



## ***Napoléon Bonaparte:***

Victim of an Inferior Strategy...?

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This case was written by Atul Sinha, INSEAD MBA, July'99, under the supervision of Professors W. Chan Kim, Renée Mauborgne, and Ludo Van der Heyden of INSEAD. It is intended to be used as a basis for class discussion rather than to illustrate either effective or ineffective handling of an administrative situation.

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## On the Road to Paris, June 19<sup>th</sup> 1815 <sup>1</sup>

*“Incomprehensible coincidence of fatalities! Why did Grouchy not immediately return to the battlefield when I summoned him? And how could it be that my chief-of-staff Soult only sent a single messenger to recall him? Berthier surely would have sent 12! Ney did not fare better. He did not even execute my orders! He failed me twice, in as many days. Just like d’Erlon, who, at Ligny, hesitated between following Ney’s orders and mine. It was d’Erlon’s hesitations which allowed Blücher and his Prussians to escape. That, under the circumstances, I had to leave brave Davout behind to secure Paris in my absence may yet have been my greatest misfortune. Masséna, Murat, Desaix, Berthier, Lannes, Bessières, or Duroc: did I miss you! How different the outcome would have been, if only I could have counted on one of you!”*

Following his disastrous defeat at Waterloo, Napoleon’s head must have been filled with such thoughts, or with similar ones. “...*The victory was so close, yet it kept escaping me...*” He had done everything possible to bring France to glory, leading his people through more battles and victories than possibly Alexander the Great, Hannibal and Julius Caesar combined. Undoubtedly, some of his marshals and generals grew weary and reluctant to follow his aims of continental annexation, yet they largely stood behind him. Despite his practically infallible personal leadership skills and strategic vision, Napoleon must have realised that he had finally lost. Questions like “*Why did it go so wrong in the end? Why did chance escape me so completely?*” are likely to have haunted him on the long and sad road back to Paris.

## From Corsican to Emperor of France

Born in Ajaccio, Corsica, on August 15<sup>th</sup> 1769, Napoleon, who was of Italian descent, received a French education, at the Royal Military College in Brienne. On July 14<sup>th</sup> 1789, the French Revolution broke out when the Bastille was attacked, leading to the downfall of the *Ancien Régime* and King Louis XVI. The Revolution promised *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* (Liberty, Equality, Fraternity) for all.

Napoleon first distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon in 1793, then a bit later in putting down a royalist uprising. This latter success led to his nomination at the head of the “Army of Italy” where his talents as a gifted military commander were

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<sup>1</sup> Marshals Grouchy and Ney commanded, respectively, the right and left wing of the French Army in the battle of Waterloo, which also saw marshal Soult act for the first time as the Emperor’s chief-of-staff. Soult had succeeded Berthier, who had been Napoleon’s long-time and favorite chief-of-staff, ever since the first campaign in Italy. Berthier died in 1815, upon hearing of his Emperor’s return from exile on the Island of Elba. Masséna, Murat, Desaix, Berthier, Lannes, Bessières and Duroc were some amongst Napoleon’s superb marshals and generals who either had died earlier, or did not take part in the events at Waterloo.

fully recognised. Following his invasion of Egypt in 1798, Napoleon successfully led a coup which installed him as the First Consul of France.

An energetic leader and administrator, he restored civil order, balanced the budget, established the basis for modern-day French administration, and oversaw the establishment of the *Code Napoléon*. This code represented a wide-sweeping reform and codification of France's laws in areas such as commerce, civil and legal procedure, and penal and rural law. The country, worn out after ten years of internal and external strife, was grateful to Bonaparte (as he then was called) for consolidating the rights won by the people during the French Revolution. To permanently mark the transition of France to a new era, and to gain respectability in the eyes of the other European nations, Napoleon convinced the Senate to crown him "*Empereur des Français*" (Emperor of the French) in 1804.<sup>2</sup>

Napoleon fought and won many glorious battles of which Austerlitz (where he first defeated the combined forces of the Austrian and Russian Emperors) was perhaps the most significant. His military prowess was the basis for his power. At his height, Napoleon ruled, directly or indirectly, half of Europe. Though he imposed French practices such as the "*Code Napoleon*" to integrate countries within the French Empire and sometimes even went so far as to appoint family members as new heirs, he was careful to leave conquered countries otherwise intact. He created the Kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, both of which joined the Confederation of the Rhine in 1806, the precursor of today's Germany.

However, Napoleon's use of military might, as principal instrument of policy, proved insufficient. Prompted by military difficulties in Spain, his advisors increasingly supported a more balanced implementation of political, diplomatic and economic policies, in addition to the military ones, to ensure a more integrated Europe. Napoleon, annoyed by such apparent dissension, further isolated himself from his advisors. This inherent lack of balance in Napoleon's actions, however, would eventually erode his influence. Power and success had increasingly corrupted Napoleon's leadership.

The fateful invasion and disastrous retreat from Russia in 1812 united all of Europe against him, hastening his downfall. Although he fought a brilliant last campaign in France against a much superior enemy, the odds proved impossible to uphold. In April 1814, his marshals refused to follow his orders, forcing Napoleon to abdicate his throne. He was sent into exile to the Island of Elba in the Mediterranean, not far from his native Corsica.

Napoleon's first exile was short-lived. Strongly encouraged by the ineptitude of the new monarch Louis XVIII, the younger brother of Louis XVI, he escaped from Elba in March 1815. He bravely faced the troops sent to capture him and they soon followed him, all the way to Paris, where he was welcomed as a liberator. Back in power, he advocated a new and more democratic constitution, and

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<sup>2</sup> For an illustration of Napoleon's contributions to the organisation of France's civil society, we ask the reader to examine *Appendix 1: A Napoleonic Chronology*.

veterans of his old campaigns flocked to his support. Once restored to the throne, Napoleon sought peace with his allies. They rejected his offer, so he resorted to war. The result was the “*Campagne des Cent Jours*” (the Hundred Days Campaign) into Belgium, which ended in his definitive defeat at the Battle of Waterloo on June 18<sup>th</sup> 1815. He was sent into his second and final exile at Saint Helena, a remote island in the South Atlantic Ocean, where he died on May 5<sup>th</sup> 1821. (See Appendix 1 for a list of major dates and events in Napoleon’s life.)

## **Napoleon as a Strategic Innovator in Military Warfare**

*“The Emperor has discovered a new way of waging war; he makes use of our legs instead of our bayonets...” -- Anonymous soldier*

Napoleon injected a radical new way of thinking into prevailing war strategies of the time. Apart from structural and organisational changes, he conceived two fundamental new tactics:

- **Corps units:** Napoleon formed a “*corps d’armée*” system, which led to increased mobility and flexible formations. These corps units operated like self-sustained armies and were capable of fighting independently for limited periods of time. Units within a corps were assigned different roles, and equipped in consequence. Mobility was of the essence. The exception was the Emperor’s personal Guard, composed of elite soldiers who had distinguished themselves in prior battles. The Guard was typically held in reserve, but its presence instilled confidence in the soldiers who knew they could count on these elite troops to change the outcome should the battle take a negative turn.
- **A communication backbone of marshals:** The corps units were co-ordinated and controlled via “a communication backbone of marshals,” providing the primary and direct link with Napoleon. Each corps had its own general or marshal, acting on a clear mission defined by Napoleon, though this mission could change according to battle conditions. Due to the enormous flexibility of this system, Napoleon was able to implement a more dynamic and evolutionary battle strategy. He had an uncanny ability to determine the enemy’s weak spot, probe it, and if confirmed, direct all available forces to that spot. He could mix and match the corps as required by battle conditions. The marshals were critical, as they were the primary link of communication with Napoleon.
- **Time as a strategic weapon:** By considering time -- and not simply force -- as one of the variables, Napoleon introduced enormous flexibility in his strategic approach to every battle. Dynamic configurations offered multiple possibilities as the battle progressed. Strong communication structures allowed him to modify his orders and battle tactics effectively in a nearly on-line basis.

The timely use of flexible corps afforded Napoleon huge advantages in battle. His devastating “*assembly (of troops) and concentration (of force)*” approach to battles was a direct result. It was more than a simple matter of collecting a vast number of units at a given point. On the eve of the battle, it was imperative that the troops be “assembled” rather than “concentrated.” By “assembly” Napoleon meant placing major units within marching distance of the intended battlefield, though not necessarily in physical contact with the enemy or one another. It was important that the forces were not only placed at marching distance from the possible battle site, but also that they were sufficiently dispersed on the eve of the battle to permit alternative movements without a major realignment of the formations. The initial dispersion then gave way to a more carefully phased concentration as the battle approached, but also to a larger number of options. After lulling the opponent into a false sense of security (by holding back most of his corps at a two-day march from the planned striking point), the Emperor used to “steal a march” by ordering a rapid movement of his corps under the cover of darkness, thereby gaining a full day of preparations over his enemy. For example, certain of his troops marched an amazing 140 kms in 48 hrs during the battle of Austerlitz.

Speed, surprise, flexibility, and continual adjustment were some of the key advantages derived from these two innovations. They transformed his army into a single integrated unit, capable of executing an ever-evolving strategy dictated by battle conditions.

