

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-

guage: "France, now accused of interfering with the concerns of others, we invaded, for the purpose of forcing upon her a government to which she would not submit, and of obliging her to accept the family of Bourbons, whose yoke she spurned. * * * No doubt France is great, much greater than a good Englishman ought to wish, but that ought not to be a motive for violating solemn treaties."

England refused to surrender Malta, the fortress of the Mediterranean, according to the treaty of Amiens. The public prints on both sides of the channel exasperated popular feeling with passionate and bitter articles upon the causes of discontent. Especially did English newspapers assail the character of Napoleon. He remonstrated, and received in reply from the ministry, the cool assurance that,

"Our courts of law are open—we are ourselves accustomed to be abused as you are, and in them we, like you, have our only recourse." The paragraphs in the *Moniteur*, on the other hand, were, it was impossible to deny, virtually so many manifestoes of the Tuilleries.

"Of all the popular engines which moved the spleen of Napoleon, the most offensive was a newspaper (*L'Ambigu*) published in the French language, in London, by one Peltier, a royalist emigrant; and, in spite of all the advice which could be offered, he at length condescended to prosecute the author in the English courts of law. M. Peltier had the good fortune to retain, as his counsel, Sir James Mackintosh, an advocate of most brilliant talents, and, moreover, especially distinguished for his support of the original principles of the French Revolution. On the trial which ensued, this orator, in defense of his client, delivered a philippic against the personal character and ambitious

measures of Napoleon, immeasurably more calculated to injure the chief consul in public opinion throughout Europe, than all the efforts of a thousand newspapers; and, though the jury found Peltier guilty of libel, the result was, on the whole, a signal triumph to the party of whom he had been the organ.

"This was a most imprudent, as well as undignified proceeding; but ere the defendant Peltier could be called up for judgment, the doubtful relations of the chief consul and the cabinet of St. James were to assume a different appearance. The truce of Amiens already approached its close."

England stubbornly refused to yield Malta to the protection of a neutral power, and thus clearly, perseveringly violated the most solemn pledge. Whatever infringement of the spirit of the treaty, Britain may have discovered in the spreading power of France, the letter of the engagement she treated with unblushing contempt. Justice demands the indictment, in this re-opening of bloody conflict. In an interview with Lord Whitworth, Napoleon, with great earnestness, not unmixed with a dictatorial tone, and at considerable length, declaimed against the conduct of England. Among other things, he said:

"Every gale that blows from England is burdened with enmity; your government countenances Georges, Pichegru, and other infamous men, who have sworn to assassinate me. Your journals slander me, and the redress I am offered is but adding mockery to insult. I could make myself master of Egypt to-morrow, if I pleased. *Egypt, indeed, must sooner or later, belong to France*; but I have no wish to go to war for such a trivial object. What could I gain by war? Invasion would be my only means of annoying you, and invasion you shall have, if war be forced on me—but I

confess the chances would be a hundred to one against me in such an attempt. In ten years I could not hope to have a fleet able to dispute the seas with you ; but, on the other hand, the army of France could be recruited in a few weeks to four hundred and eighty thousand men. United we might govern the world—why can we not understand each other ?”

At a levee in the palace of the Tuilleries, March 13th, Napoleon exclaimed to Lord Whitworth with much warmth, “You are then determined on war. We have been at war for fifteen years. You are resolved to have fifteen years more of it ; you force me to it.” And turning to other members of the ministry, he added : “The English wish for war ; but if they draw the sword first, I will be the last to sheath it again. They do not respect treaties—henceforth we must cover them with crape.”

May 18th, England declared war. Before the proclamation reached Paris, orders were given to seize French vessels wherever found ; and Napoleon retaliated as soon as the fact was known, by issuing commands to arrest all the British subjects residing or traveling in his dominions. Several thousands, including eminent citizens, were thus made exiles in a hostile realm.

The English prosecuted the war with energy, recapturing French territory ; while Bonaparte sent Mortier with twenty thousand men into the Electorate of Hanover, belonging to the patrimonial possessions of the king of England.

The mighty contest, affecting the destinies of the world, had no longer the interest of former campaigns of the republic. Principles ceased to be the spirit of conflict, and the war became the desperate struggle of kings for their regal rights, and the stability of their

thrones. Liberty had plainly disappeared from the arena of prizes for which the nations were contending.

