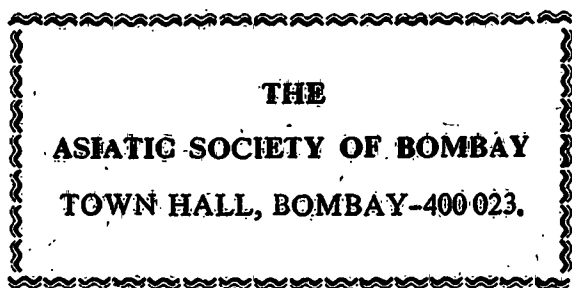




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PRIVATE MEMOIRS
OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,
DURING THE PERIODS OF
THE DIRECTORY, THE CONSULATE,
AND THE EMPIRE.

BY M. DE BOURRIENNE,

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE EMPEROR.

OL. III.

31944

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“Eh bien, Bourrienne, vous serez aussi immortel, vous !”—“ Et pourquoi, Général ?”—“ N’êtes-vous pas mon secrétaire ? Dites-moi le nom de celui d’Alexandre ?”—Vol. ii. p. 303.

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MEMOIRS,

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CHAPTER I.

The events of 1804—Death of the Duke d'Enghien—Napoleon's arguments at St. Helena—Comparison of dates—Possibility of my having saved the Duke d'Enghien's life—Advice given to the Duke d'Enghien—Sir Charles Stuart—Delay of the Austrian cabinet—Pichegru and the mysterious being—M. Massias—The historians of St. Helena—Bonaparte's threats against the emigrants and M. Cobentzel—Precipitate execution of Bonaparte's order—Singular adventure of Dayoust's secretary—The Quarter-Master—The brigand of La Vendée—Summing up of the facts relative to the Duke d'Enghien.

IN order to form a just idea of the events which succeeded each other so rapidly at the commencement of 1804, it is necessary to consider them both separately, and connectedly. It must be borne in mind, that all Bonaparte's machinations tended to one object, the foundation of the French empire in his favour; and it is also essential to consider, how the situation of the emi-

grants, in reference to the First Consul, had changed since the declaration of war. As long as Bonaparte continued at peace, the cause of the Bourbons had no support in foreign cabinets, and the emigrants had no alternative but to yield to circumstances; but on the breaking out of a new war, all was changed. The cause of the Bourbons became that of the powers at war with France; and as many causes concurred to unite the emigrants abroad with those who had returned but half satisfied, there was reason to fear something from their hostility, in conjunction with that of the powers arrayed against Bonaparte.

* Such was the state of things, with regard to the emigrants, when the leaders and accomplices of Georges' conspiracy were arrested, at the very beginning of 1804. The assassination of the Duke d'Enghien took place on the 21st of March; on the 30th of April appeared the proposition of the tribunate, to found a government in France, under the authority of one individual; on the 18th May came the *senatus consultum*, naming Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor; and, lastly, on the 10th June, the sentence of condemnation on Georges and his accomplices. Thus the shedding of the blood of a Bourbon, and the placing of the crown of France on the head of a soldier of fortune, were two acts interpolated in the sanguinary drama of Georges' conspiracy. It must be remembered, too, that during the period of these events we were at war with England, and

on the point of seeing Austria and the Colossus of the North form a coalition against the new emperor.

I will now state all I know relative to the death of the Duke d'Enghien. That unfortunate prince, who was at Ettenheim, in consequence of a love-affair, had no communication whatever with those who were concocting a plot in the interior. Machiavelli says, that when the author of a crime cannot be discovered, we should seek for those to whose advantage it turns. In the present case Machiavelli's advice will find an easy application, since the Duke's death could be advantageous only to Bonaparte, who considered it indispensable to his accession to the crown of France. The motives may be explained, but can they be justified? How could it ever be said that the Duke d'Enghien perished as a presumed accomplice in the conspiracy of Georges?

Moreau was arrested on the 15th February, 1804, at which time the existence of the conspiracy was known. Pichegru and Georges were also arrested in February, and the Duke d'Enghien not till the 15th of March. Now if the prince had really been concerned in the plot, if even he had had a knowledge of it, would he have remained at Ettenheim for nearly a month after the arrest of his presumed accomplices, intelligence of which he might have obtained in the space of three days? Certainly not. So ignorant was he of that conspiracy, that, when in-

formed of the affair, at Ettenheim, he doubted it, declaring that if it were true, his father and grandfather would have made him acquainted with it. Would so long an interval have been suffered to elapse, before he was arrested? Alas! cruel experience has shewn that that step would have been taken in a few hours.

The sentence of death against Georges and his accomplices was not pronounced till the 10th of June, 1804, and the Duke d'Enghien was shot on the 21st of March, before the trials were even commenced. How is this precipitation to be explained? If, as Napoleon has declared, the young Bourbon was an accomplice in the crime, why was he not arrested at the time the others were? Why was he not tried along with them, on the ground of his being an actual accomplice; or of being compromised, by communications with them; or, in short, because his answers might have thrown light on that mysterious affair? How was it that the name of the illustrious accused was not once mentioned in the course of that awful trial? It can scarcely be conceived that Napoleon could say at St. Helena, "Either they contrived to implicate the unfortunate prince in their project, and so pronounced his doom, or by omitting to inform him of what was going on, allowed him imprudently to slumber on the brink of a precipice; for he was only a stone's cast from the frontier when they were about to strike the great blow, in the name and for the interest of his family."

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This reasoning is not merely absurd, it is atrocious. If the Duke was compromised by the confession of his accomplices, he should have been arrested and tried along with them. Justice required this. If he was not so compromised, where the proof of his guilt? Because some individuals, without his knowledge, plotted to commit a crime, in the name of his family, he was to be shot? Because he was a hundred and thirty leagues from the scene of the plot, and had no connection with it, he was to die? Such arguments cannot fail to inspire horror. It is absolutely impossible any reasonable person can regard the Duke d'Enghien as an accomplice of Cadoudal; and Napoleon basely imposed on his contemporaries and posterity, by inventing such falsehoods, and investing them with the authority of his name.

Had I then been in the First Consul's 'intimacy, I may aver with as much confidence as pride, that the blood of the Duke d'Enghien would not have imprinted an indelible stain on the glory of Bonaparte. I feel a conviction that it would have been very possible for me to have persuaded Bonaparte from his fatal design, inasmuch as I positively know that his object, after the termination of the peace, was merely to frighten the emigrants, in order to drive them from Ettenheim, where great numbers, like the Duke d'Enghien, had sought refuge. His anger was particularly directed against a Baroness Reith and a

Baroness Ettengein, who had loudly vituperated him, and distributed numerous libels on the left bank of the Rhine. At that period, Bonaparte had as little design against the Duke d'Enghien's life as against that of any other emigrant. I must, however, admit, that when Bonaparte spoke to Rapp and Duroc of the emigrants on the other side of the Rhine, he expressed himself with much irritability: so much so, indeed, that M. de Talleyrand, dreading its effects for the Duke d'Enghien, warned that prince, through the medium of a lady, to whom he was attached, of his danger, and advised him to proceed to a greater distance from the frontier. On receiving this notice, the prince resolved to rejoin his grandfather, which he could not do but by passing through the Austrian territory. Should any doubt exist as to these facts, it may be added, that Sir Charles Stuart wrote to M. de Cobenzel to solicit a passport for the Duke d'Enghien; and it was solely owing to the delay of the Austrian cabinet, that time was afforded for the First Consul to order the arrest of the unfortunate prince, as soon as he had formed the horrible resolution of shedding the blood of a Bourbon. This resolution could have originated only with himself, for who would have dared to suggest it to him? The fact is, Bonaparte knew not what he did. This fever of ambition amounted to delirium; and he knew not how he was losing himself in public opinion because he did not know that

opinion, to gain which he would have made every sacrifice.

When Cambacérès, who with a slight reservation had voted the death of Louis XVI., warmly opposed in the council the Duke d'Enghien's arrest, the First Consul observed to him : " Me-thinks you have grown very chary of Bourbon blood !",

Meanwhile, the Duke d'Enghien was at Ettenheim, indulging in hope rather than plotting conspiracies. It is well known that an individual made an offer to the Prince de Condé to assassinate the First Consul, but the prince indignantly rejected the proposition, and nobly refused to recover the rights of the Bourbons at the price of such a crime. The individual above-mentioned was afterwards discovered to be an agent of the Paris police, who had been commissioned to draw the princes into a plot which would have ruined them ; for public feeling revolts at assassination under any circumstances.

It has been alleged that Louis XVIII.'s refusal to treat with Bonaparte, led to the fatal catastrophe of the Duke d'Enghien's death. This assertion must be classed among the numerous inventions with which Sir Walter Scott has enriched his romance. The first correspondence between Louis XVIII. and the First Consul, which has been given in these Memoirs, clearly proves the contrary. It is certainly probable that Louis XVIII.'s refusal to renounce his rights should

have irritated Bonaparte. But it was rather late to take his revenge two years after, and that, too, on a prince, totally ignorant of those overtures. It is needless to comment on such absurdities. It is equally unnecessary to speak of the mysterious being who often appeared at meetings in the Faubourg St. Germain, and who was afterwards discovered to be Pichegru.

A further light is thrown on this melancholy catastrophe by a conversation Napoleon had a few days after his elevation to the imperial throne, with M. Massias, the minister of the Grand Duke of Baden. This conversation took place at Aix-la-Chapelle. After some conversation on the intrigues of the emigrants, Bonaparte observed :—" You ought at least to have prevented the plots which the Duke d'Enghien was hatching at Ettenheim."—" Sire, I am too old to learn to tell a falsehood, believe me. On this subject your Majesty's ear has been abused."—" Do you not think, then, that had the conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru proved successful, the prince would not have passed the Rhine, and have come post to Paris?"

M. Massias, from whom I had these particulars, added :—" At this last question of the Emperor, I hung down my head and was silent; for I saw he did not wish to hear the truth."

Now let us consider with that attention which the importance of the subject commands, what has been said by the historians of St. Helena.

Napoleon said to his companions in exile:—
“That the Duke d’Enghien’s death must be attributed either to an excess of zeal for him (Napoleon), to private views, or mysterious intrigues. He had been blindly urged on; he was, if he might say so, taken by surprise. The measure was precipitated, and the result predetermined.”

This he might have said; but if he did so express himself, how are we to reconcile such a declaration with the statement of O’Meara? How give credit to assertions so very opposite?

Napoleon said to M. de las Casas, “The Duke d’Enghien might have been apprehended in the fact of *taking part in the conspiracy*,” and yet, on another occasion, he asserted that it was possible *the duke had no knowledge whatever of that conspiracy*.

He next asserts. that in the Duke’s arrest and condemnation, *all the usual forms were strictly observed*. But he has also declared that the death of that unfortunate prince will be an eternal reproach to those, who, carried away by a criminal zeal, waited not for their sovereign’s orders to execute the sentence of the court-martial. He would, perhaps, have allowed the prince to live; but yet he said, “It is true I wished to make an example which should deter.”

It has been said that the Duke d’Enghien addressed a letter to Napoleon, and which was not delivered till after the execution. This is false and

absurd ! How could that prince write to Bonaparte, to offer him his services, and to solicit the command of an army ? His interrogatory makes no mention of this letter ; and is in direct opposition to the sentiments which that letter would attribute to him. The truth is, no such letter ever existed. The individual who was with the prince, declared he never wrote it. It will never be believed that any one would have presumed to withhold from Bonaparte a letter, on which depended the fate of so august a victim.

In his declarations to his companions in exile, Napoleon endeavoured either to free himself of this crime, or to justify it. His fear, or his susceptibility was such, that in discoursing with strangers he merely said, that had he known of the prince's letter, which was not delivered to him, God knows why, until after he had breathed his last, he would have pardoned him. But, at a subsequent date, he traced, with his own hand, his last thoughts, which he supposed would be consecrated in the minds of his contemporaries, and of posterity. Napoleon, touching on the subject which he felt would be one of the most important attached to his memory, said, "*that if the thing were to do again, he would act as he then did.*" How does this declaration tally with his avowal, that *if he had received the prince's letter, he should have lived* ? This is irreconcilable. But if we compare all that Napoleon said at St. Helena, and which has been transmitted to us by his faith-

ful followers ; if we consider his contradictions, when speaking of the Duke d'Enghien's death to strangers, to his friends, to the public, or to posterity, the question ceases to be doubtful. Bonaparte wished to strike a blow which would terrify his enemies. Fancying that the Duke de Berry was ready to land in France, he despatched his Aide-de-camp Savary in disguise, attended by gend'armes, to watch the duke's landing at Biville. This turned out a fruitless mission. The Duke was warned in time not to attempt the useless and dangerous enterprise, and Bonaparte, enraged to see one prey escape him, pounced upon another. It is well known that Bonaparte often, and in the presence even of persons whom he conceived to have maintained relations with the partizans of the Bourbons at Paris, expressed himself thus :—
“ I will put an end to these conspiracies. If any of the emigrants conspire, they shall be shot. I have been told that Cobentzel harbours some of them. I do not believe this ; but if it be true, Cobentzel shall be arrested and shot along with them. I will let the Bourbons know I am not to be trifled with.”

The above statement of facts accounts for the suppositions respecting the probable influence of the jacobins in this affair. It has been said, not without some appearance of reason, that to get the jacobins to help him to ascend the throne, Bonaparte consented to sacrifice a victim of the blood royal, as the only pledge capable of ensuring them

against the return of the proscribed family. Be this as it may, there are no possible means of relieving Bonaparte from his share of guilt in the death of the Duke d'Enghien.

Napoleon, at St. Helena, would not confess the real cause of the death of the Duke d'Enghien. But inexorable history will note down that he was proclaimed emperor three months after the assassination of the innocent prince; and less indulgent than his contemporary flatterers, she will give no share of the atrocity to chance, to criminal zeal, or intrigue. She will judge of this violation of the rights of nations, and of every principle of justice and humanity, and she will pronounce it to be the act of mad ambition and barbarous policy.

I will now sum up all I positively know respecting the fatal death of the Duke d'Enghien.

I know that Bonaparte's anger was excited against the meetings of emigrants which took place in the states of the Grand Duke of Baden. I know that the accounts he received contained frequent mention of an English agent, a Baroness Reith, and several other individuals. A man was despatched to the English agent, for the purpose of mystifying him; and that this man was Melée de la Touche, who had been constantly engaged in intrigue.

The First Consul's original intention was to inspire fear rather than to commit an outrage. He wished to frighten the emigrants, in order that

they might remove farther off. At this very juncture the Duke d'Enghien was warned of his danger through the medium of a letter addressed to the female who caused his presence at Ettenheim. On receiving this intelligence, he determined to rejoin his grandfather. For this purpose, he had to pass through a part of the Austrian dominions. Sir Charles Stuart wrote to Vienna, to M. de Cobentzel, to request a passport for him immediately. The Austrian cabinet was very tardy in returning an answer; and had the reply been immediate, the Duke d'Enghien would infallibly have been saved. It was to that blind zeal, of which I have already spoken, that the duke's too hurried execution was owing; and at St. Petersburg, certain individuals boasted of the share they had had in hurrying this execution in the presence of Russian gentlemen, who are ready to vouch for the correctness of this fact.

To the above facts, which came within my own knowledge, I may add the following curious story, which was related to me by an individual who himself heard it related by the secretary of General Davoust.

Davoust was commanding a division in the camp of Boulogne, and his secretary, when proceeding thither to join him, met in the diligence a man who seemed to be absorbed in affliction. This man, during the whole journey, never once broke silence but by some deep sighs, which he had not power to repress. General Davoust's

secretary observed him with curiosity and interest, but did not venture to intrude upon his grief by any conversation. The concourse of travellers from Paris to the camp was, however, at that time very great, and the inn at which the diligence stopped in the evening was so crowded, that it was impossible to assign a chamber to each traveller. Two, therefore, were put into one room; and it so happened that the secretary was lodged with his mysterious travelling companion. When they were alone he addressed him in a tone of interest which banished all appearance of intrusion. He inquired whether the cause of his grief was of a nature to admit of any alleviation, and offered to render him any assistance in his power. "Sir," replied the stranger, "I am much obliged for the sympathy you express for me—I want nothing. There is no possible consolation for me. My affliction can end only with my life. You shall judge for yourself, for the interest you seem to take in my misfortune fully justifies my confidence. I was quarter-master in the select gendarmery, and formed part of a detachment which was ordered to Vincennes. I passed the night there under arms, and at daybreak was ordered down to the moat with six men. An execution was to take place. The prisoner was brought out, and I gave the word to fire. The man fell, and after the execution I learnt that we had shot the Duke d'Enghien. Judge of my horror!..... I knew the prisoner only by the name of the

brigand of La Vendée!.....I could no longer remain in the service—I obtained my discharge, and am about to retire to my family. Would that I had done so sooner!” The above has been related to me and other persons by Davoust’s secretary, whom I shall not name.

I know that an individual proposed to the Prince de Condé to assassinate Bonaparte, and that this offer was indignantly rejected. I know also that Fouché was in Paris, and although no longer minister, he was still director of the police—that Fouché, although only a senator, was summoned to the council held at the Tuileries on the 10th of March. In that council Cambacérès, who alone, from his situation, could venture an opposition, made the attempt, the result of which I have already stated. The Duke d’Enghien never wrote a letter to the First Consul. I had my information on this point from the first aide-de-camp of the prince, who never quitted him until the last moment of his existence. I also know that hatred and vengeance, after displaying themselves in every possible form in Paris, assumed a new shape on the rock of St. Helena.

All that relates to the affair of the Duke d’Enghien resolves itself to this :—Bonaparte, perhaps, to please the revolutionary party, and in order to attain the throne with greater certainty, desired the prompt and immediate death of the Duke d’Enghien, without judicial forms. He was obeyed with all the promptitude which doubtless

he had commanded, so that there was no time or possibility to retract his first decision. I have certain knowledge that the order was given, and I am convinced that, if the execution had been deferred some hours, the Duke d'Enghien would not have perished.

CHAPTER II.

Retrospective glance—Bonaparte's presumed motives—First stain on Bonaparte—General Ordener's mission—Arrest of the Duke d'Enghien—Horrible night-scene—Harrel's account of the death of the Prince—Order for digging the grave—The foster-sister of the Duke d'Enghien—Reading the sentence—The lantern—General Savary—The faithful dog and the police—My visit to Malmaison—Josephine's griefs—The Duke d'Enghien's portrait and lock of hair—Savary's emotion—M. de Chateaubriand's resignation—M. de Chateaubriand's connection with Bonaparte—Madame Bacciochi and M. de Fontanes—Cardinal Fesch—Dedication of the second edition of the *Génie du Christianisme*—M. de Chateaubriand's visit to the First Consul, on the morning of the Duke d'Enghien's death.

I HAVE pointed to the causes of an irreparable crime. I will now endeavour to describe with the utmost exactness the fatal consequences which resulted from that melancholy cause; but I must commence by taking a review of some antecedent circumstances.

All that had passed since 1802 favoured Bonaparte's views for possessing himself of the crown. Every thing encouraged his idea of founding a new dynasty. But he thought it necessary to shew that in re-establishing the throne he re-established it for himself alone. He knew well

what his own intentions were, but he thought others might fear that his ideas would change with time, and he apprehended that many persons would fear that, having once re-established the throne, he would restore it to the Bourbons. On overthrowing it the republicans had deluged it with royal blood. He thought, however, that they would consent to see it raised up again by a fortunate soldier, and would with their own hands build up the edifice which they had destroyed. But they wanted guarantees. Bonaparte was unstained by the crimes of the revolution: his age had preserved him from taking part in its excesses, and in this he always prided himself. He had indeed opposed royalism on the 13th Vendémiaire; but that, it was said, was from calculation and ambition rather than from sentiment. He judged that this was not a sufficient guarantee for the republicans. His aversion for what he called the sanguinary men of the revolution had displayed itself on the 3d Nivose. It was necessary to make those, whose support he stood in need of, or supposed he stood in need of, forget the hatred which he had always borne to them, and he thought he could not better succeed in his object than by rendering himself guilty like them. His opinion of the regicides is well known, as well as the manner in which he uniformly spoke of them. He knew them too well not to be aware that his conduct had been calculated to excite their suspicion and inspire their fears. Perhaps, in Bonaparte's idea, they might wish to have it in their

power to say to him, " We put the king to death, it is true, but we tried him : you have assassinated the prince in defiance of all judicial forms !"

Bonaparte's conduct hitherto had been noble and great ; but the wreck of the Reign of Terror, which was still powerful, would not, he conceived, tolerate a master, who, if he had not like themselves been stained with guilt, would constantly have been reproaching them. The Duke d'Enghien's death therefore was resolved on, in order to allay the presumed terrors felt by the men of the revolution at the very name of the Bourbons ; for Bonaparte thought that they judged themselves as he judged them. Besides, the Duke d'Enghien's death would have a revolting effect on the royalists who, since the 18th Brumaire, had gradually rallied round the First Consul's government, and would cause them to withdraw themselves once more ; thus offices, favours, and dignities would be the exclusive portion of the men of the revolution. These were the advantages which Bonaparte offered in exchange for the services which he expected from them.

I will now attempt the description of the sanguinary scene which took place at the castle of Vincennes. General Ordener, commanding the grenadiers of the guard, received orders from the war minister to proceed to the Rhine, to give instructions to the chiefs of the gendarmerie of New Brissac, which was placed at his disposal. General Ordener sent a detachment of gendarmerie to Ettenheim, where the Duke d'Enghien was ar-

rested on the 15th of March. He was immediately conducted to the citadel of Strasburgh, where he remained till the 18th, to give time for the arrival of orders from Paris. These orders were given rapidly, and executed promptly, for the carriage which conveyed the unfortunate Prince arrived at the barrier at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 20th, where it remained for five hours, and afterwards proceeded by the exterior boulevards on the road to Vincennes, where it arrived at night. Every scene of this horrible drama was acted under the veil of night: the sun did not even shine upon its tragical close. The soldiers received orders to proceed to Vincennes at night. It was at night that the fatal gates of the fortress were closed upon the prince. At night the council assembled and tried him, or rather condemned him without trial. When the clock struck six in the morning, the orders were given to fire, and the prince ceased to exist. Here a reflection occurs to me. Supposing one were inclined to admit that the council held on the 10th of March had some connection with the Duke d'Enghien's arrest, yet as no council was held from the time of the Duke's arrival at the barrier to the moment of his execution, it could only be Bonaparte himself who issued the orders which were too punctually obeyed. When the dreadful intelligence of the Duke d'Enghien's death was spread in Paris, it excited a feeling of consternation which recalled the recollection of the Reign of Terror. Could Bonaparte have seen

the gloom which pervaded Paris, and compared it with the joy which prevailed on the day when he returned victorious from the field of Marengo, he would have felt that he had tarnished his glory by a stain which could never be effaced.

About half-past twelve on the 22d of March I was informed that some one wished to speak with me. It was Harrel. I will relate word for word what he communicated to me. Harrel probably thought that he was bound in gratitude to acquaint me with these details; but he owed me no gratitude, for it was much against my will that he had encouraged the conspiracy of Ceracchi, and received the reward of his treachery in that crime. The following is Harrel's statement:—
“On the evening of the day before yesterday, when the prince arrived, I was asked whether I had a room to lodge a prisoner in; I replied; no—that there were only my room and the council chamber. I was told to prepare instantly an apartment in which a prisoner could sleep, who was to arrive that evening. I was also desired to dig a pit in the court-yard.* I replied that that could not be easily done, as the court-yard was paved. The moat was then fixed upon, and there the pit was dug. The prince arrived at seven o'clock in the evening; he was perishing with cold and hunger. He did not appear dispirited. He said he wanted something to eat,

* This circumstance cannot be too strongly noted. Harrel was ordered to dig the grave before the trial. The Duke D'Enghien's fate was therefore decided beforehand.

and to go to bed afterwards. His apartment not being yet sufficiently warmed, I took him into my own; and sent into the village for some refreshment. The prince sat down to table, and invited me to eat with him. He then asked me a number of questions respecting Vincennes—what was going on there—and other particulars. He told me that he had been brought up in the neighbourhood of the castle, and spoke to me with great freedom and kindness. ‘What do they want with me?’ he said. ‘What do they mean to do with me?’ But these questions betrayed no uneasiness or anxiety. My wife, who is ill, was lying in the same room in an alcove, closed by a railing. She heard, without being perceived, all our conversation, and she was exceedingly agitated, for she recognized the prince, whose foster-sister she was, and the royal family had given her a pension before the revolution.*

“The prince hastened to bed; but before he could have fallen asleep, the judges sent to request his presence in the council chamber. I was not present at his examination; but when it was concluded, he returned to his chamber, and when they came to read his sentence to him he was in a profound sleep. In a few moments after he was led out for execution. He had so little suspicion of the fate that awaited him, that on descending the staircase leading to the moat, he asked where they were taking him. He received

* The fatal event caused this female a dangerous fit of illness.

no answer. I went before the prince with a lantern. Feeling the cold air which came up the staircase, he pressed my arm, and said, 'Are they going to put me into a dungeon?'"

The rest is known. I can imagine I still see Harrel, trembling while he repeated the question of the unhappy prince, and described the action which accompanied it. Such was the ingenuous narrative which Harrel made to me the day after the execution. Much has been said about a lantern, which it is pretended was attached to one of the Duke d'Enghien's button-holes. This is a pure invention. Captain Dantancourt, whose sight was not very good, took the lantern out of Harrel's hand, to read the sentence to the victim, who had been condemned with as little regard to judicial forms as to justice. This circumstance probably gave rise to the story about the lantern, to which I have just alluded. The fatal event took place at six o'clock on the morning of the 21st of March, and it was of course daylight.

General Savary did not dare to delay the execution of the sentence, although the prince urgently demanded to have an interview with the First Consul. Had Bonaparte seen the prince, there can be little doubt but that he would have saved his life. Savary, however, thought himself bound to sacrifice his own opinions to the powerful faction which then controlled the First Consul; and whilst he thought he was serving his master, he was in fact only serving the faction, to which, I must say, he did not belong. The truth is,

that General Savary can only be reproached for not having taken upon himself to suspend the execution, which very probably would not have taken place, had it been suspended. He was merely an instrument, and regret on his part would, perhaps, have told more in his favour than his vain efforts to justify Bonaparte.

From all that I have stated, and particularly from the non-suspension of the execution, it appears to me as clear as day that General Savary had received a formal order from Bonaparte for the Duke d'Enghien's death, and also a formal order that it should be so managed as to make it impossible to speak to Bonaparte again on the subject, until all should be over. Can there be a more evident, a more direct proof of this, than the digging of the pit before-hand? I have repeated Harrel's story just as he related it to me. He told it me without solicitation, and he could not invent a circumstance of this nature.

General Savary was not in the moat during the execution, but on the bank, from whence he could easily see all that passed. Another circumstance connected with the Duke d'Enghien's death has been mentioned, which is true. The prince had a little dog. This faithful animal returned incessantly to the fatal spot in the moat. There are few who have not seen that spot. Who has not made a pilgrimage to Vincennes, and dropped a tear where the victim fell? The fidelity of the poor dog excited so much interest, that the police prevented any one from visiting the fatal spot,

and the dog was no longer heard to howl over his master's grave.

I promised to state the truth respecting the death of the Duke d'Enghien, and I have done so, though it has cost me some pain. Harrel's narrative, and the shocking circumstance of the pit being dug before-hand, left me no opportunity of cherishing any doubts I might have wished to entertain; and every thing which followed confirmed the view I then took of the subject. When Harrel left me on the 22d, I determined to go to Malmaison to see Madame Bonaparte, knowing, from her sentiments towards the house of Bourbon, that she would be in the greatest affliction. I had previously sent to know whether it would be convenient for her to see me, a precaution I had never before observed, but which I conceived to be proper upon that occasion. On my arrival I was immediately introduced to her boudoir, where she was alone with Hortense and Madame Remusat. They were all deeply afflicted. "Bourrienne," exclaimed Josephine, as soon as she perceived me, "what a dreadful event! Did you but know the state of mind Bonaparte was in! He avoids, he dreads the presence of every one! Who could have suggested to him such an act as this?" I then acquainted Josephine with the particulars which I had received from Harrel. "What barbarity!" she resumed. "But no reproach can rest upon me, for I did every thing to dissuade him from this dreadful project. He did not confide the secret to me; but I guessed it,

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and he acknowledged all. How harshly he repelled my entreaties! I clung to him! I threw myself at his feet!—"Meddle with what concerns you!" he exclaimed, angrily. "This is not women's business! Leave me!"—And he repulsed me with a violence which he had never displayed since our first interview after your return from Egypt. Heavens! What will become of us?"

I could say nothing to calm affliction and alarms in which I participated, for to my grief for the death of the Duke d'Enghein, was added my grief that Bonaparte should be capable of such a crime. "What," said Josephine, "can be thought of this in Paris? He must be the object of universal imprecations, for even here his flatterers appear astounded when they are out of his presence. How wretched we have been since yesterday; and he!.....You know what he is when he is dissatisfied with himself. No one dare speak to him, and all is mournful around us. What a commission he gave to Savary! You know I do not like the general, because he is one of those whose flatteries will contribute to ruin Bonaparte. How deeply was I distressed when Savary came yesterday to fulfil a commission which the Duke d'Enghien had entrusted to him. Here," added Josephine, "is his portrait and a lock of his hair, which he has requested me to transmit to one who was dear to him. Savary almost shed tears when he described to me the last moments of the Duke: then, endeavouring to resume his self-possession, he said, 'It is in vain to try to be indifferent,

Madame! it is impossible to witness the death of such a man unmoved! ”

Josephine afterwards informed me of the only act of courage which occurred at this period, namely, the resignation which M. de Chateaubriand had sent to Bonaparte. She admired his conduct greatly, and said, “ What a pity he is not surrounded by men of this description ! It would be the means of preventing all the errors into which he is led, by the constant approbation of those about him.” Josephine thanked me for my attention in coming to see her at such an unhappy juncture, and I confess that it required all the regard I cherished for her to induce me to do so, for at that moment I should not have wished to see the First Consul, since the evil was irreparable. On the evening of that day nothing was spoken of but the transaction of the 21st of March, and the noble conduct of M. de Chateaubriand. As the name of that celebrated man is for ever written in characters of honour in the history of that period, I think I may with propriety relate here what I know respecting his previous connections with Bonaparte.

I do not recollect the precise date of M. de Chateaubriand's return to France ; I only know that it was about the year 1800, for we were, I think, still at the Luxembourg. However, I recollect perfectly that Bonaparte began to conceive prejudices against him ; and when I one day expressed my surprise to the First Consul that M. de Chateaubriand's name did not appear on any of the

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lists which he had ordered to be presented to him, for filling up vacant places, he said, "He has been mentioned to me; but I replied in a way to check all hopes of his obtaining any appointment. He has notions of liberty and independence which will not suit my system. I would rather have him my enemy than my forced friend. At all events, he must wait awhile. I may, perhaps, try him first in a secondary place, and, if he does well, I may advance him."

The above is word for word what Bonaparte said the first time I conversed with him about M. de Chateaubriand. The publication of "*Atala*" and the "*Génie du Christianisme*," suddenly gave Chateaubriand celebrity, and attracted the attention of the First Consul. Bonaparte, who then meditated the restoration of religious worship in France, found himself wonderfully supported by the publication of a book which excited the highest interest, and whose superior merit led the public mind to the consideration of religious topics. I remember Madame Bacciochi coming one day to visit her brother, with a little volume in her hand; it was "*Atala*." She presented it to the Consul, and begged he would read it. "What, more romances!" exclaimed he. "Do you think I have time to read all your fooleries?" He, however, took the book from his sister, and laid it down on my desk. Madame Bacciochi then solicited the erasure of M. de Chateaubriand's name from the list of emigrants. "Oh! oh!" said Bonaparte, "it is Chateaubriand's book, is it? I will read it,

then. Bourrienne, write to Fouché, to erase his name from the list."

Bonaparte, at that time, paid so little attention to what was doing in the literary world, that he was not aware of Chateaubriand being the author of "Atala." It was on the recommendation of M. de Fontanes that Madame Bacciochi tried this experiment, which was attended by complete success. The First Consul read "Atala," and was much pleased with it. On the publication of the "Génie du Christianisme," some time after, his first prejudices were wholly removed. Among the persons about him there were many who dreaded to see a man of M. de Chateaubriand's talent approach the First Consul, who knew how to appreciate superior merit when it did not excite his envy.

Our relations with the court of Rome being renewed, and Cardinal Fesch appointed ambassador to the holy see, Bonaparte conceived the idea of making M. de Chateaubriand first secretary of the embassy, thinking that the author of the "Génie du Christianisme" was peculiarly fitted to make up for his uncle's deficiency of talent in the capital of the Christian world, which was destined to become the second city of the empire.

It was not a little extraordinary to see a man, previously a stranger to diplomatic business, stepping over all the intermediary degrees, and being at once invested with the functions of first secretary to an important embassy. I oftener

than once heard the First Consul congratulate himself on having made the appointment. I knew, though Bonaparte was not aware of the circumstance at the time, that Chateaubriand at first refused the situation, and that he was only induced to accept it by the entreaties of the heads of the clergy, particularly of the Abbé Emery, a man of great influence. They represented to the author of the "*Génie du Christianisme*" that it was necessary he should accompany the uncle of the First Consul to Rome; and M. de Chateaubriand accordingly resolved to do so.

However, clouds gathered, I do not know from what cause, between the ambassador and his secretary. All I know is, that on Bonaparte being informed of the circumstance, he took the part of the Cardinal, and the friends of M. de Chateaubriand expected to see him soon deprived of his appointment; when, to the great astonishment of every one, the secretary to the Roman embassy, far from being disgraced, was raised by the First Consul to the rank of minister plenipotentiary to the Vallais, with leave to travel in Switzerland and Italy, together with the promise of the first vacant embassy.

This favour excited a considerable sensation at the Tuileries; but, as it was known to be the will and pleasure of the First Consul, all expression of opinion on the subject was confined to a few quiet murmurs, that Bonaparte had done for the name of M. de Chateaubriand, what, in fact, he had done only on account of his talent. It

was during the continuance of this favour that the second edition of the "*Génie du Christianisme*" was dedicated to the First Consul.

M. de Chateaubriand returned to France previous to entering on the fulfilment of his new mission. He remained for some months in Paris, and on the day appointed for his departure he went to take leave of the First Consul. By a singular chance it happened to be the fatal morning of the 21st of March, and consequently only a few hours after the Duke d'Enghien had been shot. It is unnecessary to observe that M. de Chateaubriand was ignorant of the fatal event. However, on his return home, he said to his friends that he had remarked a singular change in the appearance of the First Consul, and that there was a sort of sinister expression in his countenance. Bonaparte saw his new minister amidst the crowd who attended the audience, and several times seemed inclined to step forward to speak to him; but as often turned away, and did not approach him the whole morning. A few hours after, when M. de Chateaubriand mentioned his observations to some of his friends, he was made acquainted with the cause of that agitation which, in spite of all his strength of mind and self-command, Bonaparte could not disguise.

M. de Chateaubriand instantly resigned his appointment of minister plenipotentiary to the Vallais. For several days his friends were much alarmed for his safety, and they called every morning early to ascertain whether he had not

been carried off during the night. Their fears were not without foundation. I must confess that I, who knew Bonaparte well, was somewhat surprised that no serious consequence attended the anger he manifested on receiving the resignation of the man who had dedicated his work to him. In fact, there was good reason for apprehension, and it was not without considerable difficulty that Eliza succeeded in averting the threatened storm.

I am persuaded, from my knowledge of Bonaparte's character, that though he retained implacable resentment against a returned emigrant, who had dared to censure his conduct in so positive a manner, yet his first burst of anger being soothed, that which was the cause of hatred was at the same time the ground of esteem. Bonaparte's animosity was, I confess, very natural, for he could not disguise from himself the real meaning of a resignation made under such circumstances. It said plainly, "You have committed a crime, and I will not serve your government, which is stained with the blood of a Bourbon!" I can, therefore, very well imagine that Bonaparte could never pardon the only man who dared give him such a lesson, in the midst of the plenitude of his power. But, as I have often had occasion to remark, there was no accordance between Bonaparte's feelings and his judgment.

CHAPTER III.

Consequences of the Duke d'Enghien's death—Change of opinion in the provinces—The gentry of the chateaux—Effect of the Duke d'Enghien's death on foreign courts—Remarkable words of Mr. Pitt—Louis XVIII sends back the insignia of the Golden Fleece to the King of Spain—Bonaparte and Charlemagne—Pichegru betrayed—His arrest—His conduct to his old aide-de-camp—Account of Pichegru's family, and his education at Brienne—Permission to visit M. Carbonnet—The prisoners in the Temple—Absurd application of the word ruffian—Suspension of the trial by jury—Moreau and the state of public opinion respecting him—Pichegru's firmness.

THE immediate consequences of the Duke d'Enghien's death were not confined to the general consternation which that unjustifiable stroke of state policy produced in the capital. The news spread rapidly through the provinces and foreign countries, and was every where accompanied by astonishment and sorrow. There is in the departments a separate class of society, possessing great influence, and constituted entirely of persons usually called the "Gentry of the Châteaux," who may be said to form the provincial faubourg St. Germain. The opinion of

the Gentry of the Chateaux was not hitherto unfavourable to the First Consul; for the law of hostages which he repealed had been felt very severely by them. With the exception of some families accustomed to consider themselves, in relation to the whole world, what they were only within the circle of a couple of leagues, that is to say, illustrious personages, all the inhabitants of the provinces, though they might retain some attachment to the ancient order of things, had viewed with satisfaction the substitution of the Consular for the Directorial Government, and entertained no personal dislike to the First Consul. Among the Chateaux, more than any where else, it has always been the custom to cherish Utopian ideas respecting the management of public affairs, and to criticise the acts of the government. It is well known, that at this time there was not in all France a single old mansion surmounted by its two weather-cocks, which had not a system of policy peculiar to itself, and in which the question whether the First Consul would play the part of Cromwell or of Monk, was not frequently canvassed. In those innocent controversies, the little news which the Paris papers were allowed to publish was freely discussed, and a confidential letter from Paris sometimes furnished food for the conversation of a whole week. Bonaparte set great value on the opinion of the Chateaux, because while living in the country he had observed the moral influence which their inhabitants exercise over their neighbourhood. He had suc-

ceeded to a great degree in conciliating them, but the news of the death of the Duke d'Enghien alienated from him minds which were still wavering, and even those which had already declared in his favour. That act of tyranny dissolved the charm which had created hope from his government, and awakened affections which had as yet only slumbered. Those to whom this event was almost indifferent, also joined in condemning it; for there are certain aristocratic ideas which are always fashionable in a certain class of society. Thus for different causes this atrocity gave a retrograde direction to public opinion, which had previously been favourably disposed to Bonaparte throughout the whole of France.

The consequences were not less important, and might have been disastrous with respect to foreign courts. I learned through a channel which does not permit to entertain any doubt of the correctness of my information, that as soon as the Emperor Alexander received the news, it was clear that England might conceive a well founded hope of forming a new coalition against France. Alexander openly expressed his indignation. I also learned with equal certainty, that when Mr. Pitt was informed of the death of the French prince, he said, "Bonaparte has now done himself more mischief than we have done him since the last declaration of war." In all the treasury journals published in London, Bonaparte was never spoken of under any other name than that of the "assassin of the Duke d'Enghien."

The stationary policy of the Cabinet of Vienna, prevented the manifestation of its displeasure by remonstrances, or by any outward act; at Berlin in consequence of the neighbourhood of the French troops in Hanover, the commiseration for the death of the Duke d'Enghien, was also confined to the King's cabinet, and more particularly to the closet of the Queen of Prussia; but it is certain that that transaction almost everywhere changed the disposition of sovereigns towards the First Consul, and that if it did not cause, it at least hastened, the success of the negotiations which England was secretly carrying on with Austria and Prussia. Every prince of Germany was offended by the violation of the Grand Duke of Baden's territory, and the death of a prince could not fail everywhere to irritate that kind of sympathy of blood and of race, which had hitherto always influenced the crowned heads and sovereign families of Europe; for it was felt as an injury done to all of them.

When Louis XVIII learned the death of the Duke d'Enghien, he wrote to the King of Spain, returning him the insignia of the order of the Golden Fleece, which had also been conferred on Bonaparte.*

* The king returned the insignia with the following letter :

Sire, and dear Cousin,

It is with regret that I send back to you the insignia of the order of the Golden Fleece, which his majesty, your father, of glorious memory, conferred upon me. There can be nothing in common between me and the great criminal whom audacity and fortune has placed on my

The death of the Duke d'Enghien was a horrible episode in the proceedings of the great trial which was then preparing, and which took place soon after—the accession of Bonaparte to the Imperial dignity. It was not one of the least remarkable anomalies of the epoch, to see the judgment, by which criminal enterprises against the republic were condemned, pronounced in the name of the Emperor who had so evidently destroyed that republic. This anomaly certainly was not removed by the subtlety, by the aid of which he at first declared himself Emperor of the Republic, as a preliminary to his proclaiming himself Emperor of the French. Setting aside the means, it must be acknowledged, that it is impossible not to admire the genius of Bonaparte, his tenacity in advancing towards his object, and that adroit employment of suppleness and audacity, which made him sometimes dare fortune, sometimes avoid difficulties which he found insurmountable, to arrive, not merely at the

throne; since he has had the barbarity to stain himself with the blood of a Bourbon, the Duke d'Enghien.

Religion might make one pardon an assassin, but the tyrant of my people must always be my enemy.

In the present age it is more glorious to merit a sceptre than to possess one.

Providence, for incomprehensible reasons, may condemn me to end my days in exile, but neither my contemporaries, nor posterity, shall ever have it to say, that in the period of adversity, until my latest breath, I showed myself unworthy of occupying the throne of my ancestors.

Louis.

throne of Louis XVI, but at the reconstructed throne of Charlemagne. Since I have mentioned the name of Charlemagne, I shall venture on a short reflection as to the analogy which some have attempted to establish between that great man and Bonaparte, whose greatness I am certainly far from denying. In my opinion an immense difference exists between them. Charlemagne was really superior to his age, which he endeavoured to associate with his glory by advancing it in knowledge, whereas Bonaparte was superior, not to his age, the glory of which he wished to engross, but merely to the men of his age, which is a very different thing. It must however be admitted, that Charlemagne had over Napoleon the advantage of finding a crown already usurped for him by his father.

But it is not my business to reason on history. I shall therefore proceed to relate what I knew at the time, and what I have since learned of the different phases of the trial of Georges, Pichegru, Moreau, and the other persons accused of conspiracy—a trial, to all the proceedings of which I closely attended. From those proceedings I was convinced that Moreau was no conspirator, but at the same time I must confess that it is very probable the First Consul might believe that he had been engaged in the plot, and I am also of opinion, that the real conspirators believed Moreau to be their accomplice and their chief; for the object of the machinations of the police agents

was to create a foundation for such a belief, it being important to the success of their scheme.

It has been stated, that Moreau was arrested on the day after the confessions made by Bouvet de Lozier; Pichegru was taken in consequence of the most infamous treachery of which a man could be guilty. The official police had at last ascertained that he was in Paris, but they could not learn the place of his concealment. The police agents had in vain exerted all their efforts to discover him, when an old friend, who had given him his last asylum, offered to deliver him up for a hundred thousand crowns. This infamous fellow gave an exact description of the chamber which Pichegru occupied in the Rue de Chabanaïs, and in consequence of his information, Comminges, Commissary of Police, proceeded thither, accompanied by some determined men. Precautions were necessary, because it was known that Pichegru was a man of prodigious bodily strength, and that besides, as he possessed the means of defence, he would not allow himself to be taken without making a desperate resistance. The police entered his chamber by using false keys, which the man who had sold him had the baseness to get made for them. A light was burning on his night table. The party of police, directed by Comminges, overturned the table, extinguished the light, and threw themselves on the General, who struggled with all his strength, and cried out loudly. They

were obliged to bind him, and in this state the conqueror of Holland was removed to the Temple, out of which he was destined never to come alive.

It must be owned that Pichegru was far from exciting the same interest as Moreau. The public, and more especially the army, never pardoned him for his negotiations with the Prince of Condé, prior to the 18th Fructidor. However, I became acquainted with a trait respecting him while he was in Paris, which I think does him much honour. A son of M. Lagrenée, formerly director of the French Academy at Rome, had been one of Pichegru's aides-de-camp. This young man, though he had obtained the rank of captain, resigned on the banishment of his General, and resumed the pencil, which he had laid aside for the sword. Pichegru, while he was concealed in Paris, visited his former aide-de-camp, who insisted upon giving him an asylum; but Pichegru positively refused to accept M. Lagrenée's offer, being determined not to compromise a man who had already given him so strong a proof of friendship. I learnt this fact by a singular coincidence. At this period Madame de Bourrienne wished to have a portrait of one of our children: she was recommended to M. Lagrenée, and he related the circumstance to her.

It was on the night of the 22d February, that Pichegru was arrested in the manner I have described. The deceitful friend who gave him up

was named Le Blanc, and he went to settle at Hamburgh with the reward of his treachery. I had entirely lost sight of Pichegru since we left Brienne, for Pichegru was also a pupil of that establishment; but being older than either Bonaparte or I, he was already a tutor when we were only scholars, and I very well recollect that it was he who examined Bonaparte in the four first rules of arithmetic.

Pichegru belonged to an agricultural family of Franche-Comté. He had a relation, a minime, in that country. The minimes, who had the charge of educating the pupils of the military school being very poor, and their poverty not enabling them to hold out much inducement to other persons to assist them, they applied to the minimes of Franche-Comté. In consequence of this application, Pichegru's relations, and some other minimes, repaired to Brienne. An aunt of Pichegru, who was a sister of the order of charity accompanied them, and the care of the infirmary was entrusted to her. This good woman took her nephew to Brienne with her, and he was educated at the school gratuitously. As soon as his age permitted, Pichegru was made a tutor; but all his ambition was to become a minime. He was, however, dissuaded from that pursuit by his relation, and he adopted the military profession. There is this farther remarkable circumstance in the youth of Pichegru, that though he was older by several years than Bonaparte, they

were both made lieutenants of artillery at the same time. What a difference is their destiny ! While the one was preparing to ascend a throne, the other was a solitary prisoner in a dungeon of the Temple.

I had no motive to induce me to visit either the Temple or La Force, but I received at the time circumstantial details of what was passing in them, particularly in the former of those prisons ; I went, however, frequently to St. Pelagie, where M. Carbonnet was confined. As soon as I knew that he was lodged in that prison, I set about getting an admission from Réal, who smoothed all difficulties. M. Carbonnet was detained two months in solitary confinement. He was several times examined, but the interrogatories produced no result, and notwithstanding the desire to implicate him in consequence of the known intimacy between him and Moreau, it was at last found impossible to put him on trial with the other parties accused.

The Temple had more terrors than St. Pelagie ; but not for the prisoners who were committed to it, for none of those illustrious victims of police machination displayed any weakness, with the exception of Bouvet de Lozier, who being sensible of his weakness, wished to prevent its consequences by death. The public, however, kept their attention rivetted on the prison in which Moreau was confined. I have already mentioned that Pichegru was conveyed thither on the night

of the 22d February : five days after Georges was arrested, and committed to the same prison.

Either Réal or Desmarets, and sometimes both together, repaired to the Temple to examine the prisoners. In vain the police endeavoured to direct public odium against the prisoners, by placarding lists of their names through the whole of Paris, even before they were arrested. In those lists they were styled *ruffians*, and at the head of "the ruffians," the name of General Moreau shone conspicuously. An absurdity without parallel, which produced an effect totally opposite to that calculated on, for as no person could connect the idea of a ruffian with that of a Général who was the object of public esteem, it was naturally concluded, that those whose names were placarded along with his, were no more ruffians than he.

What, upon reflection, must now be thought of the sudden suspension of the law which regulated judicial proceedings, and which was still in force at the time the secret police allowed the official police to discover the conspiracy? For my part, I was overwhelmed with grief to observe Bonaparte thus giving to all the measures of his government an arbitrary character; for can we view it in any other light than an arbitrary act, the suspension of trial by jury for two whole years, accomplished by the aid of a complaisant *Senatus Consultum*, promulgated twelve days after the arrest of Moreau? This suspension too applied only to a particular case, and the jury remained for all

offences, except for attempts against the person of the First Consul. So we see, that had the lives of the Second or Third Consul been attacked, the judgment of a jury would have been required; but the First Consul forsooth must have a special tribunal, or in other words, a tribunal, the sentences of which were to be decrees of death! It would have been just as well to have re-established at once the old law of high treason! The *Senatus Consultum* of which I have spoken, received on the day after an extension which was natural to it. A law was passed, assimilating to Georges and his accomplices, whoever might have given any of them an asylum, and rendering such persons liable to the same punishment. This was a legislation worthy of the darkest ages!

Public opinion was decidedly in favour of Moreau, and every one was indignant at seeing him described as a ruffian. Far from believing him guilty, he was regarded as a victim fastened on because his reputation embarrassed Bonaparte; for Moreau had always been looked up to as capable of opposing the accomplishment of the First Consul's ambitious views. The whole crime of Moreau was his having numerous partizans among those who still clung to the phantom of the republic, and that crime was unpardonable in the eyes of the First Consul, who for two years had ruled the destinies of France as a sovereign master. What means were not employed to mislead the opinion of the public respecting Moreau? The police published pamphlets

of all sorts, and Count Montguillard was brought from Lyons to draw up a libel, implicating him with Pichegru and the exiled princes. But nothing that was done produced the effect expected with respect to Moreau.

The easy character of Moreau is known. In fact he allowed himself to be circumvented by a few intrigues, who endeavoured to derive advantage from the influence of his name. But he was so decidedly opposed to the re-establishment of the ancient system, that he replied to one of the agents who addressed him: "I cannot put myself at the head of any movement for the Bourbons, and such an attempt would not succeed. If Pichegru act on another principle—and even in that case I have told him that the Consuls, and the Governor of Paris must disappear—I believe that I have a party strong enough in the Senate to obtain possession of authority, and I will immediately make use of it to protect his friends; public opinion will then dictate what may be fit to be done, but I will promise nothing in writing." Admitting these words attributed to Moreau to be true, they prove that he was dissatisfied with the Consular government, and that he wished a change; but there is a great difference between a conditional wish and a conspiracy.

The commander of the principal guard of the Temple was General Savary, and he had reinforced that guard by his select gendarmery. The prisoners did not dare to communicate one with

another for fear of mutually compromising themselves, but all evinced a courage which created no little alarm as to the consequences of the trial. Neither offers nor threats produced any confessions in the course of the interrogatories. Pichegru in particular displayed an extraordinary firmness, and Réal one day on leaving the chamber where he had been examining him, said aloud in the presence of several persons :—"What a man that Pichegru is."

CHAPTER IV.

Pichegru strangled in prison—Public opinion at the time—Voluntary errors of Rovigo — Report on the death of Pichegru — Words falsely attributed to Réal—Pichegru's suicide doubted—Moreau's ignorance of Pichegru's designs.—M.M. Carbonnet, Rolland, and Lajolais.

FORTY days had elapsed since the arrest of General Pichegru, when on the morning of the 6th April he was found dead in the chamber he occupied in the Temple. Pichegru had undergone ten examinations; but he had made no confessions, and no person was compromised by his replies. All his declarations, however, gave reason to believe that he would speak out, and that too in a lofty and energetic manner, during the progress of the trial. "When I am before my judges," said he, "my language shall be conformable to truth and the interests of my country." What would that language have been? Without doubt there was no wish that it should be heard. Pichegru would have kept his promise, for he was distinguished for

his firmness of character above every thing, even his qualities as a soldier, differing, in this respect, from Moreau, who allowed himself to be guided by his wife and mother in law, both of whom displayed ridiculous pretensions in their visits to Madame Bonaparte.

The day on which Réal spoke before several persons of Pichegru in the way I have related, was the day of his last examination. I afterwards learned, from a source on which I can rely, that during his examination, Pichegru, though careful to say nothing which could affect the other prisoners, showed no disposition to be tender of him, who had sought and resolved his death, but evinced a firm resolution to unveil before the public, the odious machinery of the plot into which the police had drawn him. He also declared, that he and his companions had no longer any object but to consider of the means of leaving Paris, with the view of escaping from the snares laid for them, when their arrest took place. He declared that they had all of them given up the idea of overturning the power of Bonaparte, a scheme into which they had been enticed by shameful intrigues. I am convinced the dread excited by his manifestation of a resolution to speak out with the most rigid candour, hastened the death of Pichegru. M. Réal, who is still living, knows better than any one else what were Pichegru's declarations as he interrogated him. I know not whether that gentleman will think

fit, either at the present or some future period, to raise the veil of mystery which hangs over these events, but of this I am sure, he will be unable to deny any thing I advance. There is evidence almost amounting to demonstration, that Pichegru was strangled in prison, and consequently all idea of suicide must be rejected as inadmissible. Have I positive and substantive proof of what I assert? I have not; but the concurrence of facts, and the weight of probabilities, leave me not in possession of the doubts I should wish to entertain on that tragic event. Besides there exists a certain popular instinct, which is rarely in fault, and it must be in the recollection of many, not only that the general opinion favoured the notion of Pichegru's assassination, but that the pains taken to give that opinion another direction, by the affected exhibition of the body, only served to strengthen it. He who spontaneously says, I have not committed such or such a crime, at least admits there is room for suspecting his guilt.

I have read, with the most earnest attention, all that has been written on the death of Pichegru. In vain have I sought for the real truth in the Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo: I have not even found her shadow there. How, for instance, could M. de Rovigo assert that an officer belonging to his regiment, who was on duty at the Temple, came to the Tuileries, on the 6th April, at eight o'clock in the morning,

and told him of Pichegru's death, when it is notorious that the jailor did not enter the general's room until nine o'clock? If this be an inadvertency, it must be confessed it is an inexplicable one. How, again, in speaking of Pichegru's violent death, whatever had been its cause, could he see nothing in it but a singular fact? Surely it was something more than a singular fact. But I shall neither employ myself in the discovery nor the refutation of M. de Rovigo's assertions, nor in the correction of his errors, for they are voluntary. * It is too evident, that endowed with a posthumous zeal, perhaps unexampled, he has made his Memoirs nothing else than a long panegyric on every thing done by Bonaparte, many of whose actions were, without doubt, grand, immense, even generous, such as make a great shew in history; but he committed others, from the odium of which he cannot be absolved, and among these I include, without hesitation, but not without reflection, the death of Pichegru. On this, no more than on other points, do I feel inclined to credit the assertions made by Bonaparte at St. Helena.

The truth is, the tide of opinion never set in with such force against Bonaparte as during the trial of Moreau; nor was the popular sentiment in error on the subject of the death of Pichegru, who was clearly strangled in the Temple by secret agents. The authors, the actors, and the witnesses of the horrible prison scenes

of the period, are the only persons capable of removing the doubts which still hang over the death of Pichegru: but I must, nevertheless, contend that the preceding circumstances, the general belief at the time, and even probability, are in contradiction with any idea of suicide on the part of Pichegru. His death was considered necessary, and this necessity was its real cause.

I know from Réal, that Pichegru underwent an examination which was never made public. He made no observation, except declaring as I have already stated, that he would speak out before the tribunal, that he would charge and denounce the guilty, and that he would tell the whole truth, while he manifested his sentiments in favour of the government of the Bourbons. Pichegru unfolded the perfidious artifices by which he and his fellow prisoners had been betrayed. He added, that what was passing at Paris had at length opened their eyes. The facility with which the three landings were effected, without any notice taken of the two first; the resting stations previously marked out with care on their route, in which they did not meet the slightest interruption: the false intelligence they had received, and the non-existence of that feeling which they had been led to suppose prevailed at Paris: their journey evidently protected by the intrigues of a secret and mysterious police, and which could not, without that protection, have escaped the vigi-

lance of the official police ; their places of abode at Paris known previously, instead of being sought after ; these circumstances had undeceived Pichegru. He gave no information, nor, made confession ; he neither accused nor blamed any person ; but he had rushed blindly into the plot formed for him.*

* The following are a few extracts from the Report of the Examination of Pichegru's body, which took place on the 16th April, 1804 :

"The body had round the neck a black silk handkerchief, through which was passed a stick about forty centimetres (nearly sixteen inches) long, and from four to five (two or three inches) in circumference, which after being twisted round in the handkerchief, was stopped by the left cheek, against which one of its extremities rested, and which had produced a strangulation sufficient to occasion death."

In the same report the surgeons state, that they had afterwards remarked that in "turning the stick by an irregular movement, it had made on the cheek a scratch about six centimetres long, extending from the os malæ to the concha of the left ear."

A gendarme, named Sirot, next declares, "that being on duty as a sentinel outside of the Temple near Pichegru's apartment, he several times heard a coughing and spitting in the said apartment, and that he thought he could perceive from the manner of the coughing and spitting, that a person was suffering from oppression, but having heard nothing more of it, he did not think it necessary to give any alarm."

One Lapointe, who was employed in the court of the Temple, declares "that having slept from midnight until four in the morning, he heard nothing."

Fauconnier declares "that at half-past seven in the morning, citizen Popon, the turnkey on duty, informed him that he had lighted a fire in Pichegru's chamber, and that he was surprised at his not stirring." He added, "that he took the key of Pichegru's apartment at ten o'clock on the preceding night, after giving the General his supper ; that it remained in his pocket until he lighted the fire."

It was at the time a very awkward contrivance to attribute the following words to Réal : "Well, though nothing is more clear than this suicide, it will be in vain to try to convince people ; it will always be said that he was strangled, because he could not be proved guilty." Réal never said any such thing.

It is not my intention to justify those who took part in that conspiracy; under any circumstances the crime must be condemned. But if the police secretly instigated and fostered criminal designs, until the time arrived when it was convenient to check the explosion; if the police basely and artfully flattered the hopes of men hostile to the government, indignation diminishes by reason of the means employed to excite it.

The conspirators yielded to illusions and temptations inspired by those who were to profit by the plot, and who could defeat it whenever they thought fit so to do. This fact must be evident to all who have attentively, and without prejudice, noted the particulars of the trial.

Why, after the death of Pichegru, should profound silence have been observed respecting his interrogatory? Why, indeed, should he have committed suicide? Had he not the chance of being acquitted? And, even if found guilty, he might after his condemnation have eluded the sentence of the law. Why should he have waited until after his tenth interrogatory, if his suicide were the effect of a resolution previously formed? The means which he is said to have employed to deprive himself of life, would still have been within his reach had he been condemned. There is another circumstance which powerfully tends to banish the idea of suicide, viz: that Pichegru never abandoned the religious sentiments he had imbibed in his childhood.

False friends had declared to men blinded by passion, that the Senate and Moreau counted on each other to effect a change; but Moreau assured Pichegru he had been deceived; that he knew nothing of the circumstances which had induced him to come from England to France; that it was mere madness, and that the project of overthrowing the government was impracticable and absurd. In this way Moreau invariably replied to the questions and overtures that were made to him.

M. Carbonnet, the friend of Moreau's family, was in the General's library on the day when Pichegru came to call on him. Pichegru was accompanied by Roland and Lajolais. M. Carbonnet withdrew, to allow them to speak with Moreau, and when they were gone, the General himself told M. Carbonnet who they were. I was informed of this circumstance by M.^e Carbonnet.

CHAPTER III.

Arrest of Georges—The fruiterer's daughter of the Rue de la Montagne-Sainte-Geneviève—Louis Bonaparte's visit to the Temple—General Lauriston—Arrest of Villeneuve and Barco—Villeneuve wounded—Moreau during his imprisonment—Preparations for leaving the Temple—Remarkable change in Georges—His address to his companions—Addresses and congratulations—Words of the First Consul forgotten—Secret negotiations with the Senate—Official proposition of Bonaparte's elevation to the Empire—Sitting of the Tribunal—Speech of Curée—Sitting of the Council of State—Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely—Question of hereditary succession—Berlier's opposition—Regnault's reply—Interference of Bonaparte—Individual votes—Seven against twenty—*His* subjects and *his* people.

WHILE the legal proceedings were pending, Bonaparte was acting upon Fouché's advice, to hurry his accession to the Empire, and means were clandestinely adopted to obtain that object. Before I speak of this immense change in the fortune of Bonaparte and the destiny of France, I must return to the arrest of Georges, who, throughout all the circumstances of the trial, evinced true heroism of character. He was arrested about seven o'clock, on the evening of the 9th of March, with another conspirator, whose name, I think, was Leridan.

Georges was stopped in a cabriolet on the Place de l'Odéon, whither he had no doubt been directed by the police agent, who was constantly about him. In not seizing him at his lodgings, the object, probably, was to give more publicity to his arrest, and to produce an effect upon the mind of the multitude. This calculation cost the life of one man, and had well nigh sacrificed the lives of two ; for Georges, who constantly carried arms about him, first shot dead the police officer, who seized the horse's reins, and wounded another who advanced to arrest him in the cabriolet. Besides his pistols, there was found upon him a poignard of English manufacture.

Georges lodged with a woman named Lemoine, who kept a fruiterer's shop in the Rue de la Montagne-Sainte-Geneviève, and on the evening of the 9th of March he had just left his lodgings to go, it was said, to a perfumer's named Caron. It is difficult to suppose that the circumstance of the police being on the spot was the mere effect of chance. The fruiterer's daughter was putting into the cabriolet a parcel belonging to Georges at the moment of his arrest. Georges seeing the officers advance to seize him, desired the girl to get out of the way, fearing lest he should shoot her when he fired on the officers. She ran into a neighbouring house taking the parcel along with her. The police, it may readily be supposed, were soon after her. The master of the house in which she had taken refuge, curious to know what the parcel contained, had opened it

and discovered, among other things, a bag containing a thousand Dutch sovereigns, from which he acknowledged he had abstracted a considerable sum. He and his wife, as well as the fruiterer's daughter, were all arrested; as to Georges, he was taken that same evening to the Temple, where he remained until his removal to the Conciergerie when the trial commenced.

During the whole of the legal proceedings, Georges, as well as the other important prisoners, was kept in solitary confinement. Immediately on Pichegru's death, the prisoners were informed of the circumstance. As they were all acquainted with the General, and none believed the fact of his reported suicide, it may easily be conceived what consternation and horror the tragical event excited among them. I learned, and I was sorry to hear of it, that Louis Bonaparte, who was an excellent man, and, beyond all comparison, the best of the family, had the cruel curiosity to see Georges in his prison a few days after the death of Pichegru; and when the sensation of horror excited by that event in the interior of the Temple was at its height, Louis repaired to the prison, accompanied by a brilliant escort of staff-officers, and General Savary introduced him to the prisoners. When Louis arrived Georges was lying on his bed with his hands strongly bound by manacles. Lauriston, who accompanied Louis, related to me some of the particulars of this visit, which, in spite of his sincere devotedness to the First Consul, he assured me had been very painful to him.

After the arrest of Georges there were still some individuals marked out as accomplices in the conspiracy, who had found means to elude the search of the police. The persons last arrested were, I think, Villeneuve, one of the principal confidants of Georges, Burban Malabre, who went by the name of Barco, and Charles d'Hozier. They were not taken till five days after the arrest of the Duke d'Enghien. The famous Commissioner Comminges, accompanied by an inspector, and a detachment of gendarmes of the select legion, found Villeneuve and Burban Malabre in the house of a man named Dubuission, in the Rue Jean-Robert..

This Dubuission and his wife had sheltered some of the principal persons proscribed by the police. The Messieurs de Polignac and M. de Rivière had lodged with them. When the police came to arrest Villeneuve and Burban Malabre, the people with whom they lodged declared that they had gone away in the morning. The officers, however, searched the house, and discovered a secret door within a closet. They called, and receiving no answer, the gendarmerie had recourse to one of those expedients which were, unfortunately, too familiar to them. They fired a pistol through the door. Villeneuve, who went by the name of Joyau, was wounded in the arm, which obliged him and his companion to come from the place of their concealment, and they were then made prisoners.