### **Lodi (May 10<sup>th</sup> 1796) & the First Italian Campaign: The Emergence of High Ambitions**

*“...I will lead you into the most fertile plains on earth. Rich provinces, opulent towns, all shall be your disposal; there you will find honour, glory and riches.” — N.*

With such statements Napoleon enticed his soldiers and his officers, who could expect personal reward in return for bravery and obedience on the battlefield. The promise of victory, but also the opportunity to fight for “*their own country, and not for the whims of the King*” strongly appealed to the French soldiers. They furthermore were commanded by individuals who, even of aristocratic descent, had risen through the ranks and proven themselves on the battlefield.

Bonaparte’s first major contribution consisted in turning the “whirlwind methods” of attack that characterised the French Revolutionaries into an art of warfare that was based upon movement and surprise.<sup>3</sup> The early armies of the Republic were amateurs whose exaltation had swept away the professional and predictable precision of the opposing Austrian army. But they did not know how to exploit victory. Napoleon channelled these fantastic energies into a well run professional

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<sup>3</sup> The comments on Bonaparte’s warfare methods in this section and the next one borrows heavily (and occasionally literally) from A.G. Macdonell, “*Napoleon and his Marshals*,” Prion Lost Treasures, London, 1996.

war machine, which was based on movement and surprise attacks exploiting the enemy's weaknesses. The objective no longer was to win a battle, but to manage an entire campaign whose only objective was the complete destruction of enemy forces. The first Italian campaign was where a military genius, 27 years of age, first imposed his methods and his will upon veteran generals who considered that he had gained his command through intrigue in Paris. At 61, Schérer was tired and certainly did not have the energy to face the Austro-Sardinian forces which lay across the Ligurian hills in wedge-like formation.

On March 26<sup>th</sup>, 1796, the three divisional commanders of the Army of Italy – Sérurier, 57 years old, Augereau, 39, and Masséna, 38 -- met Napoleon and his handful of friends at Army headquarters in Nice. The most important amongst the latter were Berthier, brilliant engineer/geographer and staff officer, Murat, forceful cavalryman, and Marmont, able gunner, and also Napoleon's oldest friend. Plenty of discussion and planning followed on how to best force the opponent back to the other side of the Po River and out of Lombardy altogether. Soldiers soon started training and were gradually introduced to the new corps system. Highly confident in his methods and in his soldiers, Napoleon resolved to defeat the Austrians quickly. A letter to his superiors in Paris demonstrates this: *"My intention is to catch up with the Austrians and beat them before you have time to reply to this letter."*

On April 11<sup>th</sup>, the Army of Italy was sent to the tip of the wedge which also was the point of junction of the Austrian and Sardinian armies. In ninety-six hours of marching and fighting, the wedge was split and the armies were driven apart. The Sardinians, cut from their Austrian Allies, are defeated in two successive battles, at Millesimo (on April 13<sup>th</sup>) and at Mondovi (on April 21<sup>st</sup>). The King of Sardinia soon agrees to peace, and Nice and Savoie are united with France. In the meantime, the Austrians too are defeated, at Montenotte (on April 12<sup>th</sup>) and Dego (on April 14<sup>th</sup>) and retreat. The uplifted Army of Italy was in full cry for Milan and Mantua, and North Italy was enthusiastically welcoming its Liberators. As part of a plan to occupy Lombardy, Napoleon had accomplished the first task of pushing the Austrians back to the Adda River.

This military feat was achieved through repeated concentration of forces at critical places and the brilliant execution of Napoleon's strategy by his generals and their soldiers. All of the commanders acted in exemplary fashion. As this was his first major campaign, he regularly met with his officers to continuously explain his ideas and strategies, as well as to receive and integrate their feedback and their knowledge of the terrain and of enemy formations.

Napoleon now faced the Austrian Army across the Adda. Capturing the Lodi Bridge intact was essential to continue to overtake the Austrians in his advance towards Milan. The Austrians defended both sides of the bridge, with 14 guns and 8000 men. Napoleon sent his cavalry across the river, north of the bridge. After a stirring speech to his troops, he ordered a column of grenadiers onto the bridge. The first French charge, under a hail of Austrian fire, reached the centre of the bridge before falling back. A second charge was quickly organised. This time, the

senior officers themselves, including Berthier and Lannes, a Brigadier in Augereau's division, placed themselves at the head of the column. Letting loose a cry of "*Vive la République!*" they charged into the maelstrom, reach the other side just when the cavalry falls upon the Austrian flank. The Austrians quickly had to retreat, leaving their guns behind.

This battle earned Napoleon the loyalty of his men, who nicknamed him "*Le Petit Caporal*" in recognition of his personal courage and determination. Napoleon urged them on: "*In two weeks' time you have won six victories, taken 21 flags... several forts, and conquered the richest part of Piedmont... but soldiers, do not deceive yourselves. You have achieved nothing, for everything remains to be done. Neither Turin nor Milan is in our hands... There remain battles to fight, cities to take, rivers to cross... and friends, I promise, you will achieve all!*" Equally importantly is the growth in Napoleon's self-confidence, as he later reveals: "*After Lodi I no longer saw myself an ordinary general, but a man called to influence the fate of a nation.*"

But the Austrians had met more success on the Rhine front, where Moreau was forced to operate a "strategic" retreat. This allowed the arrival of another 70,000 Austrians on the Italian scene, under the command of Würmser. He was eager to halt the French siege of Mantua, a key city for the Austrian control of Northern Italy. It was the only time in the campaign that Bonaparte lost his nerve, being about to call the retreat to Milan. At the Council of War at Roverbella, Augereau shouted against retreating: "*Attack first, and then, if we are beaten, it will be time to think of retreating.*" When asked by one of the senior commanders how the right wing would be supported, his simple reply was: "*With bayonets! We shall be attacked tomorrow; 20,000 Austrians are within an hour of us; but it isn't that that worries me; it is that I would like to see you a bit calmer. Fight here and I will answer for victory.*" Bonaparte accepted the advice and the result was five days of fighting and marching, resumed under the name of the Battle of Castiglione (August 5<sup>th</sup>, 1796). It was Augereau himself who led the final desperate attack of the reserves which won the battle. Würmser lost 20,000 men and 50 guns, and returned with the remainder of his army to the hills. Many years later, Napoleon answered all complaints against Augereau with the words, "*Ah! But remember what he did for us at Castiglione!*"

The Campaign ended the following year with the peace of Leoben. A 27 year old gunner had opened a campaign at Nice, and closed it within sixty five miles from Vienna. The Revolution no longer was in the streets of Paris, it now was waged across battlefields of Europe. Outmanoeuvring the enemy conquered Italy. To cite but one last example: the Masséna division fought at Verona on January 13<sup>th</sup>, marched 32 kms on snowy roads that night, reached the plateau at Rivoli on the morning of the 14<sup>th</sup>, fights the entire day of the 15<sup>th</sup>, marches another 70 kms in 30 hours, in time to contribute to the French victory at Mantua on the 16<sup>th</sup>. In four days, the division had taken part in 3 battles and marched more than 100 kms.

## Marengo, June 14<sup>th</sup> 1800: Saved by his Generals

During his early days as First Consul, Napoleon continued to ensure that his generals were involved in the early stages of campaign planning. On one occasion, he had worked out a brilliant plan to move his army into the Rhine. However, one commander disagreed with the plan, suggesting another strategy. Though the suggestion directly contradicted his own plans, Napoleon took the general's advice instead of treating it as an act of insubordination. He understood the advantages of engaging his officers and liked to discuss strategic plans with them, seeking their reactions and advice. It had served him before. These exchanges also were an opportunity for Napoleon to train and coach his corps commanders in his strategic way of thinking.<sup>4</sup> The increasing complexity of his strategies reinforced his desire to keep them completely aware of the roles and responsibilities of each of the divisions. Napoleon even believed in making the simplest soldier party to his plan and spelling out what was demanded of him. On the eve of a battle, he would typically sleep on the battleground with the soldiers. "*The soldier,*" said Napoleon, "*is not a machine to be put into motion, but a reasonable being that must be directed ...[He] loves to argue, because he is intelligent....*"

His officers' willingness and ability to carry out battle plans (semi-) autonomously were never more evident than at the Battle of Marengo. For once, Napoleon was facing a situation that he would typically inflict upon his enemies. For once, he had underestimated the Austrians who had concentrated their troops in the fields near the village of Marengo. He even had sent some of his troops, including those led by Desaix, in the direction of the Po valley and Genua, in search of the Austrian forces. Since Napoleon's whole strategy rested on attack, he was caught totally unprepared by the Austrian surprise attack. Melas and his 30,000 men attacked 22,000 unsuspecting troops at 9 a.m. Lannes, Victor, and Marmont fought bravely, but gradually had to retreat. Victor's guns even ran out of ammunition by 2 p.m. Fortunately, the Austrian advance proved slow. They thus allowed the French to avoid a complete route and Napoleon to stop the retreat and organise to halt the Austrian advance. In desperate need for reinforcements, Napoleon had sent an urgent message to General Desaix: "*I had thought to attack Melas. He has attacked me first. For God's sake, come up if you still can.*"<sup>5</sup> Fortunately, Desaix upon hearing canon fire in the valley, had already decided to return to the battle field which he reached by 3 p.m., much to Napoleon's and his soldiers' relief.