Within ten days after the opening of the conflict by the enemy, the army of the consul had taken sixteen thousand troops, four hundred cannon, thirty thousand muskets, and three thousand five hundred horses of the finest mold, from which the gallant riders parted, like the Hungarians more recently, with tears. Napoleon assured the emperor of Austria, and cabinet of England, that in this conquest, “he had only in view to obtain pledges for the evacuation of Malta, and to secure the execution of the treaty of Amiens.”

“These successes enabled Napoleon to feed great bodies of his army at the expense of others, and to cripple the commerce of England, by shutting up her communication with many of the best markets on the continent. But he now recurred to his favorite scheme, that of invading the island itself, and so striking the fatal blow at the heart of his last and greatest enemy. Troops to the amount of one hundred and sixty thousand, were mustered in camps along the French and Dutch coasts, and vast flotillas, meant to convey them across the channel, were formed and constantly maneuvered in various ports, that of Boulogne being the chief station.

“The spirit of England on the other hand, was effectually stirred. Her fleets to the amount of not less than five hundred ships of war, traversed the seas in all directions, blockaded the harbors of the countries in which the power of the consul was predominant, and from time to time made inroads into the French ports, cutting out and destroying the shipping, and crippling the flotillas. At home, the army, both regular and irregular, was recruited and strengthened to an unexampled extent. Camps were formed along the

English coasts opposite to France, and the king in person was continually to be seen in the middle of them. By night, beacons blazed on every hill-top throughout the island; and the high resolution of the citizen soldiery was attested on numberless occasions of false alarm, by the alacrity with which they marched on the points of supposed danger. There never was a time in which the national enthusiasm was more ardent and concentrated; and the return of Pitt to the prime ministry was considered as the last and best pledge that the councils of the sovereign were to exhibit vigor commensurate with the nature of the crisis. The regular army in Britain amounted, ere long, to one hundred thousand; the militia to eighty thousand; and of volunteer troops there were not less than three hundred and fifty thousand in arms.

“Soul, Ney, Davoust, and Victor were in command of the army designed to invade England, and the chief consul personally repaired to Boulogne and inspected both the troops and the flotilla. He constantly gave out that it was his fixed purpose to make his attempt by means of the flotilla alone, but while he thus endeavored to inspire his enemy with false security, for Nelson had declared this scheme of a boat invasion to be *mad*, and staked his whole reputation on its miserable and immediate failure, if attempted, the consul was in fact providing indefatigably a fleet of men of war, designed to protect and cover the voyage. These ships were preparing in different ports of France and Spain, to the number of fifty: Bonaparte intended them to steal out to sea individually or in small squadrons, rendezvous at Martinico, and, returning thence in a body, sweep the channel free of the English, for such a space of time at least as might suffice for the execution of his great purpose. These designs, however, were from

day to day thwarted by the watchful zeal of Nelson, and the other English admirals; who observed Brest, Toulon, Genoa, and the harbors of Spain so closely, that no squadron nor hardly a single vessel could force a passage into the Atlantic.”

Still the consul hoped to take advantage of the frequent calms in the channel, which would leave British ships motionless, while his flat-bottomed boats could be rowed rapidly across; or if all other means failed, he purposed to watch the recurrence of a tempest, which should compel the English vessels to stand out to sea, and then attempt the transit when it subsided, and before the foe could return. In the most favorable condition of things, the truth of Napoleon's remark to Lord Whitworth, was apparent: “It is an awful temerity, my lord, to attempt the invasion of England.” Meanwhile, another great conspiracy was formed against the first consul. The theater of it was London, and the leader Count d'Artois, with whom were combined French royalists in the English capital. More than a hundred daring men, under Georges Cadoudal, were to reach France secretly, and lying in wait near Malmaison, assassinate the first consul when leaving or returning to his mansion. To insure success in the plot to restore the Bourbon dynasty, the aid of the army was indispensable. This object was sought through Moreau, the hero of Hohenlinden, who, jealous of Napoleon, had become hostile and revengeful. General Pichegru, who escaped from banishment in Cayenne, and reached London, a man of popular talent, and still a favorite with many of the people, was selected to confer with Moreau. Early in 1804, Napoleon suspected some grand movement was in progress to undermine his throne. At this crisis, a spy who had been arrested, and was on the way to ex-