Moreau was not treated in the Temple with the

degree of rigour observed towards the other prisoners. Indeed, it would not have been safe so to treat him, for, even in his prison he received the homage and respect of all the military, not excepting even those who were his guards. Many of these soldiers had served under him, and it could not be forgotten how much he was beloved by the troops he had commanded. He did not possess that irresistible charm which in Bonaparte excited attachment; but, his mildness of temper and excellent character inspired love and respect. It was the general opinion in Paris that a single word from Moreau to the soldiers, in whose custody he was placed, would, in a moment, have converted the gaoler-guard into a guard of honour, ready to execute all that might be required for the safety of the conqueror of Hohenlinden. Perhaps the respect with which he was treated, and the indulgence of daily seeing his wife and child, were but artful calculations for keeping him within the limits of his usual character. Besides, Moreau was so confident of the injustice of the charge brought against him that he was calm and resigned, and shewed no disposition to rouse the anger of an enemy who would have been happy to have some real accusation against him. To these causes combined I always attributed the resignation, and I may say the indifference of Moreau, while he was in prison, and during the trial.

When the legal preparations for the trial were ended, the prisoners of the Temple were permitted to communicate with each other, and

viewing their fate with that indifference which youth, misfortune and courage inspired, they amused themselves with some of those games which usually serve for boyish recreation. While they were thus engaged, the order arrived for their removal to the Conciergerie. The firmness of all remained unshaken, and they made their preparations for departure as if they were going about any ordinary business. This fortitude was particularly remarkable in Georges, in whose manner a change had taken place, which was remarked by all his companions in misfortune.

Georges had, hitherto, betrayed a certain degree of bravado; he had ridiculed the republic, Bonaparte and his agents, and had displayed the cynism of courage rather than that solemn resignation which distinguished the last moments of Louis XVI, and Malesherbes. On leaving the Temple, however, he suspended his bitter sarcasms and violent invectives; I say suspended, for it will be seen that during the trial, he more than once broke through the limits which he appeared to have traced out for himself on his departure for the Conciergerie. When his companions were assembled in the court-yard of the Temple, he harangued them, recommending them to be prudent and to say nothing to compromise each other. "When," said he, "you feel your courage fail, look at me, and think that I am with you; think that my fate will be yours. Yes, my dear friends, our fate cannot be different, and that consideration should encourage and

cheer us. Let us then be kind and indulgent towards each other. Let our common fate give new force to our affection. Let us not look back on the past: we are now as God willed we should be. With our dying breath, let us offer up a prayer that our country may be released from the yoke that weighs upon her, and become happy under the paternal sceptre of the Bourbons. Let us never forget that the prison that we are now about to quit, is that which Louis XVI left only to mount the scaffold. May his sublime example enlighten and guide us!"

For some time past, the agents of government throughout France had been instructed to solicit the First Consul to grant for the people what the people did not want; but what Bonaparte wished to take while he appeared to yield to the general will, namely, unlimited sovereign authority, free from any subterfuge of denomination. The opportunity of the great conspiracy just discovered, and in which Bonaparte had not incurred a moment's danger, as he did at the time of the infernal machine, was not suffered to escape: that opportunity was, on the contrary, eagerly seized by the authorities of every rank, civil, ecclesiastical and military, and a torrent of addresses, congratulations and thanksgivings inundated the Tuileries. Most of the authors of these addresses did not confine themselves to mere congratulations: they entreated Bonaparte to *consolidate his work*, the true meaning of which was that it was time he should make himself Em-

peror and establish hereditary succession. Those who, on other occasions, had shewn an officious readiness to execute Bonaparte's commands, did not now fear to risk his displeasure by opposing the opinion he had expressed in the Council of State, on the discussion of the question of the consulate for life. Bonaparte then said, "Hereditary succession is absurd. It is irreconcilable with the principle of the sovereignty of the people, and impossible in France."

In this scene of the grand drama, Bonaparte played his part with his accustomed talent, keeping himself in the back ground, and leaving to others the task of preparing the catastrophe. The Senate, who took the lead in the way of insinuation, did not fail while congratulating the First Consul on his escape from the plots of foreigners, or as they were officially styled, the daggers of England, to conjure him not to delay the completion of his work. Six days after the death of the Duke d'Enghien, the Senate first expressed this wish. Either because Bonaparte began to repent of a useless crime, and felt the ill effect it must produce on the public mind, or because he found the language of the Senate somewhat vague, he left the address nearly a month unanswered, and then only replied by the request that the intention of the address might be more completely expressed. These negotiations between the Senate and the head of the government, were not immediately published. Bonaparte did not like publicity except for what

had arrived at a result: but, to attain the result, which was the object of his ambition, it was necessary that the project which he was maturing should be introduced in the tribunate, and the tribune Curée had the honour to be the first to propose officially the conversion of the consular republic into an empire, and the elevation of Bonaparte to the title of Emperor, with the rights of hereditary succession.

Curée developed his proposition to the tribunate in the sitting of the 30th of April. At that memorable sitting, which became the general subject of conversation in Paris and elsewhere, I was present. Curée commenced by describing all the evils which had overwhelmed France during the various governments which had succeeded each other since the constituent assembly. He reproached that assembly with what he termed the serious error of not having changed the dynasty of the Bourbons when changing the form of the French government. He alleged that no Prince of that family would ever have honestly consented to consider himself King of the French, but would always have wished to reign over France in virtue of family and feudal rights. Then tracing a picture of the horrors of the convention and the turpitude of the Directory, he came to the 18th Brumaire, which he represented as a day of deliverance. He described Bonaparte as being as great a statesman as a warrior, and sought to persuade his auditory that the intention of the constituent assembly would be rea-

lised by Bonaparte's accession to the throne, which, he said, was the only means of consolidating the liberties of France. After dwelling upon the advantage of hereditary succession, in the supreme magistracy, he observed that it was proper to give a great name to a great power, and that for the head of the *national* power, he knew of no title more worthy the splendour of the nation than the title of the Emperor. He concluded thus : " I move that we convey to the Senate a wish which is cherished by the whole nation, and which has for its object, first, that Napoleon Bonaparte, now First Consul, be declared Emperor, and under that title continue at the head of the government of the French republic ; second, that the imperial dignity be declared hereditary in his family ; third, that those of our institutions which are as yet only traced out, be definitely determined." The members of the tribunate who spoke after M. Curée, eagerly enlarged upon all that had been said by the author, or rather the *producer* of the proposition which had so evidently emanated from him to whom it was finally to return. The speeches were, in short, a succession of eulogies on Bonaparte.

If any doubts could exist respecting the complaisant part which Curée acted on this occasion, one circumstance would suffice to remove them ; that is, that ten days before the developement of his proposition, Bonaparte had caused the question of founding the empire and establishing

hereditary succession in his family to be secretly discussed in the council of state. I learned from one of the counsellors of state all that passed on that occasion, and I may remark, that Cambacérès shewed himself particularly eager in the council of state, as well as afterwards in the Senate, to become the exalted subject of him who had been his first colleague in the consulate.

About the middle of April, the council of state, being assembled as for an ordinary sitting, the First Consul, who was frequently present at the sittings, did not appear. Cambacérès arrived and took the presidency in his quality of Second Consul, and it was remarked, that his air was more solemn than usual, though he at all times affected gravity. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely gave me an account of this sitting. He had an easy flow of elocution, great conversational power, little depth of talent; but considerable tact in digesting the ideas that were given him. M. de Fontanes possessed the same sort of merit combined with more real knowledge. However, when I was with Bonaparte, I recollect he often used to say that he preferred the compositions of Regnault to those of any other, except Rœderer, who, however, to use his own expression, "hastened too rapidly to his object."

Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely was not without ambition; but he did not sacrifice every thing to it. He was devoted to the First Consul less from interest than from conviction. He was unstained by the crimes of the revolution, and

he expressed himself with perfect propriety respecting the death of the Duke d'Enghien. He was not a stranger to the sentiments which prevailed in the family to which he had allied himself; but he was so blinded by enthusiasm as to believe that the foundation of the empire would be in France the foundation of that reasonable representative government for which he was an advocate. When Regnault spoke to me according to his own belief on this subject I let him speak on because my situation did not permit me to enter into any discussion with him; but I recollect that in 1814 we had a conversation in which, while he manifested his attachment to the Emperor he acknowledged that he had been deceived.

The following is what I heard from Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely respecting the famous secret sitting in which he took the lead:—"It is long," said he, "since all reasonable men, all true friends of their country, have wished that the First Consul should make himself Emperor and re-establish in favour of his family, the old principle of hereditary succession. It is the only means of securing permanency to the new fortunes and to the men whom merit has raised to high offices. The republic, which I loved passionately while I detested the crimes of the revolution, is now, in my eyes, a mere Utopia. The First Consul has convinced me that he wishes to possess supreme power only to render France great, free, and happy and to protect her against the fury of factions. He asked me to bring forward the ques-

tion in the council and I did not hesitate to do so. After Cambacérès had explained what was to be the object of the sitting and had invited us to deviate from the usual solemnity of our sittings, and assemble for a private deliberation, he retired, and I immediately proposed the question which all the members of the council expected. I put it thus:—"Is it proper to make hereditary succession the basis of the government of France?"

My memory does not enable me any further to quote the words of M. de Saint-Jean d'Angely; but, I recollect perfectly the purport of what he said. He spoke, first, on the question he had proposed, and of course resolved it affirmatively. He represented hereditary power as the only means of preventing the shocks and disorders which always accompany the elevation of a supreme magistrate to an elective throne.

Regnault acknowledged that his proposition was not adopted without being opposed:—"Fourcroy," said he, "concurred with me; but Berlier manifested violent opposition. Berlier, indeed, betrayed, a truly republican austerity. He called to mind the *Senatus Consultum* which had foreseen the case of vacancy in the first magistracy and traced the course to be pursued in providing a successor to the First Consul. He said he did not see any reason for considering as insufficient, that which eighteen months before had been considered sufficient to conciliate public tranquillity with the wants of society. With hereditary succession, added Berlier, we shall retain nothing

of that republican constitution for which France has exhausted her treasure and sacrificed millions of lives. I do not think the French people disposed to renounce the remnant they still possess of a blessing so dearly purchased." Berlier dwelt on the equivocal situation in which the principle of hereditary monarchy would place those who, in different degrees, had proved themselves partizans of the revolution. He said, they would justly become objects of ridicule and contempt to the royalists, who might reproach them with building up what they had pulled down. To this objection Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely replied, that the man whom France called to the head of her government was himself, a child of that revolution whose rights he would cause to be respected and who was, besides, strong enough to prevent one party from triumphing over another.

Some other counsellors of state spoke on the same side as Berlier; but less forcibly and positively. However, the partizans of hereditary succession were the majority and resolved to present an address to the First Consul. Those of the counsellors who opposed this, determined, on their part to send a counter address; and to avoid this clashing of opinions. Bonaparte signified his wish that each member of the council should send him his opinion individually, with his signature affixed. By a singular accident it happened to be Berlier's task to present to the First Consul the separate opinions of the council. Out

of the twenty seven counsellors present, only seven opposed the question. Bonaparte received them all most graciously, and told them among other things that he wished for hereditary power only for the benefit of France ; that the citizens would never be *his subjects*, and that the French people would never be *his people*. Such were the preliminaries to the official proposition of Curée to the Tribune and upon reflection it was decided that as all opposition would be useless and perhaps dangerous to the opposing party, the minority should join the majority. This was accordingly done.

CHAPTER IV.

Appropriateness of the title of Emperor.—Communications between Bonaparte and the Senate.—Bonaparte first called *Sire* by Cambacérès.—First letter signed by Napoleon as Emperor.—Grand levee at the Tuileries.—Napoleon's address to the Imperial Guard.—Organic Senatus Consultum.—Revival of old formulas and titles.—The republicanism of Lucien.—The Spanish Princess.—Lucien's clandestine marriage.—The Oath of the Legion of Honour.—Harangues on Bonaparte's accession to the Empire.—Bonaparte's influence on the German Princes.—Intrigues of England.—Drake at Munich.—Project for overthrowing Bonaparte's government.—Circular from the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Members of the Diplomatic Body.—Answers to that circular.

THE tribunate having adopted the proposition of Curée, there was no longer any motive for concealing the first overtures of the Senate. Its address to the First Consul was therefore published forty days after its date : *the pear was then ripe*. This period is so important that I must not omit putting together the most remarkable facts which either came within my own observation, or which I have since learned respecting the foundation of the Empire.

Bonaparte had a long time before, spoken to me of the title of Emperor as being the most appropriate for the new sovereignty which he wished to found in France. This, he observed, was not restoring the old system entirely, and he dwelt

much on its being the title which Cæsar had borne. He often said :—" One may be the Emperor of a Republic, but not the King of a Republic, those two terms are incongruous."

In its first address the Senate had taken as text the documents it had received from the government relative to the intrigues of Drake who had been sent from England to Munich. That text afforded the opportunity for a vague expression of what the senate termed the necessities of France. To give greater solemnity to the affair, the senate proceeded in a body to the Tuileries, and one thing which gave a peculiar character to the preconcerted advances of the Senate was that Cambacérès, the Second Consul fulfilled his functions of president on this occasion, and delivered the address to the First Consul. Speaking in the name of the senate he said, among other things, that at sight of the danger from which Providence had delivered the hero destined to fulfil her designs, the first observation which naturally arose was that to meditate the destruction of the First Consul, was to meditate the destruction of France. " The English and the emigrants," added he, " know that your destiny is the destiny of the French people. Had their execrable projects succeeded, they are little aware of the vengeance which the people would have taken." The Senate next regretted the generous confidence which had prevented the First Consul from creating a national jury to decide on the attempts upon his life. But even this national jury did not ap-

pear sufficient in the eyes of the Senate, who pretended to be the interpreter of public opinion.—“ Give us,” said they to Bonaparte, “ institutions so combined that their system will survive you. You will found a new æra, but you must eternize it: glory is nothing unless it be permanent. We cannot doubt that this idea has occurred to you; for your creative genius embraces every thing; but do not delay. You are urged by time, by events, by conspiracy If you could interrogate every Frenchman individually the one after the other, there is not one who would not say as we do: Great man, finish your work, by rendering it immortal like your glory. You have extricated us from the chaos of the past;—you enable us to enjoy the blessings of the present;—guarantee to us the future.”—Such flattery as this was of course irresistible.

However the First Consul thought the address of the Senate, which, I have been informed, was drawn up by François de Neufchâteau, was not expressed with sufficient clearness; he, therefore, after suffering a little interval to elapse, sent a message to the Senate signed by himself, in which he said :—“ Your address has been the object of my earnest consideration.” (And though the address contained no mention of hereditary succession he added): “ You consider the hereditary succession of the supreme magistracy necessary to defend the French people against the plots of our enemies, and the agitation arising from rival ambitions. At the same time several of our institutions

appear to you to require improvement so as to ensure the triumph of equality and public liberty and to offer to the nation and the government the double guarantee it requires." From the subsequent passages of the message, it will be sufficient to extract the following: "We have been constantly guided by this great truth: that the sovereignty dwells with the French people, and that it is for their interest; happiness and glory that the supreme magistracy, the Senate, the legislative body, the Electoral Colleges and the different branches of the government are, and must be instituted." The omission of the tribunate in this enumeration is somewhat remarkable. It announced a promise which was speedily realized.

The will of Bonaparte being thus expressed in his message to the Senate that body which was created; to preserve the institutions consecrated by the constitution of the year 8, had no alternative but to submit to the intentions manifested by the First Consul. The reply to the message was therefore, merely a counterpart of the message itself. It positively declared that hereditary government was essential to the happiness, the glory and the prosperity of France and that that government could be confided only to Bonaparte and his family. While the senate so complaisantly played its part in this well got up piece, yet, the better to impose on the credulity of the multitude, its reply, like Bonaparte's message, resounded with the words liberty and equality. Indeed, it was impudently asserted in that reply that Bonaparte's accession to hereditary power

would be a certain guarantee for the liberty of the press, a liberty which Bonaparte held in the greatest horror, and without which all other liberty is but vain illusion.

By this reply of the Senate, the most important step was performed. There now remained merely ceremonies to regulate, and formulas to fill up. These various arrangements occasioned a delay of a fortnight. And on the 18th of May Napoleon was for the first time greeted by the appellation of *Sire* by his former colleague Cambacérès, who at the head of the Senate went to present to the new Emperor, the organic *Senatus Consultum*, relative to the foundation of the empire. Napoleon was at Saint-Cloud, whither the Senate proceeded in state. After the speech of Cambacérès in which the old designation of Majesty was for the first time revived, the Emperor replied :—

“ All that can contribute to the welfare of the country is essentially connected with my happiness. I accept the title which you believe to be conducive to the glory of the nation. I submit to the sanction of the people, the law of hereditary succession. I hope that France will never repent the honours she may confer on my family. At all events, my spirit will not be with my posterity when they cease to merit the confidence and love of the great nation.”

Cambacérès next went to congratulate the Empress, and thus was realized to Josephine the prediction which I had made to her three years before at Malmaison.

Bonaparte's first act as Emperor, on the very

day of his elevation to the imperial throne, was the nomination of Joseph to the dignity of Grand Elector, with the title of Imperial Highness. Louis was raised to the dignity of Constable, with the same title, and Cambacérès and Le Brun were created Arch Chancellor and Arch Treasurer of the empire. On the same day Bonaparte wrote the following letter to Cambacérès, the first which he signed as Emperor, and merely with the name of Napoleon.

“Citizen Consul Cambacérès, your title has changed; but your functions and my confidence remain the same. In the high dignity with which you are now invested, you will continue to manifest, as you have hitherto done, in that of Consul, that wisdom, and that distinguished talent, which entitle you to so important a share in all the good which I may have effected. I have, therefore, only to desire the continuance of the sentiments you cherish towards the state and me.

“Given at the Palace of St. Cloud, 28th Floreal, year 12.

“NAPOLÉON.

“By the Emperor.

“H. B. MARET.”

I have quoted this first letter of the Emperor, because it is characteristic of Bonaparte's art in managing transitions. It was to the Citizen Consul that the Emperor addressed himself, and it was dated according to the republican calendar.

That calendar, together with the delusive inscription on the coin, were all that now remained of the republic. Next day the Emperor came to Paris to hold a grand levee at the Tuileries, for he was not the man to postpone the gratification the vanity derived from his new dignity and title. The assembly was more numerous and brilliant than on any former occasion. Bessières having addressed the Emperor on the part of the guards, the Emperor replied in the following terms :—" I know the sentiments the guards cherish towards me. I repose perfect confidence in their courage and fidelity. I constantly see with renewed pleasure, companions in arms, who have escaped so many dangers, and are covered with so many honourable wounds. I experience a sentiment of satisfaction when I look at the guards, and think that there has not for the last fifteen years been a battle in which some of them have not taken part."

On the same day, all the generals and colonels in Paris were presented to the Emperor by Louis Bonaparte, who had already begun to exercise his functions of constable. In a few days every thing assumed a new aspect; but in spite of the admiration which was openly expressed, the Parisians secretly ridiculed the new courtiers. This greatly displeased Bonaparte, who was very charitably informed of it in order to check his prepossession in favour of the men of the old court, such as the Count de Ségur, and, at a later period, Count Louis de Narbonne.

To give all possible solemnity to his accession, Napoleon ordered that the Senate itself should proclaim in Paris the organic *Senatus Consultum* which entirely changed the constitution of the state. By one of those anomalies which I have frequently had occasion to remark, the Emperor fixed for this ceremony, Sunday, the 30th Floréal. That day was a festival in all Paris, while the unfortunate prisoners were languishing in the dungeons of the Temple.

On the day after Bonaparte's accession, the old formulas were restored. The Emperor determined that the French Princes and Princess should receive the title of Imperial Highness; that his sisters should take the same title; that the grand dignitaries of the empire should be called Serene Highnesses; that the princes and titularies of the grand dignitaries should be addressed by the title of *Monseigneur*; that M. Maret, the Secretary of State, should have the rank of Minister; that the ministers should retain the title of Excellency, to which should be added that of *Monseigneur* in the petitions addressed to them; and that the title of Excellency should be given to the president of the Senate.

At the same time Napoleon appointed the First Marshals of the empire, and determined that they should be called *Monsieur le Maréchal*, when addressed verbally, and *Monseigneur* in writing. The following are the names of these sons of the Republic, transformed into props of the empire:—Bérthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan,

Masséna, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, and Bessières. The title of Marshal of the Empire was also granted to the Senators Kellermann, Lefebvre, Pérignon, and Serrurier.

The reader cannot have failed to observe, that the name of Lucien has not been mentioned among the individuals of Bonaparte's family on whom dignities were conferred. The fact is, the two brothers were no longer on good terms with each other. Not, as it has been alleged, because Lucien wished to play the part of republican, but because he would not submit to the imperious will of Napoleon in a circumstance in which the latter counted on his brother's docility to serve the interests of his policy. In the conferences which preceded the great change in the form of government, it was not Lucien, but Joseph, who, probably, for the sake of sounding opinion, affected an opposition, which was by some mistaken for republicanism. With regard to Lucien as he had really rendered great services, to Napoleon on the 19th Brumaire at St. Cloud, and as he himself exaggerated the value of those services, he saw no reward worthy his ambition, but a throne independent of his brother. It is certain that when at Madrid he had aspired to win the good graces of a Spanish Infanta, and on that subject reports were circulated, with which I have nothing to do, because I never had any opportunity of ascertaining their truth. All I know is, that Lucien's first wife being dead,

Bonaparte wished him to marry a German princess, by way of forming the first great alliance in the family. Lucien, however, refused to comply with Napoleon's wishes, and he secretly married the wife of an agent named, I believe, Joubertou, who for the sake of convenience, was sent to the West Indies, where he died shortly after. When Bonaparte heard of this marriage from the priest by whom it had been clandestinely performed, he fell into a furious passion, and resolved not to confer on Lucien the title of French Prince, on account of what he termed his unequal match. Lucien, therefore, obtained no other dignity than that of Senator. Jerome, who pursued an opposite line of conduct, was made a king. As to Lucien's republicanism, it did not survive the 18th Brumaire, and he was always a warm partizan of hereditary succession.

Did any of the knights of the republic, when they raised Napoleon to the imperial throne, think of the oath they took when they received their brevets as members of the Legion of Honour? That oath was as follows:—

“ I swear, on my honour, to devote myself to the service of the Republic, to the preservation of the integrity of its territory, to the defence of its government, its laws, and the property by them consecrated; to oppose by every means which justice, reason, and the laws authorise, all acts tending to re-establish the feudal system, or to revive the titles and distinctions belonging to it; finally, to contribute, to the utmost of

my power, in the maintenance of liberty and equality."

Surely it was not to this that M. François de Neufchâteau alluded, when as the representative of the Senate he took the oath of fidelity to the Emperor, and said, among other things: "When your majesty, who has repaired so much ruin, has also re-established amongst us the sacredness of an oath, we seriously weigh the object and extent of the inviolable promises which we now make to you."

The harangues which were made upon Bonaparte's accession to the empire, and which, at the time, were unheeded on account of their multiplicity, their unanimous and undisguised flattery, and, I may say, their ill-judged enthusiasm, have now become curious documents which will be read with a certain degree of surprise. It is hardly possible to imagine that in an enlightened age, sensible persons should have revived the follies of Rome, where the people erected statues to Sejanus, which they afterwards threw down and broke to pieces. The authors of these harangues exhausted their imagination in carrying flattery to a height of which it could not have been supposed capable.

But I pass from these hyperboles, which always inspired me with disgust, to relate what I know respecting the almost incredible influence which, on the foundation of the empire, Bonaparte exercised over the powers which did not yet dare openly to declare war against him. I

studied Bonaparte's policy closely, and I came to this conclusion on the subject, that he was so governed by ambition, by the passion of dominion, that no relations, on a footing of equality, between himself and any other power, could be of long duration. The other states of Europe had only to choose one of two things—submission or war. As to secondary states, they might thenceforth be considered as fiefs of the French government; and as they could not resist, Bonaparte easily accustomed them to bend to his yoke. Can there be a stronger proof of this arbitrary influence than what occurred at Carlsruhe, after the violation of the territory of Baden, by the arrest of the Duke d'Enghien? Far from venturing to make any observation on that violation, so contrary to the rights of nations, the Grand Duke of Baden was obliged to publish in his own states, a decree evidently dictated by Bonaparte. The decree stated, that many individuals formerly belonging to the army of Condé having come to the neighbourhood of Carlsruhe, his Electoral Highness had felt it is duty to direct, that no individual coming from Condé's army, nor indeed any French emigrant, should, unless he had permission previously to the peace, make a longer sojourn than was allowed to foreign travellers. Such was, already, the influence which Bonaparte exercised over Germany, whose princes, to use an expression which he employed in a later decree, were crushed by the grand measures of the empire.

But to be just, without, however, justifying Bonaparte, I must acknowledge that the intrigues which England fomented in all parts of the continent, were calculated to excite his natural irritability to the utmost degree. The agents of England were spread over the whole of Europe, and they varied the rumours which they were commissioned to circulate, according to the chances of credit which the different places afforded. Their reports were in general false; but credulity gave ear to them, and speculators endeavoured, each according to his interest, to give them support. The head quarters of all this plotting was Munich, where Drake, who was sent from England, had the supreme direction. His correspondence, which was seized by the French government, was, at first, placed amongst the documents to be produced on the trial of Georges, Moreau, and the other prisoners; but in the course of the preliminary proceedings, the grand judge received directions to detach them, and make them the subject of a special report to the First Consul, in order that their publication beforehand might influence public opinion, and render it unfavourable to those who were doomed to be sacrificed. The instructions given by Drake to his agents, render it impossible to doubt that England wished to overthrow the government of Bonaparte. Drake wrote as follows to a man who was appointed to travel through France:—“The principal object of your journey being the overthrow of the existing government, one of the

means of effecting it is to acquire a knowledge of the enemy's plans. For this purpose it is of the highest importance to begin in the first place, by establishing communication with persons who may be depended on in the different government offices, in order to obtain exact information of all plans with respect to foreign or internal affairs. The knowledge of these plans will supply the best means of defeating them; and failure is the way to bring the government into complete discredit—the first and most important step towards the end proposed. Try to gain over trustworthy agents in the different government departments. Endeavour, also, to learn what passes in the secret committee, which is supposed to be established at St. Cloud, and composed of the friends of the First Consul. Be careful to furnish information of the various projects which Bonaparte may entertain relative to Turkey and Ireland. Likewise send intelligence respecting the movements of troops, respecting vessels, and ship building and all military preparations.”

Drake, in his instructions, also recommended that the subversion of Bonaparte's government should, for the time, be the only object in view, and that nothing should be said about the king's intentions until certain information could be obtained respecting his views; but most of his letters and instructions were anterior to 1804. The whole bearing of the seized documents proved what Bonaparte could not be ignorant of,

namely, that England was his declared enemy ; but after examining them, I was of opinion that they contained nothing which could justify the belief that the government of Great Britain authorised any attempt at assassination.

When the First Consul received the report of the Grand Judge relative to Drake's plots against his government, he transmitted a copy of it to the Senate, and it was in reply to this communication that the Senate made those first overtures which Bonaparte thought vague, but which, nevertheless, led to the formation of the empire. Notwithstanding this important circumstance, I have not hitherto mentioned Drake, because his intrigues for Bonaparte's overthrow appeared to me to be more immediately connected with the preliminaries of the trial of Georges and Moreau, which I shall notice in my next chapter.

At the same time that Bonaparte communicated to the Senate the report of the Grand Judge, the minister for foreign affairs addressed a circular letter to the members of the diplomatic body.*

* The letter was in the following terms :—

“ The First Consul has commanded me to forward to your excellency, a copy of a report which has been presented to him, respecting a conspiracy formed in France by Mr. Drake, his Britannic Majesty's minister at the Court of Munich, which, by its object as well as its date, is evidently connected with the infamous plot now in the course of investigation.

“ The printed copy of Mr. Drake's letters and authentic documents is annexed to the report. The originals will be immediately sent, by order of the First Consul, to the Elector of Bavaria.

“ Such a prostitution of the most honourable function which can be entrusted to a man, is unexampled in the history of civilised nations. It will astonish and afflict Europe as an unheard of crime, which

All the ambassadors, ministers, plenipotentiaries, envoys, ordinary or extraordinary, whatever might be their denomination, addressed answers to the minister for foreign affairs, in which they expressed horror and indignation at the conduct of England, and Drake's machinations. These answers were returned only five days after the Duke d'Enghien's death: and here one cannot help admiring the adroitness of Bonaparte, who thus compelled all the representatives of the European governments to give, officially, testimonies of regard for his person and government.

hitherto the most perverse governments have not dared to meditate. The First Consul is too well acquainted with the sentiments of the diplomatic body accredited to him, not to be fully convinced that every one of its members will behold with profound regret, the profanation of the sacred character of ambassador, basely transformed into a minister of plots, snares, and corruption."

CHAPTER V.

Trial of Moreau, Georges, and others—Public interest excited by Moreau—Arraignment of the prisoners—Moreau's letter to Bonaparte—Violence of the president of the court towards the prisoners—Lajolais and Rolland—Examinations intended to criminate Moreau—Remarkable observations—Speech written by M. Garat—Bonaparte's opinion of Garat's eloquence—General Lecourbe and Moreau's son—Respect shown to Moreau by the military—Different sentiments excited by Georges and Moreau—Thuriot and *Tue-roi*—Georges' answers to the interrogatories—He refuses an offer of pardon—Coster-Saint-Victor—Napoleon and an actress—Captain Wright—M. de Rivière and the medal of the Count d'Artois—Generous struggle between MM. de Polignac—Sentence on the prisoners—Bonaparte's remark—Pardons and executions.

ON the 28th May, about ten days after Napoleon had been declared Emperor, the trials of Moreau and others commenced. No similar event that has since occurred, can convey an idea of the fermentation which then prevailed in Paris. The indignation excited by Moreau's arrest was openly manifested, and braved the observation of the police. Endeavours had been successfully made to mislead public opinion with respect to Georges and some others among the accused, who were

looked upon as assassins in the pay of England, at least by that numerous portion of the public who lend implicit faith to declarations presented to them as official. But the case was different with regard to those individuals who were particularly the objects of public interest, viz. MM. de Polignac, de Rivière, Charles d'Hozier, and above all Moreau. The name of Moreau towered above all the rest, and with respect to him the government found itself not a little perplexed. It was necessary on the one hand to surround him with a guard sufficiently imposing, to repress the eagerness of the people and of his friends, and yet on the other hand, care was required that this guard should not be so strong as to admit of the possibility of making it a rallying point, should the voice of a chief so honoured by the army, appeal to it for defence. A rising of the populace in favour of Moreau was considered as a very possible event;—some hoped for it, others dreaded it. When I reflect on the state of feeling which then prevailed, I am certain that a movement in his favour would infallibly have taken place, had judges still more complying than those who presided at the trial, condemned Moreau to capital punishment.

It is impossible to form an idea of the crowds that choaked up the avenues of the Palace of Justice on the day the trials commenced. This crowd continued during the twelve days the proceedings lasted, and was exceedingly great on the day the sentence was pronounced.

Persons of the highest class were anxious to be present.

I was one of the first in the hall, being determined to watch the course of these solemn proceedings. The court being assembled, the president ordered the prisoners to be brought in. They entered in a file, and ranged themselves on the benches, each between two gendarmes. They appeared composed and collected, and resignation was depicted on the countenances of all, except Bouvet de Lozier, who did not dare to raise his eyes to his companions in misfortune, whom his weakness, rather than his will, had betrayed. I did not recognise him until the president proceeded to call over the prisoners, and put to them the usual questions respecting their names, professions, and places of abode. Of the forty-nine prisoners, among whom were several females, only two were personally known to me; namely, Moreau, whose presence on the prisoner's bench seemed to wring every heart, and Georges, whom I had seen at the Tuileries in the First Consul's cabinet.

The first sitting of the court was occupied with the reading over of the act of accusation, or indictment, and the voices of the ushers, commanding silence, could scarce suppress the buzz which pervaded the court at the mention of Moreau's name. All eyes were turned towards the conqueror of Hohenlinden, and while the Imperial Attorney General read over the long indictment, and invoked the vengeance of the

law on an attempt against the head of the Republic, it was easy to perceive how he tortured his ingenuity to fasten apparent guilt on the laurels of Moreau. The good sense of the public discerned proofs of his innocence in the very circumstances brought forward against him. I shall never forget the effect produced—so contrary to what was anticipated by the prosecutors—by the reading of a letter addressed by Moreau from his prison in the Temple to the First Consul, when the judges appointed to interrogate him, sought to make his past conduct the subject of accusation, on account of M. Klinglin's papers having fallen into his hands.* He was reproached

* In the letter alluded to, Moreau said to Bonaparte, then First Consul:—

“ In the short campaign of the year V (from the 20th to 23rd March, 1797), we took the papers belonging to the staff of the enemy's army, and a number of documents were brought to me, which General Desaix, then wounded, was amusing himself by perusing. It appeared from this correspondence, that General Pichegru had maintained communications with the French Princes. This discovery was very painful, and particularly to me, and we agreed to say nothing of the matter. Pichegru as a member of the legislative body, could do but little to injure the public cause, since peace was established. I nevertheless took every precaution for protecting the army against the ill effects of a system of espionage. . . . The events of the 18th Fructidor occasioned so much anxiety, that two officers who knew of the existence of the correspondence, prevailed on me to communicate it to the government I felt that as a public functionary, I could no longer remain silent. . . . During the two last campaigns in Germany, and since the peace, distant overtures have been made to me, with the view of drawing me into connexion with the French Princes. This appeared so absurd, that I took no notice of these overtures. As to the present conspiracy, I can assure you I have been far from taking any share in it. I repeat to you, General, that whatever proposition to that effect was made me, I rejected it, and regarded it as the height of mad-

with having too long delayed transmitting these documents to the Directory; and it was curious to see the Emperor Bonaparte become the avenger of pretended offences committed against the Directory, which he had overthrown.

Moreau fulfilled his duty as a public functionary by communicating to the Directory the papers which unfolded a plot against the government, and which chance of war had thrown into his hands. He fulfilled his duty as a man of honour, by not voluntarily incurring the infamy which can never be wiped from the character of an informer. Bonaparte in Moreau's situation would have acted the same part, for I never knew a man express stronger indignation than himself against informers, until he began to consider every thing a virtue which served his ambition, and every thing a crime which opposed it.

It is not my intention to make a portrait, or even a finished sketch of the trial of which I was

ness. When it was represented to me that the invasion of England would offer a favourable opportunity for effecting a change in the French government, I invariably answered, that the Senate was the authority to which the whole of France would naturally cling in the time of trouble, and that I would be the first to place myself under its orders. To such overtures made to a private individual, who wished to preserve no connexion either with the army or any constituted authority, the only possible answer was a refusal. Betrayal of confidence I disdained. Such a step, which is always base, becomes doubly odious when the treachery is committed against those to whom we owe gratitude, or have been bound by old friendship.

"This, General, is all I have to tell you respecting my relations with Pichegru, and it must convince you, that very false and hasty inferences have been drawn from conduct, which, though perhaps imprudent, was far from being criminal."

witness. The voluminous documents connected with the proceedings have been collected and may be consulted. I shall content myself with calling to mind the circumstances, and incidents which made most impression on me. The two facts which most forcibly obtruded themselves on attention during the trial were the inveterate violence of the President of the court towards the prisoners, and the innocence of Moreau. But in spite of the most insidious examinations, which can be conceived, Moreau never once fell into the least contradiction. If my memory fail me not it was on the fourth day that he was examined by Thuriot, one of the judges. The result, clear as day to all present, was that Moreau was a total stranger to all the plots, all the intrigues which had been set on foot in London. In fact, during the whole course of the trial, to which I listened with as much attention as interest, I did not discover the shadow of a circumstance which could in the least compromise him, or which had the least reference to him. Scarce one of the hundred and thirty-nine witnesses, who were heard for the prosecution, knew him, and he himself declared on the fourth sitting, which took place on the 31st May, that there was not an individual among the accused whom he knew, not one whom he had seen. In the course of the long proceedings, notwithstanding the manifest efforts of Thuriot, to extort false admissions, and force contradictions, no fact of any consequence was elicited to the prejudice of Moreau. His appearance was

as calm as his conscience; and as he sat on the bench he had rather the appearance of one led by curiosity to be present at this interesting trial than of an accused person, to whom the proceedings might end in condemnation and death. But for the fall of Moreau in the ranks of the enemy;—but for the foreign cockade which disgraced the hat of the conqueror of Hohenlinden, his complete innocence would long since have been beyond a doubt, and it would have been acknowledged that the most infamous machinations were employed for his destruction. It is evident that Lajolais, who had passed from London to Paris, and from Paris to London, had been acting the part of an intriguer rather than of a conspirator; and that the object of his missions was not so much to reconcile Moreau and Pichegru, as to make Pichegru the instrument of compromising Moreau. Those who supposed Lajolais to be in the pay of the British government were egregiously imposed on. Lajolais was only in the pay of the secret police; he was condemned to death as was expected, but he received his pardon as was agreed on. Here was one of the disclosures which Pichegru might have made; hence the necessity of getting him out of the way before the trial. As to the evidence of the man named Rolland, it was clear to every body that Moreau was right when he said to the President:—“In my opinion, Rolland is either a creature of the police or he has given his evidence under the influence of fear.” Rolland made two declarations:

the first contained nothing at all ; the second was in answer to the following observations : “ You see you stand in a terrible situation : you must either be held to be an accomplice in the conspiracy or you must be taken as evidence. If you say nothing, you will be considered in the light of an accomplice ; if you confess you will be saved.” This single circumstance may serve to give an idea of the way the trials were conducted with a view to criminate Moreau. On his part the general repelled the attacks, of which he was the object, with calm composure and modest confidence, though flashes of just indignation would occasionally burst from him. I recollect the effect he produced upon the court and the auditors at one of the sittings, when the president had accused him of the design of making himself dictator. He exclaimed :—“ I dictator !” What, make myself dictator at the head of the partizans of the Bourbons ! Point out my partizans ! My partizans would naturally be the soldiers of France, of whom I have commanded nine-tenths, and saved more than fifty thousand. Those are the partizans I should look to ! All my aides-de-camp, all the officers of my acquaintance, have been arrested ; not the shadow of a suspicion could be found against any of them, and they have been set at liberty. Why then attribute to me the madness of aiming to get myself made dictator by the aid of the adherents of the old French Princes, of persons who have fought in their cause since 1792 ? You allege that those men in the space

of four and twenty hours formed the project of raising me to the dictatorship! It is madness to think of it! My fortune and my pay have been alluded to; I began the world with nothing; I may now have fifty millions; I have merely a house and a bit of ground; as to my pay, it is forty thousand francs. Surely that sum will not be compared with my services!"

During the trial Moreau delivered a defence, which I knew had been written by his friend Garat, whose eloquence I well remember was always disliked by Bonaparte. Of this I had a proof on the occasion of a grand ceremony which took place on the Place des Victoires, on laying the first stone of a monument, which was to have been erected to the memory of Desaix, but which was never executed. The First Consul returned home in very ill humour, and said to me, "Bourriconne, what an animal that Garat is! What a stringer of words! I have been obliged to listen to him for three quarters of an hour. There are people who never know when to hold their tongues."

Whatever might be the character of Garat's eloquence, or Bonaparte's opinion of it, his conduct was noble on the occasion of Moreau's trial; for he might be sure Bonaparte would bear him a grudge, for lending the aid of his pen to the only man whose military glory, though not equal to that of the First Consul, might entitle him to be looked upon as his rival in fame. At one of the sittings a circumstance occurred which pro-

duced an almost electrical effect. I think I still see General Lecourbe, the worthy friend of Moreau, entering unexpectedly into the court, leading a little boy. Raising the child in his arms he exclaimed aloud, and with considerable emotion; "Soldiers, behold the son of your general." At this unexpected movement, all the military present spontaneously rose and presented arms; while a murmur of approbation from the spectators applauded the act. It is certain, that had Moreau at that moment said but one word, such was the enthusiasm in his favour, that the Tribunal would have been broken up, and the prisoners liberated. Moreau, however, was silent, and, indeed, appeared the only unconcerned person in court. Throughout the whole course of the trial Moreau inspired so much respect, that when he was asked a question, and rose to reply, the gendarmes appointed to guard him rose at the same time, and stood uncovered while he spoke.

Georges was far from exciting the interest inspired by Moreau. He was an object of curiosity rather than of interest. The difference of their previous conduct was, in itself, sufficient to occasion a great contrast in their situation before the court. Moreau was full of confidence and Georges full of resignation. The latter regarded his fate with a fierce kind of resolution. He occasionally resumed the caustic tone which he seemed to have renounced when he harangued his associates before their departure from the

Temple. With the most sarcastic bitterness, he alluded to the name and vote of Thuriot, one of the most violent of the judges, often terming him *Tue-roi*;* and after pronouncing his name, or being forced to reply to his interrogatories, he would ask for a glass of brandy to wash his mouth.

Georges had the manners and bearing of a rude soldier; but under his coarse exterior, he concealed the soul of a hero. When the witnesses of his arrest had answered the questions of the President Hemart, this judge turned towards the accused, and inquired whether he had any thing to say in reply?—"No."—"Do you admit the facts?"—"Yes." Here Georges busied himself in looking over the papers which lay before him, when Hemart warned him to desist, and attend to the questions. The dialogue then commenced. "Do you confess having been arrested in the place designated by the witness?"—"I do not know the name of the place."—"Do you confess having been arrested?"—"Yes."—"Did you twice fire a pistol?"—"Yes."—"Did you kill a man?"—"Indeed I do not know."—"Had you a poignard?"—"Yes."—"And two pistols?"—"Yes."—"Who was in company with you?"—"I do not know the person."—"Where did you lodge in Paris?"—"No where."—"At the time of your arrest, did you not reside in the house of a fruiterer in the Rue de la Montagne-Sainte-

* Thuriot, and the President Hemart, both voted for the death of the king. Merlin, the Imperial Attorney-General, was also one of the regicides.

Geneviève?"—"At the time of my arrest, I was in a cabriolet. I was lodged no where."—"Where did you sleep on the evening of your arrest?"—"No where."—"What were you doing in Paris?"—"I was walking about."—"Whom have you seen in Paris?"—"I shall name no one; I know no one."

From this short specimen of the manner in which Georges replied to the questions of the president, we may judge of his unshaken firmness during the proceedings. In all that concerned himself, he was perfectly open; but in regard to whatever tended to compromise his associates, he maintained the most obstinate silence, notwithstanding every attempt to overcome his firmness.

That I was not the only one who justly appreciated the noble character of Georges, is rendered evident by the following circumstance. Having accompanied M. Carbonnet to the Police, where he went to demand his papers, on the day of his removal to Sainte-Pelagie, we were obliged to await the return of M. Réal who was absent. M. Desmarets and several other persons were also in attendance. M. Réal had been at the Conciergerie, where he had seen Georges Cadoudal, and on his entrance, observed to M. Desmarets and the others, sufficiently loud to be distinctly heard by M. Carbonnet and myself: "I have had an interview with Georges, who is an extraordinary man. I told him that I was

disposed to offer him a pardon if he would promise to renounce the conspiracy and accept of employment under government. But to my arguments and persuasions, he only replied, "*My comrades followed me to France, and I shall follow them to death.*" In this he kept his word.

Were we to judge of those memorable proceedings, from the official documents published in the *Moniteur* and other journals of that period, we should form a very erroneous opinion. Those falsities were even the object of a very serious complaint on the part of Coster-Saint-Victor, one of the accused.*

Coster-Saint-Victor had something chivalrous

* After the speech of M. Gauthier, the advocate of Coster-Saint-Victor, the president inquired of the accused whether he had any thing farther to say in his defence, to which he replied: "I have only to add, that the witnesses necessary to my exculpation, have not yet appeared. I must besides express my surprise at the means which have been employed to lead astray public opinion, and to load with infamy, not only the accused, but also their intrepid defenders. I have read with pain in the journals of to-day, that the proceedings,——" (Here the president interrupting him, observed that "those were circumstances foreign to the case.") "Not in the least," replied Coster-Saint-Victor, "on the contrary, they bear very materially on the cause, since mangling and misrepresenting our defence is a practice assuredly calculated to ruin us in the estimation of the public. In the journals of to-day, the speech of M. Gauthier is shamefully garbled, and I should be deficient in gratitude, were I not here to bear testimony to the zeal and courage which he has displayed in my defence. I protest against the puerilities and absurdities, which have been put into his mouth," and I intreat him not to relax in his generous efforts. It is not on his account that I made this observation; he does not require it at my hands; it is for myself, it is for the accused, whom such arts tend to injure in the estimation of the public."

in his language and manners, which spoke greatly in his favour; he conveyed no bad idea of one of the Fiesco conspirators, or of those leaders of the Fronde who intermingled gallantry with their politics.

An anecdote to this purpose was current about the period of trial. Coster-Saint-Victor, it is related, being unable any longer to find a secure asylum in Paris, sought refuge for a single night, in the house of a beautiful actress, formerly in the good graces of the First Consul; and it is added that Bonaparte, on the same night, having secretly arrived on a visit to the lady, found himself unexpectedly in the presence of Coster-Saint-Victor, who might have taken his life; but that only an interchange of courtesy took place betwixt the rival gallants.

This ridiculous story was doubtless intended to throw additional odium on the First Consul, if Coster-Saint-Victor should be condemned, and not obtain a pardon, in which case malignity would not fail to attribute his execution to the vengeance of a jealous lover.

I should blush to relate such stories, equally destitute of probability as of truth, had they not obtained some credit at the time. Whilst I was with Bonaparte, he never went abroad during the night; and it was not surely at a moment when the saying of Fouché, "*The air is full of poniards,*" was fully explained, that he would have risked such nocturnal adventures.

Wright was heard in the sixth sitting, on the

2nd of June, as the hundred and thirty-fourth witness in support of the prosecution. He, however, refused to answer any interrogatories put to him, declaring that as a prisoner of war, he considered himself only amenable to his own government.

The Attorney-General requested the president to order the examinations of Captain Wright, on the 21st of May, and at a later period to be read over to him ; which being done, the witness replied, that it was omitted to be stated that on those occasions the questions had been accompanied with the threat of transferring him to a military tribunal, in order to be shot, if he did not betray the secrets of his country.

In the course of the trial, the most lively interest was felt for MM. de Polignac, Charles d'Hozier, and de Rivière. So short a period had elapsed since the proscription of the nobility, that independently of every feeling of humanity, it was certainly impolitic to exhibit before the public the heirs of an illustrious name, endowed with that devoted heroism, which could not fail to extort admiration, even from those who condemned their opinions and principles.

The prisoners were all young, and their situation created universal sympathy. The greatest number of them, disdained to have recourse to a denial, and seemed less anxious for the preservation of their own lives, than for the honour of the cause in which they had embarked : not with the view of assassination, as had been demon-

strated, but for the purpose of ascertaining the true state of the public feeling, which had been represented by some factious intriguers as favourable to the Bourbons. Why attempt to deny it? The great body of the people were not then favourable to their cause, as the prisoners soon discovered. In fact, previously to the death of the Duke d'Enghien, the French nation with very few exceptions, were much attached to the consular government, which was mild in comparison with that of the Convention and the Directory; even Moreau, had he not been an especial object of persecution, would have had little cause for hope, and in respect to the others, if it had not been for the infernal secret police, their abortive plot would have dissolved, or remained covered with an impenetrable veil.

Even when the sword of the law was suspended over their heads, the faithful adherents of the Bourbons displayed on every occasion their attachment and fidelity to the royal cause. I recollect that the court was dissolved in tears, when the president adduced as a proof of the guilt of M. de Rivière, his having worn a medal of Count d'Artois, which the prisoner requested to examine; and on its being handed to him by an officer, M. de Rivière pressed it to his lips and his heart, then returning it, he said that he only wished to render homage to the prince whom he loved.

The court was still more deeply affected on witnessing the generous fraternal struggle which

took place during the last sitting, between the two de Polignacs. The emotion was general when the eldest of the brothers, after having observed that his always going out alone and during the day, did not look like a conspirator, anxious for concealment, added those remarkable words which will remain indelibly engraven on my memory, "I have now only one wish, which is that, as the sword is suspended over our heads, and threatens to cut short the existence of several of the accused, you would in consideration of his youth, if not of his innocence, spare my brother, and upon me shower down the whole weight of your vengeance."

It was during the last sitting but one, on Friday the 8th of June, that M. Armand de Polignac made the above affecting appeal in favour of his brother. The following day, before the fatal sentence was pronounced, M. Jules de Polignac, addressed the judges, saying: "I was so deeply affected yesterday, while my brother was speaking, as not fully to have attended to what I read in my own defence; but being now perfectly tranquil, I entreat, gentlemen, that you will not regard what he urged in my behalf. I repeat, on the contrary, and with more justice, if one of us must fall a sacrifice, if there be yet time, save him;—restore him to the tears of his wife; I am single. Like him, I can meet death unappalled;—too young to have tasted the pleasures of life, I cannot regret their loss."—"No, no," exclaimed his brother, "you are

still in the outset of your career; it is I who should fall!"

At eight in the morning, the members of the tribunal withdrew to the council chamber. Since the commencement of the proceedings, the crowd far from diminishing, seemed each day to increase; this morning it was immense, and though the sentence was not expected to be pronounced till a late hour, no one quitted the court for fear of not being able to find a place, when the tribunal should resume its sitting.

Sentence of death was passed upon Georges Cadoudal, Bouvet de Lozier, Rusillon, Rochelle, Armand de Polignac, Charles d'Hozier, de Rivière, Louis Ducorps, Picot, Lajolais, Roger, Coster-Saint-Victor, Deville, Gaillard, Joyaut, Burban, Lemer cier, Jean Cadudal, Lelan, and Merille; while Jules de Polignac, Leridan, General Moreau, Rolland, and Hisay were only condemned to two years' imprisonment.

This decree was heard with consternation by the assembly, and soon spread throughout Paris. I may well affirm it to have been a day of public mourning;—even though it was Sunday, every place of amusement was nearly deserted. To the horror inspired at the sentence of death passed so wantonly, and of which the greater number of the victims belonged to the most distinguished class of society, was joined the ridicule inspired by the condemnation of Moreau; of the absurdity of which no one seemed more sensible than Bonaparte himself, and respecting which he expressed

himself in the most pointed terms. I am persuaded, that every one who narrowly watched the proceedings of this celebrated trial, must have been convinced, that all means were resorted to, in order that Moreau, once accused, should not appear entirely free from guilt.

Bonaparte is reported to have said, "Gentlemen, I have no control over your proceedings; it is your duty strictly to examine the evidence, before presenting to me a report. But when once it has the sanction of your signatures, woe to you if an innocent man be condemned." This remark is in strict conformity with his usual language, and bears a striking similarity to a conversation I held with him the following Thursday; but though this language might be appropriate from the lips of a sovereign whose ministers are responsible, it appears but a lame excuse in the mouth of Bonaparte, the possessor of absolute power.

The condemned busied themselves in endeavouring to procure a repeal of their sentence; the greatest number of them yielded in this respect to the entreaties of their friends, who lost no time in taking the steps requisite to obtain the pardon of those in whom they were most interested. Moreau at first also determined to appeal; but he relinquished his purpose before the Court of Cassation commenced its sittings.

As soon as the decree of the special tribunal was delivered, Murat, governor of Paris, and brother-in-law to the Emperor, sought his presence, and conjured him in the most urgent man-

ner, to pardon all the criminals, observing, that such an act of clemency would redound greatly to his honour in the opinion of France and all Europe—that it would be said the Emperor pardoned the attempt against the life of the First Consul, that this act of mercy would shed more glory over the commencement of his reign, than any security which could accrue from the execution of the prisoners. Such was the conduct of Murat; but he did not solicit, as has been reported, the pardon of any one in particular.

Those who obtained the Imperial clemency were Bouvet de Lozier, who expected it from the disclosures he had made; Rusillon, de Rivière, Rochellé, Armand de Polignac, d'Hozier, Lajolais, who had beforehand received a promise to that effect, and Armand Gaillard.

The other ill-fated victims of a sanguinary police, underwent their sentence on the 25th June, two days after the promulgation of the pardon of their associates.

Their courage, their resignation, never forsook them even for a moment, and Georges, knowing that it was rumoured, he had obtained a pardon, entreated that he might die the first, that his companions in their last moments might be assured he had not survived them.

CHAPTER VI.

Clavier and Hemart—Singular proposal of Corvisart—M. Desmaisons—Project of influencing the judges—Visit to the Tuileries—Rapp in attendance—Long conversation with the Emperor—His opinion on the trial of Moreau—English assassins and Mr. Fox—Complaints against the English government—Bonaparte and Lacuée—Affectionate behaviour—Arrest of Pichegru—Method employed by the First Consul to discover his presence in Paris—Character of Moreau—Measures of Bonaparte regarding him—Lauriston sent to the Temple—Silence respecting the Duke d'Enghien—Napoleon's opinion of Moreau and Georges—Admiration of Georges—Offers of employment and dismissal—Recital of former vexations—Audience of the Empress—Melancholy forebodings—What Bonaparte said concerning myself—Marks of kindness.

THE judges composing the tribunal which condemned Moreau, were not all of a similar character with Thuriot and Hemart. History has recorded an honourable contrast to the general turpitude of the period in the reply given by M. Clavier, when urged by Hemart to vote for the condemnation of Moreau. "Ah, Monsieur, if we condemn him, how shall we be able to acquit ourselves?" I have, besides, the best reason for asserting, that the judges were tampered with, from a circumstance which occurred to myself.

Bonaparte knew that I was intimately connected with M. Desmaisons, one of the members of the tribunal, and brother-in-law to Corvisart; he also knew that he was inclined to believe in Moreau's innocence, and favourable to his acquittal. During the progress of the trial, Corvisart arrived at my house one morning, at a very early hour, in a state of such evident embarrassment, that before he had time to utter a word, I said to him, "What is the matter? Have you heard any bad news?"

"No," replied Corvisart, "but I came by the Emperor's order. He wishes you to see my brother-in-law; 'he is,' said he to me, 'the senior Judge, and a man of considerable eminence: his opinion will carry with it great weight, and I know that he is favourable to Moreau; he is in the wrong. Visit Bourrienne, and concert with him respecting the best method of convincing Desmaisons of his error, for I repeat he is wrong; he is deceived.' This is the mission with which I am intrusted."

"How," said I to him with the most profound astonishment, "how came you to be employed in this affair? Could you believe for one moment that I would tamper with a magistrate in order to induce him to exercise an unjust rigour?"

"No, rest assured," replied Corvisart, "I merely visited you this morning in obedience to the order of the Emperor; but I knew beforehand in what manner you would regard the proposition with which I was charged. I knew your opinions

and your character too well, to entertain the smallest doubt in this respect, and I was convinced that I ran no risk in becoming the bearer of a commission, which would be attended with no effect.

“ Besides, had I refused to obey the Emperor, it would have proved prejudicial to your interest, and confirmed him in the opinion that you were favourable to the acquittal of Moreau. For myself,” added Corvisart, “ it is needless to affirm, that I have no intention of attempting to influence the opinion of my brother-in-law, and if I had, you know him sufficiently well to be convinced in what light he would regard such a proceeding.”

Such were the object and result of Corvisart's visit, and I am thence led to believe, that similar attempts must have been made to influence other members of the tribunal. But however this may be, prudence led me to discontinue visiting M. Desmaisons, with whom I was in habits of the strictest friendship.

About this period I made a visit which occupies an important place in my recollections. On the 14th of June, 1804, four days after the condemnation of Georges and his accomplices, I received a summons to attend the Emperor at Saint-Cloud. It was Thursday, and as I thought on the great events and tragic scenes about to be acted, I was rather uneasy respecting his intentions.

But I was fortunate enough to find my friend Rapp in waiting, who said to me as I entered—

“ Be not alarmed, he is in great good humour at present, and wishes to have some conversation with you.”

Rapp then announced me to the Emperor, and I was immediately admitted to his presence. After pinching my ear, and asking his usual questions, such as: “ What are the Parisians saying? how are your children? what are you about? &c.,” he said to me, “ By the bye, have you attended during the proceedings against Moreau?”

“ Yes, Sire, I have not been absent during one of the sittings.”

“ Well, Bourrienne, are you of opinion that Moreau is innocent?”

“ Yes Sire, at least I am certain, that nothing has come out in the course of the trial tending to criminate him; I am even surprised how he came to be implicated in this conspiracy, since nothing has appeared against him which has the most remote connection with the affair.”

“ I know your opinion on this subject; Duroc related to me the conversation you held with him at the Tuileries; experience has shewn that you were correct; but how could I act otherwise? You know that Bouvet de Lozier hanged himself in prison, and was only saved by accident. Réal hurried to the Temple in order to interrogate him, and in his first confessions, he criminated Moreau, affirming that he had held repeated conferences with Pichegru; Réal immediately reported to me this fact, and proposed that Moreau should be arrested, since the rumours against him seemed

to be well founded ; he had previously made the same proposition.

“ I at first refused my sanction to this measure ; but after the charge made against him by Bouvet de Lozier, how could I act otherwise than I did ? could I suffer such open conspiracies against the government ? could I doubt the truth of Bouvet de Lozier’s declaration, under the circumstances in which it was made ? could I foresee that he would deny his first declaration when brought before the court ?

“ There was a chain of circumstances which human sagacity could not penetrate, and I consented to the arrest of Moreau, when it was proved that he was in league with Pichegru.—Has not England sent assassins ?”

“ Sire,” said I, “ permit me to recall to your recollection the conversation you had in my presence with Mr. Fox, after which you said to me : Bourrienne, I am very happy at having heard from the mouth of a man of honour, that the British government is incapable of seeking my life ; I always wish to esteem my enemies.”

“ Bah ! you are a fool ! Parbleu ! I did not say that the English minister sent over an assassin, and that he said to him : here is gold and a poniard, go and kill the First Consul. No, I did not believe that ; but it cannot be denied that all those foreign conspirators against my government were serving England, and receiving pay from that power ; have I agents in London to disturb the government of Great Britain ? I

have waged with it honourable warfare; I have not attempted to awaken a remembrance of the Stuarts, amongst their old partisans. Is not Wright who landed Georges and his accomplices at Dieppe, a captain in the British navy? But rest assured, that with the exception of a few babblers, whom I can easily silence, the hearts of the French people are with me;—every where public opinion has been declared in my favour, so that I have nothing to apprehend from giving the greatest publicity to those plots, and bringing the accused to a solemn trial. The greater number of those gentlemen wished me to bring the prisoners before a military commission, that summary judgment might be obtained; but I refused my consent to this measure it might have been said, that I dreaded public opinion; and I fear it not. People may talk as much as they please, well and good, I am not obliged to hear them; but I do not like those who are attached to my person to blame what I have done.”

As I could not here wholly conceal an involuntary emotion, in which the Emperor saw something more than mere surprise, he paused, took me by the ear, and smiling in the most affectionate manner said: “I had no reference to you in what I said, but I have to complain of Lacuée*, could you believe that during the trial he went about clamouring in behalf of Moreau? He, my aide-

* Lacuée was killed at the bridge of Guntzburgh. I believe that after this conversation, he ceased to act as aide-de-camp to the Emperor.

de-camp—a man who owes every thing to me ! As for you, I have said that you acted very well in this affair.”

“ I know not, Sire, what has either been done or said by Lacuée, whom I have not seen for a long time ; what I said to Duroc is what history teaches in every page.”

“ By the bye,” resumed the Emperor, after a short silence, do you know that it was I myself who discovered that Pichegru was in Paris. Every one said to me, Pichegru is in Paris ; Fouché, Réal, harped on the same string, but could give me no proof of their assertion. What a fool you are, said I to Real, when in an instant you may ascertain the fact. Pichegru has a brother, an aged ecclesiastic, who resides in Paris ; let his dwelling be searched, and should he be absent, it will warrant a suspicion that Pichegru is here ; if on the contrary his brother should be within, let him be arrested ; he is a simple minded man, and in the first moments of agitation, will betray the truth. Every thing happened as I had foreseen, for no sooner was he arrested, than without waiting to be questioned, he inquired if it was a crime to have received his brother into his house.

“ Thus every doubt was removed, and a miscreant in the house in which Pichegru lodged, betrayed him to the Police. What horrid degradation to betray a friend for the sake of gold !”

Then reverting to Moreau, the Emperor talked a great deal respecting that General. “ Moreau,”

he said, 'possesses many good qualities, his bravery is undoubted ; but he has more courage than energy, he is indolent and effeminate. When with the army he lived like a pasha, he smoked, was almost constantly in bed, and gave himself up to the pleasure of the table. His dispositions are naturally good, but he is too indolent for study ; he does not read, and since he has been tied to his wife's apron strings, is fit for nothing. - He sees only with the eyes of his wife and her mother, who have had a hand in all these last plots ; and then Bourrienne, is it not very strange, that it was by my advice that he entered into this union ? I was told that mademoiselle Hulot was a creole, and I believed that he would find in her a second Josephine ; how greatly was I mistaken !

" All those circumstances tended to estrange us from each other, and I regret that he should have acted so unworthily. You must remember my observing to you more than two years ago, that Moreau would one day strike his head against the gate of the Tuileries ; that he has done so, was no fault of mine, for you know how much I did to secure his attachment. You cannot have forgotten the reception I gave him at Malmaison. On the 18th Brumaire I conferred on him the charge of the Luxembourg, and in that situation he fully justified my choice. But since that period, he has behaved towards me with the utmost ingratitude ;—entered into all the silly cabals against me,—blamed all my measures, and turned into ridicule the Legion of Honour. Have not

some of the intriguers put it into his head that I regarded him with jealousy? * You must be aware of that. You must also know as well as I how anxious the members of the Directory were to exalt the reputation of Moreau ; alarmed at my successes in Italy, they wished to have in the armies a general to prove a counterpoise to my renown. I have ascended the throne and he is the inmate of a prison. You are aware of the incessant clamouring raised against me by the whole family, at which I confess I was very much displeased ; coming from those I had treated so well ! Had he attached himself to me, I would doubtless have conferred on him the title of first Marechal of the Empire ; but what could I do ? He constantly depreciated my campaigns and my government. From discontent to revolt, there is frequently only one step, especially when a man of a weak character becomes the tool of popular clubs ; and therefore when I was first informed that Moreau was implicated in the conspiracy of Georges, I believed him to be guilty, but hesitated to issue an order for his arrest, till I had taken the opinion of my council.

“ The members having assembled, I ordered the different documents to be placed before them, with an injunction to examine them with the utmost care since they related to an affair of im-

* Bonaparte was right in this respect that the consciousness of his own superiority over Moreau prevented him from being jealous of that general ; but he was certainly jealous of the estimation in which he was held by the public, whether right or wrong.

portance, and I urged them candidly to inform me whether in their opinion, any of the charges against Moreau were sufficiently strong to endanger his life.

“ The fools! their reply was in the affirmative; I believe they were even unanimous: then I had no alternative but to suffer the proceedings to take their course. It is unnecessary to affirm to you, Bourrienne, that never should Moreau have perished on a scaffold! Most assuredly I would have pardoned him; but with the sentence of death hanging over his head, he could no longer have proved dangerous; and his name would have ceased to be a rallying point for disaffected republicans, or imbecile royalists. Had the council expressed any doubts respecting his guilt, I would have intimated to him that the suspicions against him were so strong; as to render any further connection between us impossible; and that the best course he could pursue, would be to leave France for three years, under the pretext of visiting some of the places rendered celebrated during the late wars; but that if he preferred a diplomatic mission, I would make a suitable provision for his expenses; and the great innovator, Time, might effect great changes during the period of his absence. But my foolish council affirmed to me, that his guilt as a principal being evident, it was absolutely necessary to bring him to trial; and now, his sentence is only that of a pick-pocket! What think you I ought to do? Detain him? He

might still prove a rallying point. No. Let him sell his property, and quit France? Can I confine him in the Temple? it is full enough without him.—Still if this had been the only great error they had led me to commit!—”

“Sire, how greatly you have been deceived!”

“Oh! yes, I have been so; but I cannot see every thing with my own eyes.”

At this part, of our conversation, of which I have suppressed as much as possible, my own share, I conceived that the last words of Bonaparte alluded to the death of the Duke d'Enghien; and I fancied he was about to mention that event, but he again spoke of Moreau.