"*Well what do you think of it?*" Napoleon is reported to have anxiously asked his dear Desaix upon the latter's arrival. "*Sir, this battle is lost, but it is only three o'clock [in fact, it may have been five o'clock], there still is time to win another.*" And

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<sup>4</sup> Only one, Davout, would prove able to fully understand the strategies so as to be able to replicate them for his own use. As Bernadotte would later tell the Allies during the last German Campaign, Napoleon's marshals typically proved much less able when acting without the Emperor.

<sup>5</sup> Desaix was possibly Napoleon's finest commander.

with that presumed reply, Desaix charged upon the unsuspecting Austrians who already imagined their battle won. Their commander had already left the battlefield, too eager to announce victory at headquarters. The Austrians soon became paralysed by the ferociousness of the French counter-attack, supported by Marmont's last four remaining guns. In that brief moment of confusion, another French commander, Kellermann, son of the Marshal who distinguished himself at Valmy, spontaneously ordered his 400 horsemen to charge, leaving the Austrians stunned. *"A minute earlier, or three minutes later, and the thing could not have succeeded, but the timing was perfect, and Northern Italy was recovered in that moment for the French Republic."*

Berthier was overheard stating to an Austrian officer the day after the battle: *"It is some consolation to you that you have been defeated by the greatest general in the world."* But never was a Napoleonic victory so close to defeat. Shortly after 9 p.m., the Battle of Marengo had been won – at a heavy price. Six thousand French were lost that day, while the Austrians had lost almost 10,000 men. Desaix was found amongst the dead.<sup>6</sup> Victory in the end came not because of Napoleon's direct orders, but as the result of the confidence of his generals, their understanding of military strategies, and especially their ability to execute them on the field with appropriate autonomy and coordination, as required by battle conditions.

In fact, one major contributor to the victory had been Masséna, who had held out in Genoa against a much superior enemy and facing starvation, as the British fleet was blocking any resupply by sea. Masséna had thus blocked a major part of the Austrian forces, who otherwise might have invaded France, but dared not to do so with the feared general in their back. When the French garrison in Genoa was informed that Napoleon had finally appeared at the Great Saint Bernard, thus cutting Austrian supply lines, it finally could surrender.

On June 14<sup>th</sup>, 1800, Bonaparte was 31, Desaix 32, young Kellermann 30, Marmont 26, Lannes 31, and Melas 70.

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<sup>6</sup> Desaix, the hero of Marengo, never received the credit for his heroism. Napoleon in his bulletin following the battle actually took credit for the victory and minimised the contribution of his loyal and most able general. Desaix was going to be given a national funeral in Paris. However, Napoleon never allowed this to happen. Desaix would eventually be buried on top of the Great Saint Bernard pass, in Italy so as not to remind his contemporaries of the key role he played in this key battle which secured the second Italian Campaign for Napoleon and the French.

## **‘Le beau soleil d’Austerlitz’: Napoleon’s Domination of Battle at Austerlitz in 1805**

On the eve of the Battle of Austerlitz, most of the 75,000 French soldiers were in their designated positions for their fight against 90,000 Allied Austrian and Russian forces. As cited previously, Davout and his army corps were completing a long march of 140 kms in only 48 hrs to provide Napoleon with reinforcements.

A few days before the famous battle, Napoleon had issued orders for any French troops that came in contact with the enemy to retreat. He even willingly let the Allies occupy the heights of the Pratzen plateau. He deployed his own troops in front of this plateau, Davout on the right, Soult at centre, and Murat, Bernadotte, and Lannes on the left. He even negotiated with the enemy to further suggest French weakness and fear against a superior enemy.

Napoleon’s plan was to present to the enemy an intentionally weakened right wing, hoping that this would induce the Allies to attempt to overtake him on that side. In this manoeuvre the marching allied forces would expose their own flank to the French centre, which could then charge upon them. The allied manoeuvre would also result in weakening their own centre, which Napoleon could then attack by sending the troops under his direct command in a march upon the Pratzen plateau. This movement would cut the enemy army in two and would be continued against its weaker half. Simultaneously, the French cavalry under Murat, followed by the divisions of Bernadotte and Lannes, would take on the allied right guard. Heavy fog on the morning of the battle would further help the French by hiding their positions from the enemy and adding greater surprise to their movements.

To keep his men updated and informed, a surprisingly open order of the day was issued: *“The positions which we occupy are formidable, and while the Russians march upon our batteries, I shall attack their flanks. Soldiers, I shall, in person, direct your battalions. I shall keep out of range if, with your accustomed bravery, you carry disorder and confusion into the ranks of the enemy; but if the victory is for a moment uncertain, you shall see your emperor expose himself in the front ranks.”*

As Jomini,<sup>7</sup> the famous Austrian author, later said, “Never in the history of the world has a leader of an army revealed his plan in this way to the whole of his forces.” Wherever Napoleon went for inspection that night, he was greeted with the traditional *“Vive l’Empereur!”* Taking his men into his confidence he would explain the next day’s battle plan. This invariably helped raise the army’s morale. Though only a few shared his words, all divisions soon knew of that such exchanges were taking place. With his formations in place, with strong morale and a very clear plan, with an unsuspecting enemy who furthermore had been

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<sup>7</sup> Jomini was a famous Austrian war historian who also fought with Napoleon.

lulled in believing that the French were weak, Napoleon had literally won half the battle before it even began.

The ensuing battle was bloody and brutal. The battlefield echoed with “the pounding of hooves and the rumble of guns.” A sea of bayonets and helmets moved like “a massive wave from one side to another, with cries of men, metallic clashes of swords and bayonets, and deafening explosions...” As expected, Davout bore the brunt of the Allied attack, and retreated very slowly. Murat, Lannes, and Bernadotte held firm against the Russian right wing. The French center waited motionless, waiting for the Emperor to wave his arm, signalling the beginning of the French counter-attack. The allied army fell into Napoleon’s trap, was cut in two, and finally pushed back in three different directions. Nearly 30,000 Russians and Austrians died, 40 flags were captured, as well as 180 guns.

The battle of Austerlitz demonstrated both the capability of Napoleon’s marshals to execute complex tactical manoeuvres and the effectiveness of the corps system. Since a corps was divided into smaller units, Napoleon could tailor his attack using combinations of different units to trick the opponent. The battle of Austerlitz was the clearest demonstration of the effectiveness his deadly war strategies: massive “assembly-and-concentration” principles were applied during his move through Europe, and attacking the central position was effectively exploited in the battle. Napoleon was well aware of his men’s needs and motivation and how critical their commitment was to the victory at Austerlitz. As a reward for victory, gold was distributed among the officers. Provisions were made for generous pensions to the widows of the fallen. Napoleon formally adopted orphaned children, permitting them to add “Napoleon” to their baptismal names. “*Soldats, je suis content de vous!*” The victory bulletin praised his generals and soldiers.

### **Torn between the Demands of a Prime Minister and the Ambitions of an Emperor (1807-11)**

“I have done enough soldiering. I must now play Prime Minister for a bit,” *Napoleon explained as he convened a cabinet meeting in St.-Cloud. He had subdued the young Russian Tsar, Alexander I, and forced the signing of the “Treaty of Tilsit”<sup>8</sup> to isolate Britain from the Continent. Poland had been invaded and was now occupied. Napoleon ruled an empire that stretched from the Pyrenees to the Niemen and controlled a multinational army of 800 000, an unprecedented number in Europe. Napoleon was at his pinnacle, but not without some pressing problems, like the resignation of Talleyrand, his invaluable foreign minister.*

Talleyrand was one of the few critical voices Napoleon would listen to. Following his foreign minister’s departure, Napoleon underwent a worrying and very visible

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<sup>8</sup> The “Treaty of Tilsit” was signed twice, once with the Russians to maintain an alliance between France and Russia, and the second treaty two days later with Prussia, which loses a substantial part of land. A large portion of Germany thus came under French control.

transformation. He shut down the vociferous and critical Tribunat, the French legislative assembly, in August 1807. Thin-skinned to attacks by the press, he threatened to close the newspapers. He enforced strict court etiquette, keeping everyone physically at arm's length. He could only be approached with the approval of Duroc, Grand Marshal of the Palace. A letter, dated April 4<sup>th</sup> to his brother Louis in Holland, clearly displayed a changed Napoleon: "*You govern your nation like a docile, timorous monk.... A king issues orders and does not beg.*"

Napoleon's self-imposed isolation manifested itself in his distance from the regular guests he used to invite for parties. Public functions were reduced to a minimum. Apart from daily contact with his secretary, Méneval, Napoleon's only close confidant was Duroc. Even some of his closest soldier-friends were no longer permitted to address him with the French familiar form of you, "*Tu.*" Though his official business schedule was as frantic as ever, receiving delegations, etc., his daily chats with his older generals were a thing of past. Some of his marshals and generals were not on speaking terms with one another. A few of them were upset at not being named marshal or prince, despite their contributions to Napoleon's victories.<sup>9</sup> Apparently, Napoleon's process for promoting generals or assigning titles left a few of them demanding explanations. And the fact that orders to all senior officers came from the desk of the chief-of-staff of the Imperial Army, the increasingly loathed Berthier, did little to help matters.

