfall of the Robespierres and suspended from his military functions. But this turn of ill fortune did not last long. A revolt broke out in Paris on Vendémiaire 13 (Oct. 5th), 1795, which Napoleon suppressed with what Carlyle calls “the whiff of grapeshot.” The Convention hereupon appointed him Commander of the army of the Interior. The important position obtained in this way was much strengthened by Napoleon’s marriage with Josephine de Beauharnais, the widow of a general killed during the Terror holding a prominent place in Parisian society. Early in 1796 he became commander of the army of Italy.

With this appointment a new epoch of his life began. The Italian campaign stands at the opening of his grand European career, it displayed his military talents in the most striking manner. He succeeded in separating his enemies, the Austrians and the Sardinians, and by his extraordinary quickness and

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energy, aided by the enthusiasm of his troops, he won a series of brilliant victories which soon brought the campaign to a close. The preliminaries of peace were signed at Leoben in Styria (to which place Napoleon had advanced) on April 18, 1797, and were afterwards confirmed by the treaty of Campo Formio on Oct. 17. By this treaty Austria ceded Flanders, the left side of the Rhine and Lombardy to the French, receiving in return Istria and Dalmatia, with the other continental possessions of the Venetian Republic, which though a neutral state Napoleon had unscrupulously invaded and overthrown. In 1798 Napoleon was charged with the command of the army which was to invade England, but he soon became aware of the impracticability of the undertaking, and consequently proposed to the Directory to change the expedition into an invasion of Egypt. His ambition and desire for restless activity, the hope of obtaining easily and quickly brilliant success in the East, and of striking a fatal blow at England's naval power in the Mediterranean, the calculation that his absence from France would soon be felt and induce a desire for his return—all urged him to a most hazardous expedition, which resulted in utter failure. After having taken Malta and gained some victories over the Mamelukes he was compelled to retire from Syria. In the mean time his fleet had been dispersed by the English under Nelson at Aboukir, and consequently his retreat was barred. When, however, he heard of the critical situation of the Directory and the misfortune of the French arms in Italy and on the Rhine, he secretly left his army and returned to France, taking with him only a few of his best officers. At any other time such a fiasco must have proved fatal to Napoleon's reputation, for he had really accomplished nothing. He had failed altogether in his designs against England. Even the temporary advantage which he had gained by the occupation of Malta was soon lost, for the island was taken by the English, in whose hands it has ever since remained. From this time seems to date the great hatred which Napoleon entertained against England throughout the whole of his life and which directly or indirectly was the source of all his later wars, and

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finally of his ruin. It was fortunate for him when he returned from Egypt that all eyes were fixed on the events which were taking place in Paris and on the French frontier. Napoleon was hailed as the man who would save the republic from dissolution. The Directory did not dare to call him to account for deserting his army in Egypt, and he now resolved to get the supreme power into his own hands. By means of the conspiracy of Brumaire 18 (Nov. 9), 1799, and many acts of lawless violence the government of the Directory was abolished and a provisional executive was instituted. This executive consisted of three consuls, of whom Napoleon was one. The three consuls had equal authority, but after a short time Napoleon was appointed First Consul for ten years, and though he had two nominal colleagues he exercised the full power of an absolute monarch. He gave away many influential posts to adherents of his, rewarded old friends and won over new ones, organised a severe control of the press and a total suppression of public opinion and political parties, allowed many royalists to return to the country, and put an end to the civil war in La Vendée. The whole state was organised like a great machine, the entire command of which lay in the hands of the First Consul. The French nation, weary of internal conflict, allowed all these changes to take place without much resistance, the more so as Napoleon gratified the national ambition by new victories over foreign enemies. At this time England, under the ministry of Pitt, had by means of heavy subsidies stirred up against France the so-called Second Coalition, of which Austria and Russia were the principal members. While Moreau kept the Austrians in check in the south of Germany, Napoleon relieved the French army of Italy, which was hard pressed by the Austrian general Melas. He completely surprised his enemies by unexpectedly crossing the Alps. He passed the Great St Bernard between May 15 and 20, 1800, while other divisions crossed the Little St Bernard and the Mont Cenis, and an auxiliary detachment from Moreau's army went over the St Gotthard. In the battle of Marengo, fought on June 14, which at first promised well for the Austrians, they were eventually utterly defeated.