“He is very much mistaken,” resumed the Emperor, “if he conceived I bore any ill will towards him. After his arrest, I sent Lauriston to the Temple, whom I chose because he was of an amiable and conciliating disposition; I charged him to tell Moreau to confess he had only seen Pichegru, and I would cause the proceedings against him to be suspended. Instead of receiving this act of generosity as he ought to have done, he replied to it with great haughtiness, so much was he elated that Pichegru had not been arrested: he afterwards, however, lowered his tone. He wrote to me a letter of excuse respecting his anterior conduct, which I caused to be produced on the trial. He was the author of his own ruin; besides it would have required men of a different stamp from Moreau to conspire

against me. Among the conspirators, for example, was an individual whose fate I regret; this Georges in my hands might have achieved great things. I can duly appreciate the firmness of character he displayed, and to which I could have given a proper direction.

“ I caused Réal to intimate to him, that if he would attach himself to me, not only should he be pardoned, but that I would give him the command of a regiment. Perhaps I might even have appointed him my aide-de-camp. Parbleu! that might have been too much! Georges refused all my offers; he is inflexible as iron. What could I do? he underwent his fate, for he was a dangerous man; circumstances rendered his death a matter of necessity. Examples of severity were called for, when England was pouring into France the whole off-scourings of the emigration; but patience, patience! I have long arms, and shall be able to reach them, when necessary.

“ Moreau regarded Georges merely as a ruffian—I viewed him in a different light. You may remember the conversation I had with him at the Tuileries—you and Rapp were in an adjoining cabinet. I tried in vain to influence him—some of his associates were affected at the mention of *country* and of *glory*; he alone stood cold and unmoved. I addressed myself to his feelings but in vain; he was insensible to every thing I said. At that period Georges appeared to me little ambitious of power; his whole wishes seemed

to centre in commanding the Vendéans. It was not till I had exhausted every means of conciliation, that I assumed the tone and language of the first magistrate. I dismissed him with a strong injunction to live retired—to be peaceable and obedient—not to misinterpret the motive of my conduct towards himself—nor attribute to weakness, what was merely the result of moderation, and strength. Rest assured, I added, and repeat to your associates, that while I hold the reins of authority, there will be neither chance nor salvation for those who dare to conspire against me. How he conformed to this injunction the event has shewn. Réal told me, that when Moreau and Georges found themselves in the presence of Pichegru, they could not come to any understanding, because Georges would not act against the Bourbons. Well, he had a plan, but Moreau had none; he merely wished for my overthrow, without having formed any ulterior views whatever.—This showed that he was destitute of even common sense.

“A propos, Bourrienne, have you seen Corvisart?”

“Yes, Sire.”

“Well!”

“He delivered to me the message with which you entrusted him.”

“And Desmaisons!—I wager that you have not spoken to him in conformity to my wishes.”

“Sire, the estimation in which I hold Desmaisons, deterred me from a course so injurious

to him; for in what other light could he have then considered what I should have said to him? I have never visited at his house since the commencement of the trial."

"Well! Well! Be prudent and discreet, I shall not forget you." He then waved a very gracious salute with his hand, and withdrew into his cabinet.

The Emperor had detained me more than an hour. On leaving the audience chamber, I passed through the outer saloon, where a great number of individuals were waiting; and I perceived that an observance of etiquette was fast gaining ground, though the Emperor had not yet adopted the admirable institution of court chamberlains.

I cannot deny that I was much gratified with my reception; besides I was beginning to be weary of an inactive life, and was anxious to obtain a place, of which I stood in great need, from the losses I had sustained, and the unjust resumption which Bonaparte had made of his gifts. Being desirous to speak of Napoleon with the strictest impartiality, I prefer drawing my conclusions from those actions in which I had no personal concern. I shall, therefore, only relate here, even before giving an account of my visit to the Empress, on leaving the audience chamber, the former conduct of Napoleon towards myself and Madame de Bourrienne, which will justify the momentary terror, with which I was seized when summoned to the Tuileries, and the satisfaction I felt at my reception. I had a proof

of what Rapp said of the Emperor being in good humour, and was flattered by the confidential manner in which he spoke to me concerning some of the great political secrets of his government. On seeing me come out, Rapp observed, "You have had a long audience."

"Yes, not amiss;" and this circumstance procured for me a courtly salutation from all persons waiting in the ante-chamber.

I shall now relate how I spent the two preceding years. The month after I tendered my resignation to the First Consul, and which he refused to accept, the house at Saint-Cloud belonging to Madame Deville, was offered to me; it was that in which the Dukes d'Angoulême and de Berri were inoculated. I visited this mansion, thinking it might be suitable for my family; but notwithstanding the beauty of its situation, it seemed far too splendid either for my taste or my fortune. Except the outer walls, it was in a very dilapidated state, and would require numerous and expensive repairs. Josephine being informed that Madame de Bourrienne had set her face against the purchase, expressed a wish to see the mansion, and accompanied us for that purpose. She was so much delighted with it, that she ridiculed my wife for starting any objections to my becoming its possessor. With regard to the expense, Josephine replied to her, "Ah, we shall arrange that." On our return to Malmaison, she spoke of it in such high terms, that Bonaparte said to

me, "Why don't you purchase it Bourrienne, since the price is so reasonable?*

The house was accordingly purchased. An outlay of twenty thousand francs was immediately required to render it habitable. Furniture was also necessary for this large mansion, and orders for it were accordingly given. But no sooner were repairs begun, than every thing crumbled to pieces, which rendered many additional expenses necessary.

About this period, Bonaparte hurried forward the works at Saint-Cloud, to which place he immediately removed. My services being constantly required, I found it so fatiguing to go twice or thrice a day from Ruel to Saint-Cloud, that I took possession of my new mansion, though it was still filled with workmen. Scarcely eight days had elapsed from this period, when Bonaparte intimated that he no longer had occasion for my services. When my wife went to take leave, Napoleon spoke to her in a flattering manner of my good qualities, my merit, and the utility of my labours, saying that he was himself the most unfortunate of the three, and that my loss could never be replaced. He then added, "I shall be absent for a month, but Bourrienne may be quite easy; let him remain in retirement, and on my return I shall reward his services, should I even create a place on purpose for him."

Madame de Bourrienne then requested leave

* It was valued at sixty thousand francs.

to retain the apartments appropriated to her in the Tuileries till after her accouchement, which was not far distant, to which he replied : “ You may keep them as long as you please ; for it will be some time before I again reside in Paris.”

Bonaparte set out on his journey, and shortly afterwards I went with my family to visit Madame de Coubertin, my cousin-german, who received us with her usual kindness. We passed the time of the First Consul’s absence at her country seat, and only returned to Saint-Cloud on the day Bonaparte was expected.

Scarcely a quarter of an hour had elapsed after his arrival, when I received an intimation to give up, in twenty-four hours, the apartment in the Tuileries, which he had promised my wife should retain till after her confinement. He reclaimed, at the same time, the furniture of Ruel, which he presented to me two years before, when I purchased that small house on purpose to be near him.

I addressed several memorials to him on this subject, stating that I had replaced the worn-out furniture with new and superior articles ; but this he wholly disregarded, compelling me to give up every thing, even to the greatest trifle. It may be right to say, that on his return the Emperor found his table covered with informations respecting my conduct in Paris, though I had not held the smallest communication with any one in the capital, nor once entered it during his absence.

After my departure for Hamburgh, Bonaparte took possession of my stables and coach-house, which he filled with horses. Even the very avenues and walks were converted into stabling. A handsome house, at the entrance to the park, was also appropriated to similar purposes; in fact he spared nothing. Every thing was done in the true military style; I had neither previous intimation of the proceedings, nor received any remuneration for my loss. The Emperor seemed to regard the property as his own; but though he next to ordered me to make the purchase, he did not furnish the money that was paid for it. In this way it was occupied for more than four years.

The recollection of those arbitrary and vexatious proceedings, on the part of Bonaparte, has led me farther than I intended. I shall, therefore, return to the imperial residence of Saint-Cloud. On leaving the audience-chamber, as already stated, I repaired to the apartments of the Empress, who, knowing that I was in the palace, had intimated her wishes for my attendance. No command could have been more agreeable to me, for every one was certain of a gracious reception from Josephine. I do not recollect which of the ladies in waiting was in attendance when my name was announced; but she immediately retired, and left me alone with Josephine. Her recent elevation had not changed the usual amenity of her disposition. After some conversation respecting the change in her situ-

ation, I gave her an account of what had passed between the Emperor and myself.

I faithfully related all that he had said of Moreau, observing that at one moment I imagined he was about to speak of the Duke d'Enghien, when he suddenly reverted to what he had been saying, and never made the slightest allusion to the subject.

Madame Bonaparte replied to me, "Napoleón has spoken the truth respecting Moreau. He was grossly deceived by those who believed they could best pay their court to him by calumniating that general. His silence on the subject of the Duke d'Enghien does not surprise me; he says as little respecting it as possible, and always in a vague manner, and with manifest repugnance. When you see Bonaparte again be silent on the subject, and should chance bring it forward, avoid every expression in the smallest degree indicative of reproach; he would not suffer it; you would ruin yourself for ever in his estimation, and the evil is, alas! without remedy. When you came to Malmaison, I told you that I had vainly essayed to turn him from his fatal purpose, and how he had treated me. Since then he has experienced but little internal satisfaction; it is only in the presence of his courtiers that he affects a calm and tranquil deportment; but I perceive his sufferings are the greater from thus endeavouring to conceal them.

"By the bye I forget to mention that he knew of the visit you paid me, on the day after the

catastrophe. I dreaded that your enemies, the greater number of whom are also mine, might have misrepresented this interview; but, fortunately, he paid little attention to it. He merely said :—" So you have seen Bourrienne? Does he sulk at me? Nevertheless I must do something for him. He has again spoken in the same strain, and repeated nearly the same expressions, three days ago; and since he has commanded your presence to-day I have not a doubt but he has something in view for your advantage."

" May I presume to inquire what it is?"

" I do not yet know; but I would recommend to you in the meantime, to be more strictly on your guard than ever; he is so suspicious, and so well informed of all that is done or said respecting himself. I have suffered so much since I last saw you; never can I forget the unkind manner in which he rejected my entreaties!

" For several days I laboured under a depression of spirits which greatly irritated him, because he clearly saw whence it proceeded. I am not dazzled by the title of Empress; I dread some evil will result from this step to him, to my children, and to myself. The miscreants ought to be satisfied; see to what they have driven us! This death embitters every moment of my life. I need not say to you, Bourrienne, that I speak this in confidence."

" You cannot doubt my prudence."

" No, certainly not, Bourrienne.—I do not doubt it.—My confidence in you is unbounded. Rest

assured that I shall never forget what you have done for me, under various circumstances, and the devotedness you évinced towards me on your return from Egypt.—Adieu, my friend.—Let me see you again.”

It was on the 14th of June, 1804, that I had this audience of the Emperor, and afterwards attended the Empress.

On my return home, I spent three hours in making notes of all that was said to me by those two personages ; and the substance of those notes I have now given to the reader.

CHAPTER VII.

The constitution and the organic *Senatus Consultum*—Advantageous position of the Emperor—His attachment to France—Curious disclosure of Fouché—Remarkable words of Bonaparte respecting the protest of Louis XVIII—Secret document inserted in the *Moniteur*—Announcement from Bonaparte to Regnier—Fouché appointed Minister of police—Error of Regnier respecting the conspiracy of Georges—Undeserved praise bestowed on Fouché—Indications of the return of the Bourbons—Variance between the words and conduct of Bonaparte—The iron crown—Celebration of the 14th July—Church festivals and loss of time—Grand ceremonial at the Invalides—Recollections of the 18th Brumaire—New oath of the legion of honour—General enthusiasm—Departure for Boulogne—Visits to Josephine at Saint-Cloud and Malmaison—Josephine and Madame de Remusat—Pardons granted by the Emperor.

WE have already seen that, by the provisions of consular constitution, the First Consul could not act as commander in chief of the army beyond the territory of the Republic. We have, also, seen the subtlety by which Bonaparte eluded this constitutional enactment, in giving the name of the army of reserve, to the army of Marengo. This condition was not retained when Bonaparte was raised to the imperial dignity.

The organic *Senatus Consultum* had removed the

difficulty, and in the thirst for war which burnt in the bosom of Napoleon, now that he had a title so flattering to his pride, his fertile imagination formed vast projects of conquest,—projects which he hoped to realize when England should obtain an ally on the continent.

From my intimate knowledge of his character, having often seen him display the greatest anxiety on this subject, I believe myself fully warranted in saying that he endeavoured by means not strictly justifiable, to find a pretext for a continental war. A sovereign, under the circumstances in which he was placed, enjoyed an immense advantage in this respect, being neither restrained by a fear of wounding the self-love or the interest of any government, he made every thing yield to him, being always ready to show his superiority, because he wished it to be contested.

In this state of things, Bonaparte, as I have already observed, never seriously thought of the invasion of England; but it afforded a pretext for concentrating a formidable force on one particular point, and thus completing the enthusiasm with which he was already regarded by the army.

By this measure he succeeded at the same time in alarming a rival that he had not the power to injure, and in lulling into a fatal security the first power which should oppose the smallest obstacle to his ambition. Those projects Bonaparte confided to no one;—not even to his ministers; and this plan, of which he alone was capable, appears

to me to form the great political miracle of modern times.

Doubtless, Napoleon was attached to France, but it was as a means of aggrandizement; he regarded it as a pedestal on which to erect the superstructure of his fame; and war was necessary to the completion of his ambitious projects.

Recognized by the title of Emperor, as the founder of a new dynasty, he considered his dominion more secure than before. Thus was augmented the natural audacity of his temper, of which the following circumstance related to me by Fouché, affords a corroboration.

Louis XVIII being at Warsaw, when he was informed of the elevation of Napoleon to the imperial dignity, addressed to the sovereigns of Europe a protest against that usurpation of his throne. Fouché being the first who heard of this protest, immediately communicated the circumstance to the Emperor, observing that doubtless the copies would be multiplied and distributed amongst the enemies of his government, in the Faubourg Saint Germain, which might produce the worst effects, and that he, therefore, deemed it his duty to inform him that orders might be given to Regnier and Réal to keep a strict watch over those engaged in distributing this document.

“You may judge of my surprise,” added Fouché, “you who know so well that formerly the very mention of the Bourbons rendered him furious, when, after perusing the protest, he returned it to me saying:—“ Ah, ah, so the Count de Lille

makes his protest! well, well, all in good time. I hold my right by the voice of the French nation, and while I wear a sword I will maintain it!

"The Bourbons ought to know that I do not fear them; let them, therefore, leave me in tranquillity. Did you say that the fools of the Faubourg St. Germain would multiply the copies of this protest of Count de Lille? Well, they shall read it at their ease. Send it to the *Moniteur*, Fouché; and let it be inserted to-morrow morning." This passed on the 30th June, and the next day, the protest of Louis XVIII did actually appear in that paper.

Fouché was wholly indifferent respecting the circulation of this paper; he merely wished to shew the Emperor that he was better informed of passing events than Regnier, and to afford Napoleon another proof of the inexperience and inability of the grand judge in police; and Fouché was not long in receiving the reward which he expected from this step. In fact, ten days after the publication of the protest, the Emperor announced to Regnier, the re-establishment of the ministry of general police.

The formula, *I pray God to have you in his holy keeping*, with which the letter to Regnier closed, was another step of Napoleon in the knowledge of ancient usages, with which he was not sufficiently familiar when he wrote to Cambacérès on the day succeeding his elevation to the imperial throne; at the same time it must be confessed, that this formula assorted awkwardly

with the month of "Messidor," and the "twelfth of the Republic!"

The errors which Regnier had committed in the affair of Georges, were the cause which determined Bonaparte to re-establish the minister of police, and to bestow it on a man who had created a belief of the necessity of that measure, by a monstrous accumulation of plots and intrigues. I am also certain that the Emperor was swayed by the probability of a war breaking out, which would force him to leave France; and that he considered Fouché as the most proper person to maintain the public tranquillity during his absence and detect any cabals that might be formed in favour of the Bourbons.

At this period, when Bonaparte had given the finishing blow to the Republic, which had only been a shadow since the 19th Brumaire, it was not difficult to foresee that the Bourbons would one day remount the throne of their ancestors, and this presentiment was not perhaps without its influence in rendering the majority greater in favour of the foundation of the empire than for the establishment of a consulate for life. The re-establishment of the throne was a most important step in favour of the Bourbons, for that was the thing most difficult to be done. But Bonaparte undertook the task; and, as if by the aid of a magic rod, the ancient order of things was restored in the twinkling of an eye. The distinctions of rank..orders..titles..the noblesse..decorations..all the baubles of vanity..in short, all the

burlesque tattooing which the vulgar regard as an indispensable attribute of royalty, re-appeared in an instant. The question no longer respected the form of government, but the individual who should be placed at its head: by restoring the ancient order of things, the republicans had themselves decided the question, and it could no longer be doubted, that when an occasion presented itself, the majority of the nation would prefer the ancient royal family to whom France owed her civilization, her greatness, and her power; and who had exalted her to such a high degree of glory and prosperity.

Besides, upon what basis did the empire rest? Upon its glory, but not upon its institutions; but the delusions of glory may vanish; upon what then could it rest?

In the month of August, 1802, when the consulate for life was discussed in the council of state, with which was connected that of hereditary right, Napoleon thus expressed himself: "Hereditary right is absurd, irreconcilable with the sovereignty of the people, and impossible in France."

This declaration was voluntary, for he had not been called upon to explain his principles, yet two years had scarcely elapsed before he ascended the throne, and revived in favour of his own family that *hereditary right, absurd and impossible in France!* In short, he founded a fourth dynasty. Did any contradiction exist between this declaration of the First Consul and his after conduct? No; in any other individual it would have been

a contradiction; but not in him. The supposition would be to stamp the character of Napoleon with weakness and indecision; and in truth this was not the case. He merely played one of his comedies "to give the pear time to ripen", an expression always in his mouth when he was constrained to delay the completion of any of his ambitious projects.

It was not one of the least singular traits in Napoleon's character, that during the first year of his reign he retained the fete of the 14th of July. It was not indeed strictly a republican fete, but it recalled the recollection of two great popular triumphs; the taking of the Bastile, and the first federation. This year the 14th July fell on a Saturday, and the Emperor ordered its celebration to be delayed till the following day, because it was Sunday, which was in conformity with the sentiments he delivered respecting the concordat: "What renders me," he said, "most hostile to the re-establishment of the catholic worship, are the numerous festivals formerly observed. A saint's day is a day of indolence, and I wish not for that; the people must labour in order to live. I consent to four holidays in the year, but no more; if the gentlemen from Rome are not satisfied with this, they may take their departure."

The loss of time seemed to him so great a calamity, that he seldom failed to order an indispensable solemnity to be held on the succeeding holiday. Thus he postponed, the Corpus Christi to the following Sunday

On Sunday the 15th July, the Emperor appeared for the first time before the Parisians, surrounded by all the pomp of royalty. The members of the Legion of Honour, then in Paris, took the oath prescribed by the new constitution, and on this occasion the Emperor and Empress appeared attended for the first time by a separate and numerous retinue.

The carriages in the train of the Empress crossed the garden of the Tuileries, hitherto exclusively appropriated to the public; then followed the cavalcade of the Emperor, who appeared on horseback, surrounded by his principal generals, whom he had created Marshals of the Empire. M. Ségur, who held the office of Great Chamberlain, had the direction of the ceremonial to be observed on this occasion, and with the governor received the Emperor on the threshold of the Hotel des Invalides. They conducted the Empress to a seat, prepared for her reception, opposite the imperial throne which Napoleon occupied, to the right of the altar. I was present at this ceremony, notwithstanding the repugnance I have to such brilliant exhibitions; but as Duroc had two days before, presented me with tickets, I deemed it prudent to attend on the occasion, lest the keen eye of Bonaparte should have remarked my absence, if Duroc had acted by his order.

I spent about an hour in contemplating the proud, and sometimes almost ludicrous demeanour of the new grandees of the empire; I marked the manœuvring of the clergy, who, with Cardinal

Belloy at their head, proceeded to receive the Emperor on his entrance into the church. What a singular train of ideas was called up to my mind when I beheld my former comrade, at the school of Brienne, seated upon an elevated throne, surrounded by his brilliant staff, the great dignitaries of his empire...his ministers and marechals! I involuntarily recurred to the 19th Brumaire, and all this splendid scene vanished, when I thought of Bonaparte stammering to such a degree, that I was obliged to pull the skirt of his coat to induce him to withdraw,

It was neither a feeling of animosity nor of jealousy which called up such reflections; at no period of our career would I have exchanged my situation for his, but whoever can reflect, whoever has witnessed the unexpected elevation of a former equal, may perhaps be able to conceive the strange thoughts that assailed my mind, for the first time, on this occasion.

When the religious part of the ceremony terminated, the church assumed, in some measure, the appearance of a profane temple. The congregation displayed more devotion to the Emperor than towards the God of the Christians; more enthusiasm than fervour. The mass had been heard with little attention; but when M. de Lacépède, Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour, after pronouncing a flattering discourse, finished the call of the grand officers of the Legion, Bonaparte covered, as did the ancient kings of France

when they held a bed of justice; a profound silence, a sort of religious awe, then reigned throughout the assembly, and Napoleon who did not now stammer as in the council of Five Hundred said in a firm voice:—"Commanders, officers, legionaries, citizens, soldiers; swear upon your honour to devote yourselves to the service of the empire;—to the preservation of the integrity of the French territory,—to the defence of the Emperor, of the laws of the republic, and of the property which they have made sacred,—to combat by all the means which justice, reason, and the laws authorise, every attempt to re-establish the feudal regime; in short, swear to concur with all your might in maintaining liberty and equality, which are the basis of all our institutions. Do you swear it?"

Each member of the Legion of Honour exclaimed, *I swear*; adding *vive l'Empereur!* with an enthusiasm it is impossible to describe, and in which all present joined.

What after all was this new oath? It only differed from that taken by the Legion of Honour, under the consulate, in putting the defence of the Emperor before that of the laws of the republic; and this was not merely a form. It was besides sufficiently laughable, and somewhat audacious, to make them swear to support *equality*, at the moment when so many titles and monarchical distinctions had been re-established.

On the 18th July, three days after this cere-

mony, the Emperor left Paris to visit the camp at Boulogne. He was not accompanied by the Empress on this journey, which was merely to examine the progress of the military operations. Availing myself of the invitation Josephine had given me, I presented myself at St. Cloud, a few days after the departure of Napoleon ; as she did not expect my visit, I found her surrounded by four or five of the ladies in waiting, occupied in examining some of the brilliant necklaces made by Leroi and Madame Déspeaux ; for amidst the host of painful feelings experienced by Josephine, she was too much of a woman not to devote some attention to the toilette.

On my introduction they were discussing the serious question of the costume to be worn by the Empress on her journey to Belgium, to meet Napoleon at the castle of Lacken, near Brussels. Notwithstanding those discussions respecting the form of hats,* the colour and shape of robes, &c., Josephine received me in her usual gracious manner. But not being able to converse with me, she said, without giving it an appearance of invitation, but in a manner sufficiently evident to be understood, that she intended to pass the following morning at Malmaison.

I shortened my visit, and at noon the next day entered this delightful abode, which always created in my mind deep emotion ; not an alley—not a grove, but teemed with interesting recollections ; all recalled to me the period when I was

the confident of Bonaparte; but the time was passed when he minutely calculated how much a residence at Malmaison would cost, and concluded by saying, that an income of thirty thousand livres would be required.

When I arrived, Madame Bonaparte was in the garden with Madame de Remusat, who was her favourite, from the similarity of disposition which existed between them. Madame de Remusat was the daughter of the minister Vergennes, and sister to Madame de Nansouty, who I had sometimes seen with Josephine, but not so frequently as her elder sister. I found those ladies in the avenue which leads to Ruel, and saluted Josephine by inquiring respecting the health of her Majesty. Never can I forget the tone in which she replied: "Ah! Bourrienne, I entreat that you will suffer me, at least here, to forget that I am an Empress." As she had not a thought concealed from Madame de Remusat, except some domestic vexations, of which probably I was the only confident, we conversed with the same freedom as if alone; and it is easy to define, that the subject of our discourse regarded Bonaparte.

After having spoken of her intended journey to Belgium, Josephine said to me, "What a pity, Bourrienne, that the past cannot be recalled. He departed in the happiest disposition; he has bestowed some pardons; and I am satisfied, that but for those unhappy politics, he would have pardoned a far greater number; I would have said

much more, but I endeavoured to conceal my chagrin, because the slightest contradiction only renders him the more obstinate. Now when in the midst of his army he will forget every thing. How much have I been afflicted, that I was not able to obtain a favourable answer to all the petitions which were addressed to me. Madame de Montesson came from Romainville to Saint-Cloud to solicit the pardon of MM. de Rivière and de Polignac;* we succeeded in gaining an audience for Madame de Polignac;.....how beautiful she is! Bonaparte was greatly affected on beholding her; he said to her, 'Madame, since it was only my life your husband menaced, I may pardon him.' You know Napoléon, Bourrienne, you know that he is not naturally cruel; it is his counsellors and flatterers that have induced him to commit so many villainous actions. Rapp has behaved extremely well; he went to the Emperor, and would not leave him till he had obtained the pardon of another of the condemned, whose name I do not recollect.† How much these Polignacs have interested me! There will

* I have perused the Memoirs of the Empress Josephine (published by Colburn, London). They are written with great truth and spirit, and afford a faithful picture of that interesting woman. I often fancied while reading those pages, that she was before me, and that I listened to her words; and though the author has concealed her name, I conjecture that she is connected by other ties than those of talent with Madame de Genlis.

† It was I believe de Russillon.

be then at least, some families who will owe him gratitude ! Strive, if it be possible, to throw a veil over the past, I am sufficiently miserable in my anticipations of the future. Rest assured, my dear Bourrienne, that I shall not fail to exert myself, during our stay in Belgium, in your behalf, and inform you of the result.—Adieu !”

CHAPTER VIII.

Anniversary of the 14th of July—Departure for the camp of Boulogne—General error respecting Napoleon's designs—Cæsar's tower—Distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honour—The military throne—Bonaparte's charlatanism—Intrepidity of two English sailors—The decennial prizes and the Polytechnic school—Meeting of the Emperor and Empress—First negotiation with the Holy See—The Prefect of Arras and Count Louis de Narbonne—Change in the French Ministry—Discussion in the English Parliament respecting Drake's Correspondence—The power of gold against the power of arms.

DURING the festival in celebration of the 14th of July, which I have already alluded to, the Emperor, before leaving the hospital of Invalids, had announced that he would go in person to distribute the decorations of the Legion of Honour to the army assembled in the camp of Boulogne. He was not long before he fulfilled his promise. He left St. Cloud on the 18th, and travelled with such rapidity, that the next morning, whilst every one was busy with preparations for his reception, he was already at that port, in the midst of the labourers, examining the works. He seemed to multiply himself by his inconceivable activity,

and one might say, that he was present every where.

At the Emperor's departure, it was generally believed at Paris, that the distribution of the crosses at the camp of Boulogne was only a pretext, and that Bonaparte had, at length, gone to carry into execution, the project of an invasion of England, which every body supposed he contemplated. It was, indeed, a pretext. The Emperor wished to excite more and more the enthusiasm of the army—to show himself to the military invested in his new dignity, to be present at some grand manœuvres, and dispose the army to obey the first signal he might give. How indeed, on beholding such great preparations, so many transports created, as it were, by enchantment, could any one have supposed that he did not really intend to attempt a descent on England? People almost fancied him already in London: it was known that all the army-corps, echelloned on the coast from Etaples to Ostend, were ready to embark. Napoleon's arrival in the midst of his troops inspired them, if possible, with a new impulse. The French ports on the Channel, had for a long period been converted into dock-yards and arsenals, where works were carried on with that inconceivable activity, which Napoleon knew so well how to inspire. An almost incredible degree of emulation prevailed amongst the commanders of the different camps, and it descended from rank to

rank to the common soldiers, and even to the labourers.

As every one was eager to take advantage of the slightest effects of chance, and exercised his ingenuity in converting them into prognostics of good fortune for the Emperor, those who had access to him did not fail to call his attention to some remains of a Roman camp which had been discovered at the *Tour d'Ordre*, where the Emperor's tent was pitched. This was considered an evident proof that the French Cæsar occupied the camp, which the Roman Cæsar had formerly constructed to menace Great Britain. To give additional force to this allusion, the *Tour d'Ordre* resumed the name of Cæsar's Tower. Some medals of William the Conqueror, found in another spot, where, perhaps, they had been buried for the purpose of being dug up, could not fail to satisfy the most incredulous, that Napoleon must conquer England.

It was not far from Cæsar's tower that eighty thousand men of the camps of Boulogne and Montreuil under the command of Marshal Soult were assembled in a vast plain to witness the distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honour impressed with the Imperial effigy. This plain which I saw with Bonaparte in our first journey to the coast before our departure to Egypt was circular and hollow, and in the centre was a little hill. This hill formed the Imperial throne of Bonaparte in the midst of his soldiers. There he stationed himself with his staff, and around this

centre of glory the regiments were drawn up in lines and looked like so many diverging rays. From this throne which had been erected by the hand of nature Bonaparte delivered in a loud voice the same form of oath which he had pronounced at the Hospital of Invalids a few days before. It was the signal for a general burst of enthusiasm, and Rapp alluding to this ceremony told me that he never saw the Emperor appear more pleased. How could he be otherwise? Fortune then seemed obedient to his wishes. A storm came on during this brilliant day and it was apprehended that part of the flotilla would have suffered. Bonaparte quitted the hill from which he had distributed the crosses and proceeded to the port to direct what measures should be taken, when upon his arrival the storm ceased as if by enchantment. The flotilla entered the port safe and sound, and he went back to the camp where the sports and amusements prepared for the soldiers commenced, and in the evening the brilliant fire-works which were let off, rose in a luminous column which was distinctly seen from the English coast.

When he reviewed the troops he asked the officers and often the soldiers in what battles they had been engaged, and to those who had received serious wounds he gave the cross. Here I think I may appropriately mention a singular piece of charlatanism to which the Emperor had recourse, and which powerfully contributed to augment the enthusiasm of his troops. He would say to one

of his aides-de-camp, "Ascertain from the colonel of such a regiment whether he has in his corps a man who has served in the campaigns of Italy or the campaigns of Egypt. Ascertain his name, where he was born, the particulars of his family and what he has done. Learn his number in the ranks and to what company he belongs and furnish me with the information."

On the day of the review Bonaparte, at a single glance, could perceive the man who had been described to him. He would go up to him as if he recognized him, address him by his name, and say,—“Oh! so you are here! You are a brave fellow—I saw you at Aboukir—how is your old father? What! have you not got the cross? Stay, I will give it you.” Then the delighted soldiers would say to each other, “You see the Emperor knows us all; he knows our families; he knows where we have served.” What a stimulus was this to soldiers whom he succeeded in persuading that they would all, some time or other, become marshals of the empire!

Lauriston told me, amongst other anecdotes relative to Napoleon's sojourn at the camp of Boulogne, a remarkable instance of intrepidity on the part of two English sailors. These men had been prisoners at Verdun, which was the most considerable depot of English prisoners in France, at the rupture of the peace of Amiens. They effected their escape from Verdun, and arrived at Boulogne without having been disco-

vered on the road, notwithstanding the vigilance, with which all the English were watched. They remained at Boulogne for some time, destitute of money, and without being able to effect their escape. They had no hope of getting aboard a boat, on account of the strict watch that was kept upon vessels of every kind. These two sailors made a boat of little pieces of wood, which they put together as well as they could, having no other tools than their knives. They covered it with a piece of sail-cloth. It was only three or four feet wide, and not much longer; and was so light that a man could easily carry it on his shoulders. So powerful a passion is the love of home and liberty! Sure of being shot if they were discovered; almost equally sure of being drowned if they effected their escape, they, nevertheless, resolved to attempt crossing the Channel in their fragile skiff. Perceiving an English frigate within sight of the coast, they pushed off, and endeavoured to reach her. They had not gone a hundred toises from the shore, when they were perceived by the custom-house officers, who set out in pursuit of them, and brought them back again. The news of this adventure quickly spread through the camp, where the extraordinary courage of the two sailors was the subject of general remark. The circumstance reached the Emperor's ears. He wished to see the men, and they were conducted to his presence, along with their little boat. Napoleon, whose imagination was struck

by every thing extraordinary, could not conceal his surprise at so bold a project, undertaken with such feeble means of execution. "Is it really true," said the Emperor to them, "that you thought of crossing the sea in this?"—"Sire," said they, "if you doubt it, give us leave to go, and you shall see us depart."—"I will. You are bold and enterprising men—I admire courage wherever I meet with it. But you shall not hazard your lives—You are at liberty, and more than that, I will cause you to be put on board an English ship. When you return to London tell how I esteem brave men, even when they are my enemies." Rapp, who with Lauriston, Duroc, and many others, were present at this scene, were not a little astonished at the Emperor's generosity. If the men had not been brought before him, they would have been shot as spies, instead of which they obtained their liberty, and Napoleon gave several pieces of gold to each. This circumstance was one of those which made the strongest impression on Napoleon, and he recollected it when at St. Helena, in one of his conversations with M. de Las Cases.

No man was ever so fond of contrasts as Bonaparte. He liked, above every thing, to direct the affairs of war whilst seated in his easy-chair in the cabinet of Saint-Cloud, and to dictate in the camp his decrees relative to civil administration. Thus, at the camp of Boulogne he founded the decennial premiums, the first

distribution of which he intended should take place five years afterwards, on the anniversary of the eighteenth Brumaire, which was an innocent compliment to the date of the foundation of the Consular Republic. This measure also seemed to promise to the republican calendar, a longevity which it did not attain. All these little circumstances passed unobserved; but Bonaparte had so often developéd to me his theory of the art of deceiving mankind, that I knew their true value. It was likewise at the camp of Boulogne that, by a decree emanating from his individual will, he destroyed the noblest institution of the republic, the Polytechnic School, by converting it into a purely military academy. He knew that in that sanctuary of high study, a republican spirit was fostered; and whilst I was with him, he had often told me it was necessary that all schools, colleges, and establishments for public instruction, should be subjected to military discipline. I frequently endeavoured to controvert this idea, but without success.

It was arranged, that Josephine and the Emperor should meet in Belgium. He proceeded thither from the camp of Boulogne, to the astonishment of those who believed that the moment for the invasion of England had at length arrived. He joined the Empress at the castle of Laken, which the Emperor had ordered to be repaired and newly furnished with great magnificence.

The Emperor continued his journey by the towns bordering on the Rhine. He stopped first

in the town of Charlemagne, passed through the three bishopricks, saw, on his way, Cologne and Coblentz, which the emigration had rendered so famous, and arrived at Mentz, where his sojourn was distinguished by the first attempt at negociation with the Holy See, in order to induce the Pope to come to France to crown the new Emperor, and consolidate his power by supporting it with the sanction of the church. This journey of Napoleon occupied three months, and he did not return to St. Cloud till October. Amongst the flattering addresses which the Emperor received in the course of his journey, I cannot pass over unnoticed, the speech of M. de la Chaise, Prefect of Arras, who said: "God made Bonaparte and rested." This occasioned Count Louis de Narbonne, who was not yet attached to the imperial system, to remark, "That it would have been well had God rested a little sooner."

During the Emperor's absence, a partial change took place in the ministry. M. de Champagny succeeded M. Chaptal, as minister of the interior. At the camp of Boulogne, the pacific Joseph found himself, by his brother's wish, transformed into a warrior, and placed in command of a regiment of dragoons, which was a subject of laughter with a great number of generals. I recollect, that one day, Lannes, speaking to me of the circumstance in his usual downright and energetic way, said: "He had better

not place him under my orders, for upon the first fault I will put the scamp under arrest——”

I have already spoken of the intrigues of Drake, and of a person named Mehée de la Touche, who had obtained an infamous celebrity in the annals of espionage. At this period, that is to say, at the beginning of October, the attention of the British Parliament, was called to the correspondence of its minister at Munich. Lord Morpeth, in the House of Commons, brought forward a very violent motion respecting this correspondence. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in reply, thanked the noble Lord for having afforded him an opportunity of contradicting, in the most positive terms, one of the greatest and most atrocious calumnies which one civilized nation had ever invented against another. He affirmed in the face of Parliament, that no instructions had been given to any individual whatever to act in a manner contrary to the rights of nations—that neither he nor his colleagues had ever authorised any person to act in a manner which would compromise the honour of England.

I must say, because I have proof of the fact, that all the correspondence, which excited the indignation of honourable men, was the result of odious intrigues. Nothing of the kind could have taken place but for the perfidious suggestions of the agents of police, of whom Mehée was one of the most active, executing even the lucrative but dangerous office of spy to both parties.

In support of what I advance as a positive fact, I may be permitted to state, in anticipation, that during nearly six years which I passed at Hamburg, as minister from France, I was in a situation to know every body and every thing. I can declare, that neither in the exercise of my official functions nor in my private intercourse with the most respectable men, did I discover any thing which gave me cause to believe that the English government had ever contrived any of the plots which dishonoured alike those who conceived and encouraged them. I am not here the apologist of the English, but the defender of truth. The English had recourse to all the means authorized by policy and the usages of diplomacy to oppose a vast and ambitious genius, placed by fortune at the head of a powerful and brave nation, and ill concealing his designs with respect to the continent. To the power of his armies they opposed the power of gold, and by the attractions of subsidies induced wavering cabinets to seek their alliance. These negotiations, doubtless, gave rise to secret intrigues, which must be condemned in the relations between man and man, but which necessity and usage have converted into a law, authorised by the public rights of nations, in the relations between government and government.

The interest of the nation must be the first law of every government, and the English ministers would have been wanting in their duty, if they had not endeavoured to throw every obstacle in the way of Bonaparte's ambition. This interest

constantly guided the policy of Louis XIV, and the historians of that great monarch have not made it a subject of reproach to him, that he was the first to acknowledge the protectorate of Cromwell; and yet, the Protector was stained with the blood of Charles I, the son-in-law of Henry IV. The policy of Napoleon was much more hostile to the laws of nations than was that of England. We have not only seen him violating the territory of Baden, to carry off the Duke d'Enghien, but even detaining, as prisoners, private individuals, who had come to France in the confidence of hospitality after the treaty of Amiens. At the very moment, too, when the discussion was going on in the British Parliament respecting Drake's correspondence, Mr. Rumbold, the English minister at Hamburg, was by Napoleon's order, carried off from his country house in the neighbourhood of that city, by a party of French troops detached from the army which occupied Hanover. This detachment crossed the Elbe, violating the still independent territory of the republic, and compelled Rumbold to return to England, exacting from him the promise not to appear again in Hamburg. Was it to be expected that such transactions would be followed by confidence, and after committing them, how could Napoleon pretend to be so scrupulous respecting the conduct of others?

CHAPTER IX.

England deceived by Napoleon—Admirals Miniessy and Villeneuve—
 Command given to Lauriston—Napoleon's opinion of Madame de
 Staël—Her letters to Napoleon—Her enthusiasm converted into
 hatred—Bonaparte's opinion of the power of the church—The Pope's
 arrival at Fontainebleau—Napoleon's first interview with Pius VII—
 The Pope and the Emperor on a footing of equality.

ENGLAND was never so much deceived by Bonaparte as during the period of the encampment at Boulogne. The English really believed that an invasion was intended, and the government exhausted itself in efforts for raising men and money to guard against the danger of being taken by surprise. Such indeed is the advantage always possessed by the assailant. He can choose the point on which he thinks it most convenient to act, while the party which stands on the defence, and is afraid of being attacked, is compelled to be prepared in every point. However, Napoleon, who was then in the full vigour of his genius and activity, had always his eyes fixed on objects remote from those which surrounded him, and which seemed to absorb his

whole attention. Thus during the journey of which I have spoken, and the ostensible object of which was the organization of the departments on the Rhine, he despatched two squadrons from Rochefort and Boulogne, one commanded by Miniessi, the other by Villeneuve. I shall not enter into any details on those squadrons. I shall merely mention with respect to them, that while the Emperor was still in Belgium, Lauriston paid me a sudden and unexpected visit. He was on his way to Toulon to take command of the troops which were to be embarked on Villeneuve's squadron, and he was not much pleased with the service to which he had been appointed.

Lauriston's visit was a piece of good fortune for me. We were always on friendly terms, and I received much information from him, particularly with respect to the manner in which the Emperor spent his time:—"You can have no idea," said he, "how much the Emperor does, and the sort of enthusiasm which his presence excites in the army. But his anger at the contractors is greater than ever, and he has been very severe with some of them." These words of Lauriston did not at all surprise me, for I well knew Napoleon's dislike to contractors, and all men who had mercantile transactions with the army. I have often heard him say, that they were a curse and a leprosy to nations: that whatever power he might attain, he never would grant honours to any of them, and that of all aristocracies, their's was to him the most insupportable.

After his accession to the empire, the contractors were no longer the important persons they had been under the Directory, or even during the two first years of the consulate. Bonaparte sometimes acted with them as he had before done with the Beys of Egypt, when he drew from them forced contributions. I recollect another circumstance somewhat curious respecting the visit of Lauriston, who had left the Emperor and Empress at Aix-la-Chapelle. Lauriston was the best educated of the aides-de-camp, and Napoleon often conversed with him on such literary works as he chose to notice. "He sent for me one day," said Lauriston, "when I was on duty at the Palace of Laken, and spoke to me of the decennial prizes, and the tragedy of Carion de Nisas,* and a novel by Madame de Staël, which he had just read, but which I had not seen, and was therefore rather embarrassed in replying to him. Respecting Madame de Staël and her Delphine, he said some remarkable things. "I like women," he observed, "that make men of themselves, as little as I like effeminate men. There is a proper part for every one to play in the world. What does all this vagrancy of imagination mean? What is the result of it? Nothing. It is all sentimental

* Lauriston alluded to the tragedy of Peter the Great, which was twice represented before very tumultuous audiences. This piece was performed at the Théâtre Français in the first period of the empire, but the Emperor prohibited the representation because the allusions were not taken in the sense he wished them to be, and which the author had hoped they would.

metaphysics and disorder of the mind. I cannot endure that woman ; for one reason that I cannot bear women who make a set at me, and God knows how often she has tried to cajole me ?”

The words of Lauriston brought to my recollection the conversations I had often had with Bonaparte respecting Madame de Staël, of whose advances made to the First Consul, and even to the general of the army of Italy, I had frequently been witness. Bonaparte knew nothing at first of Madame de Staël, but that she was the daughter of M. Necker, a man for whom, as I have already shewn, he had very little esteem. Madame de Staël had not been introduced to him, and knew nothing more of him than what fame had published respecting the young conqueror of Italy, when she addressed to him letters full of enthusiasm. Bonaparte read some passages of them to me, and laughing said : “ What do you think Bourrienne of these extravagancies ? This woman is mad.” I recollect that in one of her letters Madame de Staël among other things told him, that they certainly were created for each other ; that it was in consequence of an error in human institutions, that the mild and tranquil Josephine was united to his fate ; that nature seemed to have destined for the adoration of a hero such as he, a soul of fire like his own. These extravagancies disgusted Bonaparte to a degree which I cannot describe. When he had finished reading these fine epistles, he used to throw them in the fire, or tear them with marked ill humour, and

would say, "Well, here is a woman who pretends to genius; a maker of sentiments, and she presumes to compare herself to Josephine! Bourrienne, I shall not reply to such letters."

I had, however, the opportunity of seeing what the perseverance of a woman of talent can effect; notwithstanding Bonaparte's prejudices against Madame de Staël, which he never abandoned, she succeeded in getting herself introduced to him, and if any thing could have disgusted him with flattery, it would have been the admiration, or to speak more properly, the worship which she paid him, for she used to compare him to a god descended on earth; a kind of comparison which the clergy, I thought, had reserved for their own use. But, unfortunately, to please Madame de Staël, it would have been necessary that her God had been Plutus, for behind her eulogies lay a claim for two millions, which M. Necker considered still due to him on account of his good and worthy services. However, Bonaparte said on this occasion, that whatever value he might set on the suffrage of Madame de Staël, he did not think fit to pay so dear for it with the money of the state. The conversion of Madame de Staël's enthusiasm into hatred is well known, as are also the petty vexations, unworthy of himself, with which the Emperor harassed her in her retreat at Copet.

Lauriston had arrived at Paris, where he made but a short stay, some days before Caffarelli, who was sent on a mission to Rome to sound the Papal Court, and to induce the Holy Father to come to

Paris to consecrate Bonaparte at his coronation. I have already described the nature of Bonaparte's ideas on religion. His notions on the subject seemed to amount to a sort of vague feeling rather than to any belief founded on reflexion. Nevertheless, he had a high opinion of the power of the church, but not because he considered it dangerous to governments, and least of all to his own. Napoleon never could have conceived how it was possible that a sovereign wearing a crown and a sword could have the meanness to kneel to a Pope, or to humble his sceptre before the keys of St. Peter. His spirit was too great to admit of such a thought. On the contrary, he regarded the alliance between the church and his power as a happy means of influencing the opinions of the people, and as an additional tie, which was to attach them to a government rendered legitimate by the solemn sanction of the papal authority. Bonaparte was not deceived. In this, as well as in many other things, the perspicuity of his genius enabled him to comprehend all the importance of a consecration imposed on him by the Pope; more especially as Louis XVIII, without subjects, without territory, and wearing only an illusory crown, had not received that sacred unction by which the descendants of Hugh Capet become the eldest sons of the church.

As soon as the Emperor was informed of the success of Caffarelli's mission, and that the Pope, in compliance with his desires, was about to repair to Paris to confirm in his hands the sceptre

of Charlemagne, nothing was thought of but preparations for that great event, which had been preceded by the recognition of Napoleon as Emperor of the French on the part of all the states of Europe, with the exception of England.

On the conclusion of the concordate Bonaparte said to me : " I shall let the republican generals exclaim as much as they like against the mass. I know what I am about, I am working for posterity." He was now gathering the fruits of his concordate. He ordered that the Pope should be every where treated in his journey through the French territory with the highest distinction, and he proceeded to Fontainebleau to receive his Holiness. This afforded an opportunity for Bonaparte to re-establish the example of those journeys of the old court, during which changes of Ministers used formerly to be made. The palace of Fontainebleau now become imperial, like all the old royal houses, had been newly furnished with a luxury and taste corresponding to the progress of modern art. The Emperor was proceeding on the road to Nemours when couriers informed him of the approach of Pius VII. Bonaparte's object was to avoid the ceremony which had been previously settled. He had, therefore, made the pretext of going on a hunting party, and was in the way as it were by chance when the Pope's carriage was arriving. He alighted from horseback, and the Pope came out of his carriage. Rapp was with the Emperor, and I think I yet hear him describing in his original manner, and

with his German accent, this grand interview, upon which, however, he for his part looked with very little respect. Rapp in fact was among the number of those who, notwithstanding attachment to the Emperor, preserved independence of character, and he knew he had no reason to dissemble with me. "Fancy to yourself," said he, "the amusing comedy that was played. After the Emperor and the Pope had well embraced they went into the same carriage; and, in order that they might be upon a footing of equality, they were to enter at the same time by opposite doors. All that was settled upon; but at breakfast the Emperor had calculated how he should manage, without appearing to assume any thing, to get on the right hand side of the Pope, and every thing turned out as he wished it. As to the Pope," said Rapp, "I must own that I never saw a man with a finer countenance or more respectable appearance than Pius VII."

CHAPTER X.

Honours rendered to the Pope—His apartments at the Tuileries—His visit to the imperial printing office—Paternal rebuke—Effect produced in England by the Pope's presence in Paris—Preparations for Napoleon's coronation—Votes in favour of hereditary succession—Convocation of the legislative body—The Presidents of Cantons—Anecdote related by Michot, the actor—Comparisons—Influence of the coronation on the trade of Paris—The insignia of Napoleon and the insignia of Charlemagne—The Pope's mule—Anecdote of the notary Raguideau—Distribution of eagles in the Champ de Mars—Remarkable coincidence.

AFTER the conference between the Pope and the Emperor at Fontainebleau, Pius VII set off for Paris first. On the road the same honours were paid to him as to the Emperor. Apartments were prepared for him in the pavillon de Flore in the Tuileries, and his bed-chamber was arranged and furnished in the same manner as his chamber in the palace of Monte-Cavallo, his usual residence in Rome. The Pope's presence in Paris was so extraordinary a circumstance that it was scarcely believed, though it had some time before been talked of. What, indeed, could be more singular than to see the head of the church in a capital, where four years previously the altars

had been overturned, and the few faithful who remained had been obliged to exercise their worship in secret! The Pope became the object of public respect and general curiosity. I was exceedingly anxious to see him, and my wish was gratified on the day, when he went to visit the imperial printing office, then situated where the bank of France now is.

A pamphlet dedicated to the Pope, containing the Pater Noster, in five hundred and fifty different languages, was struck off in the presence of his Holiness. During this visit to the printing office, a low-bred young man kept his hat on in the Pope's presence. Several persons indignant at this indecòrum advanced to take off the young man's hat. A little confusion arose, and the Pope observing the cause of it, stepped up to the young man, and said to him, in a tone of kindness truly patriarchal :—" Young man, uncover, that I may give thee my blessing. An old man's blessing never yet harmed any one." This little incident deeply affected all who witnessed it. The countenance and figure of Pope Pius VII commanded respect. David's admirable portrait is a living likeness of him.

The Pope's arrival at Paris produced a great sensation in London, greater indeed there than any where else, notwithstanding the separation of the English church from the church of Rome. The English ministry now spared no endeavours to influence public opinion by the circulation of libels against Bonaparte. The cabinet of London

found a two-fold advantage in encouraging this system, which not merely excited irritation against the powerful enemy of England, but diverted from the British government the clamour which some of its measures were calculated to create. Bonaparte's indignation against England was roused to the utmost extreme, and in truth, this indignation was in some degree a national feeling in France.

Napoleon had heard of the success of Caffarelli's negotiation previous to his return to Paris, after his journey to the Rhine. On arriving at Saint-Cloud he lost no time in ordering the preparations for his coronation. Every thing aided the fulfilment of his wishes. On the 28th November, the Pope arrived at Paris, and two days after, viz., on the first of December, the Senate presented to the Emperor the votes of the people for the establishment of hereditary succession in his family; for as it was pretended that the assumption of the title of Emperor was no way prejudicial to the republic, the question of hereditary succession only had been proposed for public sanction. Sixty thousand registers had been opened in different parts of France; at the offices of the Ministers, the Prefects, the Mayors of the Communes, Notaries, Solicitors, &c. France at that time contained one hundred and eight departments; and there were three millions five hundred and seventy four thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight voters. Of these only two thousand five hundred and sixty-nine voted against hereditary succes-

sion. Bonaparte ordered a list of the persons who had voted against the question, to be sent him, and he often consulted it. They proved to be not royalists, but for the most part staunch republicans. In my knowledge many royalists abstained from voting at all, not wishing to compromise themselves uselessly, and still less to give their suffrages to the author of the Duke d'Enghien's death. For my part, I gave my vote in favour of hereditary succession in Bonaparte's family; my situation, as may well be imagined, did not allow me to do otherwise.

Since the month of October, the legislative body had been convoked to attend the Emperor's coronation. Many Deputies arrived, and with them a swarm of those Presidents of Cantons who had occupied a conspicuous place in the annals of ridicule, at the close of the year 1804. They became the object of all sorts of witticisms and jests. The obligation of wearing swords, made their appearance very grotesque. As many droll stories were told of them, as were ten years afterwards related of those who were styled the Voltigeurs of Louis XIV. One of these anecdotes was so exceedingly ludicrous, that though it was probably a mere invention, yet I cannot refrain from relating it. A certain number of these Presidents was one day selected to be presented to the Pope; and as most of them were very poor, they found it necessary to combine economy with the etiquette necessary to be observed under the new order of things. To save the expense of hiring carriages,

they therefore proceeded to the Pavillon de Flore, on foot, taking the precaution of putting on gaiters to preserve their white silk stockings from the mud which covered the streets, for it was then the month of December. On arriving at the Tuileries, one of the party put his gaiters into his pocket. It happened that the Pope delivered such an affecting address that all present were moved to tears, and the unfortunate President, who had disposed of his gaiters in the way just mentioned, drew them out instead of his handkerchief, and smeared his face over with mud. The Pope is said to have been much amused at this mistake. If this anecdote should be thought too puerile to be repeated here. I may observe that it afforded no small merriment to Bonaparte, who made Michot, the actor, relate it to the Empress at Paris one evening after a court performance.

Napoleon had now attained the avowed object of his ambition ; but his ambition receded before him like a boundless horizon. On the first of December, the day which the Senate presented to the Emperor the result of the votes for hereditary succession François de Neufchâteau delivered an address to him, in which there was no want of adulatory expressions. As President of the Senate he had had some practice in that style of speech making ; and he only substituted the eulogy of the monarchical government for that of the republican government *a sempre bene* as the Italians say.

If I wished to make comparisons, I could here indulge in some curious ones. Is it not extraordinary that Fontainebleau, should have witnessed, at the interval of nearly ten years, Napoleon's first interview with the Pope, and his last farewell to his army, and that the Senate, who had previously given such ready support to Bonaparte, should in 1814 have pronounced his abdication^X at Fontainebleau!

The preparations for the coronation proved very advantageous to the trading classes of Paris. Great numbers of foreigners and people from the provinces visited the capital, and the return of luxury and the revival of old customs gave occupation to a variety of tradespeople who could get no employment under the Directory, such as saddlers, carriage makers, lacemen, embroiderers and others. By these positive interests were created more partisans of the Empire than by opinion and reflection; and it is but just to say that trade had not been so active for a dozen years before. The Imperial crown jewels were exhibited to the public at Biennais the jeweller's. The crown was of a light form, and with its leaves of gold, it less resembled the crown of France, than the antique crown of the Cæsars. These things were afterwards placed in the public treasury, together with the imperial insignia of Charlemagne which Bonaparte had ordered to be brought from Aix-la-Chapelle. But while Bonaparte was thus priding himself in his crown, and his imagined resemblance to Charlemagne, Mr. Pitt, lately recalled to the Ministry, was concluding at Stock-

holm, a treaty with Sweden, and agreeing to pay a subsidy to that power to enable it to maintain hostilities against France. This treaty was concluded on the 3rd of December, the day after the coronation.

It cannot be expected that I should enter into a detail of the ceremony which took place on the 2nd December. The glitter of gold, the waving plumes, and richly caparisoned horses of the imperial procession; the mule which preceded the Pope's cortege, and occasioned so much merriment to the Parisians, have already been described over and over again. I may, however, relate an anecdote connected with the coronation, told me by Josephine, and which is exceedingly characteristic of Napoleon.

When Bonaparte was paying his addresses to Madame de Beauharnais, neither one nor other kept a carriage; and, therefore, Bonaparte frequently accompanied her when she walked out. One day they went together to the Notary Raguideau, one of the shortest men I think I ever saw in my life. Madame de Beauharnais placed great confidence in him, and went there on purpose to acquaint him of her intention to marry the young general of artillery—the protégé of Barras. Josephine went alone into the notary's cabinet, while Bonaparte waited for her in an adjoining room. The door of Raguideau's cabinet did not shut close, and Bonaparte plainly heard him dissuading Madame de Beauharnais from her projected marriage:—

“ You are going to take a very wrong step,” said he, “ and you will be sorry for it. Can you be so mad as to marry a young man who has nothing but his cloak and his sword ? ” Bonaparte, Josephine told me, had never mentioned this to her, and she never supposed that he had heard what fell from Raguideau. “ Only think, Bourrienne,” continued she, “ what was my astonishment when, in the imperial robes on the coronation day, he desired that Raguideau might be sent for, saying that he wished to see him immediately ; and when Raguideau appeared, he said to him, ‘ Well ! have I nothing but my cloak and my sword now ? ’ ” Though Bonaparte had related to me almost all the circumstances of his life, as they occurred to his memory, he never once mentioned this affair of Raguideau, which he only seemed to have suddenly recollected on his coronation day.

The day after the coronation, all the troops in Paris were assembled in the Champ de Mars, that the imperial eagles might be distributed to each regiment, in lieu of the national flags. A throne was erected in front of the Military School, which though now transformed into a barrack, must have recalled to Bonaparte’s mind some singular recollections of his boyhood. At a given signal all the columns closed and approached the throne. Then Bonaparte, rising, gave orders for the distribution of the eagles, and delivered the following address to the deputations of the different corps of the army :—

“Soldiers, behold your colours : these eagles will always be your rallying point. They will always be where your Emperor may think them necessary for the defence of his throne and his people. Swear to sacrifice your lives to defend them, and by your courage to keep them constantly in the path of victory—Swear !”

It would be impossible to describe the acclamations which followed this address ; there is something so seductive in popular enthusiasm, that even indifferent persons cannot help yielding to its influence. And yet, the least reflection would have shewn how shamefully Napoleon foreswore the declaration he made to the Senate, when the organic *Senatus Consultum* for the foundation of the empire was presented to him at Saint-Cloud. On that occasion he said :—“The French people shall never be my people !” And yet the day after his coronation his eagles were to be carried wherever they might be necessary for the defence of *his people*.

By a singular coincidence while, on the 2nd of December, 1804, Bonaparte was receiving from the head of the church the imperial crown of France, Louis XVIII, who was then at Calmar, prompted as it were by an inexplicable presentiment, drew up and signed a declaration to the French people, in which he declared that he then swore never to break the sacred bond which united his destiny to theirs, never to renounce the inheritance of his ancestors, or to relinquish his rights.

CHAPTER XI.

Remarkable events cotemporary with Napoleon's coronation—Bonaparte's letter to the King of England—Pretended wish for peace—The Spanish fleet—Remarks on the law of neutrality—Acts of hostility against Spain—Bad policy of the English cabinet—Lord Malmesbury's letter to the Minister for Foreign Affairs—Festivals—Opening of the sittings of the Legislative body—Napoleon and Charlemagne—My appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary to Hamburgh—My interview with Bonaparte at Malmaison—Bonaparte's designs respecting Italy—His wish to revisit Brienne—Instructions for my residence in Hamburgh—Regeneration of European Society—Bonaparte's plan of making himself the oldest sovereign in Europe—Amédée Jaubert's mission—Commission from the Emperor to the Empress—My conversation with Madame Bonaparte.

Two very important changes in the policy of Europe were cotemporary with Napoleon's coronation. First, the treaty concluded at Stockholm between England and Sweden; and second, the declaration of war between Spain and England. These two events were quickly followed by the death of Mr. Pitt, who expired in January 1806.

The Emperor, under these serious circumstances, wishing to turn to account the influence of religious ideas, and the importance which the

presence of the head of the catholic church might give to his coronation, affected to consider himself only half a sovereign, until the votes of the Senate should be sanctioned by what is called the right divine. He accordingly made no attempt to get the King of England to acknowledge him as Emperor before his consecration on the 2d January; however, one month after that event he wrote him a letter, couched in a more lofty style than the one he had dispatched immediately after the 18th Brumaire.

This letter, which commenced with the words "Monsieur, mon frère," was a master piece of deceit; for the Emperor certainly would have been very sorry for a renewal of peace with the English government, especially since the declaration of war by Spain against England had placed at his disposal the Spanish fleet, of upwards of sixty ships, under the command of Admiral Gravina. England, chagrined at the impotence of all her efforts against France, sought to avenge herself in a way I shall not attempt to justify; for I consider it to be the duty of governments always to respect the rights of neutral states. Whatever might be the deference, or rather the submission of the cabinet of Madrid to that of the Tuileries, France alone was at war with England, without any of the allies, with the exception of Holland, having made any demonstration of hostilities. Nothing, therefore, could justify the conduct of the British government towards Spain. Without any previous declaration of war, Admiral Moore

insisted on searching four Spanish frigates bound to Cadiz from Mexico, with the treasures of that rich colony. The commander of the Spanish convoy opposed the search, and an engagement ensued, in which the Spaniards, being opposed to a superior force, surrendered, after an obstinate resistance. Three of the frigates were captured, and the other was blown up. This outrage was not the only one Spain experienced at the hands of England. English ships burnt Spanish merchant vessels, almost in the ports of the Peninsula, and intercepted and captured several convoys, although M. d'Anguade was still in London, as ambassador from Charles IV. These infractions of the law of nations, irritated the King of Spain, or rather the too famous Prince of the Peace, to such a degree, that war was declared against England, by the power she had so grievously injured.

The conduct of England, on this occasion, seems to have been not only blameable but very ill-judged and impolitic; and had the English cabinet been better informed of Napoleon's secret designs it would never in all probability have fallen into so great an error, as to oblige, by acts of hostility, neutral powers, such as Spain, to join Napoleon's fortunes. It was under these circumstances, when every thing seemed to promise that a continental war would not be long in offering food for his impatient genius, that Napoleon addressed to the King of England the letter to which I have just alluded. Its object was to induce

the belief that he wished for peace ; but he could not possibly be deceived as to the effect which that communication would produce in London, and he could not, therefore, be surprised, when, instead of an answer from George III, whom he had been pleased to call his brother, M. de Talleyrand brought him a letter from Lord Malmesbury, addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. This correspondence is well known as it has been published in all the journals of Europe.

Lord Malmesbury's letter made no great impression on the Emperor, for it was delivered to him while he was in the very vortex of his glory, and loaded with the congratulations which poured into the Tuileries from all parts. The Senate gave a magnificent fete in the gardens of the Luxembourg. The city of Paris also gave one, at which the Emperor and Empress were present ; in short the consecration of Napoleon was every where celebrated. Before the close of the year he convoked the Legislative body, whose sittings he himself opened with imperial pomp on the 27th of December.

The year 1804 teemed with great events, and it would be difficult to find in history so many circumstances exercising so great an influence on the destinies of Europe, crowded together within the short space of twelve months. The first half of the year offered the melancholy spectacle of the police machinations, of the cruel death of a young prince, and of a criminal trial, succeeded by executions and pardons. The second half of

the year was marked by Bonaparte's elevation to the empire, by a journey into the new departments annexed to the French territory, and lastly by an event perhaps the most extraordinary of modern times, the Pope's journey to France, to dispose in the name of the church, of a throne unoccupied, but not vacant. The climax of all these events was the opening of the legislative body, to which the Emperor addressed a speech which excited much attention at the time.

A throne was erected where the president's chair and desk formerly stood. The Emperor having ascended this throne, and the oath being again taken, he delivered a speech, in which among other things he said:—

“It would have been highly gratifying to me at this solemn period, to have seen peace reign throughout the world; but the political principles of our enemies—their recent conduct towards Spain, sufficiently shew the difficulty of fulfilling that wish. My object is not to aggrandize the territory of France, but to maintain that territory inviolate. I have no ambition to exercise a greater influence over the rest of Europe, but I will not lose any of the influence I have acquired. No new state shall be incorporated with the empire; but, I will neither sacrifice my own rights, nor the states which attach me to the bonds I have created.”

Scarcely had the Pope returned to Italy, when it was reported, that the Emperor intended to make a journey to Milan, the purpose of which

was to transform the Cisalpine republic into the kingdom of Italy. This was merely a corollary from the transmutation of the consular republic into a French empire. By this measure Napoleon completed the assimilation between himself and Charlemagne.*

I shall in the proper place relate all I know of this journey, which was destined to add the title of King to that of Emperor, and also allude to those seeds of rupture which the extension of Napoleon's power fostered at St. Petersburg. But I must now mention an event which concerns myself personally, namely, my appointment as minister plenipotentiary to the Dukes of Brunswick and Mecklenburgh Schwerin, and to the Hans towns.

This appointment took place on the 22nd of March, 1805. Josephine, who had kindly promised to inform me of what the Emperor intended to do for me, as soon as she herself should know those intentions, sent a messenger to acquaint me with my appointment, and to tell me that the Emperor would wish to see me. I had not visited Josephine since her departure for Belgium. The pomps and ceremonies of the coronation had, I may say, dazzled me, and deterred me from presenting myself at the Imperial palace, where I should have been annoyed by the eti-

* Charlemagne took the iron crown of Didier, King of the Lombards. After the lapse of ten centuries, he had an imitation in the person of Napoleon, who proclaimed, I forget now on what occasion, that he was not the successor of Louis XIV but of Charlemagne.

quette which had been observed since the coronation. I cannot describe what a disagreeable impression this parade always produced on me. I could not all at once forget the time when I used without ceremony to go into Bonaparte's chamber and wake him at the appointed hour. As to Bonaparte, I had not seen him since he sent for me after the condemnation of Georges, when I saw that my candour relative to Moreau, was not displeasing to him. Moreau had since quitted France without Napoleon's subjecting him to the application of the odious law which has only been repealed since the return of the Bourbons, and by virtue of which he was condemned to the confiscation of his property. Moreau sold his estate of Gros Bois to Berthier, and proceeded to Cadiz, whence he embarked for America. I shall not again have occasion to speak of him until the period of the intrigues into which he was drawn by the same influence which ruined him in France.