## **The Fateful Road to Moscow and to ... Abdication, 1812**

When Russia broke the "Treaty of Tilsit," Napoleon recalled his ambassador and declared war on Russia in 1812. For his second campaign on the Russian front, Napoleon's force was the largest Europe had ever seen.

The multilingual army fell under three levels of command, with a first line of 450,000 soldiers reporting to Napoleon. Apart from the main army, Napoleon also disposed of an enormous reserve army of more than 200,000 soldiers. With such a large mass on the move, marching men in formation became extremely difficult. Consequently, many of the corps and reserves were behind schedule. Three great allies of Russia – time, distance and weather -- started to work against the French. As soon as French army crossed the French-Russian border, enormous bottlenecks took place. Lack of proper food and fatigue were soon demoralising the army. Soldiers began throwing away their heavy supplies, even including cartridges.

It seemed that Napoleon had overestimated his soldiers' commitment, their limits, as well as the logistical challenges the armies would face. Almost all the marshals,

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<sup>9</sup> Eighteen Marshals of the Empire (*Maréchaux d'Empire*) were named by Napoleon in 1804, the day following his nomination as Emperor of the French (*Empereur des Français*). See *Appendix 2: The Emperor's Marshals*. He later introduced other imperial titles, such as Duke and Prince, to further recognise exceptional service in battle.

including his chief-of-staff, Berthier, argued vehemently against this campaign, saying that invading Russia was madness. They continued their protest during the campaign. Single-minded and supremely confident in his superior intellect and vision, Napoleon kept overruling them. As Caulaincourt, France's Ambassador to Russia, recalled:

*“Time and again, the Emperor repeated that the Russians, whom everyone had claimed to be so numerous, had in fact no more than 150,000 men...[He] added that he was sure that we [Caulaincourt and the other French generals opposing the campaign] had deceived him personally about everything down to the problems of the Russian climate, insisting that winter here was like in France, except that it just lasted longer. These accusations against us were repeated on many occasions. I reiterated to the Emperor, quite in vain as it turned out, that I had not exaggerated in the least, and that as his most faithful servant, I had revealed the full truth about everything. But I failed to make him change his mind.”*

Nor was chief-of-staff Berthier spared from Napoleon's wrath. *“Wild abuse was heaped on him for his frank advice, as a reward for his constant work and devotion.”* Napoleon continually complained that Berthier's staff was incompetent, *“...no one planned ahead.”* He refused to trust anyone, even Berthier, to make the smallest decision or give the simplest order, without his stamp of approval.

Even his marshals were becoming uncooperative. Napoleon expressed his distrust of Murat. The latter, who disliked fellow marshal Ney, could not agree on battle plans, and even had a fight with Davout. Everyone's dislike for Berthier grew stronger.

Despite all this, Napoleon was able to keep his men marching towards Moscow. Finally after chasing the Russians for a long time, Napoleon faced them at Borodino Field, about 110 kms from Moscow. It proved a Pyrrhic victory: one in every three soldiers died. Two weeks later the French army invaded Moscow, and Napoleon entered the Kremlin. After waiting a month for the Tsar of Russia to surrender, Napoleon ordered the retreat of his troops on October 19<sup>th</sup>. With nearly two-thirds of the men dead, the survivors started the long march back home through the harsh and wintry Russian landscape, continuously attacked by the Cossacks. Ney, and his guard, fought bravely and ceaselessly organised and allowed the French retreat.

Napoleon now had most of Europe united against him. He faced the Allies at the Battle of Nations in Leipzig in October 1813, but withdrew on the third day against a much superior enemy. The Allies finally entered France. Napoleon's military leadership during the Campaign of France was brilliant: with 70,000 men he was able to contain 350,000 Allied troops. But when Marmont surrendered in front of Paris, the end was near and the Allies entered Paris. The Emperor finally was forced by his marshals, led by Ney, to abdicate and sent by the Allies into exile on the Island of Elba. Napoleon bid a dramatic farewell to his troops in the *Cour des*

*Adieux* at the *Château de Fontainebleau* on April 20<sup>th</sup> 1814. His last words to his loyal Guard were “*Bring me my eagle* “. He kissed the French flag farewell, while many soldiers of the Imperial Guard wept...

## **The Last Campaign: 100 Days to Waterloo**

A mere nine months later, Napoleon escaped from Elba with the help of some generals and 1,200 soldiers from his personal guard. His arrival in France took the authorities by surprise. The French people, on the other hand, reacted with surprising calmness. Well aware of inflation, steep prices and King Louis XVIII's incompetence, Napoleon played to the peasants, who were on the verge of losing all the freedoms that had been won during the Revolution. He assured them that they would not lose their lands to the “*émigrés*” – the aristocrats who were about to return to reclaim their titles and their lands.

He seduced the town's people with promises of fiscal reforms. Everywhere he went, he promised peace and prosperity with popular statements such as the following: “*You are right to call me your father; I only live for the honour and glory of France. My return eliminates your anxiety; it guarantees the conservation of all your property, the equality among classes, and all the rights you have enjoyed for 25 years and for which your fathers longed and which are now part of your daily lives.*”

French authorities sought out occasions to challenge him. On one such occasion, the French army was ordered to use all means to stop him. Napoleon stepped forward and faced the muskets, baring his chest. With a remarkable mixture of bravado and charisma, he called on the regiment to join him: “*I heard you calling me in my exile and have overcome every obstacle and peril to be here... Take up those colours that the nation has proscribed those colours around which we have rallied for 25 years, in fending off enemies of France. Put on the same tricolour cocarde that you wore during your finest days...[and] take up the eagles that presided over you at Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, and Friedland<sup>10</sup>.... Soldiers, come rally around the banner of your leader!*”

Sending up the cry “*Vive l'Empereur,*” the Fifth Regiment changed sides. In the meantime, the King had issued a warrant for Napoleon, sending marshal Ney to arrest him. Once confronted with his former commander, Ney changed his mind, pressured by many of his troops to do so. He soon defected along with 6,000 men. Napoleon made a grand entrance at the Tuileries Palace in Paris on March 20<sup>th</sup> 1815 and was restored to the throne.<sup>11</sup> “*I am coming back to protect and defend the rights that our revolution has given us. I want to give you an inviolable constitution, one prepared by me and the people together.*”

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<sup>10</sup> Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, Friedland were famous victories of Napoleon.

<sup>11</sup> Louis XVIII escaped France and sought exile in Belgium.

England, Austria, Prussia and Russia, met in Vienna on March 25<sup>th</sup> to sign the Treaty of Vienna and form the Seventh Coalition. To ensure that Napoleon would “*be absolutely beyond the possibility of causing trouble,*” a massive attack on each of France’s borders was planned. The aim was definitively against Napoleon, and for freeing France and Europe from the tyrant.

Thus began the Campaign of Belgium. Napoleon’s plan was to strike first, targeting the combined forces of Wellington and Blucher in the North. He thus hoped to force the Allies to peace with France. But he immediately met difficulties to select his marshals for this last Campaign – many were dead, several had joined with the King, others still were unwilling to join him. In the end, he named Soult as his chief-of-staff <sup>12</sup> – a post he had never assumed before. Ney and Grouchy would be the commanders of the army’s wings. Grouchy, a *marquis*, was the last marshal to be appointed. He never before held a major and independent corps command, and was not trusted by his colleagues.

Davout, probably the most able marshal, and certainly the most loyal one, was asked to secure Paris as Minister of War. Napoleon indeed was concerned that he might win in Belgium, but be overthrown in Paris, whose crowd he distrusted ever since he witnessed the bloody days of the Revolution. With loyal Davout in Paris, Napoleon could fully concentrate on the upcoming campaign in Belgium.

French preparations for the offensive lasted from June 6<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup>. The Imperial Guard and the reserve cavalry were placed within a 30-km area more than 200 kms away from the Franco-Belgian border. Executed in complete secrecy, the speed and surprise of his advance into Belgium gave Napoleon a tremendous advantage even before the first bullet was fired.

On the morning of June 15<sup>th</sup>, Napoleon’s army converged on the allied armies of his opponents. Since Wellington and Blücher’s armies were dispersed over a large area, the key and now classic strategy was to occupy a “central position” between them, dividing them so they could be defeated one at a time. By occupying a vital lateral road, the French army would also be able to break the Anglo-Dutch armies’ line of communication. Ney would be responsible for containing the Anglo-Dutch forces, while Napoleon and Grouchy would destroy Blücher and his Prussians. They would then join and take on Wellington. If successful, the strategy would culminate in one of Napoleon’s finest military victories.

