

the institutions of learning which disappeared with the influence and position of the clergy was adopted; and the Polytechnic school established under Monge—an institute which furnished France with gifted men during the succeeding years of its prosperity. The deliberations concerning the *new civil code* were opened, but awoke so much opposition from those jealous of his extending power, that he withdrew, for the time, his projected reform. Then came the splendid link in the lengthening chain which would gather the people within its folds to his throne which he called the *legion of honor*.

The proposition to form this order, met with violent hostility. The idea was evidently suggested by the idolatrous admiration the crowd paid to the insignia of royalty which glittered on the forms of foreign ambassadors, who appeared at the Tuilleries. But republican senators saw in it a stride toward monarchy. Napoleon expressed himself freely to them on the subject, in the following words, in which he alluded to Berthier's remark, that ribbons and crosses were the playthings of monarchy, unknown among the Romans:

“They are always talking to us of the Romans. The Romans had patricians, knights, citizens, and slaves:—for each class different dresses and different manners—honorary recompenses for every species of merit—mural crowns—civic crowns—ovations—triumphs—titles. When the noble band of patricians lost its influence, Rome fell to pieces—the people were vile rabble. It was then that you saw the fury of Marius, the proscriptions of Sylla, and afterward of the emperors. In like manner, Brutus is talked of as the enemy of tyrants: he was an aristocrat, who stabbed Cæsar because Cæsar wished to lower the authority of the noble senate. You talk of *child's rattles*—be it so; it is with

such rattles that men are led. I would not say that to the multitude; but in a council of statesmen one may speak the truth. I do not believe that the French people love *liberty* and *equality*. Their character has not been changed in ten years: they are still what their ancestors, the Gauls, were, vain and light. They are susceptible but of one sentiment—*honor*. It is right to afford nourishment to this sentiment, and to allow of distinctions. Observe how the people bow before the decorations of foreigners. Voltaire calls the common soldiers Alexanders at five sous a day. He was right: it is just so. Do you imagine that you can make men fight by reasoning? Never. You must bribe them with glory, distinctions, rewards. To come to the point; during ten years there has been a talk of institutions. Where are they? All has been overturned: our business is to build up. There is a government with certain powers; as to all the rest of the nation, what is it but grains of sand? Before the republic can be definitely established, we must, as a foundation, cast some blocks of granite on the soil of France. In fine, it is agreed that we have need of some kind of institutions. If this legion of honor is not approved, let some other be suggested. I do not pretend that it alone will save the state; but it will do its part.”

The law which created the legion of honor, was passed by a small majority, and in the face of great opposition, in the spring of 1802. Merit and not birth, it is true, was the ground of distinction; but still it was a reward which amounted simply to a mark of favor from the prince—a regal smile upon the loyal subject, whose eminent services were deemed worthy of reward.

Napoleon, with great display and public demonstration, had accepted the office of President of the Cisal-

pine republic, at the hands of the four hundred and fifty deputies, at Lyons, in January; and the next bold step in taking the reins of absolute rule to himself, was the consulate for life.

The peace of Amiens suggested to the tribune the presentation of some signal expression of national regard. Cambacères proposed that Napoleon be created first consul without further limitation; the measure was carried, and the statesman repaired immediately to Malmaison, and laid the question before him. He had anticipated the event, and with expressions of devotion to the glory of France, accepted the prospective honor. The polls were opened throughout the kingdom, and the prefects with other officials, were busy in behalf of their future emperor. It was a difficult, and even dangerous thing to say "no!" Carnot alone ventured to enter his protest in the council of state. There were three million five hundred and seventy-seven thousand three hundred and seventy-nine votes cast, of which eleven thousand only were in the negative. Lafayette recorded his enlightened patriotism in these words, "I cannot vote for such a magistracy until public freedom is sufficiently guaranteed. When that is done, I give my voice to Napoleon Bonaparte."

Napoleon was declared consul for life, August 2d, 1802. The proposition was also made, to include in the enthronement of the nation's idol, the power of appointing a successor; the last act in the creation of an hereditary imperial scepter. This was wisely refused, or rather deferred for a while, by Napoleon. But the words "*Liberty, Equality, Sovereignty of the People*" were effaced from the governmental papers, without exciting alarm among a people whose unstable character, whose vanity and enthusiasm, rendered

the yoke of a brilliant dynasty easy, and the throne, reared by their hands, a fascinating substitute for the simpler sovereignty of a republic. The monarchists were in ecstasies, and the consul well pleased with the change.