On the evening of the day when I received the kind message from Josephine, I had an official invitation to proceed the next day to Malmaison, where the Emperor then was. I was much pleased at the idea of seeing him there, rather than at the Tuileries, or even at St. Cloud. Our former intimacy at Malmaison made me feel more at my ease respecting an interview, from which my knowledge of Bonaparte's character, led me to entertain some apprehension. Was I to be received by my old comrade of Brienne, or by his

Imperial Majesty? I was received by my old college companion.

• On my arrival at Malmaison, I was ushered into the tent-room, leading to the library. How was I astonished at the good-natured familiarity with which he received me! He came up to me with a smile on his lips, took my hand, (which he had never done since he was Consul), pressed it affectionately, and it was impossible that I could look upon him as the Emperor of France, and the future King of Italy. Yet I was too well aware of his fits of pride to allow his familiarity to lead me beyond the bounds of affectionate respect. "My dear Bourrienne," said he, "can you suppose that the elevated rank I have attained has altered my feelings towards you? No. I do not attach importance to the glitter of imperial pomp; all that is meant for the people; but I must still be valued according to my deserts. I have been very well satisfied with your services, and I have appointed you to a situation where I shall have occasion for them. I know that I can rely upon you." He then asked with great warmth of friendship what I was about, and inquired after my family, &c. In short, I never saw him display less reserve or more familiarity, and unaffected simplicity, which he did the more readily, because his greatness was now incontestible. "You know," added Napoleon, "that I set out in a week for Italy. I shall make myself king; but that is but a stepping stone. I have greater designs respecting

Italy. It must be a kingdom, comprising all the transalpine states, from Venice to the maritime Alps. The junction of Italy with France can only be temporary; but it is necessary, in order to accustom the nations of Italy to live under common laws. The Genoese, the Piedmontese, the Venetians, the Milanese, the inhabitants of Tuscany, the Romans, and the Neapolitans, hate each other. None of them will acknowledge the superiority of the other, and yet Rome is, from the recollections connected with it, the natural capital of Italy. To make it so, however, it is necessary that the power of the Pope should be confined within limits purely spiritual. I cannot now think of this; but I will reflect upon it hereafter. At present I have only vague ideas on the subject; but they will be matured in time, and then all depends on circumstances. What was it told me when we were walking like two idle fellows, as we were in the streets of Paris, that I should one day be master of France—my wish—merely a vague wish. Circumstances have done the rest. It is therefore wise to look into the future, and that I do. With respect to Italy, as it will be impossible with one effort to unite her so as to form a single power, subject to uniform laws, I will begin by making her French. All these little states will insensibly become accustomed to the same laws, and when manners shall be assimilated, and enmities extinguished, then there will be an Italy, and I will give her independence. But for that I must have twenty

years, and who can count on the future? Bourrienne, I feel pleasure in telling you all this. It was locked up in my mind. With you I think aloud."

I do not think that I have altered two words of what Bonaparte said to me respecting Italy, so perfect, I may now say so without vanity, was my memory then, and so confirmed was my habit of fixing in it all that he said to me. After having informed me of his vague projects, Bonaparte with one of those transitions so common to him, said, "By the bye, Bourrienne, I have something to tell you. Madame de Brienne has begged that I will pass through Brienne, and I have promised that I will. I will not conceal from you that I shall feel great pleasure in again beholding the spot which for six years was the scene of our boyish sports and studies." Taking advantage of the Emperor's good humour, I ventured to tell him what happiness it would give me if it were possible that I could share with him the revival of recollections which were mutually dear to us. But Napoleon, after a moment's pause, said with extreme kindness: "Hark ye, Bourrienne, in your situation and mine this cannot be. It is more than two years since we parted. What would be said of so sudden a reconciliation? I tell you frankly that I have regretted you, and the circumstances in which I have frequently been placed, have often made me wish to recall you. At Boulogne I was quite resolved upon it. Rapp perhaps has informed you of it. He loves you,

and he assured me that he would be delighted at your return. But if upon reflection I changed my mind; it was because, as I have often told you, I will not have it said that I stand in need of any one. No. Go to Hamburgh. I have formed some projects respecting Germany, in which you can be useful to me. It is there I will give a mortal blow to England. I will deprive her of the continent—besides, I have some ideas not yet matured, which extend much farther. There is not sufficient similitude amongst the nations of Europe. Europe an society must be regenerated—a superior power must control the other powers, and compel them to live in peace with each other; and France is well situated for that purpose. For details you will receive instructions from Talleyrand; but I recommend you above all things to keep a strict watch on the emigrants. Woe to them if they become too dangerous! I know that there are still agitations among them——among these old *Marquis de Versailles*; but they are flies who burn themselves in the candle. You have been an emigrant yourself, Bourrienne; you feel a partiality for them, and you know that I have allowed upwards of two hundred of them to return upon your recommendation. But the case is altered. Those who are abroad are hardened. They do not wish to return home. Watch them closely. That is the only particular direction I give you. You are to be minister from France to Hamburgh; but your place will be an independent one; besides your

correspondence with the minister for foreign affairs, I authorise you to write to me personally, whenever you have any thing particular to communicate. You will likewise correspond with Fouché."

Here the Emperor remained silent for a moment, and I was preparing to retire, but he detained me, saying in the kindest manner:—"What, are you going already Bourrienne? Are you in a hurry? Let us chat a little longer. God knows when we may see each other again!" Then after two or three moments' silence, he said; "The more I reflect on our situation, on our former intimacy, and our subsequent separation, the more I see the necessity of your going to Hamburgh. When do you think of setting out?"—"In May."—"In May? Ah, I shall be in Milan then, for I wish to stop at Turin. I like the Piedmontese; they are the best soldiers in Italy."—"Sire, the King of Italy will be the junior of the Emperor of France."*—"Ah! so you recollect what I said one day at the Tuileries; but, my dear fellow, I have yet a devilish long way to go before I gain my point."—"At the rate you are going, you will not be long in reaching it."—"Longer than you imagine. I see all the obstacles in my way; but they do not alarm me. England

* I alluded to a conversation which I had with Napoleon when we first went to the Tuileries. He spoke to me about his projects of royalty, and I stated the difficulties which I thought he would experience in getting himself acknowledged by the old reigning families of Europe. "If it comes to that," he replied, "I will dethrone them all, and then I shall be the oldest sovereign among them."

is every where, and the struggle is between her and me. I see how it will be. The whole of Europe will be our instruments; sometimes serving one, sometimes the other: but at bottom the dispute is wholly between England and France."

"A propos," said the Emperor, changing the subject, for all who knew him are aware that this *a propos* was his favorite, and, indeed, his only mode of transition, "a propos, Bourrienne, you surely must have heard of the departure of Jaubert, and his mission. What is said on the subject?"—"Sire, I have only heard it slightly alluded to. His father, however, to whom he said nothing respecting the object of his journey, knowing I was intimate with Jaubert, came to me to ascertain whether I could allay his anxiety respecting a journey, of the duration of which he could form no idea. The precipitate departure of his son had filled him with apprehension. I told him the truth, viz: that Jaubert had said no more to me on the subject than to him."—"Then you do not know where he is gone?"—"I beg your pardon, Sire; I know very well."—"How, the devil!" said Bonaparte, suddenly turning on me a look of astonishment. I replied, "No one, I declare, has ever told me; but I guessed it. Having received a letter from Jaubert dated Leipsic, I recollected what your majesty had often told me of your views respecting Persia and India. I have not forgotten our conversations in Egypt,

nor the great projects which you unfolded to me to relieve the solitude, and sometimes the weariness of the cabinet of Cairo. Besides, I long since knew your opinion of Amédée, of his fidelity, his ability, and his courage. I felt convinced, therefore, that he had a mission to the Shah of Persia.”—“ You guessed right; but I beg of you, Bourrienne, say nothing of this to any person whatever. Secrecy, on this point, is of great importance. The English would do him an ill turn, for they are well aware that my views are directed against their possessions and their influence in the East.”—“ I think, Sire, that my answer to Amédée’s worthy father is a sufficient guarantee for my discretion. Besides it was a mere supposition on my part, and I could have stated nothing with certainty before your majesty had the kindness to inform me of the fact. Instead of going to Hamburgh, if your majesty pleases, I will join Jaubert, accompany him to Persia, and undertake half his mission.”—“ How! would you go with him?”—“ Yes, Sire; I am much attached to him. He is an excellent man, and I am sure that he would not be sorry to have me with him.”—“ But stop, Bourrienne this, perhaps, would not be a bad idea. You know a little of the East. You are accustomed to the climate. You could assist Jaubert. But No. Jaubert must be already far off. I fear you could not overtake him. And besides you have a numerous family. You will

be more useful to me in Germany. All things considered, go to Hamburgh—you know the country, and what is better, you speak the language.”

I could see that Bonaparte still had something to say to me. As we were walking up and down the room, he stopped, and looking at me with an expression of sadness, he said, “Bourrienne, you must, before I proceed to Italy, do me a service. You sometimes visit *my wife*, and it is right; it is fit you should. You have been too long one of the family not to continue your friendship with her. Go to her. Endeavour, once more, to make her sensible of her mad extravagance. Every day I discover new instances of it, and it distresses me. When I speak to her on the subject I am vexed; I get angry,—she weeps. I forgive her, I pay her bills—she makes fair promises; but the same thing occurs over and over again. If she had only borne me a child! It is the torment of my life not to have a child. I plainly perceive that my power will never be firmly established until I have one. If I die without an heir, none of my brothers is capable of supplying my place. All is begun, but nothing is ended. God knows what will happen. Go and see Josephine, and do not forget my injunctions.”

Then he resumed the gaiety which he had exhibited at intervals during our conversation, for clouds driven by the winds do not traverse the horizon with such rapidity as different ideas and

sensations succeeded each other in Napoleon's mind. He dismissed me with his usual nod of the head, and seeing him in such good humour I said on departing:—"Well, Sire, you are going to hear the old bells of Brienne.—I wager they will please you better than the bells of Ruel." He replied:—"That's true—you are right.—Adieu!"

Such are my recollections of this conversation, which lasted for more than an hour and a half. We walked about all the time, for Bonaparte was indefatigable in audiences of this sort, and would, I believe, have walked and talked for a whole day without being aware of it. I left him, and according to his desire went to see Madame Bonaparte, which, indeed, I had intended to do before he requested it.

I found Josephine with Madame de la Rochefoucauld, who had long been in her suite, and who, a short time before, had obtained the title of lady of honour to the Empress. Madame de la Rochefoucauld was a very amiable woman, of mild disposition, and was a favourite with Josephine. When I told the Empress that I had just left the Emperor, she, thinking that I would not speak freely before a third person, signed to Madame de la Rochefoucauld, to retire. I had no trouble in introducing the conversation on the subject, concerning which Napoleon had directed me to speak to Josephine; for, after the interchange of a few indifferent remarks, she herself told me of a violent scene, which had occurred between her and the Emperor two days

before. "When I wrote to you yesterday," said she, "to announce your appointment, and to tell you that Bonaparte would recall you, I hoped that you would come to see me on quitting him, but I did not think that he would have sent for you so soon. Ah! how I wish that you were still with him, Bourrienne, you could make him hear reason. I know not who takes pleasure in bearing tales to him; but really I think there are persons busy every where in finding out my debts, and telling him of them."

These complaints, so sweetly uttered by Josephine, rendered less difficult the preparatory mission with which I commenced the exercise of my diplomatic functions. I acquainted Madame Bonaparte with all that the Emperor had said to me. I reminded her of the affair of the twelve hundred thousand francs which we had settled with half that sum. I even dropped some allusions to the promises she had made.

"How can I help it?" said she. "Is it my fault?" Josephine uttered these words in a tone of sincerity which was at once affecting and ludicrous. "They bring me all sorts of beautiful things;" she continued, "they praise them up, I buy them—they do not ask me for the money, and all of a sudden, when I have got none, they come upon me with a demand for payment. This reaches Napoleon's ears, and he gets angry. When I have money, Bourrienne, you know how I employ it. I give it principally to the unfortunate who solicit my assistance, to poor emi-

grants. But I will try to be more economical in future. Tell him so if you see him again. But is it not my duty to bestow as much charity as I can?"

"Yes, Madame; but, permit me to say, that nothing requires greater discernment than the distribution of charity. If you had always sat upon a throne you might have supposed that your bounty always fell into the hands of the deserving; but you cannot be ignorant that it oftener falls to the lot of intriguers than the meritorious needy. I cannot disguise from you that the Emperor was very earnest when he spoke, on this subject; and he desired me to tell you so."

"Did he reproach me with nothing else?"—

"No, Madame. You know the influence you have over him with respect to every thing, but what relates to politics. Allow a faithful and sincere friend to prevail upon you seriously not to vex him on this point."—"Bourrienne, I give you my word. Adieu! my friend."

In communicating to Josephine what the Emperor had said to me, I took care not to touch a chord which would have awakened feelings far more painful to her than even the Emperor's harsh reproofs on account of her extravagance. Poor Josephine; how should I have afflicted her had I uttered a word of Bonaparte's regret at not having a child. She always had a presentiment of the fate that one day awaited her.

CHAPTER XII.

Napoleon and Voltaire.—Demands of the Holy See.—Coolness between the Pope and the Emperor.—Napoleon's departure for Italy.—Last interview between the Pope and the Emperor at Turin.—Alessandria.—The field of Marengo.—The last Doge of Genoa.—Bonaparte's arrival at Milan.—Union of Genoa to the French empire.—Error in the Memorial of St. Helena.—Bonaparte and Madame Grassini.—Symptoms of dissatisfaction on the part of Austria and Russia.—Napoleon's departure from Milan.—Monument to commemorate the battle of Marengo.—Napoleon's arrival in Paris and departure for Boulogne.—Unfortunate result of a naval engagement.—My visit to Fouché's country seat.—Siéyès, Barras, the Bourbons and Bonaparte.—Observation respecting Josephine.

VOLTAIRE says, that it is very well kissing the feet of Popes, provided their hands are tied. Notwithstanding the slight estimation in which Bonaparte held Voltaire, he, probably without being aware of this irreverent satire, put it into practice. The Court of Rome gave him the opportunity of doing so shortly after his coronation. The Pope, or rather the Cardinals, his advisers, conceiving that so great an instance of complaisance as the journey of his holiness to Paris ought not to go for nothing, demanded

a compensation, which, had they been better acquainted with Bonaparte's character and policy, they would never have dreamed of soliciting. The Holy See demanded the restitution of Avignon, Bologna, and some parts of the Italian territory which had formerly been subject to the Papal dominion. It may be imagined how such demands were received by Napoleon, particularly after he had obtained all he wanted from the Pope. It was, it must be confessed, a great mistake of the Court of Rome, whose policy is usually so artful and adroit, not to make this demand till after the coronation. Had it been made the condition of the Pope's journey to France, perhaps Bonaparte would have consented to give up, not Avignon certainly, but the Italian territories, with the intention of taking them back again. Be this as it may, these tardy claims, which were peremptorily rejected, created an extreme coolness between Napoleon and Pius VII. The public did not immediately perceive it, but there is in the public an instinct of reason which the most able politicians never can impose upon ; and all eyes were opened when it was known that the Pope, after having crowned Napoleon as Emperor of France, refused to crown him as sovereign of the regenerated kingdom of Italy.

Napoleon left Paris on the 1st of April, to take possession of the iron crown at Milan. The Pope remained some time longer in the French capital. The prolonged presence of his holiness was not without its influence on the religious

feelings of the people ;—so great was the respect inspired by the benign countenance and mild manners of the Pope. When the period of his persecutions arrived, it would have been well for Bonaparte had Pius VII never been seen in Paris, for it was impossible to view in any other light than as a victim, the man whose truly evangelic meekness had been duly appreciated.

Bonaparte did not evince great impatience to seize the crown of Italy, which he well knew could not escape him. He stayed a considerable time at Turin, where he resided in the Stupini palace, which may be called the Saint-Cloud of the kings of Sardinia. The Emperor cajoled the Piedmontese. General Menou, who was made governor of Piedmont, remained there till Napoleon founded the general government of the transalpine departments in favour of his brother-in-law, the Prince of Borghese, of whom he would have found it difficult to make any thing else than a Roman prince. Napoleon was still at Turin when the Pope passed through that city on his return to Rome. Napoleon had a final interview with his holiness, to whom he now affected to shew the greatest personal deference. From Turin Bonaparte proceeded to Alessandria, where he commenced those immense works on which such vast sums were expended. He had many times spoken to me of his projects respecting Alessandria, for, as I have already observed, all his great measures as Emperor were merely the execution of projects conceived at a time

when his future elevation could have been only a dream of the imagination. He one day said to Berthier, in my presence, during our sojourn at Milan, after the battle of Marengo—"With Alessandria in my possession, I should always be master of Italy. It might be made the strongest fortress in the world; it is capable of containing a garrison of forty thousand men, with provisions for six months. Should insurrections take place, should Austria send a formidable force, here the French troops might retire to Alessandria, and stand a six months' siege. Six months would be more than sufficient, wherever I might be, to enable me to fall upon Italy, rout the Austrians, and raise the siege of Alessandria."

As he was so near the field of Marengo, the Emperor did not fail to visit it, and to add to this solemnity, he reviewed on the field all the corps of French troops who were in Italy. Rapp told me afterwards, that the Emperor had taken with him from Paris, the dress and the hat which he wore on the day of that memorable battle, with the intention of wearing them on the field where it was fought. He afterwards proceeded by the way of Casal to Milan.

There the most brilliant reception he had yet experienced awaited him. His sojourn at Milan was not distinguished by outward demonstrations of enthusiasm alone. M. Durazzo, the last Doge of Genoa, added another gem to

the crown of Italy, by supplicating the Emperor in the name of the republic, of which he was the representative, to permit Genoa to exchange her independence for the honour of becoming a department of France. This offer, as may be guessed, was merely a plan contrived beforehand. It was accepted with an air of protecting kindness, and at the same moment that the country of Andrea Doria was effaced from the list of nations, its last Doge was included among the number of French senators. Genoa, which formerly prided herself in her surname, the *Superb*, became the chief station of the twenty-seventh military division. The Emperor went to take possession of the city in person, and slept in the Doria palace, in the bed where Charles the Fifth had lain. He left M. Le Brun at Genoa as governor-general.

At Milan the Emperor occupied the palace of Monza. The old iron crown of the kings of Lombardy was brought from the dust in which it had been buried, and the new coronation took place in the cathedral of Milan, the largest in Italy, with the exception of St. Peter's at Rome. Napoleon received the crown from the hands of the Archbishop of Milan, and placed it on his head, exclaiming, "*Dieu me l'a donnée gare à qui la touche.*" This became the motto of the order of the iron crown, which the Emperor founded in commemoration of his being crowned King of Italy.

Napoleon was crowned in the month of May,

1805 : and here I cannot avoid correcting some inconceivable errors into which Napoleon must have voluntarily fallen at St. Helena. The Memorial states, " That the celebrated singer, Madame Grassini, attracted his attention at the time of the coronation." Napoleon alleges, that Madame Grassini on that occasion said to him : " When I was in the prime of my beauty and talent all I wished was, that you would bestow a single look upon me. That wish was not fulfilled, and now you notice me when I am no longer worthy your attention."

I confess I am at a loss to conceive what could induce Napoleon to invent such a story. He might have recollected his acquaintance with Madame Grassini at Milan, before the battle of Marengo. It was in 1800; and not in 1805, that I was first introduced to her, and I know that I several times took tea with her and Bonaparte in the general's apartments. I remember also another circumstance ; and that is that on the night when I awakened Bonaparte to announce to him the capitulation of Genoa, Madame Grassini also awakened. Napoleon was charmed with Madame Grassini's delicious voice, and if his imperious duties had permitted it, he would have listened with extacy to her singing for hours together.

Whilst Napoleon was at Milan, priding himself on his double sovereignty, some schemes began to be laid at Vienna and St. Petersburg, which I shall hereafter have occasion to notice. The Emperor indeed gave cause for just com-

plaint, by the mere fact of annexing Genoa to the empire, within four months after his solemn declaration to the legislative body, in which he pledged himself in the face of France and Europe not to seek any aggrandisement of territory. The pretext of a voluntary offer on the part of Genoa was too absurd to deceive any one. The rapid progress of Napoleon's ambition could not escape the observation of the cabinet of Vienna, which began to show encreased symptoms of hostility. The change which was effected in the form of the government of the Cisalpine republic, was likewise an act calculated to excite remonstrances on the part of all the powers who were not entirely subject to the yoke of France. He disguised the taking of Genoa under the name of a gift, and the possession of Italy under the appearance of a mere change of denomination. Notwithstanding these flagrant outrages, the exclusive apologists of Napoleon have always asserted, that he did not wish for war, and he himself maintained that assertion at St. Helena. It is said that he was always attacked, and hence a conclusion is drawn in favour of his love of peace. I acknowledge Bonaparte would never have fired a single musket shot if all the powers of Europe had submitted to be pillaged by him one after the other without opposition. It was in fact declaring war against them, to place them under the necessity of breaking a peace, during the continuance of which he was augmenting his power, and gratifying his ambition, as if in

defiance of Europe. In this way Napoleon commenced all the wars in which he was engaged, with the exception of that which followed the peace of Marengo, and which terminated in Moreau's triumph at Hohenlinden. As there was no liberty of the press in France, he found it easy to deceive the nation. He was in fact attacked, and thus he enjoyed the pleasure of undertaking his great military expeditions without being responsible in the event of failure.

During the Emperor's stay in the capital of the new kingdom of Italy, he received the first intelligence of the dissatisfaction of Austria and Russia. That dissatisfaction was not of recent date! When I entered on my functions at Hamburgh, I learned some curious details (which I will relate in their proper place), respecting the secret negotiations which had been carried on for a considerable time previously to the commencement of hostilities. Even Prussia was no stranger to the dissatisfaction of Austria and Russia; I do not mean the king, but the cabinet of Berlin, which was then under the control of Chancellor Hardenberg; for the King of Prussia had always personally declared himself in favour of the exact observance of treaties, even when their conditions were not honourable. Be that as it may, the cabinet of Berlin, however, dissatisfied in 1805 with the rapid progress of Napoleon's ambition, was nevertheless constrained to conceal its discontent, owing to the presence of the French troops in Hanover.

On returning from Milañ, the Emperor ordered the erection of a monument on the great St. Bernard, in commemoration of the victory of Marengo. M. Denon, who accompanied Napoleon told me that he made a useless search to discover the body of Desaix, which Bonaparte wished to be buried beneath the monument; and that it was at length found by General Savary. It is therefore certain that the ashes of the brave Desaix repose on the summit of the Alps.

The Emperor arrived in Paris about the end of June, and instantly set off for the camp at Boulogne. It was now once more believed that the project of invading England would be accomplished. This idea obtained the greater credit, because Bonaparte caused some experiments for embarkation to be made in his presence. These experiments however led to no result. About this period, a fatal event but too effectually contributed to strengthen the opinion of the inferiority of our navy. A French squadron, consisting of fifteen ships, fell in with the English fleet commanded by Admiral Calder, who had only nine vessels under his command, and in an engagement, which there was every reason to expect, would terminate in our favour, we had the misfortune to lose two ships. The invasion of England was as little the object of this, as of the previous journey to Boulogne: all Napoleon had in view, was to stimulate the enthusiasm of the troops, and to hold out those threats against England which he conceived necessary for di-

verting attention from the real motive of his hostile preparations which was to invade Germany, and repulse the Russian troops, who had begun their march towards Austria. Such was the true object of Napoleon's last journey to Boulogne:

I had been for some time at Hamburgh, when these events took place, and it was curious to observe the effect they produced. But I must not forget one circumstance in which I am personally concerned, and which brings me back to the time when I was in Paris. My new title of minister plenipotentiary obliged me to see a little more of society than during the period when prudence required me to live as it were in retirement. I had received sincere congratulations from Duroc, Rapp, and Lauriston, the three friends who had shewn the greatest readiness to serve my interests with the Emperor; and I had frequent occasion to see M. Talleyrand, as my functions belonged to his department. The Emperor, on my farewell audience having informed me that I was to correspond directly with the minister of the general police, I called on Fouché, who invited me to spend some days at his estate of Pont Carré. I accepted the invitation because I wanted to confer with him, and I spent Sunday and Monday, the 28th and 29th of April, at Pont-Carré.

Fouché, like the Emperor, frequently revealed what he intended to conceal; but he had such a reputation for cunning, that this sort of in-

discretion was attended by no inconvenience to him. He was supposed to be such a constant dissembler, that those who did not know him well, looked upon the truth, when he spoke it, merely as an artful snare laid to entrap them. I, however, knew that celebrated person, too well to confound his cunning with his indiscretion. The best way to get out of him more than he was aware of, was to let him talk on without interruption. There were very few visitors at Pont-Carré, and during the two days I spent there I had several conversations with Fouché. He told me a great deal about the events of 1804, and he congratulated himself on having advised Napoleon to declare himself emperor. "I have no preference," said Fouché, "for one form of government more than another. Forms signify nothing. The first object of the revolution was not the overthrow of the Bourbons, but merely the reform of abuses, and the destruction of prejudices. However, when it was discovered that Louis XVI had neither firmness to refuse what he did not wish to grant, nor good faith to grant what his weakness had led him to promise, it was evident that the Bourbons could no longer reign over France; and things were carried to such a length, that we were under the necessity of condemning Louis XVI, and resorting to energetic measures. You know all that passed up to the eighteenth Brumaire, and after. We all perceived that the republic could not exist in France: the question, therefore, was to ensure

the perpetual removal of the Bourbons; and I believe the only means for so doing is to transfer the hereditary succession of their throne to another family. Some time before the eighteenth Brumaire, I had a conversation with Siéyès and Barras, in which it was proposed, in case of the Directory being threatened, to recall the Duke of Orleans; and I could see very well that Barras favoured that suggestion, to which he alluded merely as a report that was circulated about, and the effect of which he advised me to observe. Siéyès said nothing, and I settled the question by observing, that if any such thing had been agitated, I must have been informed of it through the reports of my agents. I added, that the restoration of the throne to a collateral branch of the Bourbons would be an impolitic act, and would, but temporarily change the position of those who had brought about the revolution. I rendered an account of this interview with Barras to General Bonaparte, the first time I had an opportunity of conversing with him after your return from Egypt. I sounded him, and I was perfectly convinced that in the state of decrepitude into which the Directory had fallen, he was just the man we wanted. I, therefore, adopted such measures with the police as tended to promote his elevation to the first magistracy. He soon shewed himself ungrateful, and instead of giving me all his confidence, he tried to outwit me. He gave the direction of subordinate parts of the police to men whose least fault was

to be useless. Most of their agents, who were in my employ, obeyed my instructions in their reports; and it often happened that the First Consul thought he had discovered, through the medium of others, information that came from me, and of the falsehood of which I easily convinced him. I confess I was at fault on the 3rd Nivose; but, are there any human means of preventing two men, who have no accomplices, from bringing a plot to execution? You saw the First Consul on his return from the opera: you heard all his declamations. I felt assured that the infernal machine was the work of the royalists. I told the Emperor this, and he was, I am sure, convinced of it; but he, nevertheless, proscribed a number of men on the mere pretence of their old opinions. Do you suppose I am ignorant of what he said of me, and of my vote at the National Convention? Certainly, it ill becomes him to reproach the conventionists. It was that vote which placed the crown upon his head. But for the situation in which we were placed by that event, which circumstances had rendered inevitable, what should we have cared for the chance of seeing the Bourbons return. You must have remarked, that the republicans who were not conventionists, were, in general, more averse than we to the proceedings of the eighteenth Brumaire, as for example, Bernadotte and Moreau. I know positively that Moreau was averse to the consulate; and that it was only from weakness that he accepted the guard of the

Directory. I know also that he excused himself to his prisoners for the duty which had devolved upon him. They themselves told me this."

Fouché entered into many details respecting his conduct, and the motives which had urged him to do what he did in favour of the First Consul. My memory does not enable me to report all he told me, but I distinctly recollect that the impression made on my mind by what fell from him was, that he had acted merely with a view to his own interests. He did not conceal his satisfaction at having outwitted Regnier, and obliged Bonaparte to recall him. That he set in motion every spring calculated to unite the conspirators, or rather to convert the discontented into conspirators, is evident from the following remarks which fell from him:—"With the information I possessed, had I remained in office, it is probable that I might have prevented the conspiracy; but Bonaparte would still have had to fear the rivalry of Moreau. He would not have been Emperor, and we should still have had to dread the return of the Bourbons, of which, thank God, there is now no fear."

During my stay at Pont-Carré, I said but little to Fouché about my long audience with the Emperor. However, I thought I might inform him that I was authorised to correspond directly with his majesty. I thought it useless to conceal this fact, since he would soon learn it through his agents. I also said a few words about Bonaparte's regret at not having children. My

object was to learn Fouché's opinion on this subject, and it was not without a feeling of indignation that I heard him say:—"It is to be hoped the Empress will soon die. Her death will remove many difficulties. Sooner or later, he must take a wife who will bear him a child: for, as long as he has no direct heir, there is every chance that his death will be the signal for a revolution. His brothers are perfectly incapable of filling his place, and a new party would rise up in favour of the Bourbons; which must be prevented above all things. At present they are not dangerous, though they still have active and devoted agents. Altona is full of them, and you will be surrounded by them. I beg of you to keep a watchful eye upon them, and render me a strict account of all their movements, and even of their most trivial actions. As they have recourse to all sorts of disguises, you cannot be too vigilant; therefore, it will be advisable in the first place to establish a good system of espionage; but have a care of the spies who serve both sides, for they swarm in Germany."

This is all I recollect of my conversations with Fouché at Pont-Carré. I returned to Paris to make preparations for my journey to Hamburgh.

CHAPTER XIII.

The diplomatic body at Hamburgh—Design of kidnapping me—Crue treatment of a courier—Capitulation of Sublingen—Preparations for war—Utility of commercial information—My instructions—Inspection of the emigrants and the journals—A pamphlet by Kotzebue—Offers from the Emperor of Russia to Moreau—Fetè in the camp of the King of Sweden—Portrait of Gustavus Adolphus by one of his ministers—Count de la Rocque—Fouché's denunciations—Duels at Hamburgh—M. de Gimel—The Hamburgh Correspondent—The Emperor of Austria and M. Brockenhausen—The two Irish spies—Correspondence between Berthier and Bernadotte—Important letter from Bernadotte.

I LEFT Paris on the 20th of May, 1805. On the 5th of June following, I delivered my credentials to the Senate of Hamburgh, which was represented by the Syndic Doormann and the Senator Schutte. M. Reinhart, my predecessor, left Hamburgh on the 12th of June.

On my arrival, the following were the representatives of the different foreign powers in Hamburgh.

For Spain, Count de Rechteren, a pleasant man, a lover of good cheer, and fond of enjoying

himself. His wife, a Spanish lady of high rank, possessed the remains of beauty. The secretary to the Spanish embassy was M. Romanillos, a dull, ill-educated, disagreeable man, who spoke French very badly, though he imagined he expressed himself with great elegance in that language, which made him very ridiculous.

For Prussia, Baron de Grote, a vain man, and an insufferable gossip. He made a parade of his cordons and titles, was destitute of resources, and exceedingly pliant to the wishes of all parties.

For Denmark, Baron Eybe, who was an absolute blank.

For England, Mr. Thornton. The war prevented me from seeing him; but I was told that he was a very worthy man. Subsequent circumstances confirmed this report, and proved to me that he was both prudent and well-informed.

For Russia, M. Forshmann, a droll little man, quarrelsome, silly, and vain.

M. Gieffer the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires, was a very well disposed man.

M. Schubach, one of the most respectable merchants in Hamburgh, was the Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires.

M. Reynoldt, the Dutch Chargé d'Affaires, was a clever man, but he was self-sufficient and conceited.

The war prevented me from seeing M. Perron, the Swedish minister. I was sorry for this; because he was represented to me as a man of a

prudent and a conciliatory disposition. He dissuaded Gustavus from his design of kidnapping me, which would have formed a pendant to the case of M. Rhumbold, the English minister, who was carried off by Napoleon's order, while my predecessor was in Hamburgh.

The reigning Dukes of Mecklenburgh Schwerin, and Brunswick, to whom I had announced my arrival as accredited minister to them, wrote me letters recognizing me in that character.

The following circumstance may be adduced as an additional proof of what I have said respecting the illegal measures resorted to by Napoleon's government. On my arrival in Hamburgh, I learned that a courier who was on his way from Vienna to England, had been arrested in a forest. After his despatches were taken from him, his hands were bound, and he was tied to a tree. The unfortunate man remained in this situation, until an old woman, passing accidentally through the forest, untied him, and saved his life. During the six years of my residence in Hamburgh, I never received any order of this kind, which was very fortunate, as I should certainly not have executed it.

General Walmoden had just signed the capitulation of Sublingen with Marshal Mortier, who had the command in Hanover. The English government refused to ratify this capitulation, because it stipulated that the troops should be prisoners of war. Bonaparte had two motives

for relaxing this hard condition. He wished to keep Hanover as a compensation for Malta, and to assure the means of embarrassing and attacking Prussia, which he now began to distrust. By advancing upon Prussia he would secure his left, so that when convenient he might march northward. Mortier, therefore, received orders to reduce the conditions of the capitulation to the surrender of the arms, baggage, artillery, and horses. England, which was making great efforts to resist the invasion with which she fancied herself threatened, expended considerable sums for the transport of the troops from Hanover to England. Her hurry was indescribable, and she paid the most exorbitant charges for the hire of ships. Several houses in Hamburgh made fortunes on this occasion.

The Emperor of Austria had not yet acknowledged Napoleon King of Italy, though his ambassador still remained in Paris. Now that Piedmont was united to France, and Italy subject to her laws, Austria could not see Napoleon at the head of so great a nation, and possessed of absolute power, without trembling for the consequences of his ambition. She, therefore, begun to think of war. England, who was not sorry to remove even the threat of invasion, excited the dissatisfaction of the Austrian cabinet. But I cannot admit that Napoleon was intent upon his expedition, when the hostility of Austria was manifested. He was not sorry for that hostility,

as I think I have sufficiently shewn, and he relinquished without regret his expensive and useless expedition against England.

According to my instructions, I was on my arrival in Hamburgh, to give every assurance that his Imperial Majesty would guarantee the constitution and tranquillity of Germany, and that he regarded that obligation as a most sacred duty. Yet, scarcely had I entered upon my functions, when Germany was ravaged by war, and the continental system was ruining every commercial town.

Experience has long since proved that it is not at their source that secret transactions are most readily known. The intelligence of an event frequently resounds at a distance, while the event itself is almost entirely unknown in the place of its occurrence. The direct influence of political events on commercial speculations, renders merchants exceedingly attentive to what is going on. All who are engaged in commercial pursuits form a corporation united by the strongest of all bonds, common interest; and commercial correspondence frequently presents a fertile field for observation, and affords much valuable information, which often escapes the inquiries of government agents.

I resolved to form a connection with some of the mercantile houses which maintained extensive and frequent communications with the northern states. I knew that by obtaining their confidence I might gain a knowledge of all that was

going on in Russia, Sweden, England, and Austria. Among the subjects upon which it was desirable to obtain information, I included negotiations, treaties, military measures, such as recruiting troops beyond the amount settled for the peace establishment; movements of troops, the formations of camps and magazines, financial operations, the fitting-out of ships, and many other things, which, though not important in themselves, frequently lead to the knowledge of what is important.

I was not inclined to place reliance on all public reports and gossiping stories circulated on the Exchange, without close investigation; for I wished to avoid transmitting home as truths, what might frequently be mere stock-jobbing inventions. I was instructed to keep watch on the emigrants, who were exceedingly numerous in Hamburgh and its neighbourhood, Mecklenburgh, Hanover, Brunswick, and Holstein, but I must observe my inspection was to extend only to those who were known to be actually engaged in intrigues and plots.

I was also to keep watch on the state of the public mind, and the journals which frequently gave it a wrong direction, and to point out those articles in the journals which I thought censurable. At first I merely made verbal representations and complaints, but I could not always confine myself to this course. I received such distinct and positive orders, that in spite of myself, inspection was speedily converted into oppres-

sion. Complaints against the journals filled one-fourth of my despatches.

Having learned that the desertion of the French troops stationed in Hanover, was very considerable, I ordered the arrest of a man named Jocquin, who had deserted from Luneburgh, and had been in Hamburg about a year. This example put a stop to desertion.

As the Emperor wished to be made acquainted with all that was printed against him, I sent to Paris in May, 1805, and consequently a very few days after my arrival in Hamburg, a pamphlet of the celebrated Kotzebue, entitled *Recollections of my Journey to Naples and Rome*. This publication, which was printed at Berlin, was full of indecorous attacks and odious allusions on the Emperor.

I was informed at that time, through a certain channel, that the Emperor Alexander had solicited General Moreau to enter his service, and take the command of the Russian infantry. He offered him twelve thousand rubles to defray his travelling expenses. At a subsequent period Moreau unfortunately accepted these offers, and died in the enemy's ranks.

Gustavus, King of Sweden, who loved to make himself talked about, gave a grand fête in the camp of Scania. The Swedish minister shewed me an autograph letter from the king, directing him to get all the details of the fête inserted in the Correspondent.

On the 27th of June M. Bouligny arrived at

Hamburgh. He was appointed to supersede M. d'Ocariz, at Stockholm. The latter minister had left Hamburgh on the 11th of June, for Constantinople, where he did not expect to stay three months. I had several long conversations with him before his departure, and he did not appear to be satisfied with his destination. We frequently spoke of the King of Sweden, whose conduct M. d'Ocariz blamed. He was, he said, a young madman; who, without reflecting on the change of time and circumstances, wished to play the part of Gustavus Adolphus, to whom he bore no resemblance but in name. M. d'Ocariz spoke of the King of Sweden's camp in a tone of derision. That prince had returned to the King of Prussia the cordon of the Black Eagle, because the order had been given to the First Consul. I understood that Frederick William was very much offended at this proceeding, which was as indecorous and absurd as the return of the Golden Fleece by Louis XVIII to the King of Spain was dignified and proper.

Gustavus Adolphus was brave, enterprising, and chivalrous, but inconsiderate and irascible. He called Bonaparte *Monsieur Napoléon*. His follies and reverses in Hanover were, without doubt, the cause of his abdication. On the 31st of October he published a declaration of war against France, in language highly insulting to the Emperor. M. Bouligny was with me during a great portion of the ten days he spent at Hamburgh. He was convinced that

the folly of the King of Sweden would soon bring him to a rupture with Spain. I shall presently have occasion to notice Gustavus's grand expeditions, and their result.

Count de La Roque, an emigrant residing at Hamburgh, received fourteen louis per month, for being an agent to the English government. He went to Hanover on some business, and Marshal Bernadotte, who commanded there, gave orders for his arrest. M. de La Roque having received intimation of this, returned in haste to Hamburgh. He produced to the questor his certificate of burgher of Hamburgh, and under the protection of that sacred title, he enjoyed full liberty. In the month of July I received orders to demand the removal, from Hamburgh, of M. de La Roque, who was alleged to be a very active agent of the Bourbons, and an English spy. M. de La Roque, who had now retired to Altona, asked me to grant him an interview, in which he said he would prove to me his innocence. He told me in his letter, "That he had not feared to capitulate with a rebel and a man of low extraction." This was in allusion to a letter he was charged with having written to M. Chaptal, and which had excited suspicion. I returned him no answer, and there the matter rested; for M. de La Roque kept himself quiet.

Fouché overwhelmed me with letters filled with accusations. If I had attended to all his instructions, I should have left nobody unmolested. He asked me for information respecting

a man named Larozet, of the department of Gard; a girl, named Rosine Zimbenni, having informed the police that he had been killed in a duel at Hamburgh. I replied that I knew of but four Frenchmen who had been killed in that way: one, named Clément, was killed by Tarasson; a second, named Duparc, killed by Lezardi; a third, named Sadremont, killed by Revel; and a fourth, whose name I did not know. This latter had just arrived at Hamburgh when he was killed; but he was not the man sought for.

Lafond was a native of Brabant, and had served in the British Hûlains. He insulted the Frenchman because he wore the national cockade. A duel was the consequence, and the offended party fell. M. Reinhard, my predecessor, wished to punish Lafond, but the Austrian minister having claimed him as the subject of his sovereign, he was not molested. Lafond took refuge in Antwerp, where he became a player.

During the first months which succeeded my arrival in Hamburgh, I received orders for the arrest of many persons, almost all of whom were designated as dangerous and ill-disposed men. When I was convinced that the accusation was groundless, I postponed the arrest. The matter was then forgotten, and nobody complained.

A title, or a rank in foreign service was a safeguard against the Paris inquisition. Of this the following is an instance:—Count Gimel, of whom I shall hereafter have occasion to speak more

at length, set out about this time for Carlsbad. Count Grote, the Prussian minister, frequently spoke to me of him. On my expressing apprehension that M. de Gimel might be arrested, as there was a strong prejudice against him; M. Grote replied:—"Oh! there is no fear of that. He will return to Hamburgh with the rank of an English colonel."

On the 17th of July there appeared in the Correspondent, an article exceedingly insulting to France. It had been inserted by order of Baron Novozilzow, who was at Berlin, and who had become very hostile to France, though, it was said he had been sent from St. Petersburg on a pacific mission to Napoleon. The article in question was transmitted from Berlin, by an extraordinary courier, and Novozilzow, in his note to the Senate, said it might be stated that the article was inserted at the request of his Britannic Majesty. The Russian minister at Berlin, M. Alopæus, despatched also an estafette to the Russian Chargé-d'affaires at Hamburgh, with orders to apply for the insertion of the article, which accordingly appeared. In obedience to the Emperor's instructions I complained of it, and the Senate replied: that it never opposed the insertion of an official note sent by any government; that insults would redound against those from whom they came; that the reply of the French government would be published, and that the Senate had never deviated from this mode of proceeding.

I observed to the Senate, that I did not understand why the Correspondent should make itself the trumpet of M. Novozilzow; to which the Scyndic replied:—that two great powers which might do them much harm, had required the insertion of the article, and that it could not be refused.*

The hatred of the foreign princes, which the death of the Duke d'Enghien had considerably increased, gave encouragement to the publication of every thing hostile to Napoleon. This truth was candidly avowed to me by the ministers and foreigners of rank whom I saw in Hamburgh. The King of Sweden was most violent in manifesting the indignation which was generally excited by the death of the Duke d'Enghien. M. Wetterstadt, who had succeeded M. La Gerbielske in the cabinet of Stockholm, sent to the Swedish minister at Hamburgh a long letter, exceedingly insulting to Napoleon. It was in reply to an article inserted in the *Moniteur* respecting the return of the black eagle to the King of Prussia. M. Peyron, the Swedish minister at Hamburgh, who was very far from approving all that his master did, transmitted to Stockholm some very energetic remarks on the ill effect which would be produced by the insertion of the article in the *Corres-*

* The circulation of the Hamburgh Correspondent at that time, was 27,000. At a later period it amounted to 60,000. It was a well conducted and cheap journal, and was read in all parts of Germany. It was at the time here alluded to, the most effective medium of publicity.

pondent. The article was then a little modified, and M. Peyron received formal orders to get it inserted. However, on my representations the Senate agreed to suppress it, and it did not appear.

The Emperor of Austria refused to receive at his court a Prussian minister, M. Brockenhausen, who was sent by Frederick William to succeed M. Keller. I was positively informed that Francis II alleged as the ground of this refusal that M. Brockenhausen, when sent by Prussia to the Netherlands at the time of the insurrection under Vander Noot, had been an instigator rather than an observer.

Marshal Bernadotte, who had the command of the French troops in Hanover, kept up a friendly correspondence with me, unconnected with the duties of our respective functions.

Previous to my arrival in Hamburgh in 1804, Marshal Berthier had recommended to Bernadotte two Irishmen as spies.* Bernadotte employed them, but I learned that Mac-Mahon, one of the two, rendered himself more serviceable to

* The following is Berthier's letter :—

“ I have the honour to inform you, Marshal, that two Irishmen residing in Hamburgh, MM. Durnin and Mac-Mahon, who had been liberally rewarded by the English government for coming to France to act as spies on the Irish refugees and the views of the French government, have offered their services to assist the designs of France in the cause of the United Irishmen.

“ His Majesty wishes that you should accept the offer of these two Irishmen; that you should employ them in obtaining all possible information, and even furnish them with whatever money may be necessary.

England than to us. I communicated this fact to Bernadotte, who ascertained that my information was accurate.

Berthier's letter was so positive, that but for the information I had transmitted to him, Bernadotte would have conceived himself bound to employ the two men recommended to him. As it was; however, he rejected their services.*

On the occupation of Hanover, Mr. Taylor, the English minister at Cassel, was obliged to leave that place; but he soon returned in spite of the

"For the sake of expedition I have written on this subject to General Dessolle, who commands in Hanover during your absence, and I beg you will transmit to him the orders and instructions necessary for fulfilling the Emperor's instructions.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"BERTHIER."

* Bernadotte's letter to me was in these terms:—

"I have received your letter, my dear minister, and thank you for your attention in communicating to me the information it contains.

"I never had great confidence in the intelligence or fidelity of Maç Mahon. He was never intrusted with any business of importance, and if I furnished him with the means of subsistence, it was because he was recommended to me by the war minister, and besides, his unfortunate condition could not but excite pity. I at first allowed him four hundred francs per month; but, finding him perfectly useless, I reduced that allowance to two-hundred and fifty, which was barely sufficient for him to live on. He has not been at head-quarters for the last three months.

"I enclose a copy of the letter which the war minister wrote to me respecting Maç Mahon.

"I expect soon to have the pleasure of seeing you. I leave this to-morrow, and shall be in Hamburg on the 7th or 8th, when I hope to have the happiness of assuring you verbally of my sincere friendship, &c. &c.

"T. BERNADOTTE."

opposition of France. On this subject Marshal Bernadotte furnished me with the following particulars.

“ I have just received, my dear Bourrienne, information which leaves no doubt of what has taken place at Cassel with respect to Mr. Taylor. That minister has been received in spite of the representations of M. Bignon, which, however, had previously been merely verbal. I know that the Elector wrote to London to request that Mr. Taylor should not return. In answer to this the English government sent him back. Our minister has done every thing he could to obtain his dismissal; but the pecuniary interests of the elector have triumphed over every other consideration. He would not risk quarrelling with the court from which he expects to receive more than twelve millions of francs. The British government has been written to a second time, but without effect. The Elector himself, in a private letter has requested the King of England to recall Mr. Taylor, but it is very probable that the cabinet of London will evade this request.

“ Under these circumstances our troops have approached nearer to Cassel. Hitherto the whole district of Göttingen had been exempt from quartering troops. New arrangements rendered necessary by the scarcity of forage have obliged me to send a squadron of horse chasseurs to Minden, a little town four leagues from Cassel. This movement excited some alarm in the Elector, who expressed a wish to see things restored

to the same footing as before. He has requested M. Bignon to write to me, and to assure me again that he will be delighted to become acquainted with me at the waters of Nemidorff, where he intends to spend some time. But on this subject I shall not alter the determination I have already mentioned to you.

“ Yours, &c.

“ BERNADOTTE.

“ Stade, 10th Thermidor (July 29th, 1805).”

CHAPTER XIV.

Treaty of alliance between England and Russia—Certainty of an approaching war—M. Forschmann, the Russian minister—Evacuation of Cuxhaven—Duroc's mission to Berlin—New project of the King of Sweden—Secret mission to the Baltic—Animosity against France—Facqs and his intrigues—Fall of the exchange between Hamburgh and Paris—Destruction of the first Austrian army—Taking of Ulm—The Emperor's displeasure at the remark of a soldier—Battle of Trafalgar—Duroc's position at the court of Prussia—Armaments in Prussia—Libel upon Napoleon in the Hamburgh Correspondent—Embarrassment of the Syndic and Burgo-master of Hamburgh—The conduct of the Russian minister censured by the Swedish and English ministers.

At the beginning of August, 1805, a treaty of alliance between Russia and England was spoken of. Some persons of consequence, who had the means of knowing all that was going on in the political world, had read this treaty, the principal points of which were communicated to me.

Article 1st stated, that the object of the alliance was to restore the equilibrium of Europe. By art. 2nd, the Emperor of Russia was to place 36,000 men at the disposal of England. Art. 3d stipulated that neither of the two powers would consent to treat with France, nor to lay down

arms until the Kings of Sardinia should either be restored to his dominions, or receive an equivalent indemnity in the north-east of Italy. By art. 4th, Malta was to be evacuated by the English, and occupied by the Russians. By art. 5th, the two powers were to guarantee the independence of the republic of the Ionian Isles, and England was to pledge herself to assist Russia in her war against Persia. If this plan of a treaty, of the existence of which I was informed on unquestionable authority, had been brought to any result, it is impossible to calculate what might have been its consequences.

At that time an immediate continental war was confidently expected by every person in the north of Europe; and it is very certain, that had not Napoleon taken the hint in time, and renounced his absurd schemes at Boulogne, France would have stood in a dangerous situation.

M. Forschmann, the Russian Chargé-d'affaires, was intriguing to excite the north of Europe against France. He repeatedly received orders to obtain the insertion of irritating articles in the Correspondent. He was an active, intriguing, and spiteful little man, and a declared enemy of France; but fortunately, his stupidity and vanity rendered him less dangerous than he wished to be. He was universally detested, and he would have lost all credit, but that the extensive trade carried on between Russia and Hamburgh, forced the inhabitants and magistrates of that city to

bear with a man who might have done them, individually, considerable injury.

The movements of the army of Hanover, which occupied a vast extent of ground, induced Bernadotte to concentrate his forces, in order to bring them nearer to the line of military operations, which, it was evident, must soon be commenced. Bernadotte was forced to evacuate the port of Cuxhaven, belonging to Hamburg. He profited of this circumstance to demand assistance from that Republic, to whose advantage he represented that the evacuation would turn. On this subject he wrote to me the following letter:—

“ Hanover, 16th Fructidor, year XIII.
(September 3d, 1805).

“ You are right, my dear Bourrienne, to reproach me. I at first intended to inform you of the operations which are taking place in the army. But as four-and-twenty hours passed over I thought you must be acquainted with all that had happened. I have made the preparatory arrangements for concentrating troops on Verden and Ganove. I have also assembled some regiments at Göttingen. Hitherto, all is mere conjecture; as soon as I ascertain any thing positive, be assured that I will inform you of it. I am aware how important it is that you should be made acquainted with all that is passing here. As the movement I am about to make takes me a little from Cuxhaven, it is possible that I may

leave that post unoccupied. Can you not take advantage of this circumstance to be useful to the army?

“BERNADOTTE.”

Before his departure for the south of Germany. Marshal Bernadotte wrote to me the following:—

“My dear Bourrienne, I have just received your letter with the English papers. I am quite of your opinion with respect to the affair which has taken place between our squadron and that of the enemy (the engagement with Admiral Calder is here alluded to). We must wait for further information before we can determine what course should be adopted.

“I knew that the vessel in question had been stopped at Cuxhaven. All the papers and documents have been sent to me. But before I apply for the confiscation of the prize, I wish that you would transmit to me immediately all the information which has come to your knowledge.”

“Hernenhausen, 22nd Fructidor,
(September 9th, 1805).”

The recollection of Duroc's successful mission to Berlin during the Consulate, induced Napoleon to believe that that general might appease the King of Prussia, who complained seriously of the violation of the territory of Anspach, which Bernadotte, in consequence of the orders he received, had not been able to respect. Duroc remained about six weeks in Berlin.

The following letter from Duroc will shew that the facility of passing through Hesse seemed to excuse the second violation of the Prussian territory ; but there was a great difference between a petty Prince of Hesse and the King of Prussia.

“ I send you, my dear Bourrienne, two despatches, which I have received for you. M. de Talleyrand, who sends them, desires me to request that you will transmit General Victor's by a sure conveyance.

“ I do not yet know whether I shall stay long in Berlin. By the last accounts I received, the Emperor is still in Paris, and numerous forces are assembling on the Rhine. The hopes of peace are vanishing every day, and Austria does every thing to promote war.

“ I have received accounts from Marshal Bernadotte. He has effected his passage through Hesse. Marshal Bernadotte was much pleased with the courtesy he experienced from the Elector.”

The junction of the corps, commanded by Bernadotte, with the army of the Emperor, was very important ; and Napoleon, therefore, directed the marshal to come up with him as speedily as possible, and by the shortest road. It was necessary he should arrive in time for the battle of Austerlitz. Gustavus, King of Sweden, who was always engaged in some enterprize, wished to raise an army composed of Swedes, Prussians, and English : and certainly a vigorous attack in the north would have prevented Bernadotte from quitting the banks of the Elbe and the Weser, and

reinforcing the grand army which was marching on Vienna. But the King of Sweden's coalition produced no other result than the siege of the little fortress of Hameln. Prussia would not come to a rupture with France, the King of Sweden was abandoned, and Bonaparte's resentment against him increased. This abortive project of Gustavus contributed not a little to alienate the affections of his subjects, who feared that they might be the victims of the revenge excited by the extravagant plans of their king, and the insults he heaped upon Napoleon, particularly since the death of the Duke d'Enghien.

On the 13th of September, 1805, I received a letter from the Minister of the Police, soliciting information relative to Swedish Pomerania.

Astonished at not obtaining from the commercial consuls at Lübeck and Stettin, any accounts of the movements of the Russians, I had sent to those parts, four days before the receipt of the police minister's letter, a confidential agent to observe the Baltic: though we were only sixty-four leagues from Stralsund the most uncertain and contradictory accounts came to hand. It was, however, certain that a landing of the Russians was expected at Stralsund or at Travemünde, the port of Lubeck at the mouth of the little river Trave. I was positively informed that Russia had freighted a considerable number of vessels for those ports.

The hatred of the French continued to increase in the north of Europe. About the end of Sep-

tember there appeared, at Kiel, in Denmark, a libellous pamphlet which was bought and read with inconceivable avidity. This pamphlet, which was very ably written, was the production of some fanatic who openly preached a crusade against France. The author regarded the blood of millions of men as a trifling sacrifice for the great object of humiliating France and bringing her back to the limits of the old monarchy. This pamphlet circulated extensively in the German departments united to France, in Holland, and in Switzerland. The number of incendiary publications, which every where abounded, indicated but too plainly that if the nations of the north should be driven back towards the Arctic regions, they would in their turn repulse their conquerors towards the south; and no man of common sense could doubt that if the French eagles were planted in foreign capitals, foreign standards would one day wave over Paris.

A man, named Facqs, a lieutenant-colonel in the Russian service, who had been arrested in France shortly before the peace of Amiens, arrived at Hamburgh on the 29th of August, 1805, and had repeated conferences with M. Forschmann. Facqs had letters of credit for two thousand louis on Bremen, and others on different towns which he was to visit. He spoke French, Russian, English and German with equal fluency. He was a clever man, and consequently dangerous as an intriguer. His mission was to prepare the public mind in Holland for the reception of the English

and Russians, who proposed effecting a landing in that country. He left Hamburgh in company with a man named Andrews, a secret agent of England, and a Frenchman named Chefneux. However, some time after, these two returned to Hamburgh: and Chefneux, whom I arrested, assured me that he had parted from Facqs, when, one evening, in a fit of intoxication, he avowed that he was going as a spy to Holland, a circumstance which he had concealed before his departure from Hamburgh. Facqs left Bremen on the 22nd of September, 1805, for the Hague, where he said he should remain two months. I sent in pursuit of him; but he had gone too far to be overtaken.

On the 26th of September Facqs returned to Hamburgh. He had left the Hague on the arrival of M. de Brantzen's courier, who announced the declaration of war against Austria. I repeatedly applied to the senate of Hamburgh for the arrest of Facqs, whom I knew to be a man of the worst character; but all my applications were ineffectual. He held his commission of the Emperor of Russia. On the 2nd of October he again left Hamburgh on his return to Holland, taking with him a box filled with pamphlets and diatribes against the Emperor and France.

On the 30th of September, 1805, I received, by an estafette, intelligence of the landing at Stralsund of six thousand Swedes, who had arrived from Stockholm, in two ships of war.

About the end of September the Hamburgh exchange on Paris fell alarmingly. The loss was twenty per cent. The fall stopped at seventeen below par. The speculation for this fall of the exchange had been made with equal imprudence and animosity by the house of Osy and company. The head of that house, a Dutch emigrant, who had been settled at Hamburgh about six years, seized every opportunity of manifesting his hatred of France. An agent of that rich house, at Rotterdam, was also very hostile to us, a circumstance which shews that if many persons sacrifice their political opinions to their interests, there are others who compromise their interests for the triumph of their opinions.

On the 23rd of October, 1805, I received official intelligence of the total destruction of the first Austrian army. General Barbou, who was in Hanover, also informed me of that event in the following terms:—"The first Austrian army has ceased to exist." He alluded to the brilliant affair of Ulm. I immediately dispatched twelve estafettes to different parts; among other places to Stralsund and Husum. I thought that these prodigies, which must have been almost incredible to those who were unacquainted with Napoleon's military genius, might arrest the progress of the Russian troops, and produce some change in the movements of the enemy's forces. A second edition of the Correspondent was published with this intelligence, and six thousand copies were sold at four times the usual price.

I need not detain the reader with the details of the capitulation of Ulm, which have already been published; but I may relate the following anecdote, which is not generally known. A French general passing before the ranks of his men, said to them:—"Well, comrades, we have prisoners enough here."—"Yes, indeed," replied one of the soldiers, "we never saw so many . . . collected together before." It was stated at the time, and I believe it, that the Emperor was much displeased when he heard of this, and remarked that it was "Atrocious to insult brave men, to whom the fate of arms had proved unfavourable."

In reading the history of this period, we find that in whatever place Napoleon happened to be, there was the central point of action. The affairs of Europe were arranged at his head-quarters in the same manner as if he had been in Paris. Every thing depended on his good or bad fortune. Espionage, seduction, false promises, exactions, all were put in force to promote the success of his projects; but his despotism, which excited dissatisfaction in France, and his continual aggressions, which threatened the independence of foreign states, rendered him more and more unpopular every where.

The battle of Trafalgar took place while Napoleon was marching on Vienna, and almost on the very day of the capitulation of Ulm. The southern coast of Spain then witnessed an engagement between thirty-one French and about an equal number of

English ships, and in spite of this equality of force the French fleet was destroyed.

This great battle afforded another proof of our naval inferiority. Admiral Calder first gave us the lesson which Nelson completed; but which cost the latter his life. According to the reports which Duroc transmitted to me, courage gave momentary hope to the French: but they were at length forced to yield to the superior naval tactics of the enemy. The battle of Trafalgar paralysed our naval force, and banished all hope of any attempt against England.

The favour which the King of Prussia had shewn to Duroc, was withdrawn when his majesty received intelligence of the march of Bernadotte's troops through the margravate of Anspach. All accounts concurred respecting the just umbrage which that violation of territory occasioned to the King of Prussia. The agents which I had in that quarter overwhelmed me with reports of the excesses committed by the French in passing through the margravate. A letter I received from Duroc, contains the following remarks on this subject:—

“The corps of Marshal Bernadotte has passed through Anspach, and by some misunderstanding, this has been regarded at Berlin as an insult to the King, a violence committed upon his neutrality. How can it be supposed, especially under present circumstances, that the Emperor could have any intention of insulting or committing violence upon his friend? Besides, the re-

ports have been exaggerated, and have been made by persons who wish to favour our enemies rather than us. However, I am perfectly aware that Marshal Bernadotte's seventy thousand men are not seventy thousand virgins. Be this as it may, the business might have been fatal, and will, at all events, be very injurious to us. Laforest and I are treated very harshly, though we do not deserve it. All the idle stories that have been got up here must have reached you. Probably Prussia will not forget that France was, and still may be, the only power interested in her glory and aggrandizement."

At the end of October, the King of Prussia, far from thinking of war, but, in case of its occurrence, wishing to check its disasters as far as possible, proposed to establish a line of neutrality. This was the first idea of the confederation of the north. Duroc, fearing lest the Russians should enter Hamburgh, advised me, as a friend, to adopt precautions. But I was on the spot: I knew all the movements of the little detached corps, and I was under no apprehension.

The editor of the *Hamburgh Correspondent* sent me, every evening, a proof of the number which was to appear next day; a favour which was granted only to the French minister. On the 20th of November, I received the proof as usual, and saw nothing objectionable in it. How great, therefore, was my astonishment, when, next morning I read in the same journal, an article

CHAPTER XV.

Difficulties of my situation at Hamburgh—Toil and responsibility—Supervision of the emigrants—Foreign Ministers—Journals—Packet from Strasburgh—Bonaparte an improvisator—Guilio, an extempore recitation.

THE brief detail I have given in the two or three preceding Chapters of the events which occurred previously to, and during the campaign of Austerlitz, with the letters of Duroc and Bernadotte, may afford the reader some idea of my situation during the early part of my residence in Hamburgh. Events succeeded each other with such incredible rapidity, as to render my labour excessive. My occupations were different, but not less laborious, than those which I formerly performed when near the Emperor; and besides, I was now loaded with a responsibility which did not attach to me, as the private secretary of General Bonaparte and the First Consul. I had, in fact, to maintain a constant watch over the emigrants from Altona, which was no easy matter,—to correspond daily with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of Police,—to confer with the foreign ministers, accredited at Hamburgh—to

maintain active relations with the commanders of the French army—to interrogate my secret agents, and keep a strict surveillance over their proceedings; it was, besides, necessary to be unceasingly on the watch for scurrilous articles against Napoleon in the *Hamburgh Correspondent*. I shall frequently have occasion to again speak of all those things, and especially of the most marked emigrants in a manner less irregular, because what I have hitherto said, may in some sort be considered merely as a summary of all the facts relating to the occurrences which daily passed before my eyes.

In the midst of these multifarious and weighty occupations I received a packet with the *Strasburgh* post mark, at the time the *Empress* was in that city. This packet had not the usual form of a diplomatic dispatch, and the superscription announced that it came from the residence of *Josephine*. My readers will not experience less gratification than I did on a perusal of its contents; but before satisfying the curiosity, to which I have perhaps given birth, I may here relate that one of the peculiarities of *Bonaparte* was a fondness of extempore recitation: and, it appears, he had not discontinued the practice even after he became Emperor.

In fact, *Bonaparte*, during the first year after his elevation to the Imperial throne, usually passed those evenings in the apartments of the *Empress* which he could steal from public business. Throwing himself on a sofa he would remain absorbed in

gloomy silence, which no one dared to interrupt. Sometimes, however, on the contrary, he would give the reins to his vivid imagination, and his love of the marvellous, or rather to speak more correctly, his desire to produce effect, which was perhaps one of his strongest passions, and would relate little romances, which were always of a fearful description, and in unison with the natural turn of his ideas. During those recitals the ladies in waiting were always present: to one of whom I am indebted for the following story, which she had written nearly in the words of Napoleon:—“Never did the Emperor,” wrote this lady, “appear in a more extraordinary point of view. Led away by the subject, he paced the saloon with hasty strides; the intonations of his voice varied according to the characters of the personages he brought on the scene; he seemed to multiply himself, in order to play the different parts, and no person needed to feign the terror, which he really inspired, and which he loved to see depicted on the faces of those who surrounded him.” In this tale I have made no alterations, as can be attested by those, who to my knowledge have a copy of it. It is curious to compare the impassioned portions of it with the style of Napoleon in some of the letters addressed to Josephine.

GIULIO.

“ In the city of Rome appeared a mysterious being, who pretended to unveil the secrets of futurity, and who was enveloped in so much obscurity, that even its sex was an object of doubt and discussion. Some, in relating the strange predictions, which they had heard from the mouth of this being, described the form and the features of a woman, while others justified their terror by depicting a hideous monster.