From the very start, however, imperfections started to show the cracks in the French command structure. General Vandamme’s corps received their movement

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<sup>12</sup> Berthier, Napoleon’s most talented chief-of-staff, had, like the other marshals, sworn allegiance to Louis XVIII, upon his return to power. Together with Marmont, he accompanied his King in his flight from Paris, but departed from the royal family in Gent to join his family in Bamberg, with the intention to return to France. Seeing the Prussians march toward France in the streets of Bamberg, he presumably was taken by remorse and threw himself out the window and died.

orders after a considerable delay from Soult, which created a subsequent delay in crossing the Sambre River. Uncharacteristic chaos reigned in communication orders on June 16<sup>th</sup>. Ney was to contain the Anglo-Dutch forces at a place called Quatre-Bras, while Napoleon and Grouchy would march further south against the Prussians in Ligny. Ney waited the whole morning for his orders before acting on his own initiative. This proved to be a decisive mistake. Even when Ney finally received Napoleon's orders to return to Ligny to complete the victory against Blücher, he may have found the orders too difficult to execute having his hands full containing the Anglo-Dutch troops at Quatre-Bras. Additionally, or alternatively, he may have had difficulty in understanding the Emperor's "central position" tactic. After all, Napoleon had planned everything by himself, which limited the transmission of information to his marshals. Berthier's absence proved very problematic: he was no longer there to carefully translate Napoleon's thoughts into clear orders for the marshals, and Soult simply was not up to this responsibility.

The absence of clarity at French headquarters may have been the single biggest factor working against Napoleon. "*In three hours time, the campaign will be decided,*" remarked a then optimistic Napoleon. "*If Ney follows his orders through, not a gun of the Prussian army will get away; they will be taken in the very act.*" But Ney did not arrive on time, nor could d'Erlon's reserve corps be activated. This corps spent the day literally walking back and forth between the battles at Quatre Bras and Ligny, not knowing which orders, Ney's or Napoleon's, to obey, and not providing the force that could have contributed to a decisive blow by the French at either place. The Prussians escaped, including Blücher who was left wounded on the battlefield, hiding under a horse. The old Prussian warrior was finally rescued by his troops, who profited from the French delays in pursuing the retreating Prussians into the night.

More misunderstandings hampered the French army's deployments two days later at Waterloo. On the morning of the battle, Napoleon rejected most of his fellow commanders' advice to be very careful of Wellington's tactics, whom most had fought against in Spain and been defeated by. Chief-of-Staff Soult's remark that Grouchy should be recalled was discarded; Prince Jérôme's report that Wellington and Blücher were planning to join forces was dismissed as "trivial." His judgment was wrong: Wellington committed to fight that day only because of Blücher's promise to join him by day's end.

Napoleon nevertheless grew increasingly concerned about the possibility of Prussians joining the Anglo-Dutch forces that day. As a result, he left (too) much of the command during battle to Ney, whose courage was admirable, but whose judgment and tactics were not. Wild charges were numerous, but the improvisation and re-alignment of columns that had won so many battles in the past was sorely missing here. Execution failed too. During one attack, for example, a strange and outdated formation was used, contrary to Napoleon's instructions, resulting in heavy losses for the French. To recover his position, Ney overreacted with a cavalry charge not accompanied by infantry, thus wasting essential troops and solidly angering Napoleon. "*This is a premature movement*

*which may lead to fatal results,” thundered Napoleon, “he [Ney] is compromising us....”*

It appeared that, from the very beginning, everything that could possibly go wrong had. Napoleon had, especially under the circumstances, again crafted a superb plan. He surprised the Allies, yet another time. But his marshals were now sorely failing him. Toward the end of the day, there was still a chance to defeat Wellington before the Prussian attack. English squares were finally being pushed back. His only hope was that Grouchy’s corps would have carried out its orders, and join him before Blücher joined Wellington. But Napoleon ingested the fact that Soult had only dispatched two cavalry officers to send the order to Grouchy, where Berthier might have sent 10. One was killed, the other taken prisoner by the enemy. And the order that Grouchy was waiting for never arrived, and he refused to move. The opportunity vanished: Blücher’s arrival was confirmed and both sides would meet in the early evening.

Napoleon hoping to give a final push to his troops even suggested to them that the arriving columns were French. He gambled that the sight of a beginning British retreat would also halt the Prussians, and allow the French to reorganize. Though Napoleon’s order generated a last burst, panic soon invaded the French ranks as the cavalry officers converging upon them were indeed the feared Prussian ones, with death skulls on their bonnets. The Battle of Waterloo was over -- exactly 102 days after Napoleon’s return to France.

Ney tried to contain the fleeing troops and fought on until there were no more men of the Old Guard to lead. Napoleon wished to die on the battlefield, but was taken away in a carriage by the loyalists around him.

**Appendix 1**  
*A Napoleonic Chronology*<sup>13</sup>

<b>Aug 15<sup>th</sup> 1769</b>	Birth in Ajaccio (Corsica) from an aristocratic family with links to Italy; second son of Maria-Letizia Ramolino and of Charles Bonaparte, lawyer and deputy of the Corsican nobility
<b>May 15<sup>th</sup> 1779</b>	Entrance in the Military School of Brienne
<b>Oct 17<sup>th</sup> 1784</b>	Admission to the <i>Ecole Militaire</i> (Military College) in Paris, which he graduates from a year later 42 <sup>nd</sup> out of 58
<b>June 1788</b>	Joins his regiment in Auxonne
<b>Sept 1789-Feb 1791</b>	Returns to Corsica, where he welcomes the new revolutionary ideas and participates in the island's political turmoil against a regime, which he views as despotic and furthermore oppressive of the Corsicans
<b>May 1792:</b>	Arrives in Paris
<b>Aug 10<sup>th</sup> --:</b>	Assists at the assault on the <i>Tuileries</i> Palace and is marked by the strength, but also the viciousness of the people of Paris
<b>June 11<sup>th</sup> 1793:</b>	The family house is burned and the family is forced to leave Corsica for Toulon
<b>Dec 18<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Napoleon commands the artillery in front of Toulon, then occupied by the British; the French force a British withdrawal; appointed <i>Général de Brigade</i>
<b>Aug 9<sup>th</sup> 1794</b>	Arrested, but soon released
<b>Oct 5<sup>th</sup> 1795</b>	Participates in defeating a royalist uprising in Paris
<b>Oct 26<sup>th</sup> -- :</b>	Appointed General of the Army of the Interior

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<sup>13</sup> This chronology is largely based upon "*Histoire et Dictionnaire du Consulat et de l'Empire*", by A. Fierro, A. Palluel-Guillard, and J. Tulard, published by Editions Robert Laffont, Paris, 1995. It is given for completeness and is not essential for the discussion of the case, which can be based upon the main body of the case.

<b>March 2<sup>nd</sup> 1796</b>	Appointed Commander in Chief of the Army of Italy
<b>May 10<sup>th</sup> --</b>	<a href="#">Victory at the Battle of Lodi</a>
<b>Oct 17<sup>th</sup> 1797</b>	Peace with Austria at Campo-Formio
<b>May 19<sup>th</sup> 1798:</b>	Departs for Egypt
<b>July 21<sup>st</sup> --</b>	Victory against the Mamelukes at the Battle of the Pyramids
<b>Aug 1<sup>st</sup> --</b>	Nelson destroys the French fleet at Aboukir
<b>May 10<sup>th</sup> 1799</b>	French withdrawal in front of Acco after an 8 <sup>th</sup> unsuccessful assault
<b>July 25<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Victory against the Turks at Aboukir
<b>Aug 23<sup>rd</sup> --</b>	Leaves the Army to Kléber and returns to France
<b>Nov 10<sup>th</sup> --</b>	A coup puts an end to the <i>Directoire</i> , which is viewed as an aberrant governance system; the new regime is called <i>Consulat</i> , with Bonaparte, Sieyès and Ducos as Consuls
<b>Dec 12<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Bonaparte is appointed First Consul, with Cambacères and Lebrun as 2 <sup>nd</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> Consuls; a new Constitution is proclaimed
<b>Feb 13<sup>th</sup> 1800</b>	Birth of the <i>Banque de France</i>
<b>Feb 17<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Administrative re-organisation of France and appointment of <i>Préfets</i>
<b>March 18<sup>th</sup>--</b>	Re-organisation of the judiciary
<b>March 19<sup>th</sup>--</b>	Exhibit in the Louvre of paintings taken in Torino and in Florence
<b>May 20<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Napoleon crosses the Alps with his Army at the Saint Bernard pass
<b>June 14<sup>th</sup> --</b>	<a href="#">Victory at the Battle of Marengo</a>
<b>Oct 1 -</b>	Reduction by half of the categories of “ <i>émigrés</i> ” many of which return to France
<b>Dec 24<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Attempt on Napoleon’s life at the Rue Saint-Nicaise
<b>Feb 9<sup>h</sup> 1801</b>	Peace of Lunéville with Austria
<b>March 12<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Creation of three cemeteries in Paris by the Préfet of the Seine (Montmartre, Père Lachaise, and Montparnasse)
<b>March 15<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Law authorising 3 new bridges in Paris (which will become known as <i>le pont d’Austerlitz</i> , <i>le pont Saint-Louis</i> , and <i>la passerelle des Arts</i> )
<b>July 15<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Signature of the <i>Concordat</i> , which re-establishes the Catholic Church in France
<b>July 29<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Re-organisation of the <i>Bourse de Paris</i>
<b>July 31<sup>st</sup> --</b>	Order to organise a <i>Gendarmerie Nationale</i>