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They gave up the greater part of North Italy, and after the defeat of the Archduke John by Moreau at Hohenlinden the emperor concluded the peace of Lunéville on Feb. 9, 1801. Napoleon succeeded also in coming to terms with Russia, and even in concluding the peace of Amiens with England in 1802. He returned to Paris in triumph, established the order of the Legion of Honour, rewarded his faithful adherents by donations and lucrative appointments, made his peace with the pope and established his position so firmly that he ventured to have himself proclaimed Consul for life. His opponents were partly quelled by a reckless and lawless terrorism, partly imprisoned and banished, or even put to death without even the form of a trial, like the unfortunate Duke of Enghien. Jacobins as well as Royalists were struck by the iron hand of the dictator, and the terrified Senate offered in 1804 to make the supreme power hereditary in Napoleon's family. The First Consul accepted the offer, and on May 20, 1804, he was proclaimed Emperor of the French, and in December crowned in Notre Dame by the pope Pius VII. In May 1805 he crowned himself at Milan with the iron crown of the Lombard kings. In Italy he again—as in 1798—proceeded in a most violent and arbitrary manner, annexing and transforming states without the slightest consideration.

After having achieved so much his great desire was to humiliate England. With this view, after having occupied Hanover in 1803, he proceeded to a new scheme of invasion and gathered for the purpose a fleet at Boulogne. In the meantime Pitt had roused a Third Coalition against his violent proceedings, which was joined by Russia, Austria, and Sweden. This relieved Napoleon of the shameful necessity of confessing that he had found a landing in England impossible on account of the inadequacy of his navy. With his excellent army ready at his command he threw himself with surprising quickness on the allies in the south of Germany, scattered an Austrian army in Bavaria, where 20,000 men under General Mack capitulated at Ulm, entered Vienna in triumph, and completely defeated the combined Austrian and Russian forces at Austerlitz (Dec.

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1805). Austria hastened to make her peace with Napoleon at Pressburg, giving up to him Italy and the supremacy in Germany. He then made his step-son Eugen Beauharnais king of Italy, his brother Joseph king of Naples, his brother Louis king of Holland, etc. and by a family compact was himself made head of the Bonaparte family, so that all its members with their possessions became his vassals. In Germany he established, in July 1806, the Confederation of the Rhine, in which the minor states of Germany were united under his protectorate. Bavaria and Württemberg were raised into kingdoms. The whole west and south of Germany lay at Napoleon's feet. But a new enemy rose in the North. Prussia had hitherto been on better terms with Napoleon than Austria, and had become rather isolated among the German states by the attitude of reserve which she had maintained. She had, however, never met with the slightest gratitude from Napoleon, whose new and high-handed proceedings in Germany were indeed an uncalled-for insult and menace to her. She suddenly mobilised her armies and became the ally of Russia, which had refused to accept the conditions of peace which Napoleon offered after his victory at Austerlitz. But before the Russians could come to their aid Napoleon flung himself on the Prussians and crushed their armies in the terrible battles at Jena and Auerstädt (Oct. 1806). He entered Berlin in triumph just as before he had entered Vienna, and from thence he issued the famous 'Berlin Decree,' directed against his old and most dangerous enemy, England, and intended to inflict a fatal blow upon her by ruining her commerce. English goods were to be seized everywhere and the harbours of neutrals to be closed against English ships under penalty of war with France. The terms of this decree show how entirely Napoleon relied on sheer force to accomplish his ends. The measure was almost equivalent to the annexation of all the neutral states, and as a matter of fact it really did much to bring about his ruin. More and more it became apparent that Napoleon strove after the absolute supremacy in Europe. After having fought against Russia the bloody but undecided battle of Eylau—the first great battle in which

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Napoleon was not victorious—and having at last defeated her at Friedland (June, 1807), he met the emperor Alexander at Tilsit and there settled the conditions of peace. He flattered the emperor with the hope of the supremacy over the North and the East of Europe, and, by agreeing to abandon Poland to Russia, won him entirely over to his side. Alexander in return sacrificed Prussia to Napoleon. The Prussian kingdom was reduced to less than half its former size, and the king was forbidden to keep more than 42,000 soldiers, an army which Napoleon thought he could easily crush whenever he chose.

Napoleon was now at the zenith of his power. He ruled absolutely over the west and middle of Europe. England alone remained unconquered, and the Continental System could not be carried out without a larger navy than he as yet possessed. He therefore endeavoured (after the English had forestalled him in appropriating the Danish navy) to make himself the master of Portugal and Spain, in order to obtain the help of the fleets of these two countries. In 1807 he occupied Portugal because she objected to the Continental System and did not bar her harbours to English ships. In 1808 he interfered with regard to the Spanish succession, but in so violent a manner that he entirely alienated the Spaniards, who had hitherto followed his career with some degree of sympathy. He invaded Spain, and made his brother Joseph king against the wish of the nation. He had always strangely underrated the force of national feeling and had ruthlessly violated it everywhere. Here for the first time—as afterwards in Russia and Germany—he learned what an enormous power lies in the patriotic feeling of the mass of the people. Spain was never quite subdued, the religious feeling of the people, united with their national pride, kept up an obstinate resistance to the armies of his generals, and when an English army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, was sent to Portugal in 1808, a prolonged struggle ensued, which ultimately resulted in the deliverance of the whole Peninsula from the French yoke (1813). In the mean time at the great assembly at Erfurt (Oct. 1808) Napoleon confirmed his alliance with Alexander and