“ This oracle had taken up her abode in one of the suburbs of Rome, in a deserted palace, where the delusions of superstition were a sufficient protection from popular curiosity. No one knew the period of the arrival of this singular being; in a word, every thing connected with her existence was shrouded in impenetrable mystery. Nothing was spoken of in Rome but the sibyl, the appellation by which she was generally known: every one was anxious to consult this oracle, but few had the courage to cross the threshold of her dwelling. On approaching this redoubtable den, the greatest number of the curious were seized with a feeling of horror, which they could only attribute to a fatal presentiment, and fled as if forcibly repelled by an invisible hand.

“ Camillo, a young Roman of a noble family, resolved to explore the den of the sibyl, and intreated Giulio, his intimate friend, to be the com-

panion of his adventure. Giulio, being of a timid and irresolute character, at first refused the request of his friend. It was not a dread of any unknown peril which produced this hesitation; but he shuddered at the idea of seeing the salutary veil withdrawn which concealed the future. At length, however, he yielded to the persuasions of his friend. The day was fixed, and together they proceeded to the fatal palace; the gate opened as of its own accord, and the two friends immediately entered. Long they wandered through the deserted apartments, till at last they found themselves in a gallery, divided by a black curtain, with this inscription: '*If you wish to know your destiny, pass beyond this curtain; but prepare yourself by prayer.*' Giulio experienced the most violent agitation, and sunk involuntarily on his knees. Was he already under the influence of a mysterious power? In a few moments the youths raising the curtain, drew their swords, and penetrated into the sanctuary. A female approached them;—she was young, perhaps even beautiful; but her aspect defied and repelled all examination: the cold immobility of death, strangely combined with the motions of life, formed the expression of her countenance. How find words to define or depict those supernatural beings, who doubtless inhabit regions where human language is unknown? Giulio shuddered and turned away his eyes; Camillo cast down his, and the sibyl inquired the motive of their visit; it was Camillo who replied. But she listened not to his words, her whole attention seemed absorbed by Giulio;

she was agitated, trembled, extended one hand as if about to seize hold of him, and suddenly stepped back. Camillo re-iterated his request to be instructed in the secrets of his destiny: she consented, and Giulio withdrew. After a short conference Camillo rejoined his friend, whom he found buried in a profound reverie. 'Go,' said he to him smiling, 'take courage, for I myself have learned nothing very awful: the sibyl promised that I should espouse your sister Giuliana (a thing already agreed on) only she added, that "a trifling accident would for a short time retard our union!"'

"Giulio, in his turn, stept beyond the fatal curtain, and Camillo remained in the gallery: very soon he heard a fearful cry, and recognising the voice of his friend, flew to his aid. Giulio was on his knees before the sibyl, who waving over his head a wand, pronounced those awful words: 'Love without bounds! Sacrilege! Murder!' Camillo seized with horror approached Giulio, who pale and motionless could not support himself. To his interrogation he could obtain no reply from his friend, who vaguely repeated the fatal words, '*Love without bounds! Murder! Sacrilege!*' (Those words were pronounced by Bonaparte in a lugubrious tone).

"Camillo at length succeeded in conducting Giulio to his home, and the moment he could find a pretext for leaving him, he flew back to the den of the sibyl: he had resolved to question and compel her to give an explanation of what she

had said; but the palace was deserted; the curtain, the inscription, all had disappeared; there remained no trace of the magician, who was seen no more.

“Several weeks flew away; the marriage of Camillo was fixed, and Giulio seemed to have recovered his tranquillity. His friend avoided speaking to him on the prediction, in the hope that the horrible scene would be gradually effaced from his memory. On the marriage eve, the Marquis of Cosmo, the father of Giulio fell from his horse, and though he received no serious injury, this accident delayed the nuptials. Giulio, his sister, and Camillo surrounded the couch of the Marquis, deploring the delay of their happiness. A sudden recollection darted into the mind of Camillo, he exclaimed aloud: “The prediction of the sibyl is accomplished.” This exclamation threw Giulio into the greatest agitation; from that moment he shut himself up in his own apartment, and avoided all society. He admitted only a venerable monk who had been his tutor, and with him he held long and mysterious conferences. Camillo no longer sought entrance to the apartment of his friend: he perceived that he especially it was whom Giulio sought to avoid.

The day so anxiously anticipated, at length arrived, and Camillo and Guiliiana were united. But Giulio did not attend the nuptials; he had left the paternal roof, and every attempt to discover his retreat proved unavailing. His father

was in despair, when about the termination of a month he received the following letter.

“ My father,

“ Spare your useless researches, my resolution is fixed. Nothing can change it. Dispose of your wealth; Giulio is dead to the world. It grieves me to leave you; but I must fly from a horrible destiny.

“ Adieu !. forget the ill-fated

“ GIULIO.”

“ This letter, which bore no date, was left by a stranger, who departed the moment he had delivered it; the Marquis interrogated the monk, who alone could enable him to recover his fugitive son; but entreaties and threats proved equally ineffectual, either to persuade or to intimidate the ecclesiastic. He was not ignorant he replied of the designs of Giulio, and for a long time opposed them; but he had found him so firmly resolved, that he became at last convinced it was his duty to acquiesce in his project; he knew the place of his retreat, but declared that no power on earth could induce him to betray secrets confided to him under the seal of confession.

“ Giulio had gone to Naples, and from thence had embarked for Messina; he intended to enter a Dominican monastery, recommended to him by his confessor. The piety of Father Ambrosio, the superior of this monastery, was too sincere, and

his mind too enlightened to take advantage of the disturbed imagination of a youth, and Giulio in vain supplicated him to dispense with his novitiate: he would not consent. Giulio was obliged to submit to this probation, but his resolution remained unshaken: he was under the dominion of a strange delusion, and believed he had only the power to escape from his destiny by embracing a monastic life. The image of the sibyl pursued him; her words rung continually in his ear, “*Love without bounds! Sacrilege! Murder!*” The cloister seemed to him to be the only refuge which could shield him from love and from crime. Unhappy youth! as if the walls, the vows, or the rules of a monastery, could counteract the decrees of fate!

“The year of his novitiate expired. Giulio pronounced the vows; he believed himself happy, and felt at least an abatement of the torments that he had suffered. The idea of the sacrifice he had consummated, was not for a moment present to his mind, to trouble or sadden his thoughts. But on the evening of the solemn day on which he renounced the world for ever, at the moment when he was about to retire to his cell, he met one of the monks, who took his hand, and pressing it affectionately, said to him: ‘Brother, it is for ever.’ The words *for ever*, appalled Giulio. How marvellous the power of a word over a weak and superstitious mind! Giulio seemed sensible for the first time to the extent of his sacrifice; he regarded himself as a being

already dead, for whom time was no more. He became melancholy, and appeared to support with difficulty the weight of existence.

“ Father Ambrosio beheld with compassion the situation of this young man ; it was sufficient to know that he was unhappy to create in the bosom of the superior, the tenderest interest in his behalf, and he thought that employment would prove best calculated to dispel his melancholy. Giulio was eloquent, and Ambrosio appointed him preacher to the monastery. His reputation speedily diffused itself, and crowds flocked from all parts to hear him. He was young, handsome, and doubtless the mystery which surrounded him imparted an additional charm to his words. The time approached for the celebration of a grand festival, at which the King of Naples and his whole court were to be present. Giulio was appointed to pronounce the panegyric upon St. Thomas, the patron saint of the monastery, and the most splendid preparations were made for the occasion. The day arrived ; immense crowds filled the church ; Giulio could with difficulty make his way through them ; in order to reach the pulpit, when in the midst of his exertions, his cowl fell back, and exposed his countenance to view. At the same moment he heard a voice exclaim : ‘ Great God, how beautiful ! ’ Agitated, surprised, he involuntarily turned round, and saw a female, whose eyes were fixed on him with the most penetrating expression. This moment sufficed to give a

colour to the future existence of those two beings. Giulio delivered his sermon, and as soon as he found himself at liberty, ran and shut himself up in his cell; but it was not to give himself up to his usual meditations. Pursued by the image of this unknown female; experiencing feelings altogether new to him; restless, unhappy, he found no repose; yet it seemed to him that he only began to exist when he heard that voice, the tones of which thrilled to the utmost recesses of his heart. He durst not glance towards the future. Alas! of what avail could it be? his destiny was fixed. Every morning when he celebrated mass, every morning he beheld on the same spot a veiled female; he knew her, but durst not even indulge in the wish to behold her features, though he eagerly fixed his gaze on the veil; he watched all her motions; he perceived, so to speak, the very pulsations of her heart, and his own responded to them. Without resolution to tear himself from the dangerous indulgence, he trembled to analyze his sensations; he recoiled from the truth. His whole life seemed concentrated in those few moments; the rest of his days were an absolute blank. He wished to fly. 'If to-morrow, she re-appears in the church,' he at length said to himself, 'I shall return thither no more.' Armed by this resolution, he thought himself safe; and he appeared to experience greater tranquillity. The next day he repaired to the church, somewhat earlier than usual; she was not there; when the congregation had de-

parted, he approached the seat of the unknown, and saw her prayer book ; he seized it, opened it, and upon the first leaf read the name of Theresa. Now then, he could call her by her name ; he could repeat a thousand times that cherished name. ‘Theresa ! Theresa !’ murmured he in a low voice, as if he feared to be heard, though alone. Since she had not re-appeared, he need not scruple to return to the church ; days and weeks flew away, and Theresa was still absent.

“Theresa, the wife of an old man whom she loved as a father, found her happiness in the fulfilment of her duties ; and dreamt not that there existed a different species of happiness from that which she had hitherto experienced. She saw Giulio, and her peace fled for ever. In a soul ardent as Theresa’s, the first serious passion she felt, must decide the fate of her life. She adored Giulio. Until this critical moment, her husband had been the confident of all her thoughts : but she spoke not to him of Giulio. This reserve was painful, and seemed a crime in her own eyes. She perceived that there was a danger to be avoided, and abstained from attending mass. In the hope of calming the agitation of her soul, Theresa determined to have recourse to confession, and for this purpose returned to the church of the Dominicans. Making choice of the hour when she knew Giulio would be occupied, she approached the confessional, and on her knees, related all that she had felt, since the

day of the festival of St. Thomas; the delight she had in daily beholding Giulio, the remorse consequent on that indulgence, and the courage with which she had relinquished it; but she feared that her resolution would soon fail: 'What ought I to do?' exclaimed she; 'have pity on a miserable sinner!' Her tears fell in torrents—her agitation was extreme. Scarcely had she ceased speaking, when a threatening voice pronounced those words: 'Unhappy woman! what! sacrilege!' Giulio, for it was he himself that destiny had conducted to receive this avowal, at these words, darted from the confessional. Theresa, still on her knees, arrested his steps, and seizing his robe, supplicated him to retract his malediction; she implored him in the name of his salvation—she implored him in the name of love. Giulio repelled her but very feebly. 'Theresa, Theresa,' cried he at last, 'leave this place! very soon my resolution will vanish.' At those words, Theresa threw herself on his bosom, and encircled him with her arms: 'Tell me,' she ejaculated, 'oh! tell me that I am beloved before I separate myself from thee!'

"Giulio agitated, and taken by surprise, for a moment returned her caresses, and pressed her to his heart; but suddenly struck by a recollection of the prediction, he vowed to fly from her for ever, and without any explanation exacted from her a similar oath. Theresa, wholly abandoned to her passion, scarcely comprehended the import of his words, and consented to all that he dic-

tated. What, in fact, imported to her his language? it was sufficient that he loved her, she was certain of seeing him again!

“Giulio shuddered at the imprudence of which he had been guilty; but it was too late to avoid the danger; he could not escape from his destiny. He was already a prey to this *love without bounds*, the *sacrilege* was already committed. Had he not avowed his passion, even within the very walls of that sacred temple, where he had so recently pronounced the vows of sanctity? and yet he had sworn to fly from Theresa for ever. Strange inconsistency of the human heart! what ought to have been his chastisement, was his consolation: but in this painful struggle, the unfortunate Giulio saw only misery before him. Theresa was less terrified: she was a woman; Giulio had declared that he loved her, and she would brave whatever else of evil fate had in store. With what delight she dwelt on their brief interview! one such hour teemed with more remembrances than a whole life without love. She forgot her determination to avoid Giulio; she returned to the church,—she again saw him, and he too seemed to have forgotten his oath. His whole existence was absorbed by his passion, and when he beheld Theresa, the universe disappeared from before his eyes. They avoided conversing together. Giulio, in the absence of Theresa, experienced the most bitter remorse; but a single glance from her, recalled the fatal charm which held captive his soul. At length he resolved

to speak to her, and to bid her an eternal adieu.

“At the gate of the monastery stood a poor woman, and her child who were supported by Theresa. Little Carlo often followed her to church with her prayer book, and performed his devotions by her side. Giulio, who dared not approach Theresa, bade Carlo inform her, that father Giulio would attend her in the confessional at seven o'clock in the evening. Wretchedly passed this day with Giulio! he shuddered at the idea of meeting Theresa alone. He feared that he would be wanting in resolution to say adieu; he could never resolve to do so; he determined not to see her, but to write, and Carlo was charged to deliver his letter to her as she entered the church. Theresa, on receiving this first message, was much agitated. What wants he with me? she said to herself, we were so happy! Nevertheless, she failed not to repair to the church at the appointed hour. Carlo placed in her hand the letter, which she opened with extreme emotion; but how great was her despair on reading its contents.

“ ‘Fly, imprudent woman, and no more sully by thy presence the sanctity of this holy fane! banish a remembrance, which is the torment of my life; I never loved you! I will never see you more!’

“This resolution pierced the heart of Theresa: she could have struggled against her remorse;

but, he loved her not—he had never loved her!—her remorse was less bitter than those words!—She was attacked by a violent fever, which threatened to deprive her of life; the name of Giulio often rose to her lips, but love protected it even in her delirium; his name was not betrayed: she only murmured from time to time in a low voice, ‘I never loved thee!’

“Had Giulio in the mean time been able to recover his tranquillity, or stifle his remorse? No, his sufferings were extreme; after having declared to Theresa that he never loved her, he wholly abandoned himself to his fatal passion. The sacrifice seemed to him sufficient; so terrible had been the effort to write that letter! Oh! Theresa; if thou couldst know what it cost the unhappy Giulio, thy own grief would be forgotten in commiseration for his sufferings! Giulio was a prey to the most tormenting inquietude; three months had flown away, and he had heard no news of Theresa; time seemed still farther to inflame his passion, and he now wholly avoided society. Having, on the plea of ill health, obtained a dispensation from Father Ambrosio, he relinquished his public functions, shut himself up in his cell, or wandered during the night amongst the tombs of the brethren, thus encouraging the fatal morbidity of his feelings, having neither the strength of mind to stifle his passion; nor yet to yield himself up to it: distracted, above all, by the agonizing pangs of suspense, which sap the

springs of life, he could neither review the past with satisfaction, nor look forward to the future with hope.

“The long and tedious malady of Theresa was succeeded by a state of weakness not less alarming; she thought her end approached, and wished to fulfil the last duties of religion. Her husband, who tenderly loved her, was convinced that some hidden sorrow was hurrying her to the tomb; but respecting her silence, he forbore to question her on the subject; he entreated Father Ambrosio, who was held in great veneration, to visit Theresa. Ambrosio promised to comply with his request, but an unforeseen circumstance prevented him from fulfilling this promise; he charged Giulio to go in his stead to the house of Signor Vivaldi, the husband of Theresa, to administer consolation to a dying female. Alas! Giulio, himself the victim of despair, had only tears and sobs, instead of consolation to offer. He would have excused himself, but Ambrosio refused to exempt him from this duty, and he, therefore, repaired to the residence of Vivaldi. He was conducted into a dimly-lighted apartment, where a numerous circle of sorrowing friends surrounded the bed of the patient. On his entrance every one withdrew, and Giulio was alone with the invalid. Agitated by an indefinable emotion, he remained immovable and irresolute. ‘Holy father,’ said the dying woman, ‘has heaven mercy in store for a wretched sinner. Scarcely were those words pronounced, when

Giulio fell on his knees before the bed. 'Theresa! Theresa,' he ejaculated. Who can depict the feelings of the lovers? Explanation was useless . . . they loved. Giulio related all that he had suffered for her, and accused himself as the cause of her sufferings. 'Pardon! oh! pardon! Theresa, Giulio is thine for ever. Those words re-animated Theresa; she could not speak, but she beheld Giulio, she heard his voice, she pressed his hand; to die thus, appeared more sweet to her than life: Giulio folded her in his arms; he would have prolonged her life at the expense of his own: 'Thou shalt live! thy lover is with thee! My Theresa! speak to me! am I not again to hear you?' The sound of his voice seemed to re-animate the strength of Theresa: 'I love you, Giulio! I love you,' murmured she! Those words, contained for him, so to speak, life! What need had she to say more? The moments they conversed together flew rapidly away; the certainty of seeing each other again, gave them courage to separate. Theresa recovered her health; Giulio visited her every day; a delightful intimacy reigned between them, and the lover appeared to forget his scruples and his remorse. Wholly engrossed by Theresa, he watched with the most tender interest the progress of her recovery; he durst not afflict her; he perceived that, her life depended on him, and this pretext for continuing their intercourse he interpreted as a duty.

"Two years had elapsed since he left Rome;

and on the second anniversary of the fatal predictions of the sibyl, he sunk into a gloomy reverie. Theresa longed to know the cause of his sadness: she had never questioned him on the subject; but before she could share his sorrows, it was necessary to know the cause whence they arose. Giulio related to her his interview with the Sibyl, and his flight from the paternal roof. In the course of this recital all his horrible feelings were re-awakened, and he exclaimed in an accent of terror: *Love! Sacrilege! Murder!* The emotion of Theresa was extreme, but the words *love* threw a fatal charm over her heart and her imagination; and when Giulio repeated *sacrilege, murder*, she softly replied *love*, thinking thus to calm the agitation of his spirit, because with her love was the chief good. Sometimes Giulio, led away by the violence of his passion, fixed on her a look which forced her to turn away: she perceived his heart palpitate, his frame tremble, and a dangerous silence succeeded to those tumultuous emotions.

“ They were, however, happy, for they were not yet criminal. Giulio was obliged to be absent on an important mission, with which he was charged by Father Ambrosio: he had not courage to utter an adieu to Theresa, and wrote to her, promising a speedy return. But detained by numerous obstacles, it was more than a month before he returned to Messina. On his arrival, he hastened to Theresa, whom he found alone on a terrace overlooking the shore, absorbed in

thinking on her lover. Never before had she appeared to him so beautiful, so seducing: he gazed on her for a moment in extacy, but not long could he resist the temptation of addressing her, of hearing her voice; he spoke, she perceived him, and flew into his arms. In a delirium of passion, Giulio, at first, responded to all her feelings; but suddenly starting back with horror, he fell on his knees, and remained with his hands clasped, his eyes fixed, and in a state of the most dreadful agitation. His deadly paleness, and the wild expression of his countenance, rendered this scene truly dreadful to Theresa. She durst not approach him, and for the first time could not share in his emotions. 'Theresa,' said he at length, in a sombre voice, 'we must separate! you know not all you have to fear.' Theresa scarcely understood his words, but she saw his agitation, and endeavoured to calm it;—but he again repulsed her. 'In the name of heaven,' cried he; 'approach me not.' She remained trembling and immoveable. She knew only the tenderness of love, and was unacquainted with its madness. Giulio, impatient at her silence, abruptly started up: 'To-morrow,' he said, 'my fate shall be decided,' and darted away without giving Theresa time to reply. The next day Theresa received the following billet:—

“ ‘Theresa, I cannot again see you; I am unhappy in your presence: I know you cannot comprehend what I feel. Theresa, you must be mine, but it must be with your own free will.

Never could I have the courage to take advantage of your weakness. Yesterday you saw it; I tore myself from your arms, because you said not I will be thine. Reflect seriously, we shall be ruined. Oh! Theresa, eternal perdition! how terrible those words! even in thy arms, they will interpose between me and happiness. For us there is no longer peace; death is our only refuge; and is it even one for us? To-morrow, if you wish to see me, and you know the price, to-morrow send Carlo to the church. If he bring your prayer-book, it will indicate that you renounce Giulio; if not, then thou art mine for ever! For ever belongs to eternity; how dare I pronounce the word? Adieu.'

"Theresa, gentle and timid by nature, was overwhelmed by terror on perusing this letter; the words *eternal perdition*, seemed to her a terrible malediction. 'Giulio,' ejaculated she, 'we were so happy! why has not this happiness been able to satisfy you?' She knew not on what to resolve; to see him no more was impossible, and yet she exclaimed, 'Remorse will pursue him without ceasing. Oh! Giulio, thou hast confided to me thy destiny, and I ought to sacrifice myself for thee.' Carlo was ordered to carry the book to the church, and he placed it on the seat usually occupied by Theresa.

"Giulio, notwithstanding the violence of his passion, could not resolve to possess Theresa without her own consent. Cruel from his weakness, he wished to throw upon her the whole responsibility of the crime. The church was

empty when Giulio saw the boy enter and deposit the book upon the seat. No longer master of himself, he darted forward, seized it, and giving it to Carlo, ordered him to carry it back to his mistress. Long he stood rooted to the spot where he had awaited the decree of his fate, and that of Theresa. At length, recovering from the tumult of his feelings, 'I will see her,' he murmured.

"Carlo returned and re-delivered the book to Theresa, saying father Giulio had sent it. How great was the emotion of Theresa! she knew that Giulio would return, and she waited for him on the terrace where they had last parted. At length he appeared, but sad and gloomy, and approached with a faltering step. Theresa penetrated what was passing in his mind, and shuddered at the idea of this interview: she had assumed the fortitude to refuse; but on beholding her worshiped lover so miserable, she thought only of consoling him;—she no longer hesitated or trembled; but approaching whispered, 'Giulio, I am thine!'—

* * * * *

[Here Bonaparte made a long pause.]

"Giulio, overwhelmed with remorse, now became gloomy and ferocious, even in the presence of Theresa: her most tender caresses had no longer the power to soften him. But the love of Theresa was, on the contrary, increased by the sacrifice she had made; she secretly mourned the change that had taken place in Giulio, but she forbore to complain, and flattered herself with

the hope that she should yet be able to render him happy, and that he would forget every thing but her. Giulio, far however from returning her affection, accused her as the author of his misery; 'Thou hast seduced, thou hast destroyed me; but for thee, my soul had still been pure.' His visits became less frequent, and at last wholly ceased. Theresa demanded to see him: she constantly frequented the church, and wrote to him daily. Her letters were sent back unopened, and Giulio confined himself to his cell; but it behoved Theresa to see and confide to him a secret, alas! the secret that she would at no distant period become a mother! what would be her fate should he persist in abandoning her? Knowing that on the following Sunday Giulio was to celebrate mass, she resolved not to neglect that opportunity, on which more than life depended; and this idea armed her with strength and courage. Her whole attention, during the two days which preceded her expected interview with Giulio, were employed in making preparations for the flight she contemplated. The situation of the monastery, on the sea shore, would facilitate her project: she bestowed not a moment's consideration on the place to which they would direct their flight; Giulio would decide that according to his pleasure: for except Giulio, all else was indifferent to Theresa.

"She had hired a small bark, and arranged every thing with so much prudence, that no one suspected her design; so that she had no fear of encountering any obstacles. The day so impa-

tiently expected at length arrived, and Theresa, enveloped in a long black veil, approached the altar. Giulio did not recognise her, while she watched all his motions; and when the congregation dispersed, she glided behind a column which Giulio must pass on returning to the cloisters. On his approach she perceived that he was more than ever a prey to sorrow; his arms were folded across his breast, and his head bent forward: he walked with the gloomy and lagging step of a criminal. Theresa witnessed this with profound grief, she would have sacrificed her own life to secure his repose; but she durst no longer hesitate: the innocent being, to which she would soon give birth, demanded of her a father. She presented herself before Giulio, ‘Stop,’ she exclaimed, ‘I must speak to you; you must listen to me! Never will I leave you, until you give me the key of the garden of the monastery. I *must* have it. Oh! Giulio, it is not my life alone that depends on you!’ At those words Giulio believed that a fearful apparition had arisen before him. ‘Wretched woman! what meanest thou? Depart! fly far from this place!’ But Theresa threw herself at his feet, and vowed that she would not stir until he had granted her request. ‘All the efforts of Giulio to escape were ineffectual; Theresa seemed endowed with almost supernatural strength. ‘Swear,’ said she, ‘that you will meet me at midnight.’—As she spoke, Giulio was startled at hearing a slight noise, and gave her the key. ‘At midnight,’ said he, and they separated. Theresa repaired at the appointed time to the garden; the

night was dark : she durst not call on Giulio for fear of a discovery ; but in a short time she heard approaching footsteps—they were those of Giulio. ‘ Speak your purpose,’ said he, ‘ the moments are precious. Cease to pursue a wretch who can never render you happy. Theresa, I adore you ! without you life is an insupportable burden : yet, even in your arms, I experience the torments of remorse—torments which impoison our most rapturous moments. Thou hast witnessed my despair. How often have I reproached thee ? Pardon me, adored Theresa ! it is just I should punish myself. I renounce thee, and this sacrifice will expiate my crime.’ He ceased speaking, almost suffocated by his grief. Theresa endeavoured to console him, by anticipating greater happiness for the future. ‘ Giulio,’ said she, ‘ if it had only been for myself I would not have sought this interview. Like you, I fear not death ; but the pledge of our love demanded that I should see you ; come then, Giulio, let us depart !—every thing is prepared for our flight.’ Giulio, a prey to the most horrible feelings, suffered himself to be conducted by her ;—a few moments, and they would be united for ever. But suddenly disengaging himself from the arm of Theresa, ‘ No,’ exclaimed he, ‘ never !’ and he plunged a poniard into her bosom.

[In pronouncing these words the Emperor approaching the Empress, made the motion of drawing a dagger. The illusion was so great, that the ladies shrieked with horror. Bonaparte, like a consummate actor, continued his recital without appearing to notice the effect he had produced.]

“ She fell, and Giulio was covered with her blood. Rooted to the spot, and with a wandering eye, he long contemplated his victim. Day began to dawn, and the bell of the monastery rang for matin service : Giulio raised the lifeless form of her who had so devotedly loved him, and threw it into the sea. In a state of frenzy, he rushed into the church : his bloody garments, and the dagger in his hand, declared him a murderer ! He offered no resistance, on being seized, and was never more seen !

[The Empress pressed the Emperor to tell the fate of Giulio. He replied :—]

“ *The secrets of the cloister are impenetrable.*”

The story of Giulio is not fictitious. Previously to the revolution, an adventure of a similar kind occurred in a convent at Lyons, of which the documents fell into the hands of Bonaparte, and furnished him with the basis of this tale. Many times I have heard him relate such stories, which he always did, in a dimly lighted apartment in order to produce greater effect. I experienced more pleasure in reading Giulio, from being able to recal to mind the varied tones of his voice, his action, his look, and the gestures with which he accompanied those improvisations. I can affirm that in no case whatever are the words of Æschynes more applicable : “ What then would it have been, had you yourself heard him ?”

CHAPTER XVI.

Abolition of the Republican Calendar—Warlike preparations in Austria—Napoleon's complaints against the Emperor of Austria and justification of himself—Plan for re-organizing the National Guard—Napoleon at Strasburgh—General Mack—Proclamation—Captain Bernard's reconnoitering mission—The Emperor's pretended anger and real satisfaction—Information respecting Ragusa communicated by Bernard—Rapid and deserved promotion—General Bernard's retirement to the United States of America.

I HAD been three months at Hamburgh when I learned that the Emperor had at last resolved to abolish the only remaining memorial of the Republic: namely, the Revolutionary Calendar. That calendar was indeed an absurd innovation; for the new denominations of the months were not applicable in all places, even in France: the corn of Provence did not wait to be ripened by the sun of the month of Messidor. On the 9th of September a Senatus Consultum decreed that on the 1st of January following, the months and days should resume their old names. I read, with much interest, Laplace's report to the Senate, and must confess I was very glad to see the Gregorian

Calendar again acknowledged by law as it had already been acknowledged in fact. Frenchmen in foreign countries experience particular inconvenience from the adoption of a system different from all the rest of the world.

A few days after the revival of the old calendar the Emperor departed for the army. When at *Hamburgh* it may well be supposed that I was anxious to obtain news; and I received plenty from the interior of Germany and from some friends in Paris. This correspondence enables me to present to my readers, a comprehensive and accurate picture of the state of public affairs, up to the time when Napoleon took the field. I have already mentioned how artfully he always made it appear that he was anxious for peace, and that he was always the party attacked: his conduct previous to the first conquest of Vienna affords a striking example of this artifice. It was pretty evident that the transformation of the Cisalpine Republic into the kingdom of Italy, and the union of Genoa to France, were infractions of treaties; yet the Emperor nevertheless pretended that all the infractions were committed by Austria. The truth is, that Austria was raising levies as secretly as possible and collecting her troops on the frontiers of Bavaria. An Austrian corps even penetrated into some provinces of the Electorate; all this afforded Napoleon a pretext for going to the aid of his allies.

At *Hamburgh* I received a copy of a very cu

rious note in which the Emperor renumerated his complaints against Austria. He boasted much of his moderation, particularly in having suffered without opposition the taking of Lindau by Austria, subsequently to the treaty of Lunéville. The note, in question was destined for the Diet then assembled at Ratisbon.* The statements in the note were true; but Napoleon did not declare that his complaisance in closing his eyes to some of the facts arose solely from his wish to see Austria so far commit herself as to justify an attack on the part of the French Government. He insisted that his conduct towards Austria had been marked by confidence and forbearance. He had left no troops in Italy, or on the frontiers, having assembled all his troops on the coast; and yet while things were in this situation, Austria had secretly armed to make a diversion in favour of England. I received the note on the 15th of September. Twelve days after, on the anniversary of the first Vendémiaire, which was to be celebrated for the last time among the festivals of

* "The Emperor," the note stated, "had winked at the debt of Venice not only being unpaid, but at its total extinction, in violation of the letter and spirit of the treaties of Campo-Formio and Lunéville. He observed silence respecting the denial of justice, which his subjects of Milan and Mantua experienced at Vienna, where in spite of formal stipulations, none of them had been paid,—as well as respecting the partiality with which Austria had actually acknowledged the monstrous right of blockade arrogated by England; and since the neutrality of the Austrian flag, so often violated to the detriment of France, had provoked no complaint on the part of the court of Vienna he by preserving silence made a sacrifice to his wish for peace."

the Imperial republic, Napoleon attended the Senate and next day set out to join the army.

In the memorable setting preceding his departure, the Emperor presented a project of a *Senatus Consultum*, relative to the reorganization of the National Guard. The minister for foreign affairs, read an explanation of the reciprocal conduct of France and Austria since the peace of Lunéville in which the offences of France were concealed with wonderful skill. Before the sitting broke up the Emperor addressed the members, stating that he was about to leave the capital to place himself at the head of the army to afford prompt succour to his allies, and defend the dearest interests of his people. He boasted of his wish to preserve peace which Austria and Russia, as he alleged, had through the influence of England been induced to disturb.

This address produced a very powerful impression in Hamburgh. For my part, I recognized in it Napoleon's usual boasting strain; but on this occasion events seemed bent on justifying it. The Emperor may certainly have performed more scientific campaigns than that of Austerlitz; but never any more glorious in the results. Every thing seemed to partake of the marvellous, and I often thought of the secret joy, which Bonaparte must have felt, on seeing himself at last on the point of commencing a great war in Germany, for which he had so often expressed an ardent desire. He proceeded first to Strasburgh, whither Jose-

phine accompanied him; and it was then I obtained the tale of Giulio, inserted in the preceding chapter.

All the reports that I received agreed with the statements of my private correspondence in describing the incredible enthusiasm which prevailed in the army, on learning that it was to march into Germany. For the first time, Napoleon had recourse to an expeditious mode of transport, and twenty thousand carriages conveyed his army, as if by enchantment, from the shores of the channel to the banks of the Rhine. The idea of an active campaign fired the ambition of the junior part of the army. All dreamed of glory, and of speedy promotion, and all hoped to distinguish themselves before the eyes of a chief, who was idolized by his troops. Thus during his short stay at Strasburgh, the Emperor might with reason prophesy the success which crowned his efforts under the walls of Vienna. Rapp, who accompanied him, informed me, that on leaving Strasburgh, he observed in the presence of several persons; "It will be said that I made Mack's plan of campaign. The Caudine Forks are at Ulm.*" Experience proved that Bonaparte was not deceived; but I ought on this occasion to contradict a calumnious report circulated at that time, and since maliciously repeated. It has been said that there existed an understanding

* This allusion to the *Furcæ Caudinæ* was always in Napoleon's mouth, when he saw an enemy's army concentrated on a point, and foresaw its defeat.

between Mack and Bonaparte, and that the general was bought over to deliver up the gates of Ulm. I have received positive proof that this assertion is a scandalous falsehood; and the only thing that could give it weight, was Napoleon's intercession after the campaign, that Mack might not be put on his trial. In this intercession Napoleon was actuated only by humanity.

On taking the field Napoleon placed himself at the head of the Bavarians, with whom he opposed the enemy's army before the arrival of his own troops. As soon as they were assembled, he published a proclamation, which still further excited the ardour of the troops.*

¶ In the confidential notes of his diplomatic agents, in his speeches, and in his proclamations, Napoleon always described himself as the attacked party, and perhaps his very earnestness in so doing, sufficed to develope the truth to all

* This proclamation was as follows:—"Soldiers, the war of the third coalition is commenced. The Austrian army has passed the Inn, and violated treaties, attacked and driven our ally from his capital. You yourselves have been obliged to hasten by forced marches, to the defence of our frontiers. But you have now passed the Rhine; and we will not stop till we have secured the independence of the Germanic body, succoured our allies, and humbled the pride of our unjust assailants. We will not again make peace without a sufficient guarantee. Our generosity shall not again wrong our policy. Soldiers, your Emperor is among you. You are but the advanced guard of the great people. If it be necessary they will all rise at my call to confound and dissolve this new league, which has been created by the malice and the gold of England. But, soldiers, we shall have forced marches to make, fatigues and privations of every kind to endure. Still whatever obstacles may be opposed to us, we will conquer them; and we will never rest until we have planted our eagles on the territory of our enemies."

those who had learned to read his thoughts; differently from what his words expressed them.

At the commencement of the campaign of Austerlitz, a circumstance occurred, from which is to be dated the fortune of a very meritorious man. While the Emperor was at Strasbourg, he asked General Marescot, the commander-in-chief of the engineers, whether he could recommend from his corps a brave, prudent, and intelligent young officer, capable of being entrusted with an important reconnoitering mission. The officer selected by General Marescot was a captain in the engineers, named Bernard, who had been educated in the polytechnic school. He set off on his mission, advanced almost to Vienna, and returned to the head quarters of the Emperor at the capitulation of Ulm. Bonaparte interrogated him himself, and was well satisfied with his replies; but not content with answering verbally the questions put by Napoleon, Captain Bernard had drawn up a report of what he observed, and the different routes which might be taken. Among other things he observed that it would be a great advantage to direct the whole army upon Vienna, without regard to the fortified places; for that once master of the capital of Austria, the Emperor might dictate laws to all the Austrian monarchy. "I was present," said Rapp to me, "at this young officer's interview with the Emperor. After reading the report, would you believe that he flew into a furious passion. "How," cried he, "you are very bold, very presumptuous! A young

officer to take the liberty of tracing out a plan of campaign for me! Begone and await my orders."

This, and some other circumstances which I shall have to add respecting Captain Bernard, completely develope Napoleon's character. Rapp told me, that as soon as the young officer had left, the Emperor all at once changed his tone. "That," said he, "is a clever young man; he has taken a proper view of things. I shall not expose him to the chance of being shot. Perhaps I shall sometime want his services. Tell Berthier to despatch an order for his departure for Illyria."

This order was despatched, and Captain Bernard, who, like his comrades, was ardently looking forward to the approaching campaign, regarded as a punishment, what was on the Emperor's part a precaution to preserve a young man, whose merit he appreciated. At the close of the campaign, when the Emperor promoted those officers who had distinguished themselves. Bernard, who was thought to be in disgrace, was not included in Berthier's list, among the captains of engineers, whom he recommended to the rank of chef de bataillon; but the Emperor himself inscribed Bernard's name before all the rest. However, the Emperor forgot him for some time; and it was only an accidental circumstance that brought him again to his recollection. I never had any personal acquaintance with Bernard; but I learned from Rapp, how he afterwards became his colleague as aide de-camp to the

Emperor; a circumstance which I shall now relate, though it refers to a later period.

Before the Emperor left Paris for the campaign of 1812, he wished to gain precise information respecting Ragusa and Illyria. He sent for Marmont, but was not satisfied with his answers. He then interrogated several other Generals, but the result of his inquiries always was, "This is all very well; but it is not what I want. I do not know Ragusa." He then sent for General Dejean, who had succeeded M. de Marescot as first inspector of the engineers.

"Have you any one among your officers," he asked, "who is well acquainted with Ragusa?" Dejean, after a little reflection replied, "Sire; there is a chef de bataillon, who has been a long time forgotten, but who knows Illyria perfectly." "What's his name?"—"Bernard."—"Ah! stop. . . Bernard! I remember that name. Where is he?"—"At Antwerp, Sire, employed in the fortifications."—"Let a telegraphic despatch be immediately transmitted, desiring him to mount his horse and come in all speed to Paris."

The promptitude, with which the Emperor's orders were always executed, is well known. A few days after Bernard was in the Emperor's cabinet in Paris. Napoleon received him very graciously. The first thing he said was:—"Tell me what you know about Ragusa." This was a favourite mode of interrogation with him in similar cases, and I have heard him say that it was a sure way of drawing out all that a man had observed in any country that he had visited. Be that as it may

he was perfectly satisfied with M. Bernard's information respecting Illyria, and when the chief de bataillon had finished speaking, Napoleon said, "Colonel Bernard, I am now acquainted with Ragusa." The Emperor afterwards conversed familiarly with him, entered into details respecting the system of fortification adopted at Antwerp, referred to the plan of the works, and criticised it and shewed how he would, if he besieged the town, render the means of defence unavailing. The new colonel explained so well how he would defend the town against the Emperor's attacks that Bonaparte was delighted; and immediately bestowed upon the young officer a mark of distinction which, as far as I know, he never granted but upon that single occasion. The Emperor was going to preside at the Council of State, and desired Colonel Bernard to accompany him, and many times during the sittings he asked him for his opinion upon the points which were under discussion: On leaving the council Napoleon, said, "Bernard, you are my aide-de-camp." After the campaign he was made general of brigade, soon after general of division, and now he is acknowledged to be one of the ablest engineer officers in existence. Clarke's silly conduct deprived France of this distinguished man who refused the brilliant offers of several sovereigns of Europe for the sake of retiring to the United States of America, where he commands the engineers and has constructed fortifications on the coast of the Floridas, which are considered by engineers to be master pieces of military art.

CHAPTER XVII.

Rapidity of Napoleon's victories—Murat at Wertingen—Conquest of Ney's duchy—The French army before Ulm—General de Ségur's mission—His interview with General Mack—Mack's firmness—The Prince of Lichtenstein at the Imperial head-quarters—His interview with Napoleon described by Rapp—Capitulation of Ulm signed by Berthier and Mack—Napoleon before and after a victory—His address to the captive generals.

To convey an idea of the brilliant campaign of 1805, from an abstract of the reports and letters I received at Hamburgh, I should, like the almanack makers, be obliged to note down a victory for every day. Was not the rapidity of the Emperor's first operations a thing hitherto unprecedented? He departed from Paris, on the 24th of September, and hostilities commenced on the 2nd of October. On the 6th and 7th the French passed the Danube and turned the enemy's army. On the 8th Murat, at the battle of Wertingen on the Danube, took two thousand Austrian prisoners, amongst whom, besides other general officers, was Count Auffenberg. Next day the Austrians fell back upon Gunzburgh, retreating before our victorious legions

who, pursuing their triumphal course, entered Augsburgh on the 10th; and Munich on the 12th. When I received my despatches I could have imagined that I was reading a fabulous narrative. Two days after the French entered Munich, that is to say, on the 14th, an Austrian corps of six thousand men surrendered to Marshal Soult at Memingen whilst Ney conquered, sword in hand, his future Duchy of Elchingen. Finally, on the 17th of October, came the famous capitulation of Ulm, and on the same day hostilities commenced in Italy between the French and Austrians, the former commanded by Massena, and the latter by Princes Charles.

In my correspondence of the end of October, 1805, I find some particulars relative to the capitulation of Ulm, which appear to me sufficiently interesting to be inserted here. Bonaparte stopped for a little time at Augsburgh to consider of the movements likely to be made by the Austrian army, and then advanced upon it with such inconceivable rapidity that the Arch-Duke Ferdinand considered himself fortunate in being able to recross the Danube. But all the other Austrian forces were driven into Ulm, whose garrison amounted to nearly thirty thousand men at the surrender of that fortress, which was considered impregnable.

General de Ségur, who was afterwards in the service of Murat at Naples was commissioned to make the first overtures to Mack to induce him to

surrender. The following report, which he drew up with the intention of laying it before the Emperor, will, I think, be perused with interest.

“ Yesterday, 24th Vendémiaire (October 16), the Emperor summoned me to his cabinet, and ordered me to proceed to Ulm to prevail on Mack to surrender in five days, and if he positively required six I was to grant them. I received no other instructions. The night was dark—a terrible storm arose—the rain fell in torrents; I was obliged to travel by cross roads and to avoid sloughs, where messenger, horse and mission might have met with an untimely end. I arrived almost at the gates of the town without seeing our advanced posts. The fact is they were withdrawn: sentinels, vedettes, guards, all had sought shelter: even the parks of artillery were abandoned—there were neither fires nor stars to light me. I wandered about for three hours in search of an officer. I passed through several villages and questioned the inhabitants to no purpose...

“ At last I found a trumpeter of the artillery lying half buried in mud, and almost frozen to death. We approached the ramparts of Ulm: where we were doubtless expected, for at the first summons Mr. de Latour, an officer who spoke French very well, appeared. He blindfolded me, and led me across the fortifications. I remarked that the darkness of the night rendered the bandage on my eyes unnecessary; but the reply was, that the custom could not be dispensed with. I

entered into conversation with M. Latour, with the view of learning what quantity of troops were in Ulm. I inquired whether we were far from the residence of General Mack and the Arch-Duke. My guide replied that it was close by, from which I concluded that the whole remains of the Austrian army was shut up in Ulm. I was confirmed in this conjecture by what I gathered in the course of our further conversation. At length we arrived at the inn where the general-in-chief resided. He was a tall old man : the expression of his pale countenance indicated a lively imagination. He was evidently labouring under an anxiety which he endeavoured to conceal. I informed him who I was, and told him that I had been sent by the Emperor to summon him to surrender, and to arrange with him the terms of the capitulation. This appeared to vex him extremely, and at first he seemed not disposed to admit the necessity of receiving my mission. I, however, observed that as I had been admitted as an envoy, it was to be supposed that he was aware of his situation. He replied sharply, that his situation would soon be changed,—that the Russian army was coming to his assistance,—that we should be between two fires, and that, perhaps, it would soon be our turn to capitulate. I remarked that, considering his situation, it was not surprising he should be ignorant of what was passing in Germany ; but that I could inform him that Marshal Bernadotte occupied Ingolstadt and Munich and had his advanced posts on the Inn

where the Russians had not yet shewn themselves. "May I be shot," exclaimed General Mack, angrily, "if I do not know by certain reports that the Russians are at Dachau. Do you imagine I am to be thus imposed on?—Do you think I am a child? No, M. de Ségur—if I am not relieved in eight days I consent to surrender the fortress on condition that my soldiers shall be prisoners of war and their officers prisoners on parole. There will then have been time to afford me relief, and I shall have fulfilled my duty—But I shall be relieved; I am sure of it."—"I have the honour to repeat, General, that we are masters not only of Dachau but of Munich. Besides, supposing what you erroneously imagine, were correct—if the Russians were at Dachau five days will enable them to come and attack us and that time his Majesty grants you."—"No, Sir;" replied the Marshal, "I demand eight days. I cannot listen to any other proposal. I must have eight days. They are indispensable to my responsibility."—"Then," replied I, "all the difficulty consists in the difference between eight and five days. I cannot, however, understand the importance which your excellency attaches to it when his Majesty is before you at the head of more than a hundred thousand men, and when the corps of Marshal Bernadotte and General Marmont are sufficient to retard the march of the Russians for three days supposing them to be where they are far from being."—"They are at Dachau," repeated General Mack—"Well:

be it so; general; or at Augsburg if you please. We are only the more anxious to make end of this. Do not compel us to carry Ulm by storm; for then instead of wanting five days the Emperor would be here in one morning."—"Sir, replied the General-in-chief do not suppose that fifteen thousand men will suffer themselves to be forced easily: it would cost you dear."—"It will cost us a few hundred men," replied I, "and you your army and the destruction of Ulm for which Germany will reproach you; in fine, all the horrors of an assault which his Majesty wishes to prevent by the proposal which he has authorised me to make to you."—"Say rather that it will cost you ten thousand men! the strength of Ulm is well known"—"It consists in the heights which surround it and we are in possession of them."—"In that case, Sir, you cannot but know the strength of Ulm."—"Doubtless, Marshal; and we know it the better because we can see into it."—"Well, Sir," said the unfortunate General, "you see men who are ready to defend themselves to the last extremity, if your Emperor does not grant them eight days. I can hold out a long time yet. There are three thousand horses in Ulm, which rather than surrender we will eat with as much pleasure as you would were you in our situation."—"Three thousand horses!" replied I, "Ah Marshal you must have already begun to feel the famine you anticipate when you can contemplate so miserable a resource."

"The Marshal eagerly assured me that he had

ten days' provision; but I did not believe him. Day began to dawn and we had come to no understanding: I could have granted six days but General Mack persisted so obstinately in his demand for eight days that I judged the concession of a day would be useless and I would not risk it. I accordingly rose, saying that my instructions required me to return before day, and in the event of a refusal of the proposed conditions to inform Marshal Ney, on my way, that he was to commence the attack. Upon this General Mack complained of the Marshal's violence towards one of his flags of truce, whom he would not listen to. I availed myself of this circumstance to represent that the Marshal was of a fiery and impetuous disposition and difficult to be restrained; that he commanded the corps which was most numerous and nearest the town—that he was impatiently awaiting the order for commencing the assault, which I was to transmit to him on leaving Ulm; the old General was not intimidated. He insisted on the eight days, and urged me to carry that proposal to the Emperor.

“This unfortunate General was about to sign the ruin of Austria and of himself; and yet in this desperate situation, in which he must have suffered cruelly, he did not despair. His mind retained its faculties, and he spoke earnestly and firmly. He contended for the only thing which was left him to contend for,—time. He endeavoured to retard the fall of Austria, of which he was the cause. He wished to gain for her a few

days more to prepare for her ruin. His talent, which was rather politic than military, led him to oppose cunning to strength. His mind was bewildered with a multitude of conjectures.

“ About nine o'clock on the morning of the 25th, I rejoined the Emperor at the Abbey of Elchingen, and gave him an account of the negotiation. He appeared satisfied with it. After I had left him, he desired to see me again, and as I did not go to him on the very moment, he sent by Marshal Berthier new proposals in writing, to which he wished me to procure General Mack's signature on the spot. In these overtures the Emperor granted the Austrian General eight days; but to date from the 23rd, the first day of the blockade, which, in fact, reduced the time to six days, which I might have proposed at first, but which I did not wish to concede.

“ However, in case of an obstinate refusal, I was authorised to date these eight days from the 25th, and the Emperor still gained a day by this concession. He was anxious to enter Ulm speedily, in order to augment the glory of his victory by his rapidity, and to arrive at Vienna before that city had recovered from her stupor, and the Russian army could execute any effective operations, and finally, because our provisions began to fail.

“ General Berthier told me that he would approach the town, and when the conditions were agreed upon, he would be very glad if I could get him in.

“ I entered Ulm about noon. The same precautions were observed as on the former occasion, but this time I found General Mack at the gates of the town. I presented to him the Emperor's ultimatum. He retired to consider of it in company with several generals, amongst whom I thought I perceived the Prince de Lichtenstein and Generals Klenau and Giulay. After the lapse of a quarter of an hour, he returned to me to discuss the subject of the date. By some misunderstanding he supposed that he obtained eight clear days, commencing from the 25th; and he exclaimed, joyfully,—“ M. Ségur! my dear M. Ségur! I relied on the Emperor's generosity, and I am not deceived. Tell Marshal Berthier I respect him Tell the Emperor that I have only some trifling observations to make—that I will sign all you have brought me But tell his Majesty that Marshal Ney has treated me very harshly Tell the Emperor that I relied on his generosity.’ Then, with increased delight, he added, ‘ M. Ségur, I value your esteem. I attach much importance to the opinion you may entertain of me. I will show you the document I had signed; for my mind was made up.’ He then showed me a sheet of paper, on which was written the words, ‘ Eight days or death,’ and signed ‘ Mack.’ ”

Prince Maurice de Lichenstein was sent as a flag of truce to the imperial head quarters. He was, according to custom, led blindfold on horseback. Rapp, who was present, together

with several of Napoleon's aides-de-camp, afterwards spoke to me of the Prince's interview with the Emperor. I think he told me that Berthier was present likewise. "Picture to yourself," said Rapp, "the astonishment, or rather the confusion of the poor prince, when the bandage was removed from his eyes. He knew nothing of what had been going on, and did not even suspect that the Emperor had yet joined the army. When he understood that he was in the presence of Napoleon, he could not suppress an exclamation of surprise, which did not escape the Emperor, and he ingeniously acknowledged that General Mack had no idea he was before the walls of Ulm." Prince de Lichtenstein proposed to capitulate on condition that the garrison of Ulm should be allowed to return into Austria. This proposal, in the situation in which the garrison stood, Rapp said, made the Emperor smile. "How can you expect," said Napoleon, "that I can accede to such a proposition. What shall I gain by it? Eight days. In eight days you will be in my power without any condition. Do you suppose I am not acquainted with every thing? You expect the Russians At the nearest they are in Bohemia. Were I to allow you to march out, what security can I have that you will not join them, and afterwards fight against me? Your generals have deceived me often enough, and I will no longer be duped. At Marengo I was weak enough to allow the troops of Melas to march out of Alessandria.

He promised to treat for peace. What happened? Two months after Moreau had to engage with the garrison of Alessandria. Besides, this war is not an ordinary war. After the conduct of your government, I am not bound to keep any terms with it. I have no faith in its promises. You have attacked me. If I should agree to what you ask, Mack would pledge his word I know. But even relying on his good faith, would he be able to keep his promise? As far as regards himself—yes; but as regards his army—no. If the Archduke Ferdinand were still with you, I could rely upon his word, because he would be responsible for the conditions, and he would not disgrace himself; but I know he has quitted Ulm, and passed the Danube. I know how to reach him, however.”

Rapp said it was impossible to imagine the embarrassment of Prince Lichtenstein whilst the Emperor was speaking. He, however, somewhat regained his self-possession, and observed, that unless the conditions which he proposed were granted, the army would not capitulate. “If that be the case,” said Napoleon, “you may as well go back to Mack, for I will never grant such conditions. Are you jesting with me? Stay; here is the capitulation of Memingen—show it to your general—let him surrender on the same conditions—I will consent to no others. Your officers may return to Austria, but the soldiers must be prisoners. Tell him to be speedy, for I have no time to loose. The more he delays

the worse he will render his own condition and yours. To-morrow I shall have here the corps to which Memingen capitulated, and then we shall see what is to be done. Make Mack clearly understand that he has no alternative but to conform to my will."

The imperious tone which Napoleon employed towards his enemies, almost always succeeded, and it produced the accustomed effect upon Mack. On the same day that Prince de Lichtenstein had been at our head-quarters, Mack wrote to the Emperor, stating that he would not have treated with any other on such terms; but that he yielded to the ascendancy of Napoleon's fortune; and on the following day Berthier was sent into Ulm, from whence he returned with the capitulation signed. Thus Napoleon was not mistaken respecting the Caudine Forks of the Austrian army. The garrison of Ulm marched out with what are called the honours of war, and were led prisoners into France.

Napoleon, who was so violently irritated by any obstacle which opposed him, and who treated with so much hauteur whoever ventured to resist his inflexible will, was no longer the same man when, a conqueror, he received the vanquished generals. He condoled with them on their misfortune, and this, I can affirm, was not the result of a feeling of pride, concealed beneath a feigned hypocrisy. Although he profited by their defeat, he pitied them sincerely. How frequently has he observed to me, "How much to be pitied is

a general on the day after a lost battle." He had himself experienced this misfortune, when he was obliged to raise the siege of St. Jean d'Acre. At that moment he would, I believe, have strangled Djezzar; but if Djezzar had surrendered, he would have treated him with the same attention which he showed to Mack and the other generals of the garrison of Ulm. These generals were seventeen in number, and among them was Prince de Lichtenstein, who, the day before, had been so surprised at seeing the Emperor. There were also General Kleinau, Baron de Giulay, who had acquired considerable military reputation in the preceding wars, and General Fresnel, who stood in a more critical situation than his companions in misfortune, for he was a Frenchman, and an emigrant.

Rapp told me that it was really painful to see these generals. They bowed, respectfully, to the Emperor, having Mack at their head. They preserved a mournful silence, and Napoleon was the first to speak, which he did in the following terms:—"Gentlemen, I feel sorry that such brave men as you are should be the victims of the follies of a cabinet which cherishes insane projects, and which does not hesitate to compromise the dignity of the Austrian nation, by trafficking with the services of its generals. Your names are known to me—they are honourably known wherever you have fought. Examine the conduct of those who have compromised you. What could be more iniquitous

than to attack me without a declaration of war? Is it not criminal to bring foreign invasion upon a country? Is it not betraying Europe to introduce Asiatic barbarians into her disputes. If good policy had been followed, the Aulic Council instead of attacking me, ought to have sought my alliance, in order to drive back the Russians to the north. The alliance which your cabinet has formed, will appear monstrous in history. It is the alliance of dogs, shepherds, and wolves against sheep—such a scheme could not have been planned in the mind of a statesman. It is fortunate for you that I have not been defeated in the unjust struggle to which I have been provoked. If I had, the cabinet of Vienna would have soon perceived its error, for which, perhaps, it will one day pay dearly.”

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CHAPTER XVIII.

The Emperor's proclamation—Ten thousand prisoners taken by Murat—Battle of Caldiero, in Italy—Letter from Duroc—Attempts to retard the Emperor's progress—Fruitless mission of M. de Giulay—The first French eagles taken by the Russians—Bold adventure of Lannès and Murat—The French enter Vienna—Savary's mission to the Emperor Alexander—My functions at Hamburg—The King of Sweden at Stralsund—My bulletin, describing the situation of the Russian armies—Duroc's recall from Berlin—General Dumouriez—Recruiting of the English in Hanover—The daughter of M. de Marboëuf and Napoleon—Treachery of the King of Naples—The Sun of Austerlitz—Prince Dolgorouki—Rapp's account of the battle of Austerlitz—Gerard's picture.

WHILE Napoleon flattered his prisoners at the expense of their government, he wished to express satisfaction at the conduct of his own army, and with this view he published a remarkable proclamation, which, in some measure, presented an abstract of all that had taken place since the opening of the campaign.*

* This proclamation was as follows :

“Soldiers of the Grand Army,

“In a fortnight we have finished our campaign. What we proposed to do has been done. We have driven the Austrian troops from Bavaria, and restored our ally to the sovereignty of his dominions.

This proclamation always appeared to me a masterpiece of military eloquence. While he lavished praises on his troops, he excited their emulation by hinting that the Russians were capable of disputing with them the first rank among the soldiers of Europe, and he concluded his address by calling them his children.

The second campaign to which Napoleon al-

"That army, which, with equal presumption and imprudence, marched upon our frontiers, is annihilated.

"But what does this signify to England? She has gained her object. We are no longer at Boulogne, and her subsidy will be neither more nor less.

"Of a hundred thousand men who composed that army, sixty thousand are prisoners. They will supply our conscripts in the labours of agriculture.

"Two hundred pieces of canon, ninety flags, and all their generals are in our power. Fifteen thousand men only have escaped.

"Soldiers! I announce to you the result of a great battle; but, thanks to the ill-devised plans of the enemy, I was enabled to secure the wished for result without incurring any danger, and, what is unexampled in the history of nations, that result has been gained at the sacrifice of scarcely fifteen hundred men, killed and wounded.

"Soldiers! this success is due to your unlimited confidence in your Emperor, to your patience in enduring fatigues and privations of every kind, and to your singular courage and intrepidity.

"But we will not stop here. You are impatient to commence another campaign.

"The Russian army, which English gold has brought from the extremity of the world, shall experience the same fate as that which we have just defeated.

"In the conflict in which we are now about to engage, the honour of the French infantry is especially concerned. We shall now see another decision of the question which has already been determined in Switzerland and Holland; namely, whether the French infantry is the first or the second in Europe.

"Among the Russians there are no generals, in contending against whom, I can acquire any glory. All I wish is to obtain the victory with the least possible bloodshed. My soldiers are my children.

leged, they so eagerly looked forward, speedily ensued, and hostilities were carried on with a degree of vigour which fired the enthusiasm of the army. Heaven knows what accounts were circulated of the Russians, who, as Bonaparte solemnly stated in his proclamation, had come from the *extremity of the world*. They were represented as half naked savages, pillaging, destroying, and burning wherever they went. It was even asserted that they were cannibals, and had been seen to eat children. In short, at that period was introduced the denomination of northern barbarians, which has since been so generally applied to the Russians. Two days after the capitulation of Ulm, Murat obtained the capitulation of Trochtelfingen from General Warneck, and made ten thousand prisoners, so that, without counting killed and wounded, the Austrian army had sustained a diminution of fifty thousand men, after a campaign of twenty days. On the 27th of October the French army crossed the Inn, and thus penetrated into the Austrian territory. Salzburg and Braunnan were immediately taken. The army of Italy, under the command of Masséna, was also obtaining great advantages. On the 30th of October, that is to say, the very day on which the grand army took the above-mentioned fortresses, the army of Italy, having crossed the Adige, had a sanguinary battle at Caldiero, and took five thousand Austrian prisoners.

In the extraordinary campaign, which has been distinguished by the name of the campaign of

Austerlitz, the exploits of our troops succeeded each other more rapidly than thought. I confess I was equally astonished and delighted when I received a note from Duroc, sent by an extraordinary courier, and commencing laconically with the words :—" We are in Vienna ; the Emperor is well."

Duroc's letter was dated the 31st of October, and the words, " We are in Vienna," seemed to me the result of a dream. The capital of Austria, which, from time immemorial, had not been occupied by foreigners—the city which Sobiesky had saved from Ottoman violence, had become the prey of the Imperial Eagle of France, which, after a lapse of three centuries, avenged the humiliations formerly imposed upon Francis I by the *Aquila Griffagna* of Charles V.* Duroc had left the Emperor before the camp of Boulougne was raised : his mission to Berlin being terminated, he rejoined the Emperor at Lintz.

Before I notice the singular mission of M. Haugwitz to the Emperor Napoleon, and the result of that mission which circumstances rendered

* *Aquila Griffagna, che dui becchi porta per meglio divorar.*

This line occurs in a Satire which Paulus Jovius, a celebrated critic of the 16th century, wrote in favour of Francis I, and against Charles V. Having quarrelled with the King of France, Paulus Jovius offered his services to the Emperor of Germany, who replied to him by repeating the line above quoted.

As soon as Bonaparte became Emperor he constituted himself the avenger of all the insults given to the Sovereigns, whom he styled his predecessors. All that related to the honour of France was sacred to him. Thus he joyfully removed the column of Rosbach from the Prussian territory.

diametrically the reverse of its object, I will relate what came to my knowledge respecting some other negotiations on the part of Austria, the evident intent of which was to retard Napoleon's progress and, thereby, to dupe him. M. de Giulay, one of the generals included in the capitulation of Ulm, had returned home to acquaint his sovereign with the disastrous event. He did not conceal either from the Emperor Francis or the cabinet of Vienna the destruction of the Austrian army and the impossibility of arresting the rapid advance of the French. M. de Giulay was sent as a flag of truce to the head quarters of Napoleon to assure him of the pacific intentions of the Emperor of Austria, and to solicit an armistice. The snare was too glaring not to be immediately discovered by Napoleon. He had always pretended a love for peace, though he was overjoyed at the idea of continuing a war so successfully commenced, and he directed General Giulay to assure the Emperor of Austria that he was no less anxious for peace than he, and that he was ready to treat for it, but without suspending the course of his operations. Bonaparte, indeed, could not, without a degree of imprudence of which he was incapable, consent to an armistice; for M. de Giulay, though intrusted with powers from Austria, had received none from Russia. Russia, therefore, might disavow the armistice and arrive in time to defend Vienna, the occupation of which was so important to the French army. The Russians, indeed, were advancing to oppose us, and the corps of our army,

commanded by Mortier, on the left bank of the Danube, experienced, in the first engagement, a check which not a little vexed the Emperor. This was the first reverse of fortune we had sustained throughout the campaign. It was trivial to be sure; but the capture by the Russians of three French eagles, the first that had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was very mortifying to Napoleon, and caused him to prolong, for some days, his stay, at Saint-Polten, where he then was.

The rapid occupation of Vienna was due to the successful temerity of Lannes and Murat, two men alike distinguished for courage and daring spirit. A bold artifice of these generals prevented the destruction of the bridge of the Thabor, at Vienna, without which our army would have experienced considerable difficulty in penetrating into the Austrian capital. This act of courage and presence of mind, which had so great an influence on the events of the campaign, was described to me by Lannes, who told the story with an air of gaiety, unaccompanied by any self-complacency, and seemed rather pleased with the trick played upon the Austrians than proud of the brilliant action which had been performed. Bold enterprizes were so natural to Lannes, that he was frequently the only person who saw nothing extraordinary in his own exploits. Alas! what men were sacrificed to Napoleon's ambition!

The following is the story of the bridge of the Thabor, as I received it from Lannes:—

“ I was one day walking with Murat, on the

right bank of the Danubé, and we observed on the left bank, which was occupied by the Austrians, some works going on, the evident object of which was to blow up the bridge on the approach of our troops. The fools had the impudence to make these preparations under our very noses ; but we gave them a good lesson. Having arranged our plan we returned to give orders, and I intrusted the command of my column of grenadiers to an officer on whose courage and intelligence I could rely. I then returned to the bridge accompanied by Murat and two or three other officers. We advanced unconcernedly, and entered into conversation with the commander of a post in the middle of the bridge. We spoke to him about an armistice which was to be speedily concluded. While conversing with the Austrian officers, we contrived to make them turn their eyes towards the left bank, and then, agreeably to the orders we had given, my column of grenadiers advanced on the bridge. The Austrian cannoneers, on the left bank, seeing their officers in the midst of us, did not dare to fire, and my column advanced at a quick step. Murat and I at the head of it, gained the left bank. All the combustibles, prepared for blowing up the bridge, were thrown into the river ; and my men took possession of the batteries erected for the defence of the bridge head. The poor devils of Austrian officers were perfectly astounded when I told them they were my prisoners."

Such, as well as I can recollect, was the

account given by Lannes, who laughed immoderately in describing the consternation of the Austrian officers when they discovered the trick that had been played upon them. When Lannes performed this exploit, he had little idea of the important consequences which would attend it. He had not only secured to the remainder of the French army a sure and easy entrance to Vienna, but, without being aware of it, he created an insurmountable impediment to the junction of the Russian army with the Austrian corps, commanded by Prince Charles, who, being pressed by Masséna, hastily advanced into the heart of the hereditary states, where he fully expected a great battle would take place.

As soon as the corps of Murat and Lannes had taken possession of Vienna, the Emperor ordered all the divisions of the army to march upon that capital. Napoleon established his head-quarters at Schönbrunn, where he planned his operations for compelling the corps of Prince Charles to retire to Hungary, and also for advancing his own forces to meet the Russians. Murat and Lannes always commanded the advanced guard during the forced marches ordered by Napoleon, which were executed in a way truly miraculous.