<b>August 31<sup>st</sup></b> --	Menou surrenders to the British in Alexandria but obtains that the Army of Egypt (or what remains of it) is sailed back to France on British ships
<b>Sept 18<sup>th</sup></b> --	Opening of the Exhibit of the <i>Industrie Nationale</i> at the Louvre
<b>Oct 8<sup>th</sup></b> --	Signature in Paris of a peace treaty with Russia
<b>Jan 25<sup>th</sup> 1802</b>	Bonaparte is elected President of the Italian Republic
<b>March 24<sup>th</sup></b> --	A committee is nominated to draft a code to govern civil procedures
<b>March 25<sup>th</sup></b> --	Signature of the Peace of Amiens by France, England, Spain, and Holland; France is at peace, for the first time in 10 years
<b>April 26<sup>th</sup></b> --	Amnesty is declared for most French “ <i>émigrés</i> ”
<b>May 1<sup>st</sup></b> --	A law is passed to govern public education; creation of the <i>lycées</i>
<b>May 19<sup>th</sup></b> --	A law is voted introducing the <i>Légion d’Honneur</i>
<b>May 18<sup>th</sup></b> --	A law authorises conscripts to be “bought out” and replaced with others
<b>May 20<sup>th</sup></b> --	Slavery is re-established in the colonies as well as trading of slaves
<b>Aug 2<sup>nd</sup></b> -	Napoleon is proclaimed Consul for life, following a successful plebiscite
<b>Nov 19<sup>th</sup></b> --	Appointment of Vivant Denon as first Director General of the Louvre
<b>Dec 24<sup>th</sup></b> --	Decree leading to the creation of <i>Chambres de Commerce</i> in 22 cities
<b>Jan 23<sup>rd</sup> 1803</b>	Abolishment of the <i>sciences morales et politiques</i> at the <i>Institut</i> , felt to be a refuge for opponents to the regime
<b>Feb 18<sup>th</sup></b> --	England is asked to abide by the terms of the Peace of Amiens and to evacuate Malta (which the Brits claim in exchange for the French annexation of Piedmont)
<b>March 16<sup>th</sup></b> --	Organisation in France of the <i>notariat</i>
<b>April 11<sup>th</sup></b> --	Vote to open six schools of pharmacy
<b>April 12<sup>th</sup></b> --	Manufacturing sector is organised; brands are protected, but workers are not allowed to form groups
<b>May 11<sup>th</sup></b> --	Rejection of English demands concerning Piedmont and Holland
<b>May 20<sup>th</sup></b> --	Peace of Amiens is broken and two days later all British subjects in France are arrested
<b>May 27<sup>th</sup></b> --	Mortier invades Hanover
<b>June 20<sup>th</sup></b> --	Decree against the introduction of English goods into France
<b>Oct 19<sup>th</sup></b> --	Mme de Staël is forced to leave France
<b>Nov 28<sup>th</sup></b> --	<i>Rochembeau surrenders the French expeditionary force in Saint-Domingue to the English</i>

<b>Feb 15<sup>th</sup> 1804</b>	General Moreau, head of the Army of the Rhine, is arrested for subversion; he is one of the leaders thought to assume power upon the expected arrival in France of a prince of the royal family
<b>March 15<sup>th</sup> --</b>	To set an example, the <i>Duc d'Enghien</i> , a Bourbon descendant, is abducted in Bade and executed 6 days later at the Château de Vincennes
<b>May 18<sup>th</sup> - -</b>	Napoléon Bonaparte is appointed <i>Empereur des Français</i>
<b>May 19<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Eighteen senior officers are named <i>Maréchaux d'Empire</i>
<b>July 10<sup>th</sup> - -</b>	The Ministry of the <i>Police Générale</i> is reintroduced led by Fouché
<b>Dec 2<sup>nd</sup> --</b>	Napoleon I is crowned Emperor in the presence of Pope Pius VII
<b>March 2<sup>nd</sup> 1805:</b>	Napoleon presents his plan for the invasion of England
<b>March 17<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Italians proclaim Napoleon King of Italy, which he accepts
<b>Aug 25<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Peace treaty with Bavaria, which is invaded by Austria 2 weeks later
<b>Sept 25<sup>th</sup> --</b>	French army crosses the Rhine
<b>Oct 19<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Austrian army of Mack surrenders to the French at Ulm
<b>Oct 21<sup>st</sup> --</b>	Franco-Spanish fleet of Villeneuve is defeated at Trafalgar; Nelson dies
<b>Nov 5<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Ney defeats the Austrian Archduke John at Scharnitz and takes Innsbruck
<b>Nov 13<sup>th</sup> --</b>	French troops enter Vienna
<b>Nov 27<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Napoleon feigns negotiations with the Austrians in Brno
<b>Dec 2<sup>nd</sup> --</b>	<a href="#">Victory at Austerlitz against the Austrian and Russian Emperors</a>
<b>Dec 26<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Treaty of Pressburg with Austria
<b>Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 1806</b>	Kingdom of Italy adopts the French <i>Code Civil</i>
<b>Feb 26<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Decision to build an <i>Arc de Triomphe</i> in honour of the French Army
<b>May 16<sup>th</sup> -</b>	British block all French harbours from the Elbe to Brest
<b>March 30<sup>th</sup> --</b>	21 dukedoms are proclaimed in the Kingdoms of Italy and Naples; they are attributed to family members and close collaborators
<b>April 10<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Dutch delegation argues against the appointment of Napoleon's brother Louis as King of Holland
<b>April 22<sup>nd</sup> --</b>	Villeneuve commits suicide rather than face trial for Trafalgar disaster
<b>June 30<sup>th</sup> ---</b>	King of Prussia affirms his alliance with Russia
<b>July 12<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Creation of the Confederation of the Rhine (including Bade, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Würzburg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau, Berg, and 6 small princely states including Lichtenstein) with Napoleon as protector

<b>Aug 6<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Austrian Emperor renounces his claim to the German Holy Roman Empire
<b>Aug 11<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Metternich presents his credentials as Austria's Ambassador in Paris
<b>Aug 14<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Extension to the whole French empire of hereditary domains
<b>Aug 15<sup>th</sup> - Triomphe</b>	Celebration of <i>la Saint Napoléon</i> and first stone laid at <i>l' Arc de</i>
<b>Oct 14<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Victories at Iena (Napoleon) and Auerstadt (Davout) against Prussia
<b>Oct 27<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Napoleon and his <i>Grande Armée</i> enter Berlin
<b>Nov 21<sup>st</sup> -- Berlin</b>	<i>Blocus Continental</i> against commerce with England is decreed in
<b>Jan 7<sup>th</sup> 1807</b>	British start a blockade of all ports in France and under French command
<b>Feb 8<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Inconclusive and bloody battle at Eylau against the Russians
<b>April 16<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Mortier defeats the Swedes at Anklam
<b>June 14<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Victory at Friedland against Russia
<b>July 7<sup>th</sup> &amp; 9<sup>h</sup> --</b>	Signature of Peace Treaties at Tilsit with Russia & Prussia
<b>July 29<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Order to set up an army of 20,000 soldiers in Bordeaux to invade Portugal, should this country not break its alliance with the British; the same day a decree reduces the number of theatres in Paris to 8
<b>Aug 9<sup>th</sup>--</b>	A new government is announced; Talleyrand loses Foreign Relations
<b>Aug 16<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Denmark, refusing an alliance with England, is visited by Wellington's expeditionary force, and surrenders 3 weeks later
<b>Sept 16<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Creation of the <i>Cour des Comptes</i>
<b>Oct 17<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Junot crosses the Pyrenees with his Army and enters Lisbon on Nov 30 <sup>th</sup>
<b>Oct 28<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Charles IV, King of Spain, defends his crown against his son Ferdinand
<b>Nov 13<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Dupont enters Spain with 25,000 troops
<b>Dec 13<sup>th</sup> --</b>	First (of a total of 20) <i>Discours à la nation allemande</i> by Fichte in Berlin
<b>Dec 22<sup>nd</sup> --</b>	Embargo by the United States against all French and English ships
<b>Jan 16<sup>th</sup> 1808</b>	Russia claims Finland from Sweden
<b>Feb 2<sup>nd</sup> --</b>	Napoleon proposes to Tsar Alexander I to divide the Ottoman Empire and to invade India "to bring England to its knees"
<b>Feb 20<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Murat is appointed Commander in Chief of the Army of Spain
<b>March 1<sup>st</sup> --</b>	Creation of the <i>Noblesse d'Empire</i> (Imperial aristocracy)