ecution, confessed that he was one of Cadoudal's men, and revealed the whole conspiracy. In February, Moreau was arrested. General Pichegru, who eluded pursuit a few weeks longer, while asleep, with his weapons by his side, was suddenly taken by the gendarmes, who, rushing upon him, bound the struggling assassin. Of the Bourbon princes who were suspected of being involved in the deeply laid plot, was the Duke d'Enghien, grandson of the prince of Condé, a promising scion of royalty, who was at Ettenheim, near Strasburg. Circumstances connected with the plan of destroying the consul, made it strongly probable that he was acquainted with it. Orders were issued for a body of dragoons to cross the Rhine into the German territory, press on to Ettenheim, arrest the duke, and remove him to Strasburg. An apology was sent to the grand duke of Baden, for the entrance upon his territory. The prince was seized in bed and hurried away. He denied any sympathies with the conspirators, but avowed his adherence to the former monarchy, and enmity towards Napoleon. When arraigned, he earnestly pleaded for an interview with the consul. This was refused, and before M. Real, counselor of state, commissioned to examine him in Napoleon's behalf, arrived, he was led forth by torch light, and his career finished by a discharge of musketry, from a file of soldiers awaiting his appearance.

The death of this gallant young Bourbon went over Europe with electric power. The emperor of Russia, and the kings of Denmark and Sweden, hung their courts in mourning, and through their diplomatic representatives remonstrated against the tragical deed. With all the reasons, suggested by the perils around the first consul, for summary justice, the execution of the duke will be regarded as a sanguinary deed of a

revolutionary period, for which Napoleon was responsible; but there is not evidence satisfactory to the unbiassed mind, that he had decided to execute the duke, or knew, until too late, that such would be the prompt action of the court. Retaliation was, however, the law of Napoleon's dealings with his foes, and his blows fell when and where they would be most deeply felt.

Chateaubriand, who was then high in favor with Napoleon, and had just been appointed minister plenipotentiary to the Vallais, instantly resigned his appointment on hearing of the duke's death. This was a strong rebuke to Bonaparte, for as Bourrienne remarks, "It said plainly, 'You have committed a crime, and I will not serve a government which is stained with the blood of a Bourbon!'" In England, Bonaparte was constantly styled in some of the leading journals, "the assassin of the Duke d'Enghien." On the fatal morning of the 21st of March, before he had finished his toilet, Josephine rushed into the room from her own distant apartments, with her countenance bathed in tears, and every personal care neglected, crying, "The Duke d'Enghien is dead! oh, my friend, what hast thou done?" and threw herself on his bosom. Napoleon is said to have shown extraordinary emotion, and to have exclaimed, "The wretches! they have been too hasty!" Napoleon was not naturally cruel; he pardoned many of his guilty enemies; but he neglected nothing which advanced his lofty aims; and without the shadow of doubt, desired the death of a Bourbon, to strike terror to the hearts of the royal assassins, who thirsted for his blood.

A few days later, Pichegru was found dead in prison, with a handkerchief around his neck; whether a suicide or a murdered man is unknown, but probably the former.

Moreau was tried, and condemned to two years of exile; and Georges Cadoudal followed in the public trial, and with eighteen others was condemned to die. The defeated conspiracy confirmed Napoleon's authority, and prepared the way for the last stride toward royalty—the right of succession to the crown in the Bonaparte family. April 30th, a month after the Duke d'Enghien was shot, Curée proposed to the Tribune, "that it was time to bid adieu to political illusions—that victory had brought back tranquillity—the finances of the country had been restored, and the laws renovated—and that it was a matter of duty to secure those blessings to the nation in future, by rendering the supreme power hereditary in the person and family of Napoleon. Such was the universal desire of the army and of the people. The title of emperor, in his opinion, was that by which Napoleon should be hailed, as best corresponding to the dignity of the nation."

Carnot, as before, when the question of the consulate was under discussion, alone dissented. He admitted the greatness of Napoleon, and his indispensable power; but added: "Fabius, Camillus, Cincinnatus were dictators also. Why should not Bonaparte, like them, lay down despotic power, after the holding of it had ceased to be necessary to the general good? Let the services of a citizen be what they might, was there to be no limit to the gratitude of the nation? But at all events, even granting that Bonaparte himself could not be too highly rewarded or too largely trusted, why commit the fortunes of posterity to chance? Why forget that Vespasian was the father of Domitian, Germanicus of Caligula, Marcus Aurelius of Commodus?"

The senate passed unanimously the decree, and May

18th, 1804, proceeded in a body to present it to Napoleon, and salute him Emperor of France.