To keep up the appearance of wishing to conclude peace as soon as reasonable propositions should be made to him, Napoleon sent for his minister for foreign affairs, who speedily arrived at Vienna, and General Savary was sent on a mission to the Emperor Alexander. The details

of this mission I have learned only from the account of it given by the Duke de Rovigo in his apologetic Memoirs. In spite of the Duke's eagerness to induce a belief in Napoleon's pacific disposition, the very facts on which he supports his argument, lead to the contrary conclusion. Napoleon wished to dictate his conditions before the issue of a battle; the success of which might appear doubtful to the young Emperor of Russia, and these conditions were such as he might impose when victory should be declared in favour of our eagles. It must be clear to every reflecting person, that by always proposing what he knew could not be honourably acceded to, he kept up the appearance of being a pacificator, while at the same time, he ensured to himself the pleasure of carrying on the war.

I will now relate how, in conformity with my instructions, I was employed in Hamburgh in aiding the success of the French army.—I had sent an agent to observe the Russian troops who were advancing by forced marches on the banks of the Elbe. This agent transmitted to me from Gadbusch, an account of the routes taken by the different columns. It was then supposed that they would march upon Holland by the way of Bremen and Oldenburgh. On the receipt of this intelligence, the Electorate of Hanover was evacuated by the French, and General Barbou, who had commanded there, concentrated his forces in Hameln.

On the 2nd of November, 1805, the King of

Sweden arrived at Stralsund. I immediately intimated to our government that this circumstance would probably give a new turn to the operations of the combined army ; for hitherto the uncertainty of its movements, and the successive counter-orders, afforded no possibility of ascertaining any determined plan. The intention seemed to be, that all the Swedo-Russian troops should cross the Elbe at the same point, viz. Lauenburgh, six miles from Hamburgh ; there was not on the 5th November, a single Russian on the southern bank of the Elbe.

The first column of the grand Russian army passed through Warsaw on the 1st November, and on the 2nd the Grand Duke Constantine was expected with the guards. This column, which amounted to 6,000 men, was the first that passed through Prussian Poland.

At this time we momentarily expected to see landed on the banks of the Weser or the Elbe, the Hanoverian army, augmented by some thousands of English. Their design apparently was either to attack Holland, or to attempt some operation on the rear of our grand army.

The French government was very anxious to receive accurate accounts of the march of the Swedo-Russian troops through Hanover, and of the Russian army through Poland. My agents at Warsaw and Stralsund, who were exceedingly active and intelligent, enabled me to send off a bulletin, describing the state of Hanover, the movements of the Russians and Swedes, together

with information of the arrival of English troops in the Elbe, and a statement of the force of the combined army in Hanover, which consisted of fifteen thousand Russians, eight thousand Swedes, and twelve thousand English; making in all thirty-five thousand men.

It was probably on account of this bulletin that Napoleon expressed to Duroc his satisfaction of my services. The Emperor on recalling Duroc from Berlin, did not manifest the least apprehension respecting Prussia *

Whenever foreign armies were opposing France the hopes of the emigrants revived. They falsely imagined that the powers coalesced against Napoleon were labouring in their cause; and many of them entered the Russian and Austrian armies. Of this number was General Dumouriez. I received information that he had landed at Stade on the 21st November; but whither he intended to proceed was not known. A man, named Saint Martin, whose wife lived with Dumouriez, and who had accompanied the General from England

* The following is a letter which Duroc wrote to me on the occasion of his recall.

“ My dear Bourrienne,

“ The Emperor having thought my services necessary to the army, has recalled me. I yesterday had a farewell audience of the King and Queen, who treated me very graciously. His Majesty presented me with his portrait set in diamonds.

“ The Emperor Alexander will probably depart to-morrow, and the Arch-Duke Anthony very speedily. We cannot but hope that their presence here will facilitate a good understanding.

“ Duroc.”

to Stade, came to Hamburgh, where he observed great precautions for concealment, and bought two carriages, which were immediately forwarded to Stade. Saint Martin himself immediately proceeded to the latter place. I was blamed for not having arrested this man, but he had a commission attesting that he was in the English service, and, as I have before mentioned, a foreign commission was a safeguard which could not be violated in Hamburgh.

In December, 1805, the English recruiting in Hamburgh was kept up without interruption, and attended with extraordinary success. Sometimes a hundred men were raised in a day. The misery prevailing in Germany, which had been ravaged by the war, the hatred against the French, and the high bounty that was offered, enabled the English to procure as many men as they wished.

The King of Sweden, with a view to his intended stir in Hanover, took with him a camp printing-press to publish the bulletins of the *Grand Swedish army*. The first of these bulletins announced to *Europe* that his Swedish Majesty was about to leave Stralsund, and that his army would take up its position partly between Nelsen and Haarburch, and partly between Domitz and the frontiers of Hamburgh.

Among the anecdotes of Napoleon connected with this campaign, I find in my notes the following, which was related to me by Rapp: Some days before his entrance into Vienna, Napoleon,

who was riding on horseback along the road, dressed in his usual uniform of chasseurs of the guard, met an open carriage in which were seated a lady and a priest. The lady was in tears, and Napoleon could not refrain from stopping to ask her what was the cause of her distress :—"Sir," she replied, for she did not know the Emperor, "I have been pillaged at my estate, two leagues from hence, by a party of soldiers, who have murdered my gardener ; I am going to seek your Emperor, who knows my family, to whom he was once under great obligations."—"What is your name?" inquired Napoleon—"De Bunny," replied the lady: I am the daughter of M. de Marbœuf, formerly Governor of Corsica."—"Madame," exclaimed Napoleon, "I am delighted to have the opportunity of serving you." You cannot conceive, continued Rapp, the attention which the Emperor shewed to Madame de Bunny. He consoled her, pitied her, almost apologised for the misfortune she had sustained :—"Will you have the goodness, Madam," said he, "to go and wait for me at my head-quarters. I will join you speedily ; every member of M. de Marbœuf's family has a claim on my respect." The Emperor immediately gave her a picquet of chasseurs of his guard to escort her. He saw her again during the day, when he loaded her with attentions, and liberally indemnified her for the losses she had sustained.

For some time previous to the battle of Austerlitz, the different corps of the army intersected

every part of Germany and Italy, all tending towards Vienna as to a central point. At the beginning of November the corps commanded by Marshal Bernadotte arrived at Saltzburgh, at the moment when the Emperor had advanced his head-quarters to Brannau, where there were numerous magazines of artillery, and a vast quantity of provisions of every kind. The junction of the corps commanded by Bernadotte in Hanover with the grand army, was a point of such high importance that Bonaparte had directed the marshal to come up with him as speedily as possible, and to take the shortest road. This order obliged Bernadotte to pass through the territory of the two margravates.

At that time we were at peace with Naples. In September the Emperor had concluded, with Ferdinand IV, a treaty of neutrality. This treaty enabled Carra-Saint-Cyr, who occupied Naples, to evacuate that city and to join Masséna in Upper Italy: both reached the grand army on the 28th of November. But no sooner had the troops, commanded by Carra-Saint-Cyr, quitted the Neapolitan territory, than the King of Naples, influenced by his ministers, and above all by Queen Caroline, broke the treaty of neutrality, ordered hostile preparations against France, opened his ports to the enemies of the Emperor, and received into his states twelve thousand Russians and eight thousand English. It was on the receipt of this news that Bonaparte, in one of his most violent bulletins, styled the Queen of Naples a second

Fredegunda. The victory of Austerlitz having given powerful authority to his threats, the fall of Naples was decided, and shortly after, Joseph was seated on the Neapolitan throne.

At length came the grand day, when, to use Napoleon's expression, the *Sun of Austerlitz* rose. All our forces were concentrated on one point, at about forty leagues beyond Vienna. There remained nothing but the wreck of the Austrian army; the corps of Prince Charles being by scientific manœuvres kept at a distance from the line of operations: but the Russians alone were superior to us in numbers, and their army was almost entirely composed of fresh troops. The most extraordinary illusion prevailed in the enemy's camp. The north of Europe has its Gascons as well as the south of France, and the junior portion of the Russian army at this period assumed an absurd braggadocio tone. On the very eve of the battle the Emperor Alexander sent one of his aides-de-camp, Prince Dolgorouki, as a flag of truce to Napoleon. The Prince could not repress his self-sufficiency even in the presence of the Emperor, and Rapp informed me that on dismissing him, the Emperor said:—"If you were on the heights of Montmartre, I would answer such impertinence only by cannon-balls." This observation was very remarkable, in as much as subsequent events rendered it a prophecy.

As to the battle itself, I can describe it almost as well as if I had witnessed it; for, some time after, I had the pleasure of seeing, in Hamburgh,

my friend Rapp, who was sent on a mission to Prussia. He gave me the following account:—

“ When we arrived at Austerlitz, the Russians were not aware of the scientific plans which the Emperor had laid for drawing them upon the ground he had marked out; and seeing our advanced guards fall back before theirs, they already considered themselves conquerors. They supposed that their guard alone would secure an easy triumph. But the action commenced, and they experienced an energetic resistance on all points. At one o'clock the victory was yet uncertain, for they fought admirably. They wished to make a last effort, by directing close masses against our centre. Their Imperial guard deployed; their artillery, cavalry, and infantry, marched upon a bridge which they attacked, and this movement, which was concealed by the rising and falling of the ground, was not observed by Napoleon. I was, at that moment, near the Emperor, awaiting his orders. We heard a well maintained firing of musketry. The Russians were repulsing one of our brigades. The Emperor ordered me to take the Mamelukes, two squadrons of chasseurs, and one of grenadiers of the guard, and to go and reconnoitre the state of things. I set off at full gallop, and soon discovered the disaster. The Russian cavalry had penetrated our squares, and was sabring our men. I perceived in the distance some masses of cavalry and infantry, which formed the reserve of the Russians. At that

moment the enemy advanced to meet us, bringing with him four pieces of artillery, and ranged himself in the order of battle. I had the brave Morland on my left, and General Dallemagne on my right. 'Forward, my boys,' exclaimed I to my troop. 'See how your brothers and friends are being cut to pieces. Avenge them! avenge our flags! Forward!' These few words roused my men. We advanced as swiftly as our horses could carry us upon the artillery, which was taken. The enemy's cavalry, which awaited us firmly, was repulsed by the same shock, and fled in disorder, galloping, like us, over the wrecks of our squares. The Russians rallied; but a squadron of horse grenadiers came up to re-inforce me, and thus enabled me to await firmly, the reserves of the Russian guard. We charged again, and this charge was terrible. The brave Morland was killed by my side. It was absolute butchery. We were opposed man to man, and were so mingled together, that the infantry of neither one nor the other side could venture to fire for fear of killing their own men. At length the intrepidity of our troops overcame every obstacle, and the Russians fled in disorder, in sight of the two Emperors of Russia and Austria, who had stationed themselves on a height, in order to witness the battle. They saw a desperate one," said Rapp, "and I trust they were satisfied. For my part, my dear friend, I never spent so glorious a day. What a reception the Emperor gave me when I re-

turned to inform him that we had won the battle; and a wound which I received on my head, was bleeding copiously, so that I was covered with blood! He made me a General of Division. The Russians did not return to the charge: we had taken all their cannon and baggage, and Prince Repnin was among the prisoners."

Thus it was that Rapp related to me the famous battle of which he was the hero, as Kellerman was the hero of Marengo. What now remains of Austerlitz?—The recollection, the glory, and the magnificent picture of Gerard, the idea of which was suggested to the Emperor by the sight of Rapp with the blood streaming from his wound.

CHAPTER XIX.

Prince Lichtenstein's Mission to Napoleon—Interview between the two Emperors—Savary's missions to Francis II and Alexander—Treaty of Presburgh—M. Haugwitz at Schoenbrunn—Napoleon's severity—Treaty concluded by M. Haugwitz without authority—Second treaty concluded between Prussia and England—The title of Emperor refused to Napoleon by Alexander—Battle of Trafalgar—Napoleon's self-command—Rapp's Itinerary after Austerlitz—The Emperor at Munich—Eugene's marriage.

ON the day after the battle the Emperor, who was at the Castle of Austerlitz, received a visit from Prince de Lichtenstein, the same whom Mack had sent as a flag of truce when Napoleon was before the walls of Ulm. On this occasion the Prince came on a mission from the Emperor Francis II, who requested an interview with Napoleon. The request was acceded to, and the ceremonies to be observed on the occasion were immediately arranged. On the 4th of December Napoleon proceeded on horseback to the appointed place, which was a mill, about three leagues from Austerlitz. Napoleon was first at the rendez-vous; but the Emperor Francis soon

arrived in a caleche. As soon as Napoleon perceived him, he alighted from his horse, and advanced to meet him, attended by his aides-de-camp. Lauriston, from whom I obtained these particulars, accompanied him, having, as he himself said, been lucky enough to join the grand army in time to take part in the battle of Austerlitz. Napoleon embraced Francis II on meeting him. During their interview, Napoleon had only Berthier beside him, and the Emperor of Austria was attended by Prince John of Lichtenstein, so that the other aides-de-camp could not hear the conversation which passed between the two Emperors, which, however, may be easily imagined. What a situation for the heir of the throne of Charles V! The Emperors remained together about two hours, and again embraced at parting.

On his return from this interview, Napoleon, who never, for a moment, lost sight of the interests of his policy, roused himself from the meditation in which Lauriston said he seemed to be absorbed, to despatch an aide-de-camp to the Emperor of Austria. Savary was entrusted with this mission, the object of which was to acquaint the Emperor Francis, that on leaving him, he was going, by order of Napoleon, to the head-quarters of the Emperor Alexander, to obtain his adhesion, as far as he was concerned, to the conditions agreed upon in the conference between the Emperors of France and Austria. Alexander consented to all, observing

that since the King of the Romans was satisfied with the promises of Napoleon, he had no conditions to make on his own account, as he had taken the field only to assist his ally.

The Chanceries of France and Austria met at Presburgh. As one of the two parties had the power of demanding all, and the other could scarce venture to refuse any thing, the negotiations were neither difficult nor tardy; and on the 25th of December, that is to say, three months after Napoleon's departure from Paris, all was arranged. Russia, who had taken part in the war, took no part in the negotiations. Hostilities ceased between her and France; but without any treaty of peace being concluded.

After the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon established his head-quarters at Brunn, where he remained some days to superintend the execution of his orders relative to the cantonments of his troops. He afterwards proceeded to Schoenbrunn, without stopping at Vienna, through which he passed during the night. On the day after his arrival at Schoenbrunn, he received, for the first time, M. Haugwitz, who had been for some time at Vienna negotiating, in concert with the Prussian minister, with M. de Talleyrand, and who, it must be confessed, was in the most critical situation in which a diplomatist could be placed.

M. Haugwitz was very ill received, as may be supposed. He was at Vienna to wait the issue of events, and those events had not taken a

turn favourable to the intentions of Prussia. Napoleon, whom victory had placed in the most triumphant situation, treated the envoy from Berlin with great haughtiness, and even severity:—"Do you think," said Napoleon, "your master has kept good faith with me. It would have been more honourable in him to have declared war against me openly, though he had no motive for doing so. He would then have served his new allies, for I should have looked twice before I gave battle. You wish to be the allies of all parties; but that is impossible. You must choose between them and me. If you wish to go with them, I have no objection; but if you remain with me, I must have sincerity. I would rather have avowed enemies than false friends. What does this mean? You call yourselves my allies, and yet you allow a Russian corps in Hanover to communicate, through your states, with the grand Russian army. Nothing can justify this conduct: it is an open act of hostility. If your powers do not enable you to treat all these questions, get them extended. As for me, I will march against my enemies, wherever they may be." While the Emperor delivered this address, Lauriston told me that he was so animated, and raised his voice so loud, that he was heard distinctly by those who were in the adjoining room.

M. Haugwitz was placed in peculiarly delicate circumstances, especially as Napoleon's complaints against Prussia were not all without

foundation. The truth is, that M. Haugwitz, had come to Berlin merely as an observer, and, furnished only with conditional instructions. Had the Emperor been beaten by the combined armies of Austria and Russia, M. Haugwitz was to declare openly the alliance of Prussia with Russia and Austria; but the victory gained by the French, and the immense results of that victory, forbade him to avow the object of his mission. M. Haugwitz, seeing no other means of averting the storm, which was ready to burst upon Prussia, took upon himself, without being authorised by his sovereign, to sign a treaty, by virtue of which the Margravates of Barenth and Anspach were exchanged for Hanover.

While all this was going on at Vienna I received from Berlin bulletins informing me that M. von Hardenberg had just signed, *by order of his master*, another treaty with England, which rendered the situation of Prussia with respect to her two allies, extremely perplexing and complicated. She could not remain in these embarrassing circumstances, from which, however, she saw no certain means of extricating herself:—it was indispensably necessary that she should declare herself decidedly, for with Napoleon there was no possibility of screening herself under the subterfuge of neutrality. Thus Prussia could not avoid war, and all that remained to her was the choice of maintaining it either against France or England. By her treaty with England Prussia received a subsidy of fifteen hundred thousand

pounds sterling; and while at the French headquarters nothing was known of this second negotiation, and no suspicion was entertained of the validity of that which necessity had imposed on M. Haugwitz, the Russian general Buxhoevden, at the head of a corps of thirty thousand men was crossing the Vistula at Warsaw, and advancing upon Bohemia by Breslaw. This was one of the results of the Emperor Alexander's visit to Berlin. That sovereign had induced the King of Prussia to make common cause with him, Austria and England supposing that France could not triumph over so powerful a coalition; but the fortune of Napoleon ordained otherwise.

As soon as M. Haugwitz had concluded at Vienna, the treaty to which I have alluded, he set out on his return to Berlin. On the road he met M. Pfuhl, who was proceeding to Vienna, and who asked him to return thither with him. At that moment all the diplomatic machinery was in full play: Napoleon, it is true, had wonderfully simplified it, for with him the whole code of diplomacy was reduced to the words: "My will, or war." When M. Haugwitz returned to Berlin, the King of Prussia expressed his decided displeasure of the treaty he had concluded at Vienna.

In the perplexing situation to which the King of Prussia was reduced, he had recourse to one of those political equivocations which retard, but do not avert danger. He determined to reject that clause of the treaty by which France conceded to Prussia

the possession of Hanover, unless the consent of England were obtained, a thing which was well known to be impossible. The two margravates were sacrificed to appease the displeasure of Napoleon, and Hanover was received only as a deposit until the conclusion of a general peace.

Colonel Pfuhl had been sent to Vienna to convey to M. Haugwitz intelligence of the treaty concluded with England; but victory under the banner of France advanced more rapidly than the negotiations of the cabinet of Berlin. The Russians had retired from the field of Austerlitz, but without formally renouncing hostilities; and Alexander would not consent to acknowledge Napoleon either as Emperor of France or King of Italy. I recollect hearing that Alexander having occasion to write to Napoleon, before the battle of Austerlitz, addressed his letter to the *Head of the French Government*.

Napoleon received, at Vienna, intelligence of the battle of Trafalgar. In France that event was known only by report and through the medium of the foreign papers, which were then on the index. So completely did Napoleon succeed in veiling that disaster in obscurity, that previously to the restoration it was not mentioned by any public paper throughout the French empire. The details were, however, known in Hamburgh. Mercantile people first gained information of them, and I learned them by the reports of my agents, even before they were officially confirmed, in a despatch from the Minister for Foreign Affairs

then at Vienna. Admiral Villeneuve, who with Gravina, commanded the combined fleets of France and Spain, left Cadiz with the intention of attacking the English fleet commanded by Admiral Nelson. We had thirty-one ships, and the English thirty-three. So great a naval battle had never been fought since the defeat of the Armada. The issue of the battle was to us equivalent to the destruction of our fleet, for we lost eighteen ships: the other thirteen returned to Cadiz, dreadfully damaged. The battle of Trafalgar was fatal to the three admirals engaged in it. Nelson was killed, Gravina died in consequence of his wounds, and Villeneuve, who was made prisoner, was taken to England, and finally put a period to his own existence.

Napoleon did not at first betray the mortification which this defeat occasioned to him, for he was never engrossed at one and the same time with two subjects of equal interest. This power of confining his mind to one single object was often the secret which enabled him to accomplish his designs. He evincéd similar self-command at Vienna when he received intelligence of the financial crisis which took place in Paris during his absence, and of which I shall speak in my next chapter.

I will here relate a few particulars which I learned from Rapp respecting his mission after the cure of his wound and the marriage of Prince Eugene to the Princess Augusta of Bavaria. The friendship which Rapp cherished for me was of

the most sincere kind; during my disgrace he did not even conceal it from Napoleon, and whoever knows any thing of the Emperor's court will acknowledge that that was a greater mark of courage than the carrying of a redoubt or the most brilliant charge of cavalry. Rapp possessed courage of every kind, an excellent heart, and a downright frankness which for a time brought him into disgrace with Napoleon. The only thing for which Rapp could be reproached was his extreme prejudice against the nobility, which I am convinced was the sole reason why he was not created a duke. The Emperor made him a count because he wished that all his aides-de-camp should have titles.

“He had been a fortnight at Schœnbrunn,” said Rapp to me, “and I had not yet resumed my duties, when the Emperor sent for me. He asked me whether I was able to travel, and on my replying in the affirmative, he said: ‘Go then, and give an account of the battle of Austerlitz to Marmont and vex him for not having been at it.’ I set off, and in conformity with the instructions I had received from the Emperor, I proceeded to Gratz, where I found Marmont, who was indeed deeply mortified at not having had a share in the great battle. I told him, as the Emperor had directed me, that the negotiations were commenced, but that nothing was yet concluded, and that therefore, at all events he must hold himself in readiness. I ascertained the situation of his army in Styria, and the amount of the enemy's force before him. The Emperor wished him

to send a number of spies into Hungary, and to transmit to him a detailed report from their communications. I next proceeded to Laybach, where I found Masséna at the head of the eighth army corps, and I acquainted him that the Emperor wished him to march in all haste upon Vienna, in case he should hear of the rupture of the negotiations. I continued the itinerary marked out for me until I reached Venice, and thence till I met the troops of Carra-Saint-Cyr, who had received orders to march back upon Naples as soon as the Emperor heard of the treason of the King of Naples, and the landing of the English and Russians. Having fulfilled these different missions, I proceeded to Klagenfurth where I saw Marshal Ney, and I afterwards rejoined the Emperor at Munich. There I had the pleasure of finding our friends assembled; and among them Josephine, who is still as affable and amiable as ever. How delighted I was when, on my arrival, I learned that the Emperor had adopted Eugène. I was present at his marriage with the Princess Augusta. As to me you know I am not very fond of fêtes, and the Emperor might have dispensed with my performing the duties of chamberlain; Eugene had no idea of what was in agitation when the Emperor sent to desire his presence at Munich with all possible speed. He, too, remains unchanged: he is still our old comrade. At first he was not much pleased with the idea of a marriage of policy; but when he saw his bride, he was quite enchanted, and no wonder, for I assure you she is a very charming woman."

CHAPTER XX.

Depreciation of the bank paper—Ouvrard—His great discretion—Bonaparte's opinion of the rich—Ouvrard's imprisonment—His partnership with the King of Spain—His connexion with Wanlerberghe and Desprez—Bonaparte's return to Paris after the campaign of Vienna—Hasty dismissal of M. Barbé-Marbois

AT the moment when the Emperor had reason to hope that the news of his extraordinary success would animate public spirit, he was informed that considerable disquietude prevailed; and that the bank was assailed by demands for the payment of its paper, which had fallen more than 5 per cent. I was not ignorant of the cause of this decline. I had been made acquainted through the commercial correspondence between Hamburgh and Paris, with a great financial operation, planned by M. Ouvrard, in consequence of which he was to obtain piasters from Spanish America, at a price much below the real value, and had learned that he was obliged to support this enterprise by the funds which he and his partners previously employed in victualing the forces. A fresh

investment of capital was therefore necessary for this service, which when on a large scale requires extensive advances, and the tardy payment of the treasury at the period was well known.

I was well acquainted with M. Ouvrard, and in what I am about to say, I do not think there will be found any thing offensive or disagreeable to him. I observed the greater number of the facts to which I shall refer in their origin, and the rest I learned from M. Ouvrard himself, who, when he visited Hamburgh in 1808, communicated to me a variety of details respecting his immense transaction with the King of Spain. Among other things, I recollect he told me, that before the 18th Brumaire, he was possessed of sixty millions, without owing a franc to any person.

This celebrated financier has been the object of great public attention. The prodigious variations of fortune which he has experienced, the activity of his life, the immense commercial operations in which he has been engaged, the extent and the boldness of his enterprizes; render it necessary in forming a judgment of M. Ouvrard, to examine his conduct with due care and deliberation. The son of a paper-maker, who was able merely through his own resources to play so remarkable a part, could not be an ordinary man. It may be said of M. Ouvrard, what Beaumarchais said of himself, that his life was really a combat. I have known him long, and I saw much of him in his relations with Josephine. He always appeared to me to possess great knowledge of the world, accompa-

nied by honourable principles, and a high degree of generosity, which added greatly to the value of his prudence and discretion. No human power, no consideration, not even the ingratitude of those whom he had obliged, could induce him to disclose any sacrifice which he had made at the time, when under the Directory, the public revenue may be said to have been always at the disposal of the highest bidder, and when no business could be brought to a conclusion except by him, who set about it with his hands full of money. To this security with which M. Ouvrard impressed all official persons who rendered him services, I attribute the facility with which he obtained the direction of the numerous enterprises in which he engaged, and which produced so many changes in his fortune. The discretion of M. Ouvrard was not quite agreeable to the First Consul, who found it impossible to extract from him the information he wanted. He tried every method to obtain from him the names of persons to whom he had given those kind of subsidies which, in vulgar language, are called sops in the pan, and by ladies, pin money. Often have I seen Bonaparte resort to every possible contrivance to gain his object. He would sometime endeavour to alarm M. Ouvrard by menaces, and at other times to flatter him by promises, but he was in no instance successful.

While we were at the Luxembourg, on, as I recollect, the 25th of January, 1800, Bonaparte said to me during breakfast:—"Bourrienne, my

resolution is taken. I shall have Ouvrard arrested.”——“General, have you proofs against him?”——Proofs, indeed! He is a money dealer, a monopolizer, we must make him regorge. All the contractors; all the provision agents are rogues. How have they got their fortunes? at the expense of the country to be sure. I will not suffer such doings. They possess millions, they roll in an insolent luxury, while my soldiers have neither bread nor shoes! I will have no more of that. I intend to speak on the business to-day in the council, and we shall see what can be done.”

I waited with impatience for his return from the council to know what had passed:—“Well, General,” said I.... “The order is given.” On hearing this I became anxious about the fate of M. Ouvrard, who was thus treated more like a subject of the Grand Turk than a citizen of the Republic; but I soon learned that the order had not been executed because he could not be found. Next day I learned that a person, whom I shall not name, who was present at the council, and who probably was under obligations to Ouvrard, wrote him a note in pencil, to inform him of the vote for his arrest carried by the First Consul. This individual stepped out for a moment, and despatched his servant with the note to Ouvrard. Having thus escaped the writ of arrest, Ouvrard, after a few days had passed over re-appeared, and surrendered himself prisoner. Bonaparte was at first furious, on learning that

he had got out of the way, but on hearing that Ouvrard had surrendered himself, he said to me: "The fool! he does not know what is awaiting him. He wishes to make the public believe that he has nothing to fear; that his hands are clean. But he is playing a bad game: he will gain nothing in that way with me. All talking is nonsense. You may be sure, Bourrienne, that when a man has so much money, he cannot have got it honestly, and then all those fellows are dangerous with their fortunes. In the time of a revolution, no man ought to have more than three millions, and that is a great deal too much."

Before going to prison, Ouvrard took care to secure against all the searches of the police, any of his papers which might have compromised persons with whom he had dealings, and I believe that there were individuals connected with the police itself, who had good reason for not regretting the opportunity which M. Ouvrard had taken for exercising this precaution. Seals, however, were put upon his papers; but on examining them, none of the information Bonaparte so much desired to obtain was found. Nevertheless, on one point his curiosity was satisfied, for on looking over the documents, he found from some of them that Madame Bonaparte had been borrowing money from Ouvrard.

As Ouvrard had a great number of friends, they bestirred themselves to get some person of influence to speak to the First Consul in his favour. But this was a commission no one

was willing to undertake ; because, prejudiced as Bonaparte was, the least hint of the kind would have appeared to him to be dictated by private interest. Berthier was very earnestly urged to interfere, but he replied :—“ That is impossible. He would say that it was underhand work to get money for Madame Visconti.”

I do not recollect to what circumstance he was indebted for his liberty ; but it is certain that his captivity did not last long. Sometime after he had left prison, Bonaparte asked him for twelve millions, which M. Ouvrard refused.

On his accession to the consulate, Bonaparte found M. Ouvrard contractor for supplying the Spanish fleet under the command of Admiral Massaredo. This business introduced him to a correspondence with the famous Prince of the Peace. The contract lasted three years, and M. Ouvrard gained by it a neat profit of fifteen millions. The money was payable in piastres, at the rate of three francs, and some centimes each, though the piastre was really worth five francs forty centimes. But to recover it at this value, it was necessary for M. Ouvrard to go and get the money in Mexico. This he was much inclined to do, but he apprehended some obstacle on the part of the First Consul, and notwithstanding his habitual shrewdness, he became the victim of his over precaution. On his application, M. de Talleyrand undertook to ask the First Consul for authority to give him a passport. I was in the cabinet at the time, and I think I still hear the

dry and decided *No*, which was all the answer M. de Talleyrand obtained. When we were alone the First Consul said to me :—" Do not you see, Bourrienne, this Ouvrard must have made a good thing of his business with the Prince of the Peace? But the fool! Why did he get Talleyrand to ask me for a passport? That is the very thing that raised my suspicion. Why did he not apply for a passport as any one else does? Have I the giving of them? He is an ass: so much the worse for him."

I was sorry for Ouvrard's disappointment and, I own, not the less so, that he had intimated his willingness to give me a share in the business he was to transact in Spain. And which was likely to be of a very profitable kind. His brother went to Mexico in his stead.

In 1802 a dreadful scarcity afflicted France and to remedy the distress was urgent. M. Ouvrard took upon himself in concert with Wanlérberghe the task of importing foreign grain to prevent the troubles which might otherwise have been expected. In payment of the grain the foreign houses which sent it, drew upon Ouvrard and Wanlérberghe for twenty-six millions of francs in treasury bills, which, according to the agreement with the government were to be paid. But, when the bills of the foreign houses became due there was no money in the treasury and payment was refused. After six months had elapsed payment was offered; but on condition that the government should retain half the profit,

of the commission. This Ouvrard and Wanlerberghe refused upon which the treasury thought it most economical to pay nothing, and the debt remained long unsettled. Notwithstanding this transaction, Ouvrard and Wanlerberghe engaged to victual the navy, which they supplied for six years and three months. After the completion of these different services the debt due to them amounted to sixty eight millions.

In consequence of the long delay of payment by the treasury the disbursements for supplies of grain amounted at last to more than forty millions; and the difficulties which arose had a serious effect on the credit of the principal dealers with those persons who supplied them. The discredit spread and gradually reached the treasury the embarrassments of which augmented with the general disquietude. Ouvrard, Wanlerberghe and Seguin were the persons whose capital and credit rendered them most capable of relieving the treasury. And they agreed to advance for that purpose one hundred and two millions, in return for which they were allowed bonds of the receivers general to the amount of 150 millions. M. Desprez undertook to be the medium through which the 102 millions were to be paid into the treasury and the three partners transferred the bonds to him.

Spain had concluded a treaty with France by which she was bound to pay a subsidy of seventy two millions of francs. Thirty two millions had become due without any payment being made.

It was thought advisable that Ouvrard should be sent to Madrid to obtain a settlement; but he was afraid that his business in Paris would suffer during his absence, and especially the transaction in which he was engaged with Desprez. The treasury satisfied him on this point by agreeing to sanction the bargain with Desprez, and Ouvrard proceeded to Madrid. It was on this occasion he entered into the immense speculation for trading with Spanish America.

Spain wished to pay the thirty two millions which were due to France as soon as possible, but her coffers were empty, and good will does not ensure ability; besides, in addition to the distress of the government a dreadful famine raged in Spain. In this state of things Ouvrard proposed to the Spanish government to pay the debt due to France, to import a supply of corn and to advance funds for the relief of the Spanish treasury. For this he required two conditions:—
1. The exclusive right of trading with America.
2. the right of bringing from America on his own account all the specie belonging to the crown, with the power of making loans guaranteed and payable by the Spanish treasuries.

About the end of July 1805, the embarrassment which some time before had begun to be felt in finances of Europe was alarmingly augmented. Under these circumstances it was obviously the interest of Ouvrard to procure payment as soon as possible of the thirty two millions which he had advanced for Spain to the French treasury.

He therefore redoubled his efforts, to bring his negotiation to a favourable issue and, at last, succeeded in getting a deed of partnership between himself and Charles IV signed which contained the following stipulation:—"Ouvrard, and company are authorised to introduce, into the ports of the New World, every kind of merchandize and production necessary for the consumption of those countries, and to export from the Spanish colonies during the continuance of the war with England all the productions and all the specie deriveable from them." This treaty was only to be in force during the war with England, and it was stipulated that the profits arising from the transactions of the company should be equally divided between Charles IV and the rest of the company; that is to say, one half to the King and the other half to his partners.

The consequences of this extraordinary partnership between a King and a private individual remain to be stated. On the signing of the deed Ouvrard received draughts from the Treasury of Madrid to the extent of 52,500,000 piastres; making 262,500,000 francs; but the piastres were to be brought from America, while the terms of the treaty required that the urgent wants of the Spanish government should be immediately supplied, and above all the progress of the famine checked. To accomplish this object, fresh advances to an enormous amount were necessary; for M. Ouvrard had to begin by furnishing two millions of quintals of grain at the rate of

twenty six francs the quintal. Besides all this, before he could realize a profit, and be reimbursed for the advances he had made to the Treasury of Paris, he had to get the piastres conveyed from America to Europe. After some difficulty the English government consented to facilitate the execution of the transaction by furnishing four frigates, for the conveyance of the piastres.

Ouvrard had scarcely completed the outline of his extraordinary enterprise when the Emperor suddenly broke up his camp at Boulogne to march to Germany. It will readily be conceived that Ouvrard's interests then imperatively required his presence at Madrid, but he was recalled to Paris by the minister of the Treasury who wished to adjust his accounts with him. The Emperor wanted money for the war on which he was entering, and to procure it for the Treasury, Ouvrard was sent to Amsterdam to negotiate with the house of Hope. He succeeded, and Mr. David Parish became the company's agent.

Having concluded this business, Ouvrard returned in all haste to Madrid; but in the midst of the most flattering hopes and most gigantic enterprises he suddenly found himself threatened with a dreadful crisis. M. Desprez as has been stated, had, with the concurrence of the Treasury, been allowed to take upon himself all the risk of executing the treaty, by which 150 millions were to be advanced for the year 1804, and 400 millions for the year 1805. Under the

circumstances which had arisen the minister of the Treasury considered himself entitled to call upon Ouvrard to place at his disposal ten millions of the piastres which he had received from Spain. The minister at the same time informed him, that he had made arrangements on the faith of this advance which he thought could not be refused at so urgent a moment.

The embarrassment of the Treasury and the well known integrity of the minister, M. de Barbé-Marbois, induced Ouvrard to remit the ten millions of piastres. But a few days after he had forwarded the money, a commissioner of the Treasury arrived at Madrid with a ministerial despatch, in which Ouvrard was requested to deliver to the commissioner all the assets he could command and to return immediately to Paris.

The Treasury was then in the greatest difficulty, and a general alarm prevailed. This serious financial distress was occasioned by the following circumstances. The Treasury had, by a circular, notified to the receivers general that Desprez was the holder of their bonds. They were also authorised to transmit to him all their disposable funds to be placed to their credit in an account current. Perhaps the giving of this authority was a great error; but, be that as it may; Desprez encouraged by the complaisance of the Treasury desired the receivers general to transmit to him all the sums they could procure for payment of interest

under eight per cent, promising to allow them a higher rate of interest. As the credit of the house of Desprez stood high, it may easily be conceived that on such conditions, the receivers general, who were besides secured by the authority of the Treasury, would enter eagerly into the proposed plan. In short, the receivers general soon transmitted very considerable sums. Chests of money arrived daily from every point of France. Intoxicated by this success, Desprez engaged in speculations, which in his situation were extremely imprudent. He lent more than fifty millions to the merchants of Paris which left him no command of specie. Being obliged to raise money, he deposited with the bank the bonds of the receivers general which had been consigned to him, but which were already discharged by the sums transmitted to their credit in the account current. The bank wishing to be reimbursed for the money advanced to Desprez applied to the receivers general whose bonds were held in security. This proceeding had become necessary on the part of the bank, as Desprez, instead of making his payments in specie, sent in his acceptances. The directors of the bank who conducted that establishment with great integrity and discretion, began to be alarmed and required Desprez to explain the state of his affairs. The suspicions of the directors became daily stronger and were soon shared by the public. At last the bank was obliged to stop payment and its

notes were soon at a discount of twelve per cent.

The minister of the treasury, dismayed, as well may be supposed at such a state of things, during the Emperor's absence, convoked a council, at which Joseph Bonaparte presided, and to which Desprez and Wanlerberghe were summoned. Ouvrard being informed of this financial convulsion, made all possible haste from Madrid, and on his arrival at Paris, sought assistance from Amsterdam. Hope's house offered to take fifteen millions of piastres at the rate of three francs, seventy-five centimes each. Ouvrard having engaged to pay the Spanish government only three francs, would very willingly have parted with them at that rate, but his hasty departure from Madrid, and the financial events at Paris, affected his relations with the Spanish Treasury, and rendered it impossible for him to afford any support to the Treasury of France; thus the alarm continued until the news of the battle of Austerlitz, and the consequent hope of peace, tranquillized the public mind. The bankruptcy of Desprez was dreadful; it was followed by the failure of several houses, the credit of which was previously undoubted.

To temper the exultation which victory was calculated to excite, the news of the desperate situation of the Treasury and the bank reached the Emperor on the day after the battle of Austerlitz. The alarming accounts which he received hastened his return to France, and on the very

evening on which he arrived in Paris, he pronounced, while ascending the stairs of the Tuileries, the dismissal of M. de Barbé-Marbois. This minister had made numerous enemies by the strict discharge of his duty, and yet, notwithstanding his rigid probity, he sunk under the accusation of having compromised the safety of the state by weakness of character. At this period even Madame de Staël said, in a party where the firmness of M. Barbé-Marbois was the topic of conversation, "What he inflexible! he is only a reed bronzed!" But whatever may be the opinion entertained of the character of this minister, it is certain that Napoleon's rage against him was unbounded. Such was the financial catastrophe which occurred during the campaign of Vienna; but all was not over with Ouvrard, and, in so great a confusion of affairs, it was not to be expected that the imperial hand, which was not always the hand of justice, should not make itself somewhat felt.

In the course of the month of February, 1806, the Emperor issued two decrees in which he declared Ouvrard, Wanlerberghe and Michel, contractors for the service of 1804, and Desprez, their agent debtors to the amount of eighty-seven millions, which they had misapplied in private speculations, and in transactions with Spain "for their personal interests." Who would not suppose from this phrase that Napoleon had taken no part whatever in the great financial operation between Spain and South America? He

was, however, intimately acquainted with it, and was himself really personally interested. But whenever any enterprise was unsuccessful, he always wished to disclaim all connection with it. Possessed of title deeds made up by himself, that is to say, his own decrees, the Emperor seized all the piastres, and other property belonging to the company, and derived from the transaction great pecuniary advantage—though such advantage never could be regarded by a sovereign as any compensation for the dreadful state into which public credit had been brought.

CHAPTER XXI.

Declaration of Louis XVIII—Supervision over Dumouriez—Scurrilous pamphlet—Fauche-Borel the printer—Dranob and Lésimple, two notorious rogues—The accomplice turned informer—Papers curiously concealed—The man with four names sent to Paris—News of a spy—Remarkable trait of courage and presence of mind—Order of Fouché respecting M. de la Ferronays—Order for his arrest—M. de la Ferronays at the Hamburgh theatre—Warning in time—Necessity of vigilance at Hamburgh—The King of Sweden—His bulletins—Doctor Gall—Prussia covets Hamburgh—Projects on Holland—Negotiations for peace—Mr. Fox at the head of the British cabinet—Proposed assassination of Napoleon—Propositions made through Lord Yarmouth—Proposed protection of the Hans Towns—Their state—Aggrandisement of the Imperial family—Neither peace nor war—Sebastian's mission to Constantinople—Lord Lauderdale at Paris and failure of the negotiations—Emigrant pensions—Dumouriez's intrigues—Prince of Mecklenburgh Schwerin—Count Paoli Chagny Loizeau—Martelly—Lagurre.

I HAVE been somewhat diffuse respecting the vast enterprises of M. Ouvrard, and on the disastrous state of the finances, during the campaign of Vienna. Now I am about, so to speak, to enter into my cabinet as minister plenipotentiary, where several curious transactions passed. The facts will not always be given in a connected series

because there was no more relation between the reports, which I received on a great variety of subjects, than there are in the pleadings of the barristers who succeed each other in a court of justice.

On the 2d January 1806, I learned that many houses in Hamburgh, had received by post, packets, each containing four copies of a declaration of Louis XVIII. Dumouriez had his carriage filled with it when he passed through Brunswick. In that small town alone, more than three thousand copies were distributed. The size of this declaration rendered its transmission by post very easy even in France.

All my letters from the minister, recommended that I should keep a strict watch over the motions of Dumouriez; but his name was now as seldom mentioned as if he had ceased to exist. The part he acted seemed to be limited to disseminating pamphlets, more or less insignificant.

At the end of 1805, Germany, and especially the Hanseatic territories, had been inundated by pamphlets. At this period, and before the declaration of Louis XVIII, a scurrilous libel made its appearance against the Emperor entitled: *Bonaparte, der du bist im Himmel, geheiligt werde dein Nam.*—*Rome, in der päpstlichen Buchdruckery.*

On my requisition, the Senate issued the strictest orders to prevent the circulation of this

* *Bonaparte, thou who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name.*—*Papal printing-press Rome.*

infamous pamphlet; the expressions of which could not be repeated here with propriety. I did not, however, succeed in discovering the author of this production. Fauche-Borel was the printer of most of the libels which appeared at Berlin against France; and I had positive orders to insist that the Senate should cause him to be arrested, if he appeared in Hamburg. Fauche-Borel was described as a restless agitator, continually intriguing against the French government, under the pretence of serving the Bourbons; and his intrigues were so much the more dangerous, that he could not be laid hold of. The description was not incorrect. About this time the minister of police informed me, that a man named Dranob had offered to make important discoveries; and desired me to obtain some information respecting this individual. It was ten weeks before I could reply; time being required to unravel the intrigue to which Fouché's despatches referred. At length, on the 25th February, 1806, I was enabled to furnish the following details respecting *Lesimple* and *Dranob*, who had entered into a plot for the assassination of the Emperor. I recommend the history of those two men to the attention of my readers, because I believe that there are not many examples of such daring and adroit villains.

The name *Dranob*, is the anagram of *Bonard*, this fellow's real name; he also called himself *Randob*, *Bardon*. Knowing, probably, that I would cause a search to be made after

him, he presented himself before me, in order to denounce his accomplice, Lesimple. This Bonard was known in England by the name of Leclerc; at Hamburgh he bore that of Delon. He had escaped from the Conciergerie, in the disguise of a female, in 1797 or 1798, and described himself to me as a retired officer of artillery.

He arrived in Hamburgh at the commencement of 1805, in order to fulfil the engagements which, he said, he had contracted with the British government, in concert with Lesimple. Bonard, however, believed that it would be more advantageous and safer to denounce his accomplice, than to share with him the risk of detection. He gave me at first several papers, which he had long concealed. Those papers, beautifully written, and rolled up with great care, were enclosed in a small tin case, finely executed, and about six inches in length. He had hid this case about him in a way which I cannot venture here to describe, but which rendered its discovery almost impossible. It contained, also, a small file, of finely tempered steel, which cut iron with the same facility as a knife does, paper. Similar contrivances have been discovered by the police of Paris, on malefactors. All the papers given me by Bonard, were in the hand-writing of Lesimple, and they proved the criminality of his projects. They contained extracts from the correspondence between himself and Lesimple. To crown the compact

formed by these two villains they came to blows. Bonard related to me, that having quarrelled with Lesimple, while they were about to embark at Harwich, they fought in the churchyard with the knives they had used at the inn. On relating to me this horrible scene, Bonard suddenly opened his clothes, and shewed me a large wound on his right side, not fully healed. I was seized with horror. Let any one imagine a man of uncommon strength, more vigorous, indeed, than any man I ever saw; five feet seven inches in height, French measure, displaying his wound, while confiding to me the diabolical project, which he had renounced, not from repentance, but because he conceived that the discovery of the plot would be more profitable than its accomplishment; and reading to me papers which he had concealed in so incredible a manner—my situation may then be conceived.

At the time when Bonard denounced Lesimple to me, the latter was about to depart for Holland. Assured by Bonard, however, that Lesimple would very soon return to Hamburgh, I took every imaginable precaution to have him arrested on his arrival. His absence was so long protracted, that I became very anxious respecting his return, when I learned, that on crossing through the combined British and Russian armies, he had been arrested on suspicion of being a spy. At length, on the evening of the 17th February, Lesimple arrived at Hamburgh; he

was arrested on the 19th, under the name of Dresch, which he bore during his journeyings. All his papers, none of which he had time to secret, were put under seals.* I myself interrogated him, and his answers confirmed the correctness of the horrible details that had been given to me by Bonard. In Lesimple's pocket book were found, among other papers, three passports which he had made use of during his route, and which he had himself fabricated. There were also found upon him several rouleaus, ticketed fifty louis, carefully sealed, but which were only filled with copper, and a purse, with counters of the same metal; which last were employed by him to defraud the gambling banks. He was at once sharper, spy, forger, and assassin.

I had promised to Bonard—Dranob—Leclerc—Delon, or whatever we may call him, to send him, but not as a prisoner, to Paris, in order that he might personally reply to the Minister of Police. But such men seldom can refrain for a single day from the commission of some crime. Bonard, accused as an accomplice in several thefts committed in Hamburgh, was summoned before the head of the police, and as he had good cause for declining that invitation, he suddenly disappeared, but was retaken some days afterwards at Hammeln, and conducted under an efficient escort to Paris.

It is difficult to conceive the great courage and presence of mind, sometimes found in men

so degraded, as are the wretches who fill the office of spies. I had an agent amongst the Swedo-Russians named Chefneux, whom I had always found extremely clever and correct. Having, for a long time, received no intelligence from him, I became very anxious; an anxiety which was not without foundation. He had, in fact, been arrested at Lauënburgh, and conducted, tied hands and feet, by some cossacks to Lunebürg. There was found on him a bulletin, which he was about to transmit to me, and he only escaped certain death by having in his possession a letter of recommendation from a Hamburgh merchant, well known to M. Alopæus, the Russian minister in that city. This precaution, which I had taken before he set out, saved his life. M. Alopæus replied to the merchant, that in consequence of his recommendation, the spy should be sent back safe and sound; but that another time, neither the recommended nor the recommender should escape so easily. Notwithstanding this, Chefneux would certainly have paid with his head for the dangerous business in which he was embarked, but for the inconceivable coolness he displayed under the most trying circumstances. Though the bulletin which was found upon him was addressed to M. Schramm, merchant, they strongly suspected that it was intended for me. They demanded of the prisoner whether he knew me; to which he boldly replied, that he had never seen me. They endeavoured, by every possible means, to

extort a confession from him, but without success. His repeated denials, joined to the name of M. Schramm, created doubts in the mind of his interrogators; they hesitated lest they should condemn an innocent man. They, however, resolved to make a last effort to discover the truth, and Chefneux, condemned to be shot, was conducted to the plain of Luneburgh. His eyes were bandaged, and he heard the command of preparation given to the platoon, which was to fire upon him; at that moment a man approaching him, whispered in his ear, in a tone of friendship and compassion, "They are going to fire; but I am your friend; only acknowledge that you know M. de Bourrienne, and you are safe."—"No," replied Chefneux, in a firm tone; "if I said so, I should tell a falsehood." Immediately the bandage was removed from his eyes, and he was set at liberty. It would be difficult to cite a more extraordinary instance of presence of mind.

On the 17th March, 1806, Fouché wrote to me to keep a strict eye on M. de la Ferronays. He was represented to me as a very dangerous and enterprising man, wholly devoted to the Bourbons. Chefneux, the agent of whom I have just spoken, had gone to Paris, and presented himself to the Minister of Police, to whom I spoke highly of his address and ability. He was sent from Paris to Brunswick, where M. de la Ferronays resided, with orders to watch all his motions, and daily to transmit an account

of them to me. This spy very soon insinuated himself into the company of M. de la Ferronays and his friends. I transmitted to government all the information I received from him, and paid him a salary of five hundred francs a month. Chefneux wrote directly to the minister of police, informing him that M. de la Ferronays was about to repair to England, and would pass through Hamburgh; and I received immediate orders to arrest him on his journey, and cause him to be conducted to France. Had this order been executed, his ruin would have followed. But M. de la Ferronays had taken many precautions; he travelled under an assumed name, and in the character of secretary to Lord Kinnaird, having obtained his Lordship's permission to that effect; in short, he passed very rapidly through Hamburgh, and repaired, without delay, to Altona. M. de la Ferronays was spoken of so very highly by several of the emigrants resident in Hamburgh, as to create in my mind much interest in his fate, and I rejoiced on learning that he had escaped the police, and found shelter in Altona; but he was guilty of one act of imprudence which had nearly proved his ruin, and compromised myself. One day, when I was at the theatre, the police Pretor, whom I had furnished with a description of M. de la Ferronays, telling him to inform me, should he make his appearance, approached, and pointed out to my notice a young man in the orchestra, wearing powder, whom I was at no loss to recognise

as the individual described by Chefneux. Though extremely anxious to save him, how could I accomplish my purpose after this imprudent step? However, I told the Pretor that in order the better to succeed in securing him, and without alarming the audience, I must first employ some precautions, and that he might await my return. I accordingly stepped into the lobby, and sent a person, on whom I could rely, to warn M. de la Ferronays to leave the theatre with the utmost speed. On returning to my box, I saw him receive the intimation, and I then told the Pretor to do his duty. He went to give the necessary orders, but almost before closing the box-door, M. de la Ferronays was on the road to Altona.

Much as I execrate the system of espionage, I am nevertheless compelled to admit that the Emperor was under the necessity of maintaining the most unremitting vigilance amidst the intrigues which were going forward in the neighbourhood of Hamburgh, especially when the British, Swedes and Russians, were still in arms, and there were the strongest grounds for suspecting the sincerity of Prussia.

On the 5th January 1806, the King of Sweden arrived before the gates of Hamburgh. The Senate of that city, surrounded on all sides by the British, Swedish and Russian troops, determined to send a deputation to congratulate the Swedish monarch, who however hesitated so long about receiving this homage, that fears were en-

tertained, lest his refusal, should be followed by some act of aggression. At length however the deputies were admitted, and they returned sufficiently well satisfied, with their reception.

The King of Sweden then officially declared, "that all the arrangements entered into relative to Hanover, had no reference to him as the Swedish army was under the immediate command of its august Sovereign."*

The King with his six thousand men seemed inclined to play the part of the restorer of Germany, and to make himself the Don Quixotte of the treaty of Westphalia. He threatened the Senate of Hamburg with the whole weight of his anger, because on my application the colours which used to be suspended over the door of the house for receiving Austrian recruits had been renewed. The poor Senate of Hamburg was kept in constant alarm, by so dangerous a neighbour.

The King of Sweden had his head quarters at Boetzenburgh on the northern bank of the Elbe. In order to amuse himself, he sent for Doctor Gall, who was at Hamburg, where he delivered lectures on his system, rejected in the beginning by false science and prejudice, and afterwards adopted in consequence of arguments, in my opinion, unanswerable, upon the development of the cerebral organization. I had the pleasure of living some time with Doctor Gall, and I owe to the intimacy which subsisted between us, the

* The cession of Hanover to the King of Prussia for the two Margravates is what he alluded to.

honour he conferred on me by the dedication of one of his works. I said to him when he departed for the head-quarters of the King of Sweden, my dear Doctor, you will certainly discover the bump of vanity." The truth is, that had the doctor at that period been permitted to examine the heads of the sovereigns of Europe, they would have afforded very curious craniological studies.

It was not alone the King of Sweden who gave uneasiness to Hamburgh; the King of Prussia threatened to seize upon that city, and his minister publicly declared that it would very soon belong to his master. The Hamburghers were deeply afflicted at this threat; in fact, next to the loss of their independence, their greatest misfortunes would have been to fall under the dominion of Prussia, as the niggardly fiscal system of the Prussian government at that time would have proved extremely detrimental to a commercial city. Hanover being evacuated by the French troops, had become a kind of recruiting mart for the British army, where every man who presented himself, was enrolled to complete the Hanoverian legion, which was then about to be embodied. The English scattered gold in handfulls. One hundred and fifty carriages each with six horses, were employed in this service, which confirmed me in the belief, I had previously entertained, that the English were to join with the Russians in an expedition against Holland. The aim of the Anglo-Russians was to make a diversion which might disconcert the

movements of the French armies in Germany; the allies being, at that time, unacquainted with the peace concluded at Presburgh. Not a moment was therefore to be lost, in uniting the whole of our disposable force for the defence of Holland; but it is not this expedition of which I mean to speak at this moment, I only mention it to afford some idea of our situation, at Hamburgh, surrounded as we then were, by Swedish, British, and Russian troops. At this period the Russian minister at Hamburgh, M. Forshmann, became completely insane; his conduct had been more injurious than advantageous to his government. He was replaced by M. Alopæus, the Russian minister at Berlin; and they could not have exchanged a fool for a more judicious and able diplomatist.

I often received from the Minister of Marine letters and packets, to transmit to the Isle of France of which the Emperor was extremely anxious to retain possession; and I had much trouble in finding any vessels prepared for that colony, by which I could forward the minister's communications. The death of Pitt, and the appointment of Mr. Fox as his successor, had created a hope of peace. It was universally known that Mr. Fox, in succeeding to his office, did not inherit the furious hatred of the deceased minister against France and her Emperor. There besides existed between Napoleon and Mr. Fox a reciprocal esteem, and the latter had shown himself merely disposed to

treat. The possibility of concluding a peace had always been maintained by that statesman, when he was in opposition to Mr. Pitt; and Bonaparte himself might have been induced, from the high esteem he felt for Mr. Fox, to make concessions, from which he would before have recoiled. But two obstacles, I may say almost insurmountable ones, opposed themselves to it. The first was the conviction on the part of England, that any peace which might be made would only be a truce, and that Bonaparte would never seriously relinquish his desire of universal dominion. On the other side, it was believed that Napoleon had formed the design of invading England. Had he been able to do so, it would have been less with the view of striking a blow at her commerce, and destroying her maritime power, than of annihilating the liberty of the press, which he had extinguished in his own dominions. The spectacle of a free people, separated only by six leagues of sea, was according to him, a seductive example to the French, especially to those of them who bent unwillingly under his yoke.

At an early period of Mr. Fox's ministry, a Frenchman made the proposition to him of assassinating the Emperor, of which information was immediately transmitted to M. de Talleyrand. In this despatch the minister said, that though the laws of England did not authorise the permanent detention of any individual not convicted of a crime, he had on this occasion

taken it on himself, to secure the miscreant, till such time as the French government, could be put on its guard against his attempts. Mr. Fox said in his letter, that he had at first done this individual "the honour to take him for a spy," a phrase which sufficiently indicated the disgust with which the British minister viewed him. This information was the key which opened the door to new negotiations. M. de Talleyrand was ordered to express, in reply to the communication of Mr. Fox, that the Emperor was sensibly affected at the index it afforded of the principles by which the British cabinet was actuated. Napoleon limited not himself to this diplomatic courtesy; he deemed it a favourable occasion to create a belief that he was actuated by a sincere love of peace. He summoned to Paris Lord Yarmouth, one of the most distinguished amongst the English who had been so unjustly detained prisoners at Verdun, on the rupture of the peace of Amiens. He gave it in charge to his Lordship to propose to the British government to enter into negotiations, offering to guarantee to England the Cape of Good Hope and Malta. Some have been inclined, from this concession, to praise the moderation of Bonaparte; others to blame him for offering to resign those two places, as if the Cape and Malta could be put in competition with the title of Emperor, the foundation of the kingdom of Italy, the acquisition of Genoa, and of all the Venetian states, the dethronement

of the King of Naples, and the gift of his kingdom to Joseph, and finally the new division of Germany; these transactions of which Bonaparte said not a word, and from which he certainly had no intention to depart, were all posterior to the treaty of Amiens.

Every day brought with it fresh proofs of his insatiable ambition. In fact, Napoleon longed to obtain possession of the Hans Towns. I was however in the first place merely charged to make overtures to the Senates of each of those three cities, and to point out the advantages they would derive from the protection of Napoleon, in exchange for the small sacrifice of six millions in his favour. I had on this subject, numerous conferences with the magistrates; they thought the sum too great, representing to me that the city was not so rich as formerly, because their commerce had been much curtailed by the war; in short, the Senate declared that with the utmost good will, their circumstances would not permit them to accept the "generous proposal" of the Emperor.

I was myself indeed at a loss to conceive how the absurdity of employing me to make such a proposition was overlooked, for I had really no advantage to offer in return to the Hans Towns. Against whom did Bonaparte propose to protect them? The truth is, Napoleon then wished to seize those towns by direct aggression, which however he was not able to accomplish until four years afterwards.

During five years I witnessed the commercial importance of those cities and especially of Hamburg. Its geographical situation, on a great river, navigable by large vessels to the city, thirty leagues from the mouth of the Elbe; the complete independence it enjoyed; its municipal regulations and paternal government, were a few amongst the many causes, which had raised Hamburg to the height of prosperity it had attained. What in fact was the amount of the population of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, those remnants of the grand Hanseatic league of the middle ages? The population of Hamburg, when I was there, amounted to ninety thousand, and that of its small surrounding territory to twenty five thousand. Bremen had thirty six thousand inhabitants, and nine thousand in its territory; the city of Lubeck which is smaller, and its territory a little more extensive, than that of Bremen, contained a population of twenty four thousand souls within, and sixteen thousand without the walls. Thus the total population of the Hans Towns amounted to only two hundred thousand individuals, and yet this handful of men carried on an extensive commerce, and their ships ploughed every sea from the shores of India, to the frozen regions of Greenland.

The Emperor arrived at Paris towards the end of January 1806. Having created Kings in Germany, he deemed the moment favourable for surrounding his throne with new princes.

It was at this period that he created Murat grand Duke of Cleves and Berg, Bernadotte Prince of Ponte-Corvo, M. de Talleyrand, Duke of Benevento, and his two former colleagues, Cambacérès and Lebrun, Dukes of Parma and Placenza. He also gave to his sister Pauline, a short time after her second marriage with the Prince Borghese, the title of Duchess of Guastalla. Strange events! who could then have foreseen, that the Duchy of Cambacérès would become the refuge of a Princess of Austria, the widowed wife of Napoleon Bonaparte.

In the midst of the Imperial family, when the eldest of the Emperor's brothers had ascended the throne of Naples, when Holland was on the eve of being offered to Louis, and Jerome had exchanged his legitimate wife for the illegitimate throne of Westphalia, the Imperial pillow was still far from being free from anxiety. Hostilities did not actually exist with the continental powers; they only observed, without acting; but this momentary state of repose resembled in nothing the tranquillity of peace. France was at war with Russia and England, and the aspect of the continent presented great uncertainty. Russia armed in silence, and the treaty of Vienna had only in part been executed. In the mean time Napoleon turned his eyes towards the East. General Sebastiani was sent to Constantinople. The measures he pursued, and his judicious conduct, justified the choice of the Emperor. Adroit and conciliating, peace

with Turkey was the result of his mission. The negotiations with England did not terminate so happily, although, after the first overtures made to Lord Yarmouth, the Earl of Lauderdale had been sent to Paris, by Mr. Fox. In fact, these negotiations wholly failed.

The affairs of the Bourbon Princes became more and more unfavourable, and their finances as well as their chances of success, were so much diminished, that about this period it was notified to the emigrants in Brunswick that the Pretender had no longer the means of continuing their pensions. This produced great consternation amongst those emigrants, many of whom had no other means of existence; and notwithstanding their devotion to the cause of royalty, found a pension very useful in strengthening their zeal.

Amongst those emigrants was one whose name will occupy a certain place in history,—I mean Dumouriez; of whom I have already spoken, and who had for sometime employed himself in distributing pamphlets. He was then at Stralsund; and it was believed that the King of Sweden would confer upon him a command. The vagrant life of this general, who ran every where begging employment from the enemies of his country without being able to obtain it, subjected him to general ridicule; in fact, he was every where despised.

To determine the difficulties which had arisen with regard to Holland, which Dumouriez dreamt of conquering with an imaginary army, and dis-

contented besides with the Dutch, for not rigorously excluding English vessels from their ports, the Emperor constituted the Batavian territory a kingdom under his brother Louis. When I notified to the states of the circle of Lower Saxony, the accession of Louis Bonaparte to the throne of Holland, and the nomination of Cardinal Fesch as coadjutor and successor of the Arch-Chancellor of the Germanic empire, along with their official communications, the Duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, was the only member of the circle who forbore to reply, and I understood he had applied to the court of Russia to know "whether," and "how," he should reply. At the same time he made known to the Emperor the marriage of his daughter, the Princess Charlotte Frederica, with Prince Christian Frederick of Denmark.

It would at this period have been difficult to foresee the way in which this union would terminate. The prince was young, handsome, distinguished, and possessed an amiable disposition, which seemed to indicate that he would prove a good husband. As to the princess, she was what a poet might have called simple, and beautiful like the blushing morn; but she was heedless, and giddy; in fact, she was a spoilt child. She adored her husband, and during several years their union proved happy. I had the honour of knowing them at the period when the Duke of Mecklenburgh with his family sought refuge at Altona. Before leaving that town, the Duchess of Mecklenburgh, a Princess of Saxony, paid a visit to

Madame Bourrienne, and loaded her with civilities. This princess was perfectly amiable, and was therefore generally regretted, when, two years afterwards, death snatched her from her family. Before leaving Altona, the Duke of Mecklenburgh gave some parties by way of bidding adieu to Holstein, where he had been so kindly received; and I can never forget the distinguished reception, and many kindnesses Madame de Bourrienne and myself received from this illustrious family. It consisted of the hereditary prince so celebrated for his talents and acquirements; he was at this time the widower of a grand duchess of Russia, sister of the Emperor Alexander; of Prince Gustavus, so amiable and graceful, and also of Princess Charlotte, and her husband the Prince Royal of Denmark.

This happy couple were far from foreseeing, that in two years they would be separated for ever. The princess was at this period in all the splendour of her beauty; several fetes were given on her account on the banks of the Elbe, at which the prince always opened the ball with Madame de Bourrienne. Notwithstanding her amiability, the Princess Charlotte was no favourite at the Danish court. Intrigues were formed against her. I know not whether any foundation existed for the calumnies spread to her disadvantage, but the court dames accused her of great levity of conduct, which true or false, obliged her husband to separate from her; and at the commencement of 1809, he sent her to Altona, attended by a chamberlain

and a maid of honour. On her arrival she was in despair; hers was not a silent grief, for she related her story to every one. This unfortunate woman really attracted pity, as she shed tears for her son, three years of age, whom she was doomed never again to behold. But her natural levity returned; she did not always maintain the reserve suitable to her rank, and some months afterwards was sent into Jutland, where I believe she still lives.

Count de Paoli-Chagny edited in the north a journal, entitled; *Annales Politiques du XIX^e Siècle*. During the administration of Mr. Pitt, a pension of five hundred pounds sterling a year was granted to the editor of the *Annales*, but on Mr. Fox coming into office, Paoli was informed that this pension would not only cease from the first of July, 1806, but that, in future no connection whatever would be maintained with his journal. Paoli complained of the British minister, alleging, that by his agreement with Mr. Pitt, he was to receive the sum of five hundred pounds yearly, as long as he chose to conduct his journal. But his complaint was futile, and this intriguer not possessing the means of continuing his diatribes, was reduced to silence.