<b>March 12<sup>th</sup> --</b>	France and Russia divide the Balkans, but disagree over Constantinople
<b>March 23<sup>rd</sup> --</b>	Murat enters Madrid, followed the next day by Ferdinand VII
<b>March 25<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Murat proposes to Charles IV to deny his abdication in favour of his son
<b>April 10<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Ferdinand VII asks Napoleon for help; they meet in Bayonne
<b>April 15<sup>th</sup> -</b>	Napoleon offers the Spanish crown to his two brothers, Louis and Jerome, who both turn him down
<b>May 2<sup>nd</sup> --</b>	Uprising in Madrid against the French presence in Spain, forcefully contained by Grouchy and Murat
<b>May 12<sup>th</sup></b>	Bourbons renounce the Spanish crown, which goes to Joseph Bonaparte
<b>June 6<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Spanish junta meets in Sevilla and declares war on France
<b>June 15<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Murat leaves for Naples, to replace Joseph as King of Naples
<b>Aug 5<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Napoleon orders half of the French Army of Germany to Spain
<b>Sept 28<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Talleyrand warns Tsar Alexander I against Napoleon's "folly"
<b>Dec 2<sup>nd</sup> --</b>	Napoleon reaches Madrid, which surrenders to the French 2 days later
<b>Jan 3<sup>rd</sup> 1809</b>	Napoleon leaves Soult to pursue the British and returns to France, informed of Austrian war preparations
<b>Jan 16<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Soult cannot prohibit the British forces to embark and escape
<b>Jan 22<sup>nd</sup> --</b>	Joseph returns to Madrid
<b>Jan 28<sup>th</sup> -</b>	Napoleon insults Talleyrand, who rushes to offer his services to Metternich
<b>Feb 28<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Napoleon enters his new residence, the <i>Elysée</i> palace
<b>April 8<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Austria invades Bavaria
<b>April 22<sup>nd</sup> --</b>	Napoleon victorious at Eckmühl; Wellington lands in Portugal
<b>May 21<sup>st</sup> – 22<sup>nd</sup> --</b>	Near defeat at Aspern-Essling against the Austrians, near Vienna
<b>July 6<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Victory against Austria at Wagram, Pius VII is arrested
<b>July 29<sup>th</sup> -</b>	English land 45,000 troops in Holland, which Fouché eventually turns back
<b>Dec 25<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Illyria is organised as a French territory with Marmont as governor
<b>Feb 1<sup>st</sup> 1810</b>	Soult takes Sevilla, the Spanish junta retreats to Cadiz
<b>Feb 8<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Organisation of Spain into 4 military areas, reporting to Napoleon
<b>March 30<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Establishment of the <i>Ecole Normale Supérieure</i>
<b>April 2<sup>nd</sup> --</b>	Napoleon marries Marie-Louise, daughter of the Austrian Emperor

<b>June 3<sup>rd</sup> --</b>	Savary as Minister of the Interior replaces Fouché, as he sent an emissary to the British without the consent of the Emperor
<b>July 10<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Holland is integrated into France
<b>Oct 8<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Masséna and Wellington start their face-off at Torres Verdas
<b>Aug 7<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Lucien Bonaparte, fearful of being arrested by his brother, leaves France for the United States when French troops enter Rome, where he resides
<b>Aug 15<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Inauguration of the <i>Vendôme</i> column in the absence of Napoleon
<b>Aug 21<sup>st</sup> --</b>	Bernadotte, a former general, is appointed Hereditary Prince of Sweden, against the wishes of Napoleon, who would have found Murat a safer ally
<b>Aug 28<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Bank crisis in Paris
<b>Dec 10<sup>th</sup> --</b>	France annexes large parts of German coast to counter smuggling of English goods
<b>Dec 31<sup>st</sup> -</b>	The Tsar declares economic war against France using taxation
<b>Jan 15<sup>th</sup> 1811</b>	Prince of Wales takes over from George III, due to the latter's dementia
<b>Feb 2<sup>nd</sup> --</b>	Madison, US President, summons the British to halt controls of US ships
<b>Feb 25<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Napoleon refuses Bernadotte's offer of an alliance with France in exchange for France's agreement to the annexation of Norway by Sweden
<b>Feb 28<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Napoleon terminates the Franco-Russian alliance, due to profound divergences
<b>March 13<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Ney defeats the British troops at Redinha
<b>May 10<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Masséna is relieved of his command, in favour of Marmont; British introduce a fixed rate for their paper money, to avoid a wider economic crisis
<b>June 5<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Caulaincourt, returning from Saint Petersburg, meets for 7 hours with the Emperor and urges him not to take any military initiative against the Tsar
<b>Sept 18<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Order to establish a fire brigade in Paris
<b>Sept 19<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Napoleon starts a visit of Belgium, Holland, and the Rhine Confederation
<b>Jan 20<sup>th</sup> 1812</b>	Napoleon orders Davout to occupy Pomerania to halt British smuggling
<b>March 11<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Famine riots in Caen
<b>March 14<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Signature of a Franco-Austrian treaty in Paris
<b>April 6<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Wellington takes Badajoz

<b>April 9<sup>th</sup></b> --	Bernadotte signs a treaty with the Russians
<b>May 18<sup>th</sup></b> -	Napoleon meets Franz I in Dresden; the same day Alexander I rejects the French proposals
<b>June 24<sup>th</sup></b> --	The <i>Grande Armée</i> crosses the river Niemen into Russia
<b>July 16<sup>th</sup></b> --	Napoleon leaves Vilna, after a delay of 18 days, possibly his greatest mistake (when added to 2 weeks of reorganisation at Vitebsk)
<b>Aug 12<sup>th</sup></b> --	Franco-Austrian victory at Gorodetchna; Wellington enters into Madrid
<b>Aug 16<sup>th</sup></b> --	Davout and Ney combine for another victory in front of Smolensk
<b>Sept 7<sup>th</sup></b> --	Victory of Napoleon at the Moskova (Borodino)
<b>Sept 14<sup>th</sup></b> --	French enter Moscow
<b>October 18<sup>th</sup></b> --	Decision to leave Moscow and return to France
<b>Nov 13<sup>th</sup></b> --	Soult defeats Wellington at Arapiles, but not decisively
<b>Nov 27<sup>th</sup></b> --	Disastrous crossing of retreating French Army at the Berezina river, notwithstanding heroic bridge building by Eblé's " <i>pontoniers</i> "
<b>Dec 5<sup>th</sup></b> --	Napoleon leaves his retreating army to Murat's command; he returns to Paris eager to contain the bad news and to rebuild fresh troops; temperature falls to -35°C and the Russians prey on a dwindling French Army
<b>Jan 13<sup>th</sup> 1813</b>	Murat leaves his command and returns to his Naples kingdom
<b>Jan 25<sup>th</sup></b> --	Pope Pius VII and Napoleon sign a <i>Concordat</i> in Fontainebleau
<b>Feb 9<sup>th</sup></b> --	Russians enter Warsaw and annex the former dukedom
<b>Feb 26<sup>th</sup></b> --	Murat offers Austria to become a southern ally - like Bernadotte is for them in the North - in exchange for the survival of his kingdom; his offer is turned down
<b>March 13<sup>th</sup></b> --	Prussia declares war on France, but is defeated at Lützen and Bautzen
<b>May 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup></b> --	Victories of Napoleon at Bautzen and Würschen, Allies are fleeing
<b>June 21<sup>st</sup></b> --	Victory of Wellington at Vittoria, Spain is lost
<b>Aug 12<sup>th</sup></b> --	Austria declares war on France
<b>Aug 27<sup>th</sup></b> --	Victory of Napoleon at Dresden
<b>Aug 30<sup>th</sup></b> --	Defeat of Vandamme at Kulm, where he is taken prisoner
<b>Sept 6<sup>th</sup></b> --	Defeat of Ney at Dennewitz
<b>Oct 8<sup>th</sup></b> --	Bavaria links up with the Allies
<b>Oct 16-19<sup>th</sup></b> --	Battle of Nations at Leipzig, Napoleon retreats, Germany is lost
<b>Nov 16<sup>th</sup></b> --	... so is Holland
<b>Dec 21<sup>st</sup></b> --	Allies enter in Switzerland, and two days later in Alsace

<b>Jan 17<sup>th</sup> 1814</b>	Murat defects and the French domination of Italy is in jeopardy too
<b>Jan &amp; Feb --</b>	Campaign of France: victories at Brienne, Champaubert, Montmirail, Montereau, and Reims
<b>March 10<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Napoleon is unsuccessful against Blücher at Laon, and ten days later against Schwarzenberg as well
<b>March 12<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Wellington enters into Bordeaux, with the Duke of Angoulême
<b>March 31<sup>st</sup> --</b>	Marmont, defeated a few days earlier with Mortier, capitulates in front of Paris; Allies enter Paris and force the Senate to draft a new constitution
<b>April 6<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Napoleon is pressured by his marshals to abdicate without conditions in Fontainebleau
<b>May 3<sup>rd</sup> --</b>	Louis XVIII returns to Paris
<b>May 4<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Arrival on the Island of Elba for his first exile, which he quickly starts organising
<b>May 12<sup>th</sup> --</b> Army	12,000 French officers loyal to Napoleon are eliminated from the
<b>May 30<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Treaty of Paris between France and the Allies
<b>June 3<sup>rd</sup> --</b>	Allied occupation armies decide to leave Paris and France
<b>Aug 14<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Bernadotte conquers Norway for the Swedes
<b>Aug 15<sup>th</sup> --</b>	The Church celebrates the Virgin Mary, soldiers celebrate Saint-Napoléon
<b>Oct 13<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Talleyrand, at the Congress of Vienna, proposes to deport Napoleon to the Antilles or to Saint Helena, but the Tsar disapproves
<b>Nov 4<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Law is passed to return any yet unsold state property to French <i>émigrés</i>
<b>Dec 16<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Further cuts in the Army of imperial officers, under the pretence of economies, while the Chamber of Deputies votes a credit of 30 million to repay debts incurred by the royal family while in exile
<b>March 1<sup>st</sup> 1815</b>	Napoleon returns to France at Golfe-Juan, near Cannes
<b>March 7<sup>th</sup> --</b>	First French troops rally to Napoleon who is warmly welcomed by the citizens of Grenoble
<b>March 14<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Ney, sent by the King to arrest Napoleon, joins him, but only under pressure from his own troops
<b>March 19<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Exelmans assembles the disgruntled imperial officers and takes possession of the city's artillery; Louis XVIII flees Paris
<b>March 25<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Allies sign the Treaty of Vienna against Napoleon
<b>March 29<sup>th</sup> --</b>	Murat disobeys Napoleon and starts war against Austria who claims Naples