The decree immediately appeared, published in the name of "Napoleon, by the grace of God, and by the constitutions of the Republic, Emperor of the French," and was sent down to the departments, and was ratified by a majority of the popular vote, although but a small part of the nation was represented at the ballot-box. The empire was to descend in the male line; and in case of having no son, Napoleon might adopt any son or grandson of his brothers; but in the failure of such provision, Joseph and Louis Bonaparte were named as next in order of succession. Lucien and Jerome were omitted, because the emperor was displeased with their matrimonial affairs, and not in this slight alone made them feel his anger. The members of the Bonaparte family were declared princes royal of France. The senate was the servant of the emperor, over whose decision to the contrary he had the right to publish a law as constitutional; the legislative branch, whose president he appointed, was entirely dependent upon the royal will; and the liberty of the press was annihilated.

May 18, 1804, Napoleon displayed the imperial insignia, and named Cambacères, his former colleague, Chancellor, and Le Brun Treasurer of the Empire. His group of splendid generals were created marshals. The theater of enthusiasm was not now in the walks of the people, but at Boulogne, in the camps of the soldiers. There on a magnificent throne on the margin of the ocean, he distributed the crosses of the Legion of Honor, amid the shouts of his great army. Congratulations poured in from the kings of Europe, excepting Russia, Sweden, and England.

Napoleon, to complete his claim to hereditary power,

sent a request to Pius VII. to repair to Paris and crown him—even in this proud act, subordinating the Church of Rome to his scepter. The unwilling Pope obeyed, and December 2d the coronation was performed.

It surpassed in magnificence all that had ever preceded it. The dress of the empress was in itself elegant, and arranged with that taste in which she excelled all the ladies of her time, the effect must have been unequalled. A drapery of white satin, embroidered on the skirt with gold, and on the breast with diamonds; a mantle of the richest crimson velvet lined with ermine and satin, embroidered with gold; a girdle of gold so pure as to be quite elastic, and set with large diamonds, formed her dress; and on her head she wore a splendid diadem of pearls and diamonds, the workmanship of which had employed the first artists of the capital. How her thoughts must have reverted to her first marriage, when, as she used to relate with great simplicity, she carried the few trinkets given her by Beauharnais for some days in her pocket to exhibit to admiring acquaintances.

Bonaparte's dress was quite as gorgeous, and must have reminded him that he had indeed assumed the *weight* of empire, for the mantle alone is said to have weighed eighty pounds. Indeed, he was by no means elated with this display of finery, but submitted to it as part of the system of personal aggrandizement, to which he adhered at whatever sacrifice of comfort. We can readily imagine that the hardy soldier must have been much less at his ease, in his white silk stockings, and white buskins laced and embroidered with gold, than when shortly afterward he appeared on the plain of Marengo, on the anniversary of his great victory there, in the identical cap and cloak pierced with bullet-holes which he had worn in that battle, and

there, surrounded by thirty thousand of his troops distributed the decorations of the Legion of Honor.

The imperial carriage, paneled with mirrors, and drawn by eight horses like the ancient regal coaches of the empire, attended by horsemen to the number of ten thousand, and double lines of infantry a mile and a half in length, and gazed at by four hundred thousand spectators, proceeded to the church of Notre Dame, which had been magnificently embellished for the occasion. The incessant thunder of artillery rolled over that tumultuous sea of humanity, whose shouts rose in one loud acclamation. While the grand procession was slowly moving forward, the clouds which had hung darkly over the city suddenly parted, and the clear sunlight fell upon the gay uniform, golden trappings, and burnished arms, till the reflection was a blended brightness that gave the finishing halo of glory to this regal march. Arriving at the archiepiscopal palace, the cortège paused, while beneath a high archway, from which floated the banners of the Legion of Honor, the royal group entered the cathedral, where a throne was prepared for the most influential and remarkable sovereign of Europe. It was placed opposite the principal entrance, on a platform whose elevation was reached by twenty-two semi-circular steps, richly carpeted and gleaming with golden bees. Here were standing the high officers of the realm in solemn state. The drapery of the throne was crimson velvet, under a canopy of which appeared Napoleon and Josephine, attended by his brothers, and the members of the imperial family. Four hours were consumed in the religious services by a choir of three hundred, and martial airs from a band whose number was still greater, filling the wide arches of that temple with a tide of harmony such as never before was poured over