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appeared surrounded by kings and princes. From hence he hurried back to France and then to Spain, where he re-established on the throne his brother Joseph, who had been compelled to leave Madrid, and forced the English under Sir John Moore to retreat, but was called back by the news of the outbreak of a new Austrian war. After a great defeat at Aspern (May, 1809) his rapidity and energy once more got the better of the Austrians, whom he defeated at Wagram (July) and forced to conclude the Peace of Vienna in October, 1809. The course of the Spanish war, which was on the whole unfavourable to the French, the revolt of the Tirolese, and several attempts at a revolt in Germany, might have warned him of the rising national feeling and of the desire which was becoming more and more universal, to shake off his oppressive yoke. In Prussia especially a reorganisation was quietly but surely taking place. The University of Berlin was established, Fichte revived the national feeling by his *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, and Stein and Scharnhorst reformed the administration and the army. But Napoleon either did not see all this or feigned not to see it. The limits of what was possible became less and less distinct in his mind, and his desire to take revenge on England became more and more vehement. He ruled over lands and countries with absolute despotism. The possessions of the pope were in 1809 united with France, and when the pope remonstrated he was led away from Rome and imprisoned in France. Holland and the German North Sea Coast were annexed in 1810 in order to make his continental system work more effectually. The Napoleonic empire in 1809 extended from the Baltic to the Ionian islands, and was divided into 130 departments. About 100 millions of men, the vassal states included, acknowledged his sway. In the hope of having a direct heir to whom he might bequeath this vast empire, Napoleon divorced his first wife Josephine, who had borne him no children, and married in 1810 as his second wife an imperial princess, Marie Louise, the daughter of the Emperor of Austria. In 1811 she bore him a son, who received the title of King of Rome immediately after his birth. Napoleon now felt assured that the empire of

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Charlemagne was securely vested in his family, and his pride henceforth knew no bounds.

It would have been wise of Napoleon if he had taken pains to preserve the Russian alliance. But in his often incomprehensible and inconsiderate arrogance he had in various ways contrived seriously to offend Alexander and almost to drive him into the opposite camp. Towards the end of 1810 the alliance of Tilsit seemed to have come to an end. Alexander refused to adopt Napoleon's policy towards neutral states, to which Napoleon answered by the annexation of Oldenburg, which was governed by a prince of the Russian house. Russia in return increased the restrictions on French trade, at the same time modifying those on colonial wares. The whole continental system of Napoleon was endangered by these proceedings of Russia, and war became inevitable. With his usual energy Napoleon wished to seek the enemy in his own country, again—as in the Egyptian expedition—underrating the difficulties of the undertaking, the dangers of being cut off from home, and the severity of the climate, and failing to understand the perilous consequences of provoking the hatred of the nation at large. With one of the most splendid armies the world had ever seen, amounting to more than 600,000 men, he set out on his expedition in May, 1812, from which he returned almost alone in December. The Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia had been compelled to place large contingents of their troops at his disposal. With the 'Grand Army' he crossed the Niemen, and proceeded with the central portion of it straight on in the direction of Moscow, the heart of Russia. So anxious was he to push on that he made no attempt to bring about the restoration of Poland, which would have been a great help to him in the ensuing war. The Russian troops being in a vast minority (175,000 men) receded gradually, devastating all the country within their reach. Smolensk was taken in August, and the Russian army under Kutusoff was defeated not far from Moscow in the bloody battle of Borodino on the Moskwa (September), whereupon Napoleon entered the now deserted Moscow on September 14th, 1812. But to his great disap-

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pointment Alexander, who was advised by Stein and Sir Robert Wilson, refused to negotiate. Fires kept breaking out in Moscow, partly laid by the Russians themselves before the evacuation, and the situation of Napoleon, who lingered in the town for five weeks, became daily more and more perplexing. At last he saw the impossibility of coming to an understanding with the Czar and of remaining any longer in Moscow. He gave the order for retreat. But it was too late. The Russian winter set in with unusual severity, no provisions in the case of retreat had been made, and the splendid army, the instrument which had hitherto never failed in Napoleon's hands, perished of frost, hunger and disease, unceasingly harassed by attacks from the pursuing Russians and Cossacks. The fights at the crossing of the Berezina (Nov. 25 till 28) completed the dissolution of the *Grande-Armée*, of which only 15,000 men tottered into Vilna on December 6th, about half-a-million of men on the French side having perished or disappeared in Russia. As he had done in the Egyptian campaign, Napoleon left the wreck of his army, fled on a carriage put on the sledge of a peasant, revealed part of the truth to the amazed world in his 29th bulletin of December 3rd, and hurried by Warsaw and Dresden to Paris, promising the Poles in Warsaw to be back at the Niemen in the spring of 1813 with an army of 300,000 men. The Prussian and Austrian contingents had escaped destruction, having been posted partly in the Baltic provinces, partly on the Polish frontier. When the Russians pressed on, the thought occurred to General York, the commander of the Prussian contingent in the Baltic, that the time had now come to throw off the detested yoke of the French and to deliver Prussia from the Napoleonic tyranny. He consequently separated his troops from the French, and without waiting for the permission of his king in this critical moment, he signed on December 30th 1812, the convention of Tauroggen with the Russian general Diebitsch, by which he promised to cease all hostilities against the Russians.