- April 4<sup>th</sup>** -- Napoleon writes to Kings of Europe stating he accepts the Treaty of Paris
- April 10<sup>th</sup>** -- Napoleon removes Berthier, Marmont, Pérignon, Victor and Augereau as Imperial Marshals; Oudinot and Gouvion-Saint-Cyr are stripped from military command; Masséna declares his support, but feels too old
- May 21<sup>st</sup>** -- Murat, beaten by the Austrians, returns to France and offers his support to Napoleon, who turns him down
- June 1<sup>st</sup>** -- Berthier throws himself out of the window at Bamberg and dies
- June 4<sup>th</sup>** -- Distribution of the imperial eagles to the Army at the Louvre
- June 12<sup>th</sup>** -- Napoleon leaves Paris for the Army of the North; his brother Jérôme heads the Council of Ministers
- June 15<sup>th</sup>** -- Victory against the Prussians of Ziethen at Gilly, near Charleroi
- June 16<sup>th</sup>** -- Victory against the Prussians of Blücher at Ligny, who narrowly escapes death; Ney fails against Wellington at the Quatre-Bras
- June 18<sup>th</sup>** -- [Disaster at Waterloo](#)
- June 22<sup>nd</sup>** -- Napoleon abdicates in favour of his son, the King of Rome
- June 29<sup>th</sup>** -- Napoleon leaves Paris for Rochefort, where he hopes to sail to America
- July 8<sup>th</sup>** -- Louis XVIII returns to Paris and asks Talleyrand to head the government; Fouché is appointed Minister of Police
- July 15<sup>th</sup>** -- Napoleon embarks on the British ship Bellerophon; his second and final exile on the Island of Saint Helena starts on October 16th
- May 5<sup>th</sup> 1821** Death of Napoléon Bonaparte on Saint Helena <sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Investigations of Napoleon's hair indicate that he died of arsenic poisoning, presumably by members of his staff eager to return to France.

**Appendix 2**  
*The Emperor's Marshals*<sup>15</sup>

Napoleon, Emperor of the French by a Decree of May 19<sup>th</sup>, 1804, appointed eighteen officers of the French Army to be “*Maréchaux d’Empire*” (Imperial Marshals). Four of them were honorary Marshals from the Senate. The other fourteen were on the active list.<sup>16</sup>

The four honorary Marshals were:

KELLERMANN, aged sixty-nine, son of a merchant,  
LEFEBRE, aged forty-nine, son of a miller,  
PERIGNON, aged fifty, son of a landowner,  
SERURIER, aged sixty-two, son of an officer of the Household Troops.

The fourteen Marshals on the active list were:

BERTHIER, aged fifty-one, son of a surveying engineer,  
MURAT, aged thirty-seven, son of an innkeeper,  
MONCEY, aged fifty, son of a lawyer,  
JOURDAN, aged forty-two, son of a doctor,  
MASSENA, aged forty-eight, son of a tanner and soap-manufacturer,  
AUGEREAU, aged forty-seven, son of a working mason,  
BERNADOTTE, aged forty-one, son of a lawyer,  
SOULT, aged thirty-five, son of a lawyer,  
BRUNE, aged forty-one, son of a lawyer,  
LANNES, aged thirty-five, son of a peasant farmer,  
MORTIER, aged thirty-six, son of a farmer,  
NEY, aged thirty-five, son of a barrel-cooper,  
DAVOUT, aged thirty-four, son of an officer, and  
BESSIERES, aged thirty-six, son of a surgeon.

Eight were subsequently added:

VICTOR, aged forty-three, son of a soldier (1807),  
MACDONALD, aged forty-four, son of a soldier,  
MARMONT, aged thirty-five, son of an officer, and  
OUDINOT, aged forty-two, son of a brewer (all in 1809),  
SUCHET, aged forty-one, son of a silk-manufacturer (1811),  
GOUVION SAINT CYR, aged forty-eight, son of a tanner (1812),  
PONIATOWSKI, aged fifty, son of a prince (1813),  
GROUCHY, aged forty-nine, son of a marquis (1815).

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<sup>15</sup> This Appendix is taken from A. G. MacDonell’s excellent book on Napoleon, entitled “*Napoleon and His Marshals*”, originally published by Macmillan and Co., 1934, and re-edited as a Prion Lost Treasure, London, 1996.

<sup>16</sup> Napoleon thus sought to associate himself with some of the major military figures of the early days of the Revolution and thus presenting his Empire as a consolidation of the Revolution.

### Appendix 3

#### *A Sample of Napoleon's Own Sayings*<sup>17</sup>

"It is rare that a large assembly is guided by reason; passion too quickly takes over."

"A prince accused by his subjects does not owe them any apologies."

"I will be the Brutus of kings, and the Caesar of the republic."

"The one who saves his country does not violate any law."

"It is success that makes a great man."

"One leads people only by showing them a future: a chief is a merchant of hope."

"One does well only what one does oneself."

"Political parties are weakened by their fear of capable individuals."

"There are only two levers to truly move people: fear and interest; every great revolution must proceed through fear, as interest is insufficient to yield great results."

"Men who changed the course of the universe never got there by addressing themselves to the chiefs, but by directly going to the masses. The first way amounts to plotting and only yields secondary results. The second way is the mark of true genius and changes the face of the world."

"The best soldier is not that much the one who fights, but the one who walks."

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"The first quality of the soldier is his consistent ability to support fatigue; valour is only secondary."

"In war, genius is thought during action."

"Nothing improves a batallion like success."

"Military science is the calculus of masses on certain points."

"In war, theory is good for generating some general ideas, but the strict execution of these rules will always be dangerous: these are the axes that serve to trace the curve."

"A general in command must ask himself several times daily: if the enemy army were to appear on my front, on my right, on my left, what would I do? And if he finds himself embarrassed by these questions, he is not well deployed, and he must remedy this."

"Neither the Germans, nor the Austrians understand the value of time."

"The artillery is still too heavy, too complicated; one must simplify and reduce further."

"With an inferior army, the art of war consists of always having more forces than one's enemy at the point of attack." "The best soldier is not that much the one who fights, but the one who walks."

"The first quality of the soldier is his consistent ability to support fatigue; valour is only secondary."

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<sup>17</sup> This chronology is largely based upon "*Histoire et Dictionnaire du Consulat et de l'Empire*", by A. Fierro, A. Palluel-Guillard, and J. Tulard, published by Editions Robert Laffont, Paris, 1995. It is given for completeness and is not essential for the discussion of the case, which can be based upon the main body of the case.

“In war, genius is thought during action.”

“Nothing improves a batallion like success.”

“Military science is the calculus of masses on certain points.”

“In war, theory is good for generating some general ideas, but the strict execution of these rules will always be dangerous: these are the axes that serve to trace the curve.”

“A general in command must ask himself several times daily: if the enemy army were to appear on my front, on my right, on my left, what would I do? And if he finds himself embarrassed by these questions, he is not well deployed, and he must remedy this.”

“Neither the Germans, nor the Austrians understand the value of time.”

“The artillery is still too heavy, too complicated; one must simplify and reduce further.”

“With an inferior army, the art of war consists of always having more forces than one’s enemy at the point of attack.”

“A superior strength pushes me towards a goal that I do not know; as long as this goal has not been reached, I will remain invulnerable; as soon as I will no longer be necessary, even a fly will be able to overturn me.”

“Man fights more for his interests more than for his rights.”

“When one reigns, one must govern with one’s head, never with one’s heart.”

“It is never useful to engender hatred.”

“It is by knocking one’s heads against one another that one learns to know each other.”

“The Church must be within the State and not the other way around.”

“It is much easier to declare laws than to execute them.”

“In the affairs of this world, it is not faith that saves, but rather a lack of faith.”

“Commerce unites people; anything that unites them, also coalesces them; commerce hurts authority.”

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“In the end, too much power degrades even the most honest man.”

“The kings will dearly pay for my fall.”

“One of my great thoughts has been the agglomeration, the concentration of geographically similar populations which have been separated and diffused by revolutions and politics. One counts 30 million French people, 15 million Spaniards, 15 million Italians, 30 million Germans, and 20 million Poles. The impulse has been given; all of these revolutions will be completed; and my ideas will serve as levers for the future destiny of Europe.”

“I needed twenty years to re-establish the Italian national identity.”

“As long as I was leading the affairs of France, it was like Rome when it decreed that it needed a Dictator to save it: I needed to crush so as not to be crushed.”

“I have been forced to combat ten years on German corpses; they have not been allowed to see my true disposition towards them, which was great.”

“I never sought to adapt events to my own system; on the contrary, I adapted my system to the unforeseen context of daily life.”

“The French will be worth their full price when they will substitute principle for turbulence, pride for of institutions for love of places.”

“Of all aristocracies, that generated by money is the worst.”

“Declarations pass, actions stay.”