The unfitness of the French for the unfettered freedom enjoyed in the United States, was palpable, but no more so than the boundless desire for unquestioned sway, including in his view, the glory of his family and the nation, on the part of Napoleon. He made no effort to do anything less than become supreme disposer of France, and if this march of power does not separate him from Washington beyond an outline of similarity, then never were republicans and royalists—presidents and kings—the world over, more deluded, and stupid in their judgment and verdict upon two of the most conspicuous and renowned actors on the world's arena, since time began.

Meanwhile, Napoleon, like England before him, was extending his scepter over colonies, near and remote, fast as the work could be securely accomplished.

"Spain had agreed that Parma, after the death of the reigning prince, should be added to the dominions of France: and Portugal had actually ceded her province in Guyana.

"Nearer him, he had been preparing to strike a blow at the independence of Switzerland, and virtually united that country also to his empire. The contracting parties in the treaty of Luneville had *guaranteed* the independence of the Helvetic republic, and the unquestionable right of the Swiss to model their government in what form they pleased. There were two parties there as elsewhere—one who desired the full reestablishment of the old federative constitution

—another who preferred the model of the French republic ‘one and indivisible.’ To the former party the small mountain cantons adhered—the wealthier and aristocratic cantons to the latter. Their disputes at last swelled into civil war—and the party who preferred the old constitution, being headed by the gallant Aloys Reding, were generally successful. Napoleon, who had fomented their quarrel, now, unasked and unexpected, assumed to himself the character of arbiter between the contending parties. He addressed a letter to the eighteen cantons, in which these words occur: ‘Your history shows that your intestine wars cannot be terminated, except through the intervention of France. I had, it is true, resolved not to intermeddle in your affairs—but I cannot remain insensible to the distress of which I see you the prey:—I recall my resolution of neutrality—I *consent* to be the mediator in your differences.’ Rapp, adjutant-general, was the bearer of this insolent manifesto. To cut short all discussion, Ney entered Switzerland at the head of forty thousand troops. Resistance was hopeless. Aloys Reding dismissed his brave followers, was arrested, and imprisoned in the castle of Aarburg. The government was arranged according to the good pleasure of Napoleon, who henceforth added to his other titles that of ‘grand mediator of the Helvetic republic.’ Switzerland was, in effect, degraded into a province of France; and became bound to maintain an army of sixteen thousand men, who were to be at the disposal, whenever it should please him to require their aid, or the grand mediator.”

And here we may properly glance again at the conduct of Napoleon toward Hayti.

Eight years after the government of France had, in accordance with the demands of her citizens, abolished

slavery forever in the French territory of St. Domingo, and after the blacks of that colony had manfully and successfully battled with the fleets and armies of England, and saved the colony to France, the first consul sought to reward them by reinstating the system of slavery. His deputy, M. Vincent, who had newly arrived from the Island with favorable impressions of the blacks, advised him to desist, hinting at the same time, that even the conquerors of Europe might fail to gather laurels in such an enterprise.

For this suggestion, M. Vincent was banished to Elba, and the first consul, to make assurance doubly sure, despatched an immense fleet with twenty-five thousand troops under the command of his brother-in-law, General Leclerc, to reestablish the “*ancient system*” in St. Domingo.

This force was in every sense, of a most imposing character. There were the troops of the Rhine, of Egypt, of the Alps, and of Italy;—the very flower of the victorious armies of France;—well tried and gallant soldiers—worthy of a better master and a higher cause.

Whether this splendid armament was really sent forth for the glory of France, or whether the first consul was seeking the aggrandizement of his house, by giving to the husband of his sister the “heathen for an inheritance,” cannot be known; but, whatever might have been the motive, the result of the expedition was disastrous in the extreme.

On the arrival of the fleet off the Cape François, General Leclerc despatched messengers to the commandant of the town to indicate his intentions, and also to suggest that he had splendid marks of favor for him from the consular government. But the officer, acting under the instructions of Toussaint, affected to

believe that the ships could not be from France upon such an errand, and forbade the landing of a single man. Finding, however, that the force was overwhelming, and that its commander was resolute, he cleared the place of the women and children, and informed the messenger that upon the entrance of a single ship, the town would be given to the flames. Notwithstanding the hopeless chance of resistance, the outer fort expended its last shot upon the approaching ships; and as soon as the first vessel had passed the outer reef, the Cape was in a blaze—so that in less than six hours this miniature Paris was a mass of ruins.