The enemies of the French government did not confine themselves to writing and publishing invectives against it. More than one wretch was ready to employ daggers against the Emperor. Among this number was a man named Louis Loizeau, recently arrived from London. He re-

paired to Altona, there to enjoy the singular privilege which that city afforded, of sheltering all the ruffians, thieves, and bankrupts, who fled from the justice of their own governments. On the 17th July Loizeau presented himself to Count de Gimel, who resided at Altona as the agent of the Count de Lille. He offered to repair to Paris and assassinate the Emperor. Count de Gimel rejected the proposal with indignation, and replied, that if he had no other means of serving the Bourbons than cowardly assassination, he might go elsewhere and find confederates. This fact, which was communicated to me by a friend of M. de Gimel, determined me to arrest Loizeau. Not being warranted, however, to take this step in Altona, I employed a trusty agent to keep watch and draw him into a quarrel the moment he should appear on the Hamburg side of a public walk, which divides that city from Altona, and deliver him up to the nearest Hamburg guard house. Loizeau fell into the snare, but finding that he was about to be conducted from the guard house to the prison of Hamburg, and that it was at my request he had been arrested, he hastily unloosed his cravat, and tore with his teeth the papers it contained, part of which he swallowed. He also endeavoured to tear some other papers which were concealed under his arm, but was presented by the guard: furious at this disappointment, he violently resisted the five soldiers who had him in custody, and was not secured until he had been slightly wounded. His first exclamation on en-

tering prison, was, "I am undone!" Loizeau was removed to Paris, and though I am ignorant of the ultimate fate of this wretch, I am pretty certain that Fouché would take effectual means to prevent him from doing any further mischief.

About the time I caused Loizeau to be conducted to Paris, I received an order to watch and even to arrest one Martelly, accused of being the author of a libel against the Emperor and the French generals. He was also charged with having contributed to the surrender of Toulon to the British navy. I sent for Martelly, and partly informed him of the accusation against him. He affirmed in reply, that he had never been in Toulon, having emigrated to Marseilles, and that his brother, then in Portugal, was the author of the libel. After a strict examination, I found that he had long resided in London; he appeared very intelligent, and I made him comprehend how much he might serve France by again visiting England. After having satisfied myself, as far as it is possible in such cases, of his honesty, I sent him to London, instructing him in the part he was to act in that city. Before setting out, Martelly told me not to be astonished at any articles in the English journals, either for or against him, as they would all tend to the object of his mission. He also pointed out the importance of watching at Paris an Abbé Lajarre, employed in the foreign department. This Lajarre, a former lover of the Countess of Saint Martin, who afterwards became the mistress of Dumouriez, corresponded with her,

and it was through him, that every thing which passed in France became known in England. Martelly requested that nothing should be publicly done against Lajarre before his return from London. The person with whom Martelly was connected in the British capital, and from whom he received his information, was the Chevalier Dublin, aide-de-camp to Dumouriez, and who, tired of the life he led, wished ardently to reconcile himself with his country, and to return thither. It was to him that Martelly meant to present himself. At the moment of his departure for Husum, Martelly received a letter from the Chevalier Dublin, which he read to me, and from which it appeared that Dumouriez was on his way to the continent, and that great preparations were making for an expedition either against Holland or Hanover, but most probably against this last country.

CHAPTER XXII.

Menaces of Prussia—Offer for restoring Hanôver to England—Insolent ultimatum—Commencement of hostilities between France and Prussia—Battle of Auerstaedt—Death of the Duke of Brunswick—Bernadotte in Hamburgh—Davoust and Bernadotte—The Swedes at Lubeck—Major Amiel—Service rendered to the English minister at Hamburgh—My appointment of minister for the King of Naples—New regulation of the German post-offices—The confederation of the North—Devices of the Hans Towns—Occupation of Hamburgh in the name of the Emperor—Decree of Berlin—The military governors of Hamburgh—Brune, Michaud, Bernadotte, and Ponte-Corvo.

THE moment now approached when war was about to be renewed in Germany, and in proportion as the hopes of peace diminished, Prussia redoubled her threats, which were inspired by the recollection of the deeds of the great Frederick; the idea of peace was hateful to Prussia. Her measures, which till now had been sufficiently moderate, suddenly assumed a menacing aspect, on learning that the minister of the King of England had declared in Parliament that France had consented to the restitution of Hanover. The French ministry intimated to the Prussian government that this was a preliminary step towards

a general peace, and that a large indemnity would be granted in return. But the King of Prussia, who was well informed, and convinced that the house of Hanover clung to this ancient domain, which gave to England a certain preponderance in Germany, considered himself sported with, and determined on war.

Under those circumstances, Lord Lauderdale was recalled from Paris by his government; war continued with England, and was about to commence with Prussia. The cabinet of Berlin sent an ultimatum which could scarcely be regarded in any other light than a defiance, and from the well-known character of Napoleon, we may judge of his irritation at this ultimatum. The Emperor, after a stay of eight months in Paris, passed in abortive negotiations for peace, set out on the 25th of September, for the Rhine.

Hostilities commenced on the 10th of October, 1806, between France and Prussia, and I demanded of the Senate that a stop should be put to the Prussian recruiting. The news of a great victory gained by the Emperor over the Prussians on the 14th October, reached Hamburgh on the 19th, brought by some fugitives, who gave such exaggerated accounts of the loss of the French army, that it was not until the arrival of the official despatches on the 28th October, that we knew whether to mourn or to rejoice at the victory of Jena.

The Duke of Brunswick, who was dangerously wounded at the battle of Auerstaedt, arrived on

the 29th October at Altona.* His entrance into that city afforded a striking example of the vicissitudes of fortune? That Prince entered Altona on a wretched litter, borne by ten men, without officers, without domestics, followed by a troop of vagabonds and children, who were drawn together by curiosity. He was lodged in a wretched inn, and so much worn out by fatigue and the pain of his eyes, that on the day after his arrival, a report of his death very generally prevailed. Doctor Unzer was immediately sent for to attend the unfortunate Duke, who, during the few days that he survived his wounds, saw no one except his wife, who arrived on the first of November. He declined to see visitors, and expired on the 10th of the same month.

At this juncture, Bernadotte returned to Ham-
burgh. I asked him how I was to account for his
conduct while he was with Davoust, who had left
Nauemburgh to attack the Prussian army; and
whether it were true he had refused to march
with that general, and afterwards to aid him when
he attacked the Prussians on the Weimar road.
“The letters I received,” observed I, “state that
you took no part in the battle of Auerstaedt; that
I did not believe, but I suppose you saw the bulle-
tin which I received a little after the battle, and
which stated that Bonaparte said at Nauemburgh,
in the presence of several officers, ‘Were I to

* This Prince was in the seventy-second year of his age, and extremely infirm.

bring him before 'a court-martial, he would be shot. I shall say nothing to him about it, but I will take care he shall know what I think of his behaviour. He has too keen a sense of honour not to be aware that he acted disgracefully.'—"I think him very likely," rejoined Bernadotte, "to have made these observations: he hates me, because he knows I do not like him, but let him speak to me, and he shall have his answer. If I am a Gascon, he is a greater one still. I might have felt piqued at receiving something like orders from Davoust, but I did my duty."

In the beginning of November, the Swedes entered Lubeck; but on the 8th of that month the town was taken by assault, and the Swedes, as well as the rest of the corps which had escaped from Jena, were made prisoners.

A corps of Prussians had advanced within four leagues, of Hamburgh, and that town had already prepared for a vigorous resistance, in case they should attempt an entrance where Major Amiel attacked them at Zollenspieker and made many prisoners. Hamburgh was, however, threatened with another danger, for Major Amiel expressed his intention of entering with all his prisoners, notwithstanding the acknowledged neutrality of the town. Amiel was a partisan leader in the true sense of the word; he fought rather on his own account than with the intention of contributing to the success of the operations of the army. His troop did not consist of more than forty men, but that was more than sufficient to

spread terror and devastation in the surrounding villages. He was a bold fellow, and, when with his handful of men, he threw himself upon Hamburg, the worthy inhabitants thought that he had with him twenty thousand men. He had pillaged every place through which he passed, and brought with him three hundred prisoners, and a great many horses he had taken on his road. It was night when he presented himself at the gates of the city, which he entered alone, having left his men and booty at the last village. He proceeded to the hotel of the French Legation. I was not there at the time, but I was sent for, and about seven o'clock in the evening I had my first interview with the major. He was the very beau ideal of a bandit, and would have been an admirable model for a painter. I was not at all surprised to hear, that on his arrival his wild appearance and huge mustachios had excited some degree of terror among those who were in the saloon. He described to me his exploits on his march, and did not disguise his intention of bringing his troops into Hamburg next day. He talked of the bank and of pillage. I tried for some time, but fruitlessly, to divert him from this idea, but without effect, and at length said to him, "Sir, you know that this is not the way the Emperor wishes to be served. During the seven years that I have been about him, I have invariably heard him express his indignation against those who aggravate the misery which war naturally brings in her train: it is the express wish of the Emperor that no

damage, no violence whatever shall be committed on the city or territory of Hamburgh." These few words produced a stronger effect than any entreaties I could have used, for the mere name of the Emperor made even the boldest tremble, and Major Amiel next thought of selling his booty. The Senate was so frightened at the prospect of having Amiel quartered upon them, that to get rid of him they determined to purchase his booty at once, and even furnished him with guards for his prisoners. I did not learn till some time afterwards, that among the horses Major Amiel had seized upon the road, were those of the Countess Walmoden. Had I known this fact at the time, I should certainly have taken care to have had them restored to her. Madame Walmoden was then a refugee at Hamburgh and between her and my family a close intimacy existed. On the very day I believe of the Major's departure, the Senate wrote me a letter of thanks for the protection I afforded the town.

Before the commencement of the Prussian campaign, while anxiety was entertained respecting the designs of the cabinet of Berlin my task was not an easy one. I exerted all my efforts to acquaint the French government of what was passing on the Spree. I announced the first intelligence of an unexpected movement which had taken place among the Prussian troops cantoned in the neighbourhood of Hamburgh. They suddenly evacuated Lauenburgh, Platzburgh, Haarburch, Stade, Twisenfelth and Cuxhaven,

This extraordinary movement gave rise to a multitude of surmises. I was not wrong when I informed the French government, that according to every probability Prussia was about to declare hostilities openly against France and to enter into alliance with England. I keenly regretted that my situation did not allow me more frequent opportunities of meeting Mr. Thornton, the English Minister to the circle of Lower Saxony. However, I saw him sometimes and had on two different occasions the opportunity of rendering him some service.

Mr. Thornton had requested me to execute a little private business for him, the success of which depended on the Emperor. I made the necessary communication to the Minister for foreign affairs, adding in my letter that Mr. Thornton's conduct, towards the French who had come in any way into contact with him, had ever been just and liberal, and that I should receive great pleasure in being able to announce to him the success of his application. His request was granted.

On another occasion Mr. Thornton again applied to me for my services, and I had again the pleasure of rendering them. He wished to procure some information respecting an Englishman named Baker, who had gone to Terracina, in the Campagna di Roma, for the benefit of sea bathing. He was there arrested without any cause assigned, by order of the commandant of the French troops in Terracina. The family of Mr. Baker not having

heard from him for some months, became very uneasy respecting him, for they had not the least idea of his arrest. His relations applied to Mr. Thornton, and that gentleman, notwithstanding the circumstances which, as I have stated, prevented our frequent intercourse, hesitated not a moment in requesting me to furnish him with some information respecting his countryman. I lost no time in writing to M. Alquier our ambassador at Rome, and soon enabled Mr. Thornton to ease the apprehension of Mr. Baker's friends.

I had every opportunity of knowing what was passing in Italy for I had just been invested with a new dignity. As the new King of Naples, Joseph had no Minister in Lower Saxony, he wished that I should discharge the function of Minister Plenipotentiary for Naples. His ministers accordingly received orders to correspond with me upon all business connected with his government, and his subjects. The relations between Hamburgh and Naples were nearly null, and my new office made no great addition to my labour.

I experienced, however, a little more difficulty in combining all the post offices of Hamburgh in the office of the Grand Duchy of Berg, thus detaching them from the offices of Latour and Taxis, so named after the German family, who, for a length of time, had had the possession of them, and who were devoted to Austria.

This affair of the post offices gained for me the approbation of Napoleon. He expressed

his satisfaction through the medium of a letter I received from Duroc, who, at the same time, recommended me to continue in informing the Emperor of all that was doing in Germany, relative to the plans of the Confederation of the North. I, therefore, despatched to the minister for foreign affairs a detailed letter, announcing that Baron Grote, the Prussian minister at Hamburgh, had set off on a visit to Bremen and Lubeck. Among those who accompanied him on this excursion, was a person wholly devoted to me; and I knew that Baron Grote's object was to offer to those towns verbal propositions for their union with the Confederation of the North, which the King of Prussia wished to form as a counterpoise to the Confederation of the Rhine, just created by Napoleon. Baron Grote observed the strictest secrecy in all his movements. He shewed, in confidence, to those to whom he addressed himself, a letter from M. Haugwitz, the minister from the King of Prussia, who endeavoured to point out to the Hans Towns how much the Confederation of the North would turn to their advantage, it being the only means of preserving their liberty, by establishing a formidable power. However, to the first communication only an evasive answer was returned. M. Van Sienen, the Syndic of Hamburgh, was commissioned by the Senate to inform the Prussian minister that the affair required the concurrence of the burghers, and that before he could submit it to them, it would

be necessary to know its basis and conditions. Meanwhile the Syndic Doormann proceeded to Lübeck, where there also was a deputy from Bremen. The project of the confederation, however, never came to any thing.

I scrupulously discharged the duties of my functions, but I confess I often found it difficult to execute the orders I received, and more than once I took upon me to modify their severity. I loved the frank and generous character of the Hamburgers, and I could not help pitying the fate of the Hans Towns, heretofore so happy, and from which Bonaparte had exacted such immense sacrifices.

On the principal gate of the Hans Towns is inscribed the following motto, well expressing the pacific spirit of the people:—*Da nobis pacem, Domine, in diebus nostris.* The paternal and elective government, which did every thing to secure the happiness of these towns, was led to believe that the sacrifices imposed on them would be recompensed by the preservation of their neutrality. No distrust was entertained, and hope was kept alive by the assurances given by Napoleon. He published in the *Moniteur* that the Hans Towns could not be included in any particular confederation. He thus strangled, in its birth, the Confederation of the North, to which those feeble states would otherwise have been obliged to consent. When, in 1806, Napoleon marched against Prussia, he detached Marshal Mortier from the grand army, when

it had passed the Rhine, and directed him to invade the electorate of Hesse, and march on Hamburgh. On the 19th November, the latter town was occupied by the French army, in the name of the Emperor, amidst the utmost order and tranquillity.

I must acknowledge that I was under much apprehension for this event. At the intelligence of the approach of the French army, consternation was great and universal in Hamburgh, which was anxious to maintain its neutrality unimpaired. At the urgent request of the magistrates of the city, I assumed functions more than diplomatic; and became, in some respects, the first magistrate of the town. I went to meet Marshal Mortier, to endeavour to dissuade him from entering. I thought I should, by this means, better serve the interests of France, than by favouring the occupation of a neutral town by our troops. But all my remonstrances were useless. Marshal Mortier had received formal orders from the Emperor.

No preparations having been made at Hamburgh for the reception of Marshal Mortier, he quartered himself and his whole staff upon me. The few troops he had with him were disposed of in my court-yard; so that the residence of a minister of peace was all at once converted into head-quarters. This state of things continued until a house was got ready for the Marshal.

Marshal Mortier had to make very rigorous exactions, but my representations suspended, for

a while, Napoleon's orders for taking possession of the bank of Hamburg. I am here bound to bear testimony to the Marshal's honourable principles, and dignity of character. The representations which I had sent to Marshal Mortier, were transmitted by the latter to the Emperor at Berlin; and Mortier stated, that he had suspended the execution of the orders, until he should receive others. The Emperor approved of this. It was, indeed, a happy event for France and for Europe, even more so than for Hamburg. Those who suggested to the Emperor the idea of pillaging that fine establishment, must have been profoundly ignorant of its importance. They thought only of the ninety millions of marks Banco deposited in its cellars.

By the famous decree of Berlin, dated 21st November, 1806, Mortier was compelled to order the seizure of all English merchandise, in the Hans Towns, but he enforced the decree only so far as to preserve the appearance of having obeyed his orders.

Mortier, on leaving Hamburg for Mecklenburgh, was succeeded by General Michaud, who, in his turn, was succeeded by Marshal Brune, in the beginning of 1807. I am very glad to take the present opportunity of correcting the misconceptions which arose through the execution of certain acts of imperial tyranny. The truth is, Marshal Brune, during his government, constantly endeavoured to moderate, as far as he could, the severity of the orders he received.

Bernadotte became Governor of Hamburgh when the battle of Jéna rendered Napoléon master of Prussia and the north of Germany.

The Prince of Ponte-Corvo lightened, as far as possible, the unjust burthens and vexations to which that unfortunate town was subject. He never refused his assistance to any measures which I adopted to oppose a system of ruin and persecution. He often protected Hamburgh against exorbitant exactions. The Hans Towns revived a little under his government, which continued longer than that of Mortier, Michaud, and Brune. The memory of Bernadotte will always be dear to the Hamburghers; and his name will never be pronounced without gratitude. His attention was especially directed to moderate the rigour of the customs; and, perhaps, the effect which his conduct produced on public opinion may be considered as having, in some measure, led to the decision which, four years after, made him Hereditary Prince of Sweden.

CHAPTER XXIII.

General Perron and M. Bourguien—Their large fortunes and mutual animosity—Ukase of the Emperor of Russia—Duroc's mission to Weimar—Napoleon's views defeated—Triumphs of the French armies—Letters from Murat—False report respecting Murat—Resemblance between Moreau and M. Billaud—Generous conduct of Napoleon—His interview with Madame Hatzfeld at Berlin—Letter from Bonaparte to Josephine—Blücher my prisoner—His character—His confidence in the future fate of Germany—Prince Paul of Wirtemberg taken prisoner—His wish to enter the French service—Distinguished emigrants at Altona—Deputation of the Senate to the Emperor at Berlin—The German princes at Altona—Fauche Borel, and the Count de Gismel.

THERE are few who have not heard of the famous General Perron, who acted so conspicuous a part with Schindia among the Mahrattas. I had been at Hamburgh something more than a year, when he arrived there: he came to me for a passport, and he gave me an amusing account of his adventures, which were truly extraordinary. He told me that he once possessed more than fifty millions, but that he had been obliged to give such considerable sums to the English for the liberty of embarking at one of their East India ports, as

amounted to three-fourths of his whole fortune. Many of his trunks were packed with magnificent cashmires, some of which he presented to me.

General Perron had lost one hand. He was the father of two children, a boy and a girl: their mother was an Indian female, and the copper-coloured complexion of the children denoted their maternal origin. Their costume was so singular as to attract attention wherever they went: their neck and arms were bound by large rings of pure gold, but the necklace and bracelets were not like those worn by the ladies of Europe, which can be put on and off at pleasure, but had been soldered together so skilfully that the juncture could scarcely be discovered. The children did not understand a word of French: their father appeared fondly attached to them.

Some days after General Perron's arrival, M. Bourguien came also from Bengal, and took a passport for France. He was at open war with M. Perron, who spoke of him in equally hostile terms. Each professed contempt for the other, and they vented mutual reproaches about the ruin of the Mahrattas. Both had realized immense fortunes. I know not what has become of M. Bourguien, but General Perron purchased a splendid estate in the neighbourhood of Vendôme, where he lives retired. He has married again, and has several children by his second wife. One of his daughters, a beautiful girl, married some years ago a gentleman named M. de la Rochefoucauld, but she died shortly after their union.

In September, 1806, it became very manifest that as soon as war should break out between France and Prussia, Russia would not be slow in forming an alliance with the latter power. Peace had, however, been re-established between Napoleon and Alexander, by virtue of a treaty just signed at Paris. By that treaty Russia was to evacuate the mouths of the Cataro, a condition with which she was in no hurry to comply. I received a number of the Court Gazette of St. Petersburg, containing a ukase of the Emperor of Russia, in which Alexander pointed out the danger which again menaced Europe, shewed the necessity of adopting precautions for general tranquillity and the security of his own empire, and declared his determination of not only completing but augmenting his army. He, therefore, ordered a levy of four men out of every 500 inhabitants.

Before the commencement of hostilities, Duroc was sent to the King of Prussia with the view of discovering whether there was any possibility of renewing negotiations; but affairs were already too much embarrassed. All Duroc's endeavours were in vain, and perhaps it was no longer in the power of the King of Prussia to avoid war with France. Besides, he had just grounds of offence against the Emperor. Although the latter had given him Hanover in exchange for the two Margravateci he had, nevertheless, offered to England the restoration of that province as one of the terms of the negotiations commenced with Mr. Fox. This

underhand work was not unknown to the Berlin cabinet, and Napoleon's duplicity rendered Duroc's mission useless. At this time the King of Prussia was at Weimar.

Victory every where favoured the French arms. Prince Hohenlohe, who commanded a corps of the Prussian army, was forced to capitulate at Prentzlau. After this capitulation, General Blucher took the command of the remains of the corps, to which he joined the troops whose absence from Prentzlau exempted them from the capitulation. These corps, added to those which Blucher had at Auerstaedt, were then almost the only ramparts of the Prussian monarchy. Soult and Bernadotte received orders from Murat to pursue Blucher without delay, who was using all his efforts to draw from Berlin the forces of those two Generals. Blucher marched in the direction of Lubeck.

General Murat pursued the wreck of the Prussian army, which had escaped from Saxony by Magdeburgh. Blucher was driven upon Lubeck. It was very important to the army at Berlin, that this numerous corps should be destroyed, commanded as it was by a skilful and brave general, who drew from the centre of the military operations numerous troops, with which he might throw himself into Hanover, or Hesse, or even Holland, and by joining the English troops, harass the rear of the grand army. The Grand Duke of Berg explained to me his plans and expectations, and soon after announced their

fulfilment in several letters, which contained among other things, the particulars of the taking of Lübeck.

In two of these letters, Murat, who was probably deceived by his agents, or by some intriguer, informed me, that General Moreau had arrived in Hamburgh on the 28th of October. The proof which Murat possessed of this circumstance was a letter of Fauche-Borel, which he had intercepted. I recollect a curious circumstance which serves to shew the necessity of mistrusting the vague intelligence furnished to persons in authority. A fortnight before I received Murat's first letter, a person informed me that General Moreau was in Hamburgh. I gave no credit to the intelligence: yet I endeavoured to ascertain whether it had any foundation, but without effect. Two days after I was assured that an individual had met General Moreau—that he had spoken to him—that he knew him well from having served under him; together with various other circumstances, of the truth of which there appeared no reason to doubt. I immediately sent for the individual in question, who told me that he knew Moreau—that he had met him—that the General had inquired of him the way to the Jungfersteige (a promenade at Hamburgh)—that he pointed it out to him, and then said: “Have I not the honour to speak to General Moreau?” upon which the General answered, “Yes, but say nothing about having seen me, I am here incognito.” All this appeared to me so absurd, that, pretending

not to know Moreau, I asked the person to describe him to me. He described a person bearing no resemblance to Moreau, and added, that he wore a braided French coat, and the national cockade in his hat. I instantly perceived the whole was a mere scheme for getting a little money. I sent the fellow about his business. In a quarter of an hour after I had got rid of him, M. Chevardiere called on me, and introduced M. Billaud, the French Consul at Stettin. This gentleman wore a braided coat and the national cockade in his hat. He was the hero of the story I had heard from the informer. A slight personal resemblance between the Consul and the General had caused several persons to mistake them for each other.

During the Prussian campaign nothing was talked of throughout Germany but Napoleon's generous conduct with respect to the Prince of Hatzfeld. I was fortunate enough to obtain a copy of a letter which the Emperor wrote to Josephine on this subject, and which I shall presently lay before the reader. In conformity with the inquisitorial system which too frequently characterised the Emperor's government, and which he extended to every country of which he had military possession. The first thing done on entering a town was to take possession of the post office, and then heaven knows how little respect was shewn to the privacy of correspondence. Among the letters thus seized at Berlin, and delivered to Napoleon, was one addressed to the King

of Prussia by Prince Hatzfeld, who had imprudently remained in the Prussian capital. In this letter the Prince gave his sovereign an account of all that had occurred in Berlin since he had been compelled to quit it; and at the same time he informed him of the force and situation of the corps of the French army. The Emperor, after reading this letter, ordered that the prince should be arrested, and tried by a court martial, on the charge of being a spy.

The court was summoned, and little doubt could be entertained as to its decision, when Madame Hatzfeld repaired to Duroc, who, on such occasions was always happy when he could facilitate communication with the Emperor. On that day Napoleon had been at a review. Duroc knew Madame de Hatzfeld, whom he had several times seen on his visits to Berlin. When Napoleon returned from the review, he was astonished to see Duroc at the palace at that hour, and inquired whether he had brought any news. Duroc answered in the affirmative, and followed the Emperor into his cabinet, where he soon introduced Madame de Hatzfeld. The remainder of the scene is described in Napoleon's letter. It may easily be perceived that his letter is an answer to one from Josephine, reproaching him for the manner in which he spoke of women, and very probably of the beautiful and unfortunate Queen of Prussia, respecting whom he had expressed himself with too little respect in one of his bulletins. The following is Napoleon's letter :—

“I have received your letter, in which you seem to reproach me for speaking ill of women. It is true that I dislike female intriguers above all things. I am used to kind, gentle, and conciliatory women. I love them, and if they have spoiled me, it is not my fault, but yours. However, you will see that I have done an act of kindness to one deserving woman. I allude to Madame de Hatzfeld. When I shewed her her husband's letter, she stood weeping, and in a tone of mingled grief and ingenuousness, said ‘It is indeed his writing!’ This went to my heart, and I said ‘Well, Madame, throw the letter into the fire, and then I shall have no proof against your husband.’ She burned the letter and was restored to happiness. Her husband now is safe: two hours later and he would have been lost. You see, therefore, that I like women who are simple, gentle, and amiable; they alone resemble you.

“ November 6th, 1806, 9 o'clock, P.M.”

When Marshal Bernadotte had forced Blucher into Lubeck, and made him prisoner, he sent to inform me of the circumstance; but I was far from expecting that the prisoner would be confided to my charge. Such, however, was the case. After his capitulation he was sent to Hamburgh, where he had the whole city for his prison.

I was curious to become acquainted with this celebrated man, and I saw him very frequently. I found that he was an enthusiastic Prussian.

patriot—a brave man, enterprising even to rashness, of limited education, and almost to an incredible degree devoted to pleasure, of which he took an ample share while he remained in Hamburgh. He sat an enormous time at table, and notwithstanding his exclusive patriotism, he rendered full justice to the wines of France. His passion for women was unbounded, and one of his most favourite sources of amusement was the gaming table, at which he spent a considerable portion of his time. Blucher was of an extremely gay disposition; and considered merely as a companion, he was very agreeable. The original style of his conversation pleased me much. His confidence in the deliverance of Germany remained unshaken in spite of the disasters of the Prussian army. He often said to me, “I place great reliance on the public spirit of Germany; on the enthusiasm which prevails in our universities. The events of war are daily changing, and even the defeats contribute to nourish in a people sentiments of honour and national glory. You may depend upon it, that when a whole nation is determined to shake off a humiliating yoke, it will succeed. There is no doubt but we shall end by having a Landwehr very different from any militia which the subdued spirit of the French people could give birth to. England will always lend us the support of her navy and her subsidies,*

* Whilst repeating Blucher's observations, I cannot help remarking the singular character of his patriotism, which reckoned amongst the means of success, the subsidies of one foreign power, and the alliance of another.

and we will renew alliances with Russia and Austria. I can pledge myself to the truth of a fact of which I have certain knowledge, and you may rely upon it; namely, that none of the allied powers engaged in the present war, entertain views of territorial aggrandizement. All they unanimously desire, is to put an end to the system of aggrandizement which your Emperor has established, and acts upon with such alarming rapidity. In our first war against France, at the commencement of your revolution, we fought for questions respecting the rights of sovereigns, for which, I assure you, I care very little; but now the case is altered, the whole population of Prussia makes common cause with its government. The people fight in defence of their homes, and reverses destroy our armies without changing the spirit of the nation. I rely confidently on the future, because I foresee that fortune will not always favour your Emperor. It is impossible: but the time will come when all Europe, humbled by his exactions, and impatient of his depredations, will rise up against him. The more he enslaves nations, the more terrible will be the re-action when they break their chains. It cannot be denied, that he is tormented with an insatiable desire of acquiring new territories. To the war of 1805 against Austria and Russia, the present war has almost immediately succeeded. We have fallen. Prussia is occupied; but Russia still remains undefeated. I cannot foresee what will be the termination of the war; but admitting that the issue should be favourable to you, it will end

only to break out again speedily. If we continue firm, France, exhausted by her conquests, must in the end fall. That you may be certain of. You wish for peace. Recommend it. By so doing you will give strong proofs of love for your country."

In this strain Blucher constantly spoke to me, and as I never thought it right to play the part of the public functionary in the drawing-room I replied to him with the reserve necessary in my situation. I could not tell him how much my anticipations frequently coincided with his; but I never hesitated to express to him how much I wished to see a reasonable peace concluded.

Blucher's arrival at Hamburgh was preceded by that of Prince Paul of Wurtemberg the second son of one of the two Kings created by Napoleon, whose crowns were not yet a year old. This young prince who was imbued with the ideas of liberty and independence which then prevailed in Germany, had taken a head-long step. He had quitted Stuttgard to serve in the Prussian campaign without having asked his father's permission, which inconsiderate proceeding might have drawn Napoleon's anger upon the King of Wurtemberg. The King of Prussia advanced Prince Paul to the rank of general, but he was taken prisoner at the very commencement of hostilities. Prince Paul was not, as has been erroneously stated conducted to Stuttgard by a captain of gendarmerie. He came to Hamburgh where I received many visits from him. He did

not yet possess very definite ideas as to what he wished; for after he was made prisoner, he expressed to me his strong desire to enter the French service, and often asked me to solicit for him an interview with the Emperor. He obtained this interview, and remained for a long time at Paris, where I know he has frequently resided since the restoration.

The individuals whom I had to observe in Hamburgh, gave me much less trouble than our neighbours at Altona. The number of the latter had considerably augmented since the events of the war had compelled a great number of emigrants who had taken refuge at Munster to leave that town. They all proceeded to Altona. Conquered countries became as dangerous to them as the land which they had forsaken. The most distinguished amongst the individuals assembled at Altona, were Viscount de Sesmaisons, the Bailly d'Hautefeuille, the Duchess of Luxembourg, the Marquis de Bonnard, the Duke d'Aumont, then Duke de Villeguier, the wife of Marshal de Broglie and her daughter, Cardinal de Montmorency, Madame de Cossé, her two daughters, and her son a priest, and the Bishop of Boulogne.

Bonaparte staid long enough at Berlin to permit of the arrival of a deputation from the Senate in order to congratulate him on his first triumphs. I learned, that in this instance, the senatorial deputation departing from its accustomed complaisance, ventured not to confine itself to compliments and felicitations, but went so far as to

interfere with the Emperor's plan of the campaign—to speak of the danger that might be incurred in passing the Oder, and finally to express a desire to see peace concluded. Napoleon received this communication with a very bad grace. He thought the senators very bold to meddle with his affairs—treated the conscript fathers of France as if they had been inconsiderate youths—protested, according to custom, his sincere love of peace, and told the deputation that it was Prussia, backed by Russia, and not he who wished for war. How could the Emperor declare to a deputation from the Senate that Prussia wished for war? She had indeed desired it at the approach of the campaign, when nursed by illusion she had abandoned herself to dreams of hope; but since the events of October, all was changed. A sort of electric shock had dissipated all these dreams of independence, and all the German princes who had taken part against Napoleon, fled to Altona after the battle of Jena, with as much precipitation as the emigrants themselves. The hereditary Prince of Weimar, the Duchess of Holstein, Prince Belmonte-Pignatelli, and a multitude of other persons, distinguished for rank and fortune, arrived there almost simultaneously. Among the persons who took refuge in Altona were some intriguers, of whom Fauche-Borel was one. I remember receiving a report respecting a violent altercation which Fauche had the audacity to enter into with Count de Gimel, because he could not extort money from the

Count in payment of his intrigues. Count de Gimel had only funds for the payment of pensions, and besides he had too much sense to suppose there was any utility in the stupid pamphlets of Fauche-Borel, and therefore he dismissed him with a refusal. Fauche was insolent, which compelled Count de Gimel to send him about his business as he deserved. This circumstance, which was first communicated to me in a report, has since been confirmed by a person who witnessed the scene. Fauche-Borel merely passed through Hamburgh, and embarked for London on board the same ship which took Lord Morpeth back to England.

CHAPTER XXV.

Alarm of the city of Hamburg—The French at Bergdorff—Favourable orders issued by Bernadotte—Extortions in Prussia—False endorsements—Exactions of the Dutch—Napoleon's concern for his wounded troops—Duroc's mission to the King of Prussia—Rejection of the Emperor's demands—My negotiations at Hamburg—Displeasure of the King of Sweden—M. Netzel and M. Wetherstedt.

AT this critical moment Hamburg was menaced on all sides : the French even occupied a portion of its territory. The French troops, fortunately for the country, were attached to the corps commanded by the Prince de Ponte-Corvo. This military occupation alarmed the town of Hamburg, to which, indeed, it proved very injurious. I wrote to Marshal Bernadotte on the subject. The grounds on which the Senate appealed for evacuation of their territory were such that Bernadotte could not but acknowledge their justice. The prolonged stay of the French troops in the bailliwick of Bergdorff, which had all the appearance of an occupation, might have led to

the confiscation of all Hamburg property in England—to the laying an embargo on the vessels of the Republic, and consequently to the ruin of a great part of the trade of France and Holland, which was carried on under the flag of Hamburg. There was no longer any motive for occupying the bailliwick of Bergdorff when there were no Prussians in that quarter. It would have been a misfortune that eighty men stationed in that bailliwick, should, for the sake of a few louis and a few ells of English cloth, have occasioned the confiscation of Hamburg, French, and Dutch property, to the amount of eighty millions.

Marshal Bernadotte replied to me on the 16th of November, and said,—“ I hasten to inform you that I have given orders for the evacuation of the bailliwick of Bergdorff, and all the Hamburg territory. If you could obtain from the Senate of Hamburg by the 19th of this month, two or three thousand pairs of shoes, you would oblige me greatly. They shall be paid for in goods or in money.”

I obtained what Bernadotte required from the Senate, who knew his integrity, while they were aware that that quality was not the characteristic of all who commanded the French armies! What extortions took place during the occupation of Prussia! I will mention one of the means which, amongst others, was employed at Berlin to procure money: bills of exchange were drawn up, on which endorsements were forged, and these bills were presented to the bankers on whom they

were purported to be drawn. One day some of these forged bills to a large amount were presented to Messrs. Mathiesen and Silleine of Hamburgh, who, knowing the endorsement to be forged, refused to cash them. The persons who presented the bills carried their impudence so far as to send for the gendarmes, but the bankers persisted in their refusal. I was informed of this almost incredible scene, which had drawn together a great number of people. Indignant at such audacious robbery, I instantly proceeded to the spot and sent away the gendarmes, telling them it was not their duty to protect robbers, and that it was my business to listen to any just claims which might be advanced. Under Clarke's government at Berlin, the inhabitants were subject to all kinds of oppression and exaction. Amidst these exactions and infamous proceedings, which are not the indispensable consequences of war, the Dutch generals distinguished themselves by a degree of rapacity which brought to mind the period of the peculations in Italy. It certainly was not their new king who set the example of this conduct. His moderation was well known, and it was as much the result of his disposition as of his honest principles. Louis, who was a king in spite of himself, afforded an example of all that a good man could suffer upon a usurped throne.

When the King of Prussia found himself defeated at every point, he bitterly repented having undertaken a war which had delivered his states into Napoleon's power in less time than that in

which Austria had fallen the preceding year. He wrote to the Emperor, soliciting a suspension of hostilities. Rapp was present when Napoleon received the King of Prussia's letter. "It is too late," said he, "but, no matter, I wish to stop the effusion of blood; I am ready to agree to any thing which is not prejudicial to the honour or interests of the nation."—Then calling Duroc, he gave him orders to visit the wounded, and see that they wanted for nothing.—He added, "Visit every man on my behalf; give them all the consolation of which they stand in need; afterwards find the King of Prussia, and if he offers reasonable proposals, let me know them."

Negotiations were commenced, but Napoleon's conditions were of a nature which was considered inadmissible. Prussia still hoped for assistance from the Russian forces. Besides, the Emperor's demands extended to England, who, at that moment, had no reason to accede to the pretensions of France. The Emperor wished England to restore to France the colonies which she had captured since the commencement of the war—that Russia should restore to the Porte Moldavia and Wallachia, which she then occupied; in short, he acted upon the advice which some tragedy-king gives to his ambassador:—"Demand every thing; that you may obtain nothing." The Emperor's demands were, in fact, so extravagant, that it was scarcely possible he himself could entertain the hope of their being accepted. Negotiations alternately resumed and abandoned,

were carried on with coldness on both sides until the moment when England prevailed on Russia to join Prussia against France : they then altogether ceased ; and it was for the sake of appearing to wish for their renewal, on basis still more favourable to France, that Napoleon sent Duroc to the King of Prussia. Duroc found the King at Osterade, on the other side of the Vistula. The only answer he received from his majesty, was—"The time is passed ;" which was very much like Napoleon's observation, "It is too late," when he received the King's letter.

Whilst Duroc was on his mission to the King of Prussia, I was myself negotiating at Hamburgh. Bonaparte was very anxious to detach Sweden from the coalition, and to terminate the war with her by a separate treaty. Sweden indeed was likely to be very useful to him, if Prussia, Russia, and England should collect a considerable mass of troops in the north. Denmark was already with us, and by gaining over Sweden also, the union of those two powers might create a diversion, and give serious alarm to the coalition, which would be obliged to concentrate its principal force to oppose the attack of the grand army in Poland. The opinions of M. Peyron, the Swedish minister at Hamburgh, were decidedly opposed to the war in which his sovereign was engaged with France. I was sorry that this gentleman left Hamburgh upon leave of absence for a year, just at the moment I received my instructions from the Emperor upon the subject I

have mentioned. M. Peyron was succeeded by M. Netzel, and I soon had the pleasure of perceiving that his opinions corresponded in every respect with those of his predecessor.

As soon as he arrived, M. Netzel sought an interview to speak to me on the subject of the Swedes who had been taken prisoners on the Trave. He entreated me to allow the officers to return to Sweden on their parole. I was anxious to get Mr. Netzel's demand acceded to, and availed myself of that opportunity to lead him gradually to the subject of my instructions. I had good reason to be satisfied with the manner in which he received my first overtures. I said nothing to him of the justice, of which he was not previously convinced. I saw he understood that his sovereign would have every thing to gain by a reconciliation with France, and he told me that all Sweden demanded peace. Thus encouraged, I told him frankly that I was instructed to treat with him. M. Netzel assured me that M. de Wetterstedt, the King of Sweden's private secretary, with whom he was intimate, and from whom he showed me several letters, was of the same opinion on the subject as himself. He added, that he had permission to correspond with the king, and that he would write the same evening to his sovereign and M. de Wetterstedt, to acquaint them with our conversation.

It will be perceived from what I have stated, that no negotiation was ever commenced under more favourable auspices; but who could foresee what

turn the King of Sweden would take? This unlucky Prince took M. Netzel's letter in very ill part, and M. de Wetterstedt himself received peremptory orders to acquaint M. Netzel with his sovereign's displeasure at his having presumed to visit a French minister, and, above all, to enter into a political conversation with him, although it was nothing more than *conversation*. The king did not confine himself to reproaches: M. Netzel came in great distress to inform me he had received orders to quit Hamburgh immediately, without even awaiting the arrival of his successor. He regarded his disgrace as complete. I had the pleasure of seeing M. Netzel again in 1809, at Hamburgh, where he had a mission from King Charles XIII.

CHAPTER XXV.

The continental system—General indignation excited by it—Sale of licences by the French government—Custom-House system at Hamburgh—My letter to the Emperor—Cause of the rupture with Russia—Bernadotte's visit to me—Trial by a court martial for the purchase of a sugar loaf—Davoust and the captain reporter—Influence of the continental system on Napoleon's fall.

I HAVE a few remarks to make on the famous continental system, which was a subject of such engrossing interest. I had perhaps better opportunities than any other person of observing the fraud, and estimating the fatal consequences of this system. It took its rise during the war of 1806, and was brought into existence by a decree dated Berlin.* The project was conceived by weak counsellors, who perceiving the Emperor's just indignation at the duplicity of England—her repugnance to enter into serious negotiations with him—and her constant endeavours to raise up enemies against

* Sir Walter Scott quotes another decree, dated Hamburgh, 1807. Napoleon never was at Hamburgh. The well known Berlin decree which declared the British Isles in a state of blockade, was soon published in all the journals of Europe.

France, prevailed upon him to issue the decree, which I could only regard as an act of madness and tyranny. It was not a decree, but fleets that were wanting. Without a navy it was ridiculous to declare the British Isles in a state of blockade, whilst the English fleets were in fact blockading all the French ports. This declaration was, however, made in the Berlin decree. This is what was called the continental system! which, in plain terms, was nothing but a system of fraud and pillage.

One can now scarcely conceive how Europe could for a single day endure that fiscal tyranny which extorted exorbitant prices for articles, which the habits of three centuries had rendered indispensable to the poor as well as the rich. So little of truth is there in the pretence that this system had for its sole and exclusive object to prevent the sale of English goods, that licenses for their disposal were procured at a high price by whoever was rich enough to pay for them. The number and quality of the articles exported from France were extravagantly exaggerated. It was, indeed, necessary to take out some of those articles in compliance with the Emperor's wishes, but they were only thrown into the sea. And yet no one had the honesty to tell the Emperor that England sold on the continent, but bought scarcely any thing. The speculation in licenses was carried to a scandalous extent only to enrich a few, and to satisfy the short sighted views of the contrivers of the system.

This system proves what is written in the annals of the human heart and mind, that the cupidity of the one is insatiable, and the errors of the other incorrigible. Of this I will cite an example, though it refers to a period posterior to the origin of the continental system. At Hamburgh, in 1811, under Davoust's government, a poor man had well nigh been shot for having introduced into the department of the Elbe a small loaf of sugar for the use of his family, while at the same moment, Napoleon was perhaps signing a license for the importation of a million of sugar loaves.

Smuggling on a small scale was punished with death, whilst the government carried it on extensively. The same cause filled the treasury with money and the prisons with victims.

The Custom-House laws of this period, which waged open war against rhubarb, and armed the coasts of the continent against the introduction of senna, did not save the continental system from destruction. Ridicule attended the installation of the odious prevotal courts. The president of the prevotal court at Hamburgh, who was a Frenchman, delivered an address, in which he endeavoured to prove, that in the time of the Ptolomies, there had existed extraordinary fiscal tribunals, and that it was to those Egypt owed her prosperity. Terror was thus introduced by the most absurd folly. The ordinary Custom-House officers, formerly so much abhorred in Hamburgh, declared with reason, that they would

soon be regretted, and that the difference between them and the prevotal courts would soon be felt. Bonaparte's counsellors led him to commit the folly of requiring that a ship which had obtained a license, should export merchandize equivalent to that of the colonial produce to be imported under the authority of the license. What was the consequence? The speculators bought at a low price old stores of silks, which change of fashion had made completely unsaleable, and as those articles were prohibited in England, they were thrown into the sea without their loss being felt. The profits of the speculation made ample amends for the sacrifice. The continental system, which was worthy only of the ages of ignorance and barbarism, and which, had it been admissible in theory, was impracticable in application, cannot be sufficiently stigmatized. They were not the friends of the Emperor who recommended a system calculated to rouse the indignation of Europe, and which could not fail to create reaction. To tyrannise over the human species, and to exact uniform admiration and submission, is to require an impossibility. It would seem that fate, which had still some splendid triumphs in store for Bonaparte, intended to prepare before hand the causes which were to deprive him of all his triumphs at once, and plunge him into reverses even greater than the good fortune which had favoured his elevation.

The prohibition of trade, the habitual severity in the execution of this odious system, made it

operate like a continental impost. I will give a proof of this, and I state nothing but what came under my own observation. The fiscal regulations were very rigidly enforced at Hamburgh, and along the two lines of Cuxhaven and Travemünde. M. Eudel, the director of that department, performed his duty with zeal and disinterestedness. I feel gratified in rendering him this tribute. Enormous quantities of English merchandize and colonial produce, were accumulated at Holstein, where they almost all arrived by way of Kiel and Hudsum, and were smuggled over the line at the expense of a premium of thirty-three and forty per cent. Convinced of this fact by a thousand proofs, and weary of the vexations of the preventive system, I took on myself to lay my opinions on the subject before the Emperor. He had given me permission to write to him personally without any intermediate agency upon every thing that I might consider essential to his service. I sent an extraordinary courier to Fontainebleau, where he then was, and in my despatch I informed him, that notwithstanding his preventive guard, every prohibited article was smuggled in, because the profits on the sale in Germany, Poland, Italy, and even France, into which the contraband goods found their way, were too considerable not to induce persons to incur all risks to obtain them. I advised him, at the very time he was about to unite the Hans Towns to the French empire, to permit merchandise to be imported subject to a duty of thirty-three per cent.,

which was about equal to the amount of the premium for insurance. The Emperor adopted my advice without hesitation, and in 1811 the regulation produced a revenue of upwards of sixty millions of francs in Hamburgh alone.

This system embroiled us with Sweden and Russia, who could not endure that Napoleon should exact a strict blockade from them, whilst he was himself distributing licenses in abundance. Bernadotte on his way to Sweden, passed through Hamburgh, in October 1810. He staid with me three days, during which time he scarcely saw any person but myself. He asked my opinion as to what he should do relative to the continental system. I did not hesitate to declare to him, not as a French minister, but as a private individual to his friend, that in his place, at the head of a poor nation, which could only subsist by the exchange of its territorial productions with England, I would open my ports, and give the Swedes gratuitously that general license which Bonaparte sold in detail to intrigue and cupidity.

The Berlin decree could not fail to cause a reaction against the Emperor's fortune, by raising up whole nations against him. The hurling of twenty kings from their thrones would have excited less hatred than this contempt for the wants of nations. This profound ignorance of the maxims of political economy, caused general privation and misery, which in their turn occasioned general hostility. The system could only succeed in the impossible event of all the powers

of Europe honestly endeavouring to carry it into effect. A single free port would have destroyed it. In order to ensure its complete success, it was necessary to conquer and occupy all countries, and never to evacuate them. As a means of ruining England it was contemptible. It was necessary that all Europe should be compelled by force of arms to join this absurd coalition, and that the same force should be constantly employed to maintain it. Was this possible? The captain reporter of a court martial allowed a poor peasant to escape the punishment due to the offence of having bought a loaf of sugar beyond the Custom-House barrier. This officer was some time afterwards at a dinner given by Marshal Davoust, the latter said to him: "You have a scrupulous conscience, Sir; go to head quarters and you will find an order there for you." This order sent him eighty leagues from Hamburgh. It is necessary to have witnessed, as I have, the numberless vexations and miseries occasioned by the unfortunate continental system, to understand the mischief its authors did in Europe, and how much that mischief contributed to Napoleon's fall.

CHAPTER XXVI.

New system of war—Winter quarters—The Emperor's proclamation—Necessity of marching to meet the Russians—Distress in the Hans Towns—Order for fifty thousand cloaks—Seizure of Russian corn and timber—Murat's entrance into Warsaw—Re-establishment of Poland—Duroc's accident—M. de Talleyrand's carriage stopped by the mud—Napoleon's power of rousing the spirit of his troops—His mode of dictating—The Duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin—His visits to Hamburg—The Duke of Weimar—His letter and present—Journey of the hereditary Prince of Denmark to Paris—Butler, the English spy—Travelling clerks—Louis Bonaparte and the Berlin decree.

BONAPARTE was not only beyond all comparison the greatest captain of modern times, but he may be said to have wrought a complete change in the art of war. Before his time, the most able generals regulated the fighting season by the almanack. It was customary in Europe to brave the cannon's mouth only from the first five days of spring, to the last five days of autumn; and the months of rain, snow, and frost, were passed in what were called winter quarters. Pichegru, in Holland, had set the example of indifference to

temperature. At Austerlitz, too, Bonaparte had braved the severity of winter: this answered his purpose well, and he adopted the same course in 1806. His military genius and activity seemed to encrease, and, proud of his troops, he determined to commence a winter campaign in a climate more rigorous than any in which he had yet fought. The men, chained to his destiny, were now required to brave the northern blast, as they had formerly braved the vertical sun of Egypt. Napoleon, who, above all generals, was remarkable for the choice of his fields of battle, did not wish to wait tranquilly until the Russian army, which was advancing towards Germany, should come to measure its strength with him in the plains of conquered Prussia; he resolved to march to meet it, and to reach it before it should cross the Vistula: but before he left Berlin to explore, as a conqueror, Poland and the confines of Russia, he addressed a proclamation to his troops, in which he stated all that had hitherto been achieved by the French army, and at the same time he announced his future intentions. It was especially adviseable that he should march forward; for, had he waited until the Russians had passed the Vistula, there would, probably, have been no winter campaign, and he would have been obliged either to take up miserable winter quarters between the Vistula and the Oder, or to recross the Oder, to combat the enemy in Prussia. His military genius and indefatigable activity served him admirably on this occasion, and the

proclamation just alluded to, which was dated from Berlin before his departure for Charlottenburgh, proves that he did not act fortuitously, as he frequently did, but that his calculations were well made.

A rapid and immense impulse given to great masses of men by the will of a single individual, may produce transient lustre, and dazzle the eyes of the multitude, but when at a distance from the theatre of glory, we see only the melancholy results which have been produced, the genius of conquest can only be regarded as the genius of destruction. What a sad picture was often presented to my eyes! I was continually doomed to hear complaints of the general distress, and to execute orders which augmented the immense sacrifices already made by the city of Hamburg. — Thus, for example, the Emperor desired me to furnish him with fifty thousand cloaks, which I immediately did. I felt the importance of such an order at the approach of winter, and in a climate the rigour of which our troops had not yet encountered. I also received orders to seize at Lubeck (which town, as I have already stated, had been alternately taken and re-taken by Blucher and Bernadotte), four hundred thousand lasts of corn, and to send them to Magdeburgh. This corn belonged to Russia. Marshal Mortier too had seized some timber for building, which also belonged to Russia, and which was estimated at fourteen hundred thousand francs.

Meanwhile our troops continued to advance

with such rapidity, that before the end of November, Murat arrived at Warsaw, at the head of the advanced guard of the grand army, of which he had the command. The Emperor's head-quarters were then at Posen, and he received deputations from all parts soliciting the re-establishment and independence of the kingdom of Poland. Rapp informed me, that after receiving the deputation from Warsaw, the Emperor said to him :—" I love the Poles ; their enthusiastic character pleases me ; I should like to make them independent, but that is a difficult matter.—Austria, Russia, and Prussia, have all had a slice of the cake ; when the match is once kindled, who knows where the conflagration may stop : my first duty is towards France, which I must not sacrifice to Poland—we must refer this matter to the sovereign of all things—time : he will presently shew us what we must do." Had Sulkowsky lived, Napoleon might have recollected what he had said to him in Egypt, and in all probability he would have raised up a power, the dismemberment of which, towards the close of the last century, began to break that sort of political equilibrium which had subsisted in Europe since the peace of Westphalia.

It was at the head-quarters at Posen, that Duroc rejoined the Emperor after his mission to the King of Prussia. His carriage overturned on the way, and he had the misfortune to break his collar-bone. All the letters I received were nothing but a succession of complaints on the bad

state of the roads. Our troops were absolutely fighting in mud, and it was with extreme difficulty that the artillery and forges of the army could be moved along. M. de Talleyrand had been summoned to head-quarters by the Emperor, in the expectation of treating for peace, and I was informed that his carriage stuck in the mud, and he was detained on his journey for twelve hours. A soldier having asked one of the persons in M. de Talleyrand's suite, who the traveller was, was informed that he was the Minister for Foreign Affairs :—" Ah ! bah !" said the soldier, " Why does he come with his diplomacy to such a devil of a country as this."

The Emperor entered Warsaw on the 1st of January. Most of the reports which he had received previous to his entrance, had concurred in describing the dissatisfaction of the troops, who, for some time, had had to contend with bad roads, bad weather, and all sorts of privations. Bonaparte said to the generals who informed him that the enthusiasm of his troops had been succeeded by dejection and discontent :—" Does their spirit fail them when they come in sight of the enemy ?"—" No, Sire."—" I knew it ; my troops are always the same." Then turning to Rapp, he said : " I must rouse them ;" and he dictated a proclamation.*

* " Soldiers,

" It is a year this very hour since you were on the field of Austerlitz, where the Russian battalions fled in disorder, or surrendered up their arms to their conquerors. Next day proposals of peace were

When Bonaparte dictated his proclamations, and how many have I not written from his dictation,—he was for the moment inspired, and he evinced all the excitement which distinguishes the Italian Improvisatori. To follow him, it was necessary to write with inconceivable rapidity. When I have read over to him what he has dictated, I have often known him to smile triumphantly at the effect which he expected any particular phrase would produce. In general his proclamations turned on three distinct points,—praising his soldiers for what they had done, pointing out to them what they had yet to do, and abusing his enemies. The proclamation to which I have just now alluded, was circulated profusely through Germany, and it is impossible

talked of; but they were deceptive. No sooner had the Russians escaped by perhaps, blameable generosity, from the disasters of the third coalition, than they contrived a fourth. But the ally on whose tactics they founded their principal hope was no more. His capital, his fortresses, his magazines, his arsenals, two hundred and eighty flags, and two hundred field pieces have fallen into our power. The Oder, the Wartha, the deserts of Poland, and the inclemency of the season, have not for a moment retarded your progress. You have braved all; surmounted all; every obstacle has fled at your approach. The Russians have in vain endeavoured to defend the capital of ancient and illustrious Poland. The French eagle hovers over the Vistula. The brave and unfortunate Poles on beholding you, fancied they saw the legions of Sobiesky returning from their memorable expedition.

“Soldiers, we will not lay down our arms until a general peace has secured the power of our allies, and restored to us our colonies and our freedom of trade. We have conquered on the Elbe and the Oder, Pondichery, our Indian establishments, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. Why should the Russians have the right of thwarting our just designs? They and we are still the soldiers who fought at Austerlitz.”

to conceive the effect it produced on the whole army. The corps stationed in the rear burned to pass, by forced marches, the space which still separated them from head-quarters; and those who were nearer the Emperor, forgot their fatigues and privations, and were only anxious to encounter the enemy. They frequently could not understand what Napoleon said in these proclamations; but no matter for that: they would have followed him cheerfully barefooted, and without provisions. Such was the enthusiasm, or rather the fanaticism, which Napoleon could inspire among his troops, when he thought proper to *rouse* them, as he termed it.

When, on a former occasion, I spoke of the Duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, and his family, I forgot a circumstance relative to my intercourse with him, which now occurs to my memory. When, on his expulsion from his states, after the battle of Jena, he took refuge in Altona, he requested, through the medium of his minister at Hamburgh, Count Plessen, that I would give him permission occasionally to visit that city. This permission I granted without hesitation; but the Duke observed no precaution in his visits, and I made some observations to him on the subject. I knew the object of his visits. It was a secret connexion in Hamburgh; but in consequence of my observations, he removed the lady to Altona, and assured me that he adopted that determination to avoid compromising me. He afterwards came very

seldom to Hamburgh ; but as we were on the best understanding with Denmark, I frequently saw his daughter and son-in-law, who used to visit me at a house I had in Holstein, near Altona. There I likewise saw, almost every day, the Duke of Weimar, an excellent old man. I had the advantage of being on such terms of intimacy with him, that my house was in some measure his. He had also lost his states ; I was so happy as to contribute to their restoration, for my situation enabled me to exercise some influence on the political indulgences or severities of the government. I entertained a sincere regard for the Duke of Weimar, and I greatly regretted his departure. No sooner had he arrived in Berlin, than he wrote me a letter of thanks, to which he added the present of a diamond in token of his grateful remembrance of me. The Duke of Mecklenburgh was not so fortunate as the Duke of Weimar, in spite of his alliance with the reigning family of Denmark. He was obliged to remain at Altona until the July following ; for his states were restored only by the treaty of Tilsit. As soon as it was known that the Emperor had returned to Paris, the Duke's son, the hereditary prince, visited me in Hamburgh, and asked me whether I thought he could present himself to the Emperor for the purpose of expressing his own and his father's gratitude. He was a very well educated young man. He set out accompanied by M. Oertzen and Baron Brandstaten. Some time afterwards I saw his name in the *Moniteur*

in one of the lists of presentations to Napoleon; the collection of which, during the empire, might be regarded as a general register of the nobility of Europe.

It is commonly said that we may use ourselves to any thing, but to me this remark is subject to an exception; for in spite of the necessity to which I was reduced of employing spies, I never could surmount the disgust I felt at them, especially when I saw men destined to fill a respectable rank in society, degrade themselves to that infamous profession. It is impossible to conceive the artifices to which these men resort to gain the confidence of those whom they wish to betray. Of this the following example just now occurs to my mind.

One of those wretches who are employed in certain circumstances, and by all parties, came to offer his services to me. His name was Butler, and he had been sent from England to the continent as a spy upon the French government. He immediately came to me, complained of pretended enemies and unjust treatment. He told me he had the greatest wish to serve the Emperor, and that he would make any sacrifice to prove his fidelity. The real motive of his change of party, was, as it is with all such men, merely the hope of a higher reward. Most extraordinary were the schemes he adopted to prevent his old employers from suspecting that he was serving new ones. To me he continually repeated how happy he was to be revenged on his enemies in London. He

asked me to allow him to go to Paris to be examined by the minister of the police. The better to keep up the deception, he requested, that on his arrival in Paris he might be confined in the Temple, and that there might be inserted in the English journals an announcement in the following terms: "John Butler, commonly called Count Butler, has just been arrested and sent to Paris under a good escort, by the French minister at Hamburgh." At the expiration of a few weeks, Butler having received his instructions, set out for London, but by way of precaution, he said it would be well to publish in the journals another announcement, which was as follows:— "John Butler, who has been arrested in Hamburgh as an English agent, and conveyed to Paris, is ordered to quit France, and the territories occupied by the French armies and their allies, and not to appear there again until the general peace." In England Butler enjoyed the honours of French persecution. He was regarded as a victim who deserved all the confidence of the enemies of France. He furnished Fouché with a considerable deal of information, and he was fortunate enough to escape being hanged. Who indeed would not have been duped by such an imposition? Truly there are some crimes which only those who are guilty of them can suspect!

Notwithstanding the pretended necessity of employing secret agents, Bonaparte was unwilling, that even under that pretext, too many communications should be established between France and

England. Meanwhile Fouché actively directed the evolutions of his secret army. Ever ready to seize on any thing that could give importance to the police, and encourage the suspicions of the Emperor, Fouché wrote to me, that the government had received certain information, that many Frenchmen travelling for commercial houses in France, were at Manchester purchasing articles of English manufacture. This was true; but how was it to be prevented. These travelling clerks passed through Holland, where they easily procured a passage to England.

Louis Bonaparte, conceiving that the King of Holland ought not to sacrifice the interests of his new subjects to the wishes of his brother, at first put in force very leniently the disastrous continental system. But at this Napoleon soon manifested his displeasure, and about the end of the year 1806, Louis was reduced to the necessity of ordering the strict observance of the blockade. The facility with which the travellers of French commercial houses passed from Holland to England, gave rise to other alarms on the part of the French government. It was said, that since Frenchmen could so easily pass from the continent to Great Britain, the agents of the English cabinet might, by the same means, find their way to the continent. Accordingly, the Consuls were directed to keep a watchful eye, not only upon individuals who evidently came from England, but upon those who might by possibility come from that country. This plan was all very well,

but how was it to be put into execution? The continent was, nevertheless, inundated with articles of English manufacture, for this simple reason, that, however powerful may be the will of a sovereign, it is still less powerful, and less lasting, than the wants of a people. The continental system reminded me of the law created by an ancient legislator, who, for a crime which he conceived could not possibly be committed, condemned the person who should be guilty of it, to throw a bull across Mount Taurus.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Creation of the kingdom of Saxony—Veneration of Germany for the King of Saxony—The Emperor's uncertainty respecting Poland—Fetes and reviews at Warsaw—The French government at the Emperor's head quarters—Ministerial portfolios sent to Warsaw—Military preparations during the month of January—Difference of our situation during the campaigns of Vienna and Prussia—News received and sent—Conduct of the cabinet of Austria similar to that of the cabinet of Berlin—Battle of Eylau—Unjust accusation against Bernadotte—Death of General d'Hautpoult—Te Deum chaunted by the Russians—Gardanne's mission to Persia—Abuse of military power—Defence of diplomatic rights—Marshal Brune.

It is not my design here to trace a picture of the state of Europe at the close of 1806. I will merely throw together a few facts which came to my knowledge at the time, and which I find in my correspondence. I have already mentioned that the Emperor arrived at Warsaw on the 1st of January. During his stay at Posen, he had by virtue of a treaty concluded with the Elector of Saxony, founded a new kingdom, and consequently extended his power in Germany, by the annexment of the kingdom of Saxony to the

confederation of the Rhine. By the terms of this treaty, Saxony, so justly famed for her cavalry, was to furnish the Emperor with a contingent of twenty thousand men and horses.

It was quite a new spectacle to the Princes of Germany, all accustomed to old habits of etiquette, to see an upstart sovereign treat them as subjects, and even oblige them to consider themselves as such. Those famous Saxons, who had made Charlemagne tremble, threw themselves on the protection of the Emperor, and the alliance of the head of the house of Saxony was not a matter of indifference to Napoleon; for the new king was on account of his age, his tastes, and his character, more revered than any other German prince.

From the moment of Napoleon's arrival at Warsaw, until the commencement of hostilities against the Russians, he was continually solicited to re-establish the throne of Poland, and to restore its chivalrous independence to the ancient empire of the Jagellons. A person who was at that time in Warsaw told me, that the Emperor was in the greatest uncertainty as to what he should do respecting Poland. He was entreated to re-establish that ancient and heroic kingdom; but he came to no decision, preferring according to custom, to submit to events that he might appear to command them. At Warsaw, indeed, the Emperor passed a great part of his time in fetes and reviews, which, however, did not prevent him from watching, with his eagle eye, every

department of the public service, both interior and exterior. He himself was in the capital of Poland; but his vast influence was present every where. I heard Duroc say when we were conversing together about the campaign of Tilsit, that Napoleon's activity and intelligence were never more conspicuously developed.

One very remarkable feature of the Imperial wars was, that with the exception of the interior police, of which Fouché was the soul, the whole government of France was at the head-quarters of the Emperor. At Warsaw, Napoleon's attention was not only occupied with the affairs of his army, but he directed the whole machinery of the French government just the same as if he had been in Paris. Daily estafettes, and frequently the useless auditors of the Council of State brought him reports more or less correct, and curious disclosures, which were frequently the invention of the police. The portfolios of the ministers arrived every week, with the exception of those of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of the War Department; the former had first stopped at Mentz with the Empress, but had been called to Warsaw; and the latter, Clarke, was, for the misfortune of Berlin, governor of that city. This state of things lasted during the ten months of the Emperor's absence from Paris. Louis the XIVth said:—"I am myself the State." Napoleon did not say this; but, in fact, under his reign the government of France was always at his head-quarters. This circumstance had well nigh proved

fatal to him, on the occasion of the extraordinary conspiracy of Mallet, with some points of which I alone, perhaps, am thoroughly acquainted. The Emperor employed the month of January in military preparations for the approaching attack of the Russians, but at the same time he did not neglect the business of the cabinet: with him nothing was suffered to linger in the rear.