This defection of the Prussian army was of the greatest

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importance. It gave the signal for the rising of Prussia, and soon of the greater part of Germany against Napoleon. The Russians were everywhere welcomed as the friends of the country, the Prussian 'Landwehr' was set on foot, a new spirit of devotion and patriotism had come over the whole nation. It was universally felt that now or never the chains must be broken. The King of Prussia sanctioned York's proceeding, united himself with the Czar, and summoned his people to arms. Austria and the Middle German states still sided with Napoleon, but the Confederation of the Rhine was broken up. It was like the coming spring after a long and cruel winter. Everybody prepared to sacrifice his all for the deliverance of the fatherland. Thus the so-called 'War of Deliverance' broke out in 1813. At first Napoleon seemed to have the upper hand. With his usual rapidity and energy he took the field again in April with about 300,000 men, as he had promised, and proceeded at once to act on the offensive. As long as he had only to deal with Russia and Prussia, the army of the latter being as yet in a very unprepared state, he maintained on the whole his superiority. This phase of the war came to an end by an armistice in June. Soon after Sweden joined the coalition, and England promised pecuniary aid. But in the second phase of the war Austria joined the allies, and by the great battle of Leipzig (called in German *die Völkerschlacht bei L.*) on October 18th Napoleon was practically expelled from the German soil. The third phase of the war consisted of an invasion of France and occupation of Paris by the allied Powers (1814), which brought about the downfall of the Napoleonic empire on April 11th, 1814. Napoleon having finally abdicated for himself and his son was appointed sovereign of the Isle of Elba. His wife and child, to whom he seemed to be entirely indifferent, did not accompany him. The government of the Bourbons was re-established. Louis XVIII., the brother of Louis XVI., returned to Paris and gave a new constitution to the land. In the first Treaty of Paris the boundaries of France were on the whole reduced to what they were in 1792.

In order to arrange the affairs of Europe the allies and

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almost all the representatives of the European Powers assembled at Vienna and held a General Congress, but soon differences between the Powers, which had been checked only by the necessity of making common cause against the common enemy, began to make themselves felt. At Paris the Bourbons became after a short while extremely unpopular, and Napoleon, following the development of affairs with the greatest attention, and seeing the general dissatisfaction, resolved to try his fortune once more. He secretly set sail from Elba, landed in France, was at first received very coolly, but soon enthusiastically welcomed everywhere. The troops which were sent against him joined his standard, and he entered Paris in triumph on March 20th, 1815. On the news of Napoleon's arrival King Louis XVIII. had fled from Paris and left France. The plenipotentiaries, who were still assembled in Vienna, issued a declaration calling him 'an enemy and disturber of the peace of the world.' The coalition was reconstituted, and war began once more. Napoleon's ally, Murat, was defeated by the Austrians and expelled from Naples, and afterwards, in an attempt to retake the town, was taken prisoner and shot. In the meantime Napoleon had invaded Belgium with a strong and well-disciplined force. Here he was met by two armies—forming the right wing of the forces of the coalition—the one consisting of English, Dutch and German troops under Wellington, the other being the Prussian army under Blücher. After the preliminary fights of Ligny and Quatrebras, in the former of which Napoleon obtained some passing advantage, he was entirely defeated on the 18th of June near the village of Waterloo, not far from Brussels, by the united forces of Wellington and Blücher. The troops under Wellington kept up a stubborn resistance during the whole of the day, until the Prussians under Blücher arrived by forced marches on the scene, and the French were utterly routed. The battle is called by the English the battle of Waterloo, by the Germans Waterloo or Belle Alliance, by the French the battle of Mont St Jean (cf. notes to 104, 8 and 105, 12). The victorious allies entered Paris for the second time after Napoleon had again abdicated, and the second treaty of Paris (Nov. 1815)

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restored at last to the world the longed-for peace. After his abdication Napoleon had taken refuge at Rochefort on board the English ship *Bellerophon*. The allied Powers decided that his presence in Europe could no longer be tolerated with safety, and consequently he was conveyed to the island of St Helena, where he died in 1821 surrounded by a few faithful friends.