At every point the approach of the French troops was the signal for conflagration; thus towns, villages and hamlets were reduced to ashes in rapid succession. Consequent upon the peculiarity of the climate, the exposed situation of the French, and the harassing guerrilla warfare of the blacks, the invaders became dispirited and perplexed. Pestilence and famine were soon added to the horrors of war, and in an incredibly short time, out of all the French troops, twenty-four thousand were dead, and one half of those who remained were in the hospital.

The position of General Leclerc became one of un-mixed anguish. The only ray of light which gleamed upon his gloomy path flashed from the desperate hope of ridding the country of Toussaint, whose name alone was stronger than an "army with banners." To effect this great end fairly and openly, he felt to be impossible; for in reply to an invitation to make a voyage to France in a French frigate, the wary chief replied, "when that tree (pointing to a small sapling) will build a big enough ship to carry me, I intend to go."

This manifestation of distrust, satisfied Leclerc that

Toussaint was no stranger to his wishes, and consequently that he would not easily be entrapped; but the French commander soon found that Toussaint had not acquired even the first rudiments in political depravity; for upon receiving an invitation to a friendly conference (in relation to the welfare of a part of the French Army which was in distress), the black chief, in good faith, repaired to the isolated spot (near the sea coast) which had been named; in this wild place he was seized, manacled, and sent to France.

On his arrival at Brest, he was hastily transferred to an ice-bound dungeon in the mountains of Switzerland, where, after a close confinement of ten months, he died.

That the black chief * aimed at supremacy in St. Domingo is quite probable; in defense of this design it may be urged that the freedom of his race could not have been safely intrusted to other hands. It was true that France had given them freedom, but she had given them only what she had no longer the power to withhold, and having been impelled by necessity, or at best by a selfish policy, the blacks looked to the future with feelings of distrust, which were greatly strengthened by a knowledge of the fact that the colonists had never ceased for a moment to importune both France and England to aid them in the reestablishment of slavery.

The extensive preparations which were going on in France for the restoration of the ancient system of slavery were early known to Toussaint. Had he chosen

*"It is an interesting fact, confirming the view already given of the consul's oppressive and fatal treatment of the Haytien chief, that the French government, after Napoleon's fall, granted to the son of Toussaint a handsome pension for life. This income he freely gave to charity; and recently died in Paris, unknown to fame, but honored and loved by the grateful poor."

to cooperate with the first consul, he could have secured for himself everything short of sovereignty in the country, while resistance was sure to bring upon him condemnation as an outlaw, and probably death in lingering torments—but it is not pretended that he ever compromised or sought to compromise the freedom of his race. Before the overwhelming armament appeared he had prepared himself for the worst, and when it came, the blazing batteries of the fifty-four ships backed by twenty-five thousand troops failed to change his purpose.

CHAPTER V.

Omens of discord between England and France.—Violations of treaty.—Abuse of Napoleon.—Remonstrance.—Interview of the First Consul with Lord Whitworth.—Declaration of war.—Successes.—Descent upon England.—Conspiracy.—Pichegru.—Duke d'Enghien.—Napoleon emperor.—The coronation.—Napoleon's sway.—Coronation at Milan.—Napoleon hastens to Paris.—Omens of war.—New coalition against France.—Napoleon desires peace.—The conflict opens.—Napoleon is victorious.—Address to the soldiers.—Marches toward Vienna.—Correspondence.—Austerlitz.—Letters.—Treaty of peace at Presburg.—Death of Pitt.—Royal plans.—Letters.—Naples seized.—Sub-kingdoms.—Napoleon and Mr. Fox.—Letters.—Another campaign.—Prussia enters the field.—Battle of Jena and Auerstadt.—Napoleon enters Berlin.—Letters.—Pardons Prince Hatzfeld.

THE year 1803 brought with it omens of a rupture between France and England. The subjection of Switzerland to the consulate, and the rapid enlargement of the empire by diplomatic means, and as we have seen, daring invasions of independent nations, aroused the fears of England. Sheridan expressed the jealousy and hate of the Pitt party, when he said "The destruction of this country, is the first vision that breaks on the French consul through the gleam of the morning; this is his last prayer at night, to whatever deity he may address it, whether to Jupiter or to Mohammed, to the goddess of battle or the goddess of reason. Look at the map of Europe, from which France was said to be expunged, and now see nothing but France. If the ambition of Bonaparte be immeasurable, there are abundant reasons why it should be progressive."

On the other hand, Fox, who represented the conservative minds of the nation, used the following lan-