While Napoléon was at Warsaw, a battle was not the only thing to be thought about; affairs were much more complicated than during the campaign of Vienna. It was necessary, on the one hand, to observe Prussia, which was occupied; and, on the other, to anticipate the Russians, whose movements indicated that they were inclined to strike the first blow. In the preceding campaign, Austria, before the taking of Vienna, was alone engaged. The case was different now: Austria had had only soldiers; and Prussia, as Blücher informed me, was beginning to have citizens. There was no difficulty in returning from Vienna, but a great deal in returning from Warsaw, in case of failure, notwithstanding the creation of the kingdom of Saxony, and the provisional government given to Prussia, and to the other states of Germany which we had conquered. None of these considerations escaped the penetration of Napoleon: nothing was omitted in the notes, letters, and official correspondence which came to me from all quarters. Receiving, as I did, accurate information from my own correspondents, of all that was passing in

Germany, it often happened that I transmitted to the government the same news which it transmitted to me, not supposing that I previously knew it. Thus, for example, I thought I was apprising the government of the arming of Austria, of which I received information from head-quarters a few days after.

During the Prussian campaign, Austria precisely played the game which Prussia had played during the campaign of Austria. There was indecision on the one part, and indecision on the other. As Prussia had, before the battle of Austerlitz, awaited the success or defeat of the French, to decide whether she should remain neutral, or declare herself against France, so Austria, doubtless supposing that Russia would be more fortunate as the ally of Prussia, than she had been as her ally, assembled a corps of 40,000 men in Bohemia. That corps was called an army of observation; but the nature of these armies of observation is well known; they belong to the class of armed neutralities, like the ingenious invention of Sanitary Cordon's. The fact is, that the 40,000 men assembled in Bohemia, were destined to aid and assist the Russians in case they should be successful: and what reasonable man can blame the Austrian government for wishing for a vengeance which would wash away the shame of the treaty of Presburgh. Napoleon had not a moment to lose, but his activity required no spur: he had hastened the battle of Austerlitz to anticipate Prussia, and he now found it necessary to antici-

pate Russia, in order to keep Austria in a state of indecision.

The Emperor, therefore, left Warsaw about the end of January, and immediately gave orders for engaging the Russian army in the beginning of February ; but in spite of his desire of commencing the attack, he was anticipated. On the 8th of February, at seven in the morning, he was attacked by the Russians, who advanced during a terrible storm of snow, which fell in large flakes. They approached Preussich-Eylau, where the Emperor was, and the Imperial guard stopped the Russian column. Nearly the whole French army was engaged in that battle, one of the most sanguinary ever fought in Europe. The corps commanded by Bernadotte was not engaged in the contest : it had been stationed on the left at Mohrungen, whence it menaced Dantzic. The issue of the battle would have been very different, had the four divisions of infantry, and the two of cavalry, composing Bernadotte's army corps, arrived in time ; but, unfortunately, the officer instructed to convey orders to Bernadotte to march without delay on Preussich-Eylau, was taken by a body of Cossacks : Bernadotte, therefore, did not arrive. Bonaparte, who always liked to throw blame on some one if things did not turn out exactly as he wished, attributed the doubtful success of the day to the absence of Bernadotte : in this he was right ; but to make that absence a reproach to the Marshal was a gross injustice. Bernadotte was accused of not having been will-

ing to march on Preussich-Eylau, though, as it was alleged, General d'Hautpoult had informed him of the necessity of his presence. But how could that fact be ascertained, since General d'Hautpoult was among the killed?

Those who knew Bonaparte, his cunning, and the artful advantage he would sometimes take of words, which he attributed to the dead, will easily solve the enigma. The battle of Eylau was terrible:—night came on—Bernadotte's corps was constantly, but in vain expected; and after a considerable loss, the French army had the melancholy honour of passing the night on the field of battle. Bernadotte at length arrived, but too late. He met the enemy, who were retreating without the fear of being molested, towards Koningsberg, the only capital remaining to Prussia. The King of Prussia was then at Memel, a small port on the Baltic, thirty leagues from Koningsberg.

After the battle of Eylau, both sides remained stationary; and several days elapsed without any thing remarkable taking place. The offers of peace made by the Emperor, with very little earnestness it is true, were disdainfully rejected, as if a victory disputed with Napoleon was to be regarded as a triumph. The battle of Eylau seemed to turn the heads of the Russians, who chaunted *Te Deum* on the occasion. But while the Emperor was making preparations to advance, his diplomacy was taking effect in a distant quarter, and raising up against Russia an

old and formidable enemy. Turkey declared war against her. This was a powerful diversion, and obliged Russia to strip her western frontiers, to secure a line of defence on the south.

Some time after General Gardanne set out on the famous embassy to Persia; for which the way had been paved by the success of the mission of my friend, Amédée Jaubert. This embassy was not merely one of those pompous legations, such as Charlemagne, Louis XIV, and Louis XVI received from the Empress Irene, the King of Siam, and Tippoo Saib. It was connected with ideas which Bonaparte had conceived at the very dawn of his power. It was, indeed, the light from the East, which first enabled him to see his greatness in perspective; and that light never ceased to fix his attention, and dazzle his imagination. I know well that Gardanne's embassy was, at first, conceived on a much grander scale than that on which it was executed. Napoleon had resolved to send to the Shah of Persia four thousand infantry, commanded by chosen and experienced officers; ten thousand muskets, and fifty pieces of cannon; and I also know that orders were given for the execution of this design. The avowed object of the Emperor, was to enable the Shah of Persia to make an important diversion, with eighty thousand men, in the eastern provinces of Russia. But there was likewise another, an old and constant object, which was always uppermost in Napoleon's mind, namely, the wish

to strike England in the very heart of her Asiatic possessions. Such was the principal motive of Gardanne's mission, but circumstances did not permit the Emperor to give it all the importance he desired. He contented himself with sending a few officers of engineers and artillery to Persia, who, on their arrival, were astonished at the number of English they found there.

Meanwhile the internal affairs of the towns, over which my diplomatic jurisdiction extended, soon gave me more employment than ever. The greatest misfortune of the empire was, perhaps, the abuse of the right arrogated by the wearers of epaulettes. My situation gave me an opportunity of observing all the odious character of a military government. Another, in my place, could not have done all that I did. I say this confidently; for my situation was a distinct and independent one, as Bonaparte had told me. Being authorised to correspond directly with the Emperor, the military chiefs feared, if they did not yield to my just representations, that I would make private reports: this apprehension was wonderfully useful in enabling me to maintain the rights of the towns, which had adopted me as their first citizen.

A circumstance occurred in which I had to defend the rights of the diplomatic and commercial agents against the pretensions of military power. Marshal Brune, during his government at Hamburgh, went to Bremen, to watch the strict execution of the illusive blockade

against England. The Marshal, acting, no doubt, in conformity with the instructions of Clarke, then minister of war, and governor of Berlin, wished to arrogate the right of deciding on the captures made by our cruizers.

He attempted to prevent the Consul Lagau from selling the confiscated ships, in order to sell them himself. Of this M. Lagau complained to me. The more I observed a disposition to encroach on the part of the military authorities, the more I conceived it necessary to maintain the rights of the consuls, and to favour their influence, without which they would have lost their consideration. To the complaints of M. Lagau, I replied:—"That to him alone belonged the right of deciding, in the first instance, on the fate of the ships: that he could not be deprived of that right without changing the law: that he was free to sell the confiscated Prussian ships: that Marshal Brune was at Bremen only for the execution of the decree respecting the blockade of England, and that he ought not to interfere in business unconnected with that decree."—Lagau shewed this letter to Brune, who then allowed him to do as he wished; but it was an affair of profit, and the Marshal, for a long time, owed me a grudge.

Bernadotte was exceedingly disinterested; but he loved to be talked about. The more the Emperor endeavoured to throw accusations upon him, the more he was anxious to give publicity to all his actions. He sent to me an account

of the brilliant affair of Braunsburgh, in which a division of the first corps had been particularly distinguished. Along with this narrative, he sent me a note in the following terms:—"I send you, my dear minister, an account of the affair of Braunsburgh. You will, perhaps, think proper to publish it. In that case, I shall be obliged to you to get it inserted in the Hamburgh journals." I did so. The injustice of the Emperor, and the bad way in which he spoke of Bernadotte, obliged the latter, for the sake of his own credit, to make known the truth.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Army supplies—English cloth and leather—M. de Gimel's successor—Double appointment at London and Mittau—M. Hue, valet-de-chambre of Louis XVI—Arrest on a charge of libel—M. Hue's arrival at Altona—Fresh arrivals of emigrants—Baron d' Imbert and General Danican—Colonel de Blacas in the Swedish service—Command accepted by Dumouriez—Despatch from M. de Talleyrand—A page of Napoleon's glory—Interview between the two Emperors at Tilsit—Silesia restored to the Queen of Prussia—The Prince of Wittgenstein—Commercial treaty between England and Russia—Mediation of Russia offered to England—Reply of Mr. Canning—The Prince of Wales and Mr. Canning favourable to peace—Unfortunate situation of Prussia—Impossibility of re-establishing Poland in 1807—Foundation of the kingdom of Westphalia—The Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the King of Saxony.

I HAVE mentioned that I received an order from the Emperor to supply fifty thousand cloaks for the army. With this order, which was not the only one I received of the same kind, some circumstances were connected, which I may take the present opportunity of explaining.

The Emperor gave me so many orders for army clothing, that all that could be supplied by the

cities of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck, would have been insufficient for executing the commissions. I entered into a treaty with a house in Hamburgh, which I authorised, in spite of the decree of Berlin, to bring cloth and leather from England. Thus I procured these articles in a sure and cheap way. Our troops might have perished of cold, had the continental system and the absurd mass of inexecutable decrees relative to English merchandize been observed.

At the beginning of 1807, my occupations at Hamburgh were divided between the furnishing of supplies for the army, and the inspection of the emigrants whom Fouché pretended to dread, in order to give greater importance to his office. M. de Gimel was now dead. I had informed Fouché of that event, and he desired me to send him all the information I could collect respecting the individual who might be appointed M. de Gimel's successor. M. de la Chapelle made choice of M. Maillard, and as soon as I ascertained this fact, I sent to Fouché a description of M. Maillard, whose portrait could not possibly have been flattered without depriving it of all resemblance. I had learned, by a letter from Count Dumoustier, who was then in England, that Maillard had been commander of the gendarmerie at Valenciennes, and prevot of the army of Condé. Count Dumoustier had described him as a brutal, obstinate, and exceedingly narrow-minded man, and he finished his portrait with the following remark :—
“The King's cause must be desperate indeed

when such fellows are chosen to support it." M. Maillard was sent from London to Altona to succeed M. de Gimel as agent of the emigrants^s; but at the same time, Louis XVIII had given the appointment to M. Grémion, an inhabitant of Holstein. However, both these nominations were merely provisional, and I ascertained that M. Hue was definitively appointed to succeed M. de Gimel as agent for the emigrants. M. Hue was expected at Altona in the beginning of May. He was that faithful servant of Louis XVI who shared the master's captivity, and to whom honourable immortality is bequeathed in the will of the unfortunate sovereign. His name must have recalled strange recollections to Fouché, who wished that I should be doubly vigilant. His distrust, real or feigned, of the emigrants, was such that he more than once directed me to keep watch upon persons who were very far from supposing themselves to be the objects of the slightest suspicion.

I never let slip an opportunity of mitigating the rigour of Fouché's orders, which, indeed, were sometimes so absurd that I did not attempt to execute them. Of this the following instance just now occurs to my recollection:—A printer at Hamburg had been arrested on the charge of having printed a libel in the German language. The man was detained in prison because, very much to his honour, he would not disclose the name of the writer of the pamphlet. I sent for him and questioned him: he told me with every

appearance of sincerity that he had never but once seen the man who had brought him the manuscript. I was convinced of the truth of what he said, and I gave an order for his liberation. To avoid irritating the susceptibility of the minister of police, I wrote to him the following few lines:—"The libel is the most miserable rhapsody imaginable. The author, probably with the view of selling his pamphlet in Holstein, predicts, that Denmark will conquer every other nation, and become the greatest kingdom in the world. This trait alone will suffice to prove to you how little danger there is in fooleries, written in the style of the Apocalypse."

M. Hue was expected at Altona in the beginning of May, but he did not arrive until the 20th. He had left London on the 15th. I was assured that several emigrants had taken the opportunity of coming with him on board the packet-boat. This was true, and some emigrants arrived, who were by no means the most select of that body. Among them was a Baron d'Imbert, who was accompanied by a Sieur Louis, his secretary, and MM. Barthélemy and Plagnés. In a list which Fouché had sent me, Barthélemy was designated as a clerk, on board the corvette, Tantelen and Plagnés as an officer in the marines. D'Imbert maintained that he had been banished from England with the three individuals who accompanied him, on account of a demand of 5,000*l.* which he had made upon Mr. Cooke, one of the under Secretaries of State, on account of advances to

to agents whom he, d'Imbert, had sent to France in obedience to the instructions of the English Ministry. D'Imbert added, that it had^a been found convenient to evade the payment of this sum by banishing him. I indeed saw it stated in the English Journals at the time, that two French emigrants, Martello and Dublin, were arrested in London, and that thirty emigrants were about to be sent from England. Among the latter appeared the name of Baron d'Imbert and also of General Danican, who opposed the convention and led the sections who were termed rebels, on the 13th Vendémiaire. It is well known how Danican fell beneath the tact and boldness of the young General Bonaparte. He escaped by flight the sentence of contumacy pronounced upon him by a court martial. He afterwards became a constant, though not a very able, agent of the Royalists. On the 20th of May, Danican arrived at Altona from London. As it was alleged that he would certainly come to Hamburgh to see one of his friends, I sent a description of him to the commander of the Gendarmery.

Danican said he was going to Sweden, whither he had been summoned by the king, who was making every exertion to recruit the enemies of France. He had seen the German Legion embark. Twenty men belonging to that Legion had attempted to escape, and had been conveyed to London in irons. According to the account given by Danican, the Legion was more favourable to

the French than to the English. I also learned from Danican, who related all these circumstances in his inn, in the presence of some one who reported them to me, that the Sieur Derolle, a man in the confidence of the Count d'Artois, having swindled 30,000 francs of the property left by Pichegru, and being prosecuted for that offence by Count de la Chapelle, division was sown in the party, because Count d'Artois wished to defend his favourite. Danican made, on the part of the English government, some propositions to the Sieur Belcombe (the Abbé Delamarre). The latter rejected them, saying :—"What reliance can be placed on a government who chooses Fauche-Borel as its confidential agent?" This was in allusion to what Danican had said to him some months before, viz. : that Mr. Hammond saw only with the eyes of Fauche-Borel, and acted only by his councils.

Danican came once to Hamburgh, but the gendarmes missed him, and took another Frenchman for him. He returned to England on the 29th of July. I do not know what prevented him going to the King of Sweden, as he announced his intention of doing. In his furious animosity against *Monsieur Bonaparte*, the King of Sweden published all his communications with the Bourbons. I read in a bulletin dated Stralsund :—"Colonel Count de Blacas, sent on a special mission from Louis XVIII, has arrived here from Mittau, and this day had an audience of his Majesty."

Among the newly arrived emigrants there was

another, who from the part he had played at the commencement of the Revolution, possessed a degree of importance different from that of Baron d'Imbert and General Danican. He has been frequently mentioned in the course of these memoirs. I allude to Dumouriez. That General had, for a long time, been commander-in-chief in a pamphlet war against the French government, and he at length determined to take up the arms he had formerly borne. One of my agents in London informed me, that after a great deal of tergiversation, Dumouriez had accepted the command of the Swedish troops which were to be landed at Stralsund, and to which was to be joined the Hanoverian Legion, then at sea. But, during all this hesitation, Napoleon, who never hesitated, was advancing by giant strides, though not without considerable difficulty, on the confines of Russia, while his able lieutenants were conquering provinces in the north of Prussia on an immense line of operations.

After the battle of Eylau I received from M. Talleyrand a despatch, to which was added, an account in French of that memorable battle, which was more fatal to the conqueror than to the other party; I cannot say the conquered in speaking of the Russians, the more especially when I recollect the precautions which were then taken throughout Germany to make known the French before the Russian version. The Emperor was exceedingly anxious that every one should view that event as he himself viewed it. Other

accounts than his might have produced an unfavourable impression in the north. I therefore had orders to publish that account. I caused two thousand copies of it to be published, which were more than sufficient for circulation in the Hans Towns and their territories.

The reader will perhaps complain that I have been almost silent with respect to the grand manœuvres of the French army from the battle of Eylau to that of Friedland, where, at all events, our success was indisputable. There was no necessity of printing favourable versions of that event, and besides its immense results were soon felt throughout Europe. The interview at Tilsit is one of the culminating points of modern history, and the waters of the Niemen reflected the image of Napoleon at the height of his glory. The interview between the two Emperors at Tilsit, and the melancholy situation of the King of Prussia, are generally known. I was made acquainted with but few secret details relative to those events; for Rapp had gone to Dantzic, and it was he who most readily communicated to me all that the Emperor said and did, and all that was passing around him.

I however learned one circumstance peculiarly worthy of remark, which occurred in the Emperor's apartments at Tilsit, the first time he received a visit from the King of Prussia. That unfortunate monarch, who was accompanied by Queen-*Wilhelmine*, had taken refuge in a mill beyond the town. This was his sole habitation,

whilst the Emperors occupied the two portions of the town, which is divided by the Niemen. The fact I am about to relate, reached me indirectly through the medium of an officer of the imperial guard, who was on duty in Napoleon's apartments and was an eye witness of it. When the Emperor Alexander visited Napoleon, they continued for a long time in conversation on a balcony below, where an immense crowd hailed their meeting with enthusiastic shouts. Napoleon commenced the conversation, as he did the year preceding with the Emperor of Austria, by speaking of the uncertain fate of war. Whilst they were conversing, the King of Prussia was announced. The King's emotion was visible, and may easily be imagined, for as hostilities were suspended, and his territory in possession of the French, his only hope was in the generosity of the conqueror. Napoleon himself, it is said, appeared moved by his situation, and invited him, together with the Queen, to dinner. On sitting down to table, Napoleon with great gallantry told the beautiful queen that he would restore to her Silesia, a province which she earnestly wished should be retained in the new arrangements which were necessarily about to take place.

I was intimately acquainted with the Prince of Wittgenstein, during his residence at Hamburgh. Without having any apparent mission, he nevertheless enjoyed all the confidence of the King of Prussia, to whom on many occasions, his political talents and excellent advice were of great service.

During the summer of 1807, the Prince of Wittgenstein proceeded to England. On his return he visited me and informed me that a Russian courrier from Taurroggen had arrived in London on the 30th of July, with very important despatches for M. Alopœus, the Russian minister in England. One of these despatches, which the Prince of Wittgenstein, assured me he had read, stated, that there had not been sufficient time for sending copies of the treaties which had been signed at Tilsit. On the same day M. Alopœus despatched a courier to Russia with the commercial treaty which he had concluded and signed. I may here mention a circumstance connected with this commercial treaty between England and Russia, not certainly because the treaty is now of the slightest interest, but because the anecdote presents a striking example of British policy. The treaty was the same which M. Alopœus had proposed on his arrival in London at the beginning of March. At that time the English cabinet would not listen to it: but according as intelligence of the success of the French army reached London, the ministry yielded. Every fresh victory was followed by a new concession, until at length the treaty was concluded in the terms on which Russia had proposed. The Prince of Wittgenstein gave me some further particulars respecting what he had seen or learned in England. The day after M. Alopœus received from Tilsit the laconic despatch to which I have alluded, he formally offered to the court of London

the mediation of Russia to effect the conclusion of a treaty of peace between France and England, preparatory to the re-establishment of a general peace. On the first of August, a grand council was held at Windsor, at which George III was present. Two days after Mr. Canning replied to M. Alopæus, but verbally, and every one knows the difference which exists in diplomatic transactions between writing and speaking. Mr. Canning's reply was, "that the court of London would accept the mediation of Russia, but on condition of being furnished with copies of the public and private treaties, in order that the King of England might satisfy himself that they contained no stipulations contrary to the interests of his crown and his people." Mr. Canning added, "that as Austria had, previously to the commencement of the campaign, offered to mediate between the hostile powers, it would be proper that she should act in concert with Russia in the mediation now proposed—a proceeding which would be the more suitable on the part of Austria, as she herself had voluntarily suggested it." On the 19th of August, M. Alopæus despatched a courier to St. Petersburg with Mr. Canning's verbal answer.

Mr. Canning besides declared to M. Jacobi, the Prussian ambassador at London, "That the King of England deplored the misfortunes which had befallen his master; that he felt the greatest concern for him; but that as the Prussian ports were closed against English ships, the interests

of his people, and the honour of his' flag, compelled him to adopt hostile measures against Prussia." Prince Wittgenstein, in addition to these particulars, informed me that the Prince of Wales, and especially Mr. Canning, strongly urged the necessity of peace; and that the majority of the English nation earnestly desired it. Under these circumstances how unfortunate was the situation of Prussia; and could any thing be more cruel on the part of the English government than to threaten Prussia with hostilities, because she had not opened her ports to British ships? Thus the two powers who so bitterly hated each other, seemed to agree upon one point; namely, the spoliation of Prussia. France occupied all her continental territory, and England coveted her sea-ports, in revenge for mishaps which it was impossible to attribute to any other cause than the inflexible law of necessity.

The treaty of peace concluded at Tilsit, between France and Russia, on the 7th of July, and ratified two days after, produced no less striking a change in the geographical division of Europe, than had been effected the year preceding by the treaty of Presburgh. The treaty of Tilsit contained no stipulation dishonourable to Russia, whose territory was preserved inviolate; but how was Prussia treated! Some historians, for the vain pleasure of flattering, by posthumous praises, the pretended moderation of Napoleon, have almost reproached him for

having suffered some remnants of the monarchy of the great Frederick to survive. There is, nevertheless, a point on which Napoleon has been wrongfully condemned, at least with reference to the campaign of 1807. It has been said that he should, at that period, have re-established the kingdom of Poland: and certainly, there is every reason to regret, for the interest of France and Europe, that it was not re-established. But when a desire, even founded on reason, is not carried into effect, should we conclude that the wished-for object ought to be achieved in defiance of all obstacles? At that time, that is to say, during the campaign of Tilsit, insurmountable obstacles existed.

If, however, by the treaty of Tilsit, the throne of Poland was not restored to serve as a barrier between old Europe and the empire of the Czars, Napoleon founded a kingdom of Westphalia, which he gave to the young *Enseigne de Vaisseau*, whom he had scolded as a schoolboy, and whom he now made a king, that he might have another crowned Prefect under his controul. The kingdom of Westphalia was composed of the States of Hesse-Cassel; of a part of the provinces taken from Prussia by the *moderation* of the Emperor, and of the states of Paderborn, Fulde, Brunswick, and a part of the Electorate of Hanover. Napoleon, at the same time, though he did not like to do things by halves, to avoid touching the Russian and Austrian provinces of old Poland, planted on the banks of the Vistula, the

Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which he gave to the King of Saxony, with the intention of increasing or destroying it afterwards, as he might find convenient. Thus he allowed the Poles to hope for better for the future; and ensured to himself partizans in the north, should the chances of fortune call him thither. Alexander, who was secured even more than his father had been, by what I may call the political coquetry of Napoleon, consented to all these arrangements, acknowledged, *in globo*, all the kings crowned by the Emperor, and accepted some provinces which had belonged to his despoiled ally, doubtless by way of consolation for not having been able to get more restored to him. The two Emperors parted the best friends in the world; but the continental system was still in existence.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Effect produced at Altona by the treaty of Tilsit—The Duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin's departure from Hamburg—English squadron in the Sound—Bombardment of Copenhagen—Perfidy of England—Remark of Bonaparte to M. Lemercier—Prussia erased from the map—Napoleon's return to Paris—Suppression of the tribunate—Obstinacy of Mustapha-Baraictar—Confiscation of English merchandize—Nine millions gained to France—M. Caulincourt ambassador to Russia—Repugnance of England to the intervention of Russia—Affairs of Portugal—Junot appointed to command the army—The Prince Regent's departure for the Brazils—Heligoland taken by the English—M. Hue threatened with arrest—The Code Napoleon—Introduction of French laws into Germany—Leniency of Hamburg juries—The stolen cloak and the Syndic Doormann.

THE treaty of Tilsit, as soon as it was known at Altona, spread consternation amongst the emigrants. As to the German princes who were awaiting the issue of events either at Altona or Hamburg, when they learned that a definitive treaty of peace had been signed between France and Russia, and that two days after the treaty of Tilsit, the Prussian monarchy was placed at the mercy of Napoleon, every courier that arrived threw them into indescribable agitation.

It depended on the Emperor's will whether they were to be, or not to be. The Duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin had not succeeded in getting himself re-established in his states, by an exceptional decision, like the Duke of Weimar; but at length he obtained the restitution of his territory, at the request of the Emperor Alexander; and on the 28th of July he quitted Hamburg to return to his duchy.

The Danish Chargé-d'affaires communicated to me, about the same time, an official report from his government. This report announced, that on Monday, the 3rd of August, a squadron, consisting of twelve ships of the line and twelve frigates, commanded by Admiral Gambier, had passed the Sound. The rest of the squadron was seen in the Categat. At the same time the English troops, which were in the island of Rugen, had re-embarked. We could not then conceive what enterprise this considerable force had been sent upon. But our uncertainty was soon at an end. M. Didelot, the French ambassador at Copenhagen, arrived at Hamburg at nine o'clock in the evening, of the 12th of August. He had been fortunate enough to pass through the great Belt, in sight of the English, without being stopped. I forwarded his report to Paris, by an extraordinary courier.

The English had sent twenty thousand men, and twenty-seven vessels, into the Baltic; Lord Cathcart commanded the troops. The coast of Zealand was blockaded by ninety vessels. Mr.

Jackson, who had been sent by England to negotiate with Denmark, which she feared would be invaded by the French troops, supported the propositions he was charged to offer to Denmark, by a reference to this powerful British force. Mr. Jackson's proposals had for their object nothing less than to induce the King of Denmark to place, in the custody of England, the whole of his ships and naval stores. They were, it is true, to be kept in deposit; but the condition contained the word "until," which rendered the period of their restoration uncertain. They were to be detained until the period when such precautions should be no longer necessary. A menace, and its execution, followed close upon this insolent demand. After a noble, but useless resistance, and a terrific bombardment, Copenhagen surrendered, and the Danish fleet was destroyed. It would be difficult to find in history, a more infamous and revolting instance of the abuse of power against weakness. Some time after this event a pamphlet, entitled *Germania*, appeared, which I translated, and sent to the Emperor. It was eloquently written, and expressed the indignation which the infamous conduct of England had excited in the author, as in every one else.

I have stated what were the principal consequences of the treaty of Tilsit: it is more than probable, that if the bombardment of Copenhagen had preceded the treaty, the Emperor would have used Prussia even worse than he did. He

might have erased her from the list of powers; but he did not do so from regard to the Emperor Alexander. The destruction of Prussia was not a new project with Bonaparte. I remember an observation of his to M. Lemer cier upon that subject when we first went to reside at Malmaison. M. Lemer cier had been reading to the First Consul some poem in which Frederick the Great was spoken of; "You seem to admire him greatly," said Bonaparte to M. Lemer cier: "what do you find in him so astonishing? He is not equal to Turenne."—"General," replied M. Lemer cier, "it is not merely the warrior that I esteem in Frederick; but it is impossible to refrain from admiring a man who was a philosopher, even on the throne." To this the First Consul replied, in a half ill-humoured tone, "Certainly, Lemer cier; but Frederick's philosophy shall not prevent me from erasing his kingdom from the map of Europe." The kingdom of Frederick the Great was not, however, obliterated from the map, because the Emperor of Russia would not basely abandon a faithful ally, who had incurred with him the chances of fortune. Prussia then had to lament the tergiversations which had prevented her from declaring herself against France during the campaign of Austerlitz.

Napoleon returned to Paris about the end of July, after an absence of ten months, the longest he had yet made since he had been at the head of the French government, whether as Consul

or Emperor. The interview at Tilsit, the Emperor Alexander's friendship, which was spoken of every where in terms of exaggeration, and the peace established on the continent, conferred on Napoleon a moral influence in public opinion, which he had not possessed since his coronation. Constant in his hatred of deliberative assemblies, which he had often termed collections of babblers, ideologists, and phrasemongers, Napoleon, on his return to Paris, suppressed the tribunate, which had been an annoyance to him from the day of his elevation. The Emperor, who was skilful above all men in speculating on the favourable disposition of opinion, availed himself at this conjuncture of the enthusiasm produced by his interview on the Niemen. He, therefore, discarded from the fundamental institutions of the government, that which still retained the shadow of a popular character. But it was necessary that he should possess a senate merely to vote men; a mute legislative body, to vote money: that there should be no opposition in the one, and no criticism in the other; no controul over him of any description; the power of arbitrarily doing whatever he pleased; an enslaved press:—this was what Napoleon wished, and this he obtained. But the month of March, 1814, resolved the question of absolute power. In the midst of the singularly complicated situation of affairs in Europe, after the peace of Tilsit, it was not a little surprising to observe how the Emperor's influence with the Grand

Signior had diminished. After he had succeeded so well in arming Turkey against Russia, he failed in his attempt to restore the good understanding he had interrupted. Every endeavour for this purpose, during the ephemeral reign of Mustapha-Baraictar was useless. Guillemiot could not appease the storm which Sebastiani had conjured up, and the Turks determined to continue in a state of war with Russia. The Emperor had promised Alexander to use his utmost exertions to restore peace. To prove his sincerity, he gave Guillemiot orders to that effect; but all in vain. Mustapha proved inflexible. The war continued, and soon became more complicated, when the Emperor's evil star led him to take part in the fatal affairs of Spain. Distant as I was from the scene, I obtained some curious information, which I will relate with confidence, having no reason to doubt the purity of the source whence I obtained them.

In the midst of these great affairs, and while Napoléon was dreaming of universal monarchy, I beheld, in a less extensive sphere, the inevitable consequences of the ambition of a single man. Pillage and robbery were carried on in all parts over which my diplomatic jurisdiction extended. Rapine seemed to be legally authorised, and was perpetrated with such fury, and at the same time, with such ignorance, that frequently the agents were unacquainted with the value of the articles which they seized. Thus for example,—the Emperor ordered the

seizuré, at Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck, of all English merchandisè, whatever might be its nature or origin. The Prince of Neufchatel wrote to me from the Emperor, that I must procure ten millions of francs from the Hans Towns. M. Daru, the Commissary-in-chief, whose business it was to collect this sort of levies, which Napoleon had learned to make in Egypt, wrote to urge me to obtain a prompt and favourable decision. The unfortunate towns which I was thus enjoined to oppress, had already suffered sufficiently. I had obtained, by means of negotiation, more than was demanded for the ransom of the English merchandize, which had been seized according to order. Before I received the letters of M. Daru and the Prince of Neufchatel, I had obtained from Hamburgh sixteen millions instead of ten, besides nearly three millions from Bremen and Lubeck. Thus I furnished the government with nine millions more than had been required, and yet I had so managed, that those enormous sacrifices were not humiliating to those who made them. I fixed the value of the English merchandise, because I knew that the high price at which it sold on the continent, would not only cover the proposed ransom, but also leave a considerable profit. Such was the singular effect of the continental system.

Peace being concluded with Russia, it was necessary to make choice of an ambassador, not only to maintain the new relations of amity between Napoleon and Alexander, but likewise to

urge on the promised intervention of Russia with England, to bring about reconciliation and peace between the cabinets of Paris and London. The Emperor confided this mission to Caulincourt, with respect to whom there existed an unfounded prejudice relative to some circumstances which preceded the death of the Duke d'Enghien. This unfortunate and unjust impression had preceded Caulincourt to St. Petersburg, and it was feared that he would not experience there the reception due to the French ambassador, and to his own personal qualities. I knew, at the time, from positive information, that after a short explanation with Alexander, that monarch retained no suspicion unfavourable to our ambassador, for whom he conceived and maintained great esteem and friendship!

[Caulincourt's mission was not, in all respects, easy] of fulfilment, for the invincible repugnance and reiterated refusal of England to enter into negotiation with France, through the intervention of Russia, was one of the remarkable circumstances of the period of which I am speaking. I knew positively that England was determined never to allow Napoleon to possess himself of the whole of the continent, a project which he indicated too undisguisedly to admit of any doubt respecting it. For two years he had indeed advanced with rapid strides; but England was not discouraged. She was too well aware of the irritation of the sovereigns, and the discontent of the people, not to be certain, that when she desired it, her

lever of gold would again raise up and arm the continent against the encroaching power of Napoleon. He on his part, perceiving that all his attempts were fruitless, and that England would listen to no proposals, devised fresh plans for exciting new enemies against England.

It, probably, is not forgotten, that in 1801 France compelled Portugal to make common cause with her against England. In 1807 the Emperor did again what the First Consul had done. By an inexplicable fatality Junot obtained the command of the troops which were marching against Portugal. I say against Portugal, for that was the fact, though France represented herself as a protector to deliver Portugal from the influence of England. Be that as it may, the choice which the Emperor made of a commander astonished every body. Was Junot, a compound of vanity and mediocrity, the fit man to be entrusted with the command of an army in a distant country, and under circumstances in which great political and military talents were requisite? For my own part, knowing Junot's incapacity, I must acknowledge that his appointment astonished me. I remember, that when I was one day speaking on the subject to Bernadotte, he shewed me a letter he had received from Paris, in which it was said, that the Emperor had sent Junot to Portugal only for the sake of depriving him of the government of Paris. Junot annoyed Napoleon by his bad conduct, his folly, and his incredible extravagance. He was alike devoid of dignity—

either in feeling or conduct. Thus Portugal was twice the place of exile selected by consular and imperial caprice ; first when the First Consul wished to get rid of the familiarity of Lannes, and next, when the Emperor grew weary of the misconduct of a favourite.

The invasion of Portugal presented no difficulty. It was an armed promenade, and not a war ; but how many events were connected with the occupation of that country ! The Prince Regent of Portugal, unwilling to act dishonourably to England, to which he was allied by treaties, and unable to oppose the whole power of Napoleon, embarked for Brazil, declaring that all defence was useless. At the same time he recommended his subjects to receive the French troops in a friendly manner, and said, that he consigned to Providence the consequences of an invasion which was without a motive. He was answered in the Emperor's name, that Portugal being the ally of England, we were only carrying on hostilities against the latter country by invading his dominions. But whilst our eagles were advancing on Lisbon, England captured the island of Heligoland. Much more importance has been attributed to that event than it really deserved. The garrison, which was brought to Gluckstadt, consisted only of thirty invalids. The only circumstance which conferred any importance on the little island of Heligoland, was its situation at the mouths of the Elbe and the Eyder. It fur-

nishes pilots for ships sailing into either of those rivers.

The conduct of England with respect to Denmark and the bombardment of Copenhagen, excited general indignation even amongst persons who were not favourable to Napoleon's cause, which Denmark sincerely joined. The Prince Royal of Denmark, wishing to be revenged for the atrocious violence committed upon his capital, regarded as his enemies all who made common cause with England; and ordered M. Hue to be arrested.

It was in the month of November that the Code of French jurisprudence upon which the most learned legislators had indefatigably laboured, was established, as the law of the state under the title of the Code Napoleon. Doubtless this legislative monument will redound to Napoleon's honour in history; but was it to be supposed that the same laws would be equally applicable throughout so vast an extent as that comprised within the French empire? Impossible as this was, as soon as the Code Napoleon was promulgated, I received orders to establish it in the Hans Towns. The long and frequent conversations I had on this subject with the senators, and the most able lawyers of the country, soon convinced me of the immense difficulty I should have to encounter, and the danger of suddenly altering habits and customs, which had been firmly established by time. The jury system gave tolerable satisfaction;

but the severe punishments assigned to certain offences by the Code, were disapproved. Hence resulted the frequent and serious abuse of men being acquitted, whose guilt was evident to the jury, who pronounced them not guilty, rather than condemn them to a punishment which was thought too severe. Besides, their leniency had another ground, which was, that the people being ignorant of the new laws, were not aware of the penalties attached to particular offences. I remember that a man who was accused of stealing a cloak at Hamburgh, justified himself on the ground that he committed the offence in a fit of intoxication. M. Von Einigen, one of the jury, insisted that the prisoner was not guilty, because, as he said, the Syndic Doormann when dining with him one day, having drunk more wine than usual took away his cloak. This defence *per Baccho* was completely successful. An argument founded on the similarity between the conduct of the Syndic and the accused, could not but triumph; otherwise the little debauch of the former would have been condemned in the person of the latter. This trial, which terminated so whimsically nevertheless, proves, that the best and the gravest institutions may become the objects of ridicule when suddenly introduced into a country whose habits are not prepared to receive them.

The Romans very wisely reserved in the Capitol a place for the gods of the nations they conquered. They wished to annex provinces and kingdoms,

to their empire. ¶ Napoleon on the contrary, wished to make his empire encroach upon other states, and to realize the impossible Eutopia of ten different nations, all having different customs and languages united into a single state. Could justice, that safeguard of human rights, be duly administered in the Hans Towns, when those towns were converted into French departments? In these new departments, many judges had been appointed who did not understand a word of German, and who had no knowledge of law. The presidents of the tribunals of Lubeck, Stade, Bremerlehe, and Minden, were so utterly ignorant of the German language, that it was necessary to explain to them all the pleadings in the council chamber. Was it not absurd to establish such a judicial system, and above all to appoint such men in a country so important to France, as Hamburg and the Hans Towns? Add to this the impertinence of some young favourites who were sent from Paris to serve official and legal apprenticeships in the conquered provinces, and it may be easily conceived what was the attachment of the people to Napoleon the Great.

CHAPTER XXX.

Disturbed state of Spain—Godoy, Prince of the Peace—Reciprocal accusations between the King of Spain and his son—False promise of Napoleon—Dissatisfaction occasioned by the presence of the French troops—Abdication of Charles IV—The Prince of the Peace made prisoner—Murat at Madrid—Important news transmitted by a commercial letter—Murat's ambition—His protection of Godoy—Charles IV denies his voluntary abdication—The crown of Spain destined for Joseph—General disapprobation of Napoleon's conduct.

THE disorders of Spain, which commenced about the close of the year 1807, soon assumed a most complicated aspect. Though far from the theatre of events, I obtained an intimate knowledge of all the important facts connected with the extraordinary transactions of the Peninsula. However, as this point of history is one of the most generally, though I cannot say the best, known, I shall cancel in my notes and memoranda, many things which would be but repetitions to the reading portion of the public. It is a remarkable fact that Bonaparte, who, by turns, cast his eyes on all the states of Europe, never directed his attention to Spain

as long as his greatness was confined to mere projects. Whenever he spoke of his future destiny, he alluded to Italy, Germany, the East, and the destruction of the English power; but never to Spain. Consequently, when he heard of the first symptoms of disorder in the Peninsula, he paid but little attention to the business, and some time elapsed before he took any part in events which, subsequently, had so great an influence on his fate.

Godoy reigned in Spain under the name of the imbecile Charles IV. He was an object of execration to all who were not his creatures; and even those whose fate depended upon him, viewed him with the most profound contempt. The hatred of a people is almost always the just reward of favourites. What sentiments, therefore, must have been inspired by a man who, to the knowledge of all Spain, owed the favour of the king only to the favours of the queen. Godoy's ascendancy over the royal family was boundless; his power was absolute: the treasures of America were at his command, and he made the most infamous application of them. In short, he had made the court of Madrid one of those places to which the indignant muse of Juvenal conducts the Mother of Britannicus. There is no doubt that Godoy was one of the principal causes of all the misfortunes which have overwhelmed Spain under so many various forms.

The hatred of the Spaniards against the Prince

of the Peace was general. This hatred was shared by the Prince of the Asturias, who openly declared himself the enemy of Godoy. The latter allied himself with France, from which he hoped to obtain powerful protection against his enemies. This alliance gave rise to great dissatisfaction in Spain, and caused France to be regarded with an unfavourable eye. The Prince of the Asturias was encouraged and supported by the complaints of the Spaniards, who wished to see the overthrow of Godoy's power.

Charles IV, on his part, regarded all opposition to the Prince of the Peace as directed against himself, and in November, 1807, he accused his son of wishing to dethrone him.

The French ambassador, M. de Beauharnais, a relation of Josephine's first husband, was a very circumspect man. His situation at Madrid was extremely delicate and difficult. Without being gifted with any superior talent, M. de Beauharnais possessed a certain tact which enabled him to see into things, and it was he who first informed the government of the misunderstanding which existed between the King of Spain and the Prince of the Asturias. He could not, indeed, avoid informing his court of all he observed. Could he conceal from the Emperor that in the excess of his irritation against his son, Charles IV had openly manifested a wish to revoke the law which called the Prince of the Asturias to the succession of one of the thrones of Charles V? The King of Spain did not con-

fine himself to verbal complaints. He, or rather the Prince of the Peace, acting in his name, arrested the warmest partizans of the Prince of the Asturias. The latter, understanding the sentiments of his father, wrote to Napoleon, soliciting his support. Thus the father and son at open war, were appealing one against another, for the support of him who wished only to get rid of them both, and to put one of his brothers in their place: that he might have one junior more in the college of European kings; but, as I have already mentioned, this ambition was not premeditated; and if he gave the throne of Spain to his brother Joseph, it was only on the refusal of his brother Louis.

The Emperor had promised to support Charles IV against his son; and not wishing to take part in these family quarrels, he had not answered the first letters of the Prince of the Asturias. But finding that the intrigues of Madrid were taking a serious turn, he commenced provisionally by sending troops to Spain. This gave offence to the people, who were averse to the interference of France. In the provinces through which the French troops passed, it was asked what was the object of the invasion. Some attributed it to the Prince of the Peace, others to the Prince of the Asturias; but it excited general indignation, and troubles broke out at Madrid, accompanied by all the violence peculiar to the Spanish character.

In these fearful circumstances, Godoy proposed

that Charles IV should remove to Seville, where he would be the better enabled to visit the factions with punishment. A proposition from Godoy to his master was, in fact, a command, and Charles IV accordingly resolved to depart. The people now looked upon Godoy as a traitor. An insurrection broke out, the palace was surrounded, and the Prince of the Peace was on the point of being massacred in an upper apartment, where he had taken refuge. One of the mob had the presence of mind to invoke in his favour, the name of the Prince of the Asturias: this saved his life.

Charles IV did not preserve his crown; he was easily intimidated, and advantage was taken of a moment of alarm to demand that abdication, which he had not spirit to refuse. He surrendered up his rights to his son, and thus was overthrown the insolent power of the Prince of the Peace; the favourite was made prisoner, and the Spaniards who, like all ignorant people, are easily excited, manifested their joy on the occasion with barbarous enthusiasm. Meanwhile the unfortunate King, who had escaped from imaginary rather than real dangers, and who was at first content with having exchanged the right of living for the right of reigning, no sooner found himself in safety, than he changed his mind. He wrote to the Emperor, protesting against his abdication, and appealed to him as the arbiter of his future fate.

During these internal dissensions, the French army was continuing its march towards the Pyrenees. Those barriers were speedily crossed, and Murat entered Madrid in the beginning of April, 1808. Before I received any despatch from our government, I learned that Murat's presence in Madrid, far from producing a good effect, had only increased the disorder. I obtained this information from a merchant of Lubeck, who came to Hamburgh on purpose to shew me a letter he had received from his correspondent in Madrid. In this letter Spain was said to be a prey which Murat wished to appropriate to himself; and all that afterwards came to my knowledge, served only to prove the accuracy of the writer's information. It was perfectly true, that Murat wished to conquer Spain for himself, and it is not astonishing that the inhabitants of Madrid should have understood his designs, for he carried his indiscretion so far, as openly to express his wish to become King of Spain. The Emperor was informed of this, and gave him to understand, in very significant terms, that the throne of Spain was not destined for him, but that he should not be forgotten.

However, Napoleon's remonstrances were not sufficient to restrain the imprudence of Murat; and if he did not gain the crown of Spain for himself, he powerfully contributed to make Charles IV lose it. That monarch, whom old

habits attached to the Prince of the Peace, solicited the Emperor to liberate his favourite, alleging that he and his family would be content to live in any place of security, provided Godoy were with them. The unfortunate Charles seemed to be thoroughly disgusted with greatness.

Both the King and Queen so earnestly implored Godoy's liberation, that Murat, whose vanity was flattered by these royal solicitations, took the Prince of the Peace under his protection; but he, at the same time, declared, that in spite of the abdication of Charles IV, he would acknowledge none but that prince as King of Spain, until he should receive contrary orders from the Emperor. This declaration placed Murat in formal opposition to the Spanish people, who, through their hatred of Godoy, embraced the cause of the heir of the throne, in whose favour Charles IV had abdicated.

It has been remarked, that Napoleon stood in a perplexing situation in this conflict between the King and his son. This is not correct. King Charles, though he said that his abdication had been forced from him by violence and threats, had, nevertheless, tendered it voluntarily. By this act Ferdinand was king; but Charles declared it was done against his will, and he retracted. The Emperor's recognition was wanting, and he could give or withhold it, as he pleased.

In this state of things, Napoleon arrived at Bayonne. Thither Ferdinand was also invited to go, under the pretence of arranging with the Emperor the differences between his father and himself. It was some time before he could form his determination, but at length his ill-advised friends prevailed on him to set off, and he was caught in the snare. What happened to him, as well as to his father, who repaired to Bayonne, with his inseparable friend, the Prince of the Peace, is well known. Napoleon, who had undertaken to be arbiter between the father and son, thought the best way of settling the difference was to give the disputed throne to his brother Joseph, thus verifying the fable of the Two Lawyers and the Oyster. The revolution in Madrid on the 2nd of May, accelerated the fate of Ferdinand, who was accused of being the author of it; at least this suspicion fell on his friends and adherents.


Charles IV, it was said, would not return to Spain, and solicited an asylum in France. He signed a renunciation of his rights to the crown of Spain, which renunciation was also signed by the Infants.

The Prince Royal of Sweden, who was at Hamburg at this time, and the ministers of all the European powers, loudly condemned the conduct of Napoleon with respect to Spain. I cannot say whether or not M. de-Talleyrand advised the Emperor not to attempt the over-

throw of a branch of the House of Bourbon: his good sense and elevated views might certainly have suggested that advice. But the general opinion was, that had he retained the portfolio of foreign affairs, the Spanish revolution would have terminated with more decorum and good faith, than was exhibited in the tragedy acted at Madrid and Bayonne.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Bourbon cause apparently lost.—Louis XVIII after his departure from France.—The Count de Provence at Coblenz.—He seeks refuge in Turin and Verona.—Death of Louis XVI—Louis XVIII refused an asylum in Austria, Saxony and Prussia.—His residence at Mittau and Warsaw.—Alexander and Louis XVIII.—The King's departure from Milan and arrival at Yarmouth.—Determination of the King of England.—M. Lemercier's prophecy to Bonaparte.—Fouché's inquiries respecting Count Rechteren.—Note from Josephine.—New demands on the Hans Towns.—Order to raise three thousand sailors in Hamburg.—Departure of Prince Ponte-Corvo.—Prediction and superstition.—Stoppage of letters addressed to the Spanish Troops.—La Romana and Romanillos.—

 AFTER the treaty of Tilsit, and the bonds of friendship, which seemed likely to unite permanently the Emperors of France and Russia, the cause of the Bourbons must have been considered irretrievably lost. Indeed, their only hope consisted in the imprudence and folly of him who had usurped their throne and that hope they doubtless cherished. I will here relate, what I had the opportunity of learning respecting the conduct of Louis XVIII, after his departure from France: this will naturally bring me to the end of November 1807, at which time I read in the *Abeille du Nord*, published on the 9th

of the same month, that the Count de Lille and the Duke d'Angoulême had set off for England.

The Count de Provence left Paris on the 21st June 1791. He constantly expressed his wish of keeping as near as possible to the frontiers of France. He at first took up his abode at Coblenz, and I knew from good authority that all the emigrants did not regard him with a favourable eye. They could not pardon the wise principles, he had professed at a period, when there was yet time, to prevent by reasonable conceding, the misfortunes which imprudent irritation brought upon France. When the emigrants, after the campaign of 1792, passed the Rhine, the Count de Provence resided in the little town of Ham on the Lippe, where he remained until he was persuaded that the people of Toulon had called him to Provence. As he could not, of course, pass through France, Monsieur repaired to the court of his father-in-law the King of Sardinia, hoping to embark at Genoa and from thence reach the coast of Provence. But the evacuation of Toulon, where the name of Bonaparte was for the first time sounded by the breath of fame, having taken place before he was able to leave Turin, Monsieur remained there four months at the expiration of which time, his father-in-law intimated to him the impossibility of his remaining longer in the Sardinian states. He was afterwards permitted to reside at Verona, where he heard of Louis XVI's death. After remaining two years in that city, the Senate of Venice

forbade his presence in the Venetian states. Thus forced to quit Italy, the Count repaired to the army of Condé.

The heartless policy of the Austrian cabinet afforded no asylum to the Count de Provence; and he was obliged to pass through Germany; Yet, as Louis XVIII, repeated over and over again, even since the restoration, "He never intended to shed French blood in Germany, for the sake of serving foreign interests." Monsieur had, indeed, too much penetration not to see that his cause was a mere pretext for the powers at war with France. They felt but little for the misfortunes of the Prince, and merely wished to veil their ambition and their hatred of France, under the false pretence of zeal for the House of Bourbon.

When the Dauphin died, Louis XVIII took the title of King of France, and went to Prussia, where he obtained an asylum. But the pretender to the crown of France, had not yet drained his cup of misfortune. After the 18th Fructidor, the Directory required the King of Prussia to send away Louis XVIII, and the cabinet of Berlin, it must be granted, was not in a situation to oppose the desire of the French government whose wishes were commands. In vain Louis XVIII sought an asylum in the King of Saxony's states. There only remained Russia, who dared offer a last refuge to the descendant of Louis XIV. Paul I who was always in extremes, and who at that time entertained a vio-

lent feeling of hatred towards France, earnestly offered Louis XVIII a residence at Mittau. He treated him with the honours of a sovereign, and loaded him with marks of attention and respect. Three years had scarcely past, when Paul was seized with mad enthusiasm for the man who, twelve years later, ravaged his ancient capital, and Louis XVIII found himself expelled from that Prince's territory, with a harshness equal to the kindness with which he had, at first, been received.

It was during his three years' residence at Mittau, that Louis XVIII who was then known in France by the title of Count de Lille, wrote to the First Consul those letters which have been inserted in these Memoirs. Prussia, being again solicited, at length consented that Louis XVIII should reside at Warsaw; but on the accession of Napoleon to the Empire, the Prince quitted that residence, in order to consult respecting his new situation with the only sovereign, who had not deserted him in his misfortune, viz., the King of Sweden. They met at Calmar, and from that city was dated the protest which I have already noticed. Louis XVIII did not stay long in the states of the King of Sweden. Russia was now on the point of joining her eagles with those of Austria, to oppose the new eagles of Imperial France. Alexander offered to the Count de Lille, the asylum which Paul had granted to him and afterwards withdrawn. Louis XVIII accepted the offer; but after the peace of Tilsit, fearing lest

Alexander might imitate the second act of his father, as well as the first, he plainly saw that he must give up all intention of residing on the continent; and it was then that I read in the *Abeille du Nord*, the article before alluded to. There is, however, one fact, upon which I must insist, because I know it to be true, viz. : that it was of his own free will that Louis XVIII quitted Mittau; and if he was afraid that Alexander would imitate his father's conduct, that fear was without foundation. The truth is, that Alexander was ignorant even of the king's intention to go away, until he heard that he had actually departed from the Baron Driesen, governor of Mittau. Having now stated the truth on this point, I have to correct another error, if indeed it be only an error, into which some writers have fallen. It has been falsely alleged, that the king left Mittau for the purpose of fomenting fresh troubles in France. The friends of Louis XVIII, who advised him to leave Mittau, had great hopes from the last war. They cherished still greater hopes from the new wars which Bonaparte's ambition could not fail to excite; but they were not so ill-informed respecting the internal condition of France as to expect that disturbances would arise there, or even to believe in the possibility of fomenting them. *The pear was not yet ripe* for Louis XVIII.

On the 29th November, the contents of a letter, which had arrived from London by Sweden, were communicated to me. This letter was dated the 3rd November, and contained some particulars

respecting the Count de Lille's arrival in England. That prince had arrived at Yarmouth on the 31st October; and it was stated, that the king was obliged to wait some time in the port until certain difficulties, respecting his landing and the continuance of his journey, should be removed. It, moreover, appeared from this letter, that the King of England thought proper to refuse the Count de Lille permission to go to London, or its neighbourhood. The Palace of Holyrood, in Edinburgh, was assigned as his place of residence; and Mr. Ross, Secretary to Mr. Canning, conveyed the determination of the King of England to Louis XVIII, at Yarmouth.

The precaution of the English ministry in not permitting the refugee king to go near London, appeared to me remarkable, considering the relative positions of the governments of France and England, and I regarded it as a corroboration of what the Prince of Wittgenstein had told me respecting Mr. Canning's inclination for an amicable arrangement. But the moment was approaching, when the affairs of Spain were to raise an invincible obstacle to peace; to complicate more than ever the interests of the powers of Europe, and open to Napoleon that vast career of ambition which proved his ruin. He did not long allow the hopes of the emigrants to remain chimerical, and the year 1814 witnessed the realization of the prophetic remark made by M. Lemer cier, in a conversation with Bonaparte, a few days before the foundation of the empire :—" If you make up

the bed of the Bourbons, General, you will not lie in it ten years." Napoleon lay in it nine years and nine months.

Fouché, the grand investigator of the secrets of Europe, did not fail, on the first report of the agitations in Spain, to address to me question on question respecting the Count Rechteren, the Spanish minister at Hamburgh, who, however, had left that city with the permission of his court, four months after I had entered on my functions. This was going back very far to seek information respecting the affairs of the day. At the very moment when I transmitted a reply to Fouché, which was not calculated to please him, because it afforded no ground for suspicion as to the personal conduct of M. Rechteren, I received from the amiable Josephine a new mark of her remembrance. She sent me the following note:—M. Milon, who is now in Hamburgh, wishes me, my dear Bourrienne, to request that you will use your interest in his favour. I feel the more pleasure in making this request, as it affords me an opportunity of renewing to you the assurance of my regard for you."

Josephine's letter was dated from Fontainbleau, whither the Emperor used to make journies in imitation of the old court of France. During these excursions he sometimes partook of the pleasures of the chase; but merely for the sake of reviving an old custom, for in that exercise he found as little amusement as Montaigne did in the game of chess. At Fontainbleau, as every

where else, his mind was engaged with the means of augmenting his greatness; but, unfortunately, the exactions he imposed on distant countries were calculated to alienate from him the affections of the people, who suffered from them. Thus for example, I received an order emanating from him, and transmitted to me by M. Daru, the commissary in chief of the army, that the pay of all the French troops stationed in the Hans Towns, should be defrayed by those towns. I lamented the necessity of making such a communication to the Senates of Bremen, Lubeck, and Hamburgh; but my duty compelled me to do so, and I had long been accustomed to fulfil duties even more painful. I tried every means possible with the three states, not collectively, but separately, to induce them to comply with the measure, in the hope that the assent of one, would help me to obtain that of the two others. But, as if they had been all agreed, I only received from them evasive expressions of regret.

Knowing as I did, and I may say better than any one else, the hopes and designs of Bonaparte respecting the north of Germany, it was not without pain, nor even without alarm, that I saw him doing every thing calculated to convert into enemies the inhabitants of a country, which would always have remained quiet, had it only been permitted to preserve its neutrality. Among the orders I received were often many which could only have been the result of the profoundest ignorance. For example, I was one day directed

to press three thousand seamen in the Hans Towns. Three thousand seamen out of a population of two hundred thousand! What block-head could have suggested such a project? It was as absurd as to think of raising 500,000 sailors in France. This project being impossible, it was, of course, not executed; but I had even some difficulty in persuading the Emperor, that the sixth of the number demanded was the utmost that the Hans Towns could supply. Five hundred seamen were accordingly furnished, but to make up even that number, it was necessary to include many men who were totally unfit for war service.

In the spring of 1808, a circumstance occurred which gave me much uneasiness; it was the departure of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, who received orders to repair to Copenhagen.* He left Hamburgh on the 8th of March, as he was to reach his destination on the 14th of the same month. The Danish Chargé-d'affaires also received orders to join the Prince, and discharge the functions of King's commissary. It was during his government at Hamburgh, and his stay in Jutland, that Bernadotte unconsciously paved his way to the throne of Sweden. I recollect that he had also his presages and his predestinations. In short, he believed in astrology, and I shall never forget the serious tone in which he one day said

* He was directed to take the command of the French troops whom the Emperor sent into Denmark after the bombardment of Copenhagen by the English.

to me :—" Would you believe, my dear friend, that it was predicted at Paris that I should be a King, but that I must cross the sea to reach my throne." I could not help smiling at this weakness of mind, from which Bonaparte was not far removed. It certainly was not any supernatural influence which elevated Bernadotte to sovereign rank. That elevation was solely due to his excellent character. He had no other talisman than the wisdom of his government, and the promptitude which he always shewed to oppose unjust measures. This it was that united all opinions in his favour.

The bad state of the roads in the north prolonged Bernadotte's journey one day. He set out on the 8th of March: he was expected to arrive at Copenhagen on the 14th, but did not reach there till the 15th. He arrived precisely two hours before the death of Christian, the King of Denmark, an event with which he made me acquainted by a letter written two days after his arrival.

On the 6th of April following, I received a second letter from Bernadotte, in which he desired me to order the Grand Ducal Post Master, to keep back all letters addressed to the Spanish troops who had been placed under his command, and of which the corps of Romana formed part. The post master was ordered to keep the letters until he received orders to forward them to their destinations. Bernadotte considered this step indispensable to prevent the intrigues which he

feared might be set on foot, in order to shake the fidelity of the Spaniards he commanded. I saw from his despatch, that he feared the plotting of Romanillos,* who, however, was not a person to cause much apprehension. Romanillos was as common place a man as could well be conceived ; and his speeches, as well as his writings, were too innocent to create any influence on public opinion.

* Romanillos was secretary of the Spanish legation at Hamburgh, and Chargé-d'affaires from the cabinet of Madrid, after the departure of M. Rechteren.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Illegible Notifications—Calumnious attack upon Baron Stein, Prince Wittgenstein, and myself—Baron Stein's love of liberty—His *Testament politique*—Accusation against Prince Wittgenstein—Surreptitious copy of a letter of the Countess Woss—Bernadotte's modification—Indispensable measure—Gratitude of Prince Wittgenstein—Official note from the Prussian Minister in Hamburgh—Recent testimony of Prince Wittgenstein—Flattering letter from the King of Prussia.

IN addition to the functions with which the Emperor at first invested me, I had to discharge the duties of French Consul General at Hamburgh, and in that character I was obliged to present to the minister for foreign affairs a very singular request, viz.: that the judicial notifications, which as Consul-General I had to make known to the people of Hamburgh, might be written in a more legible hand. Many of these notifications had been disregarded on account of the impossibility of reading them. With respect to one of them, it was declared that it was impossible to discover whether the writing was German, French, or Chinese.

This affair was easily managed; but in the course of 1808, a still more serious matter occurred, in which I took great interest, and which serves to shew to what a depth of tergiversation those people will descend who found their fortunes on calumny. I here allude to a plot which was formed against Prince Wittgenstein. In a passage in a late publication, under the title of *Souvenirs, &c.** it is stated that fabricated des-

* The writer makes his charge in the following terms:—"The rights of man and the law of nations were violated in an extraordinary way in December, 1808, in the person of Prince Wittgenstein, the Prussian minister at Hamburgh, and as this affair led to M. Stein's proscription by Bonaparte, it will not be out of place to notice it here. Prince Wittgenstein was in the habit of receiving despatches from M. Stein, the Prussian minister, who was at Königsberg with the king; and Bonaparte was curious to know the contents of these despatches. For this purpose having caused one of the couriers to be arrested and detained, he examined his despatches, and afterwards forwarded them to Prince Wittgenstein, at Hamburgh. The despatches contained severe reflections on Bonaparte's conduct in Spain and Westphalia. He afterwards sent several forged letters, in which the handwriting of M. de Stein had been imitated, to the Prince, calling upon him to transmit a plan for revolutionizing Westphalia. Prince Wittgenstein, not knowing what to think of these letters, wrote to Count Goltz, and to the minister of the King of Prussia at Königsberg, respecting the extraordinary communications he had received from M. Stein. The French agents intercepted these letters, and, fearful lest the truth might be discovered, recourse was had to new experiments.

"Prince Wittgenstein was arrested at Hamburgh, and lodged in the house of Bonaparte's minister, Bourrienne. He was there compelled to write to the Count de Goltz respecting the conduct of M. de Stein, who was stated to be endeavouring to revolutionize Westphalia, and other things equally false. These letters were sent directly to the *Moniteur*, and were inserted in that paper on the 7th of December, 1800. Bonaparte, notwithstanding all his cunning, could not keep his own secret. It is evident from the letters themselves, that Prince Wittgenstein was forced to write them, for he certainly did not send them to the *Moniteur*. As for Count Goltz, he never received them, the originals having been

patches, purporting to be from Baron Stein, had been sent to the prince, with the view of making it appear that the latter was engaged in a plot for exciting insurrection in Westphalia. It is added, that the minister, Bourrienne, had compelled the prince to write a letter, complaining of the conduct of Baron Stein. I shall here give a precise statement of the facts. Baron Stein has been too little known. As minister of the King of Prussia, he distinguished himself among the other members of the cabinet of Berlin, who supported with all their influence the regeneration of the people, and the creation of that public spirit which is the life and safety of nations. He wished to diffuse in all minds that conservative principle, which declares that subjects and governments must be united by bonds of mutual interest. This was enough to make Bonaparte hate Baron Stein. He who could not endure in France those patriotic sentiments which, nevertheless, had opened to him the way to the throne, would not, of course, tolerate them among a people with whom he was at war; especially when he saw that a national effervescence, manifested in Prussia, might oppose a barrier to his ambition. Bonaparte attributed to Baron Stein, and to his system, the murmurs of patriotism which were at first heard faintly in the states of Frederick William, and afterwards burst out so loudly. The animosity which Bonaparte from that moment conceived towards Baron Stein, sent to Paris, where they remained. It was subsequent to this scandalous affair that M. de Stein was outlawed."

was a proof of his shrewdness! He clearly saw into the future, and there can be little doubt, that to this first impulse given to the public mind in Prussia, must be attributed the generous feeling that was manifested when General York separated from the French troops, without waiting for the King of Prussia's consent.

In November, Baron Stein published at Königsberg, where he then resided, a circular letter to the principal officers of the kingdom of Prussia. This document was known by the name of Baron Stein's Political Testament. This is all I know respecting Baron Stein, and consequently all I can say of him; but I could not allow such a calumny as had been broached to pass unnoticed:

Now, for the truth:—The Countess Woss, first lady of the court of the Queen of Prussia, wrote to her friend Prince Sayn-Wittgenstein at Hamburgh, a letter without date of time or place. This letter, it is said, reached Hamburgh on the 16th November. Prince Wittgenstein was at Hamburgh, not as a minister, but merely as a private resident. Baron Grote was then minister from Prussia to the Hans Towns. About the time when the letter of the Countess Woss reached Hamburgh, Marshal Bernadotte received one from M. Duroc, dated 14th November, containing a copy of Madame de Woss's letter, which had been opened in the Berlin cabinet. This copy was translated from German into French; and in transmitting it, M. Duroc desired the Prince de Ponte-Corvo to arrest Prince Sayn-Wittgenstein.

From some terms, used in the *translated* copy of Madame Woss's letter, it was pretended that the Prince was at the head of a conspiracy, the object of which was to revolutionize Westphalia, and afterwards to assassinate the Emperor.

Bernadotte immediately called on me to communicate this incomprehensible despatch. As soon as I saw it I suspected some odious machination, and I observed to the Marshal, that having resided with the Prince, and knowing him well, I considered him incapable of entering into the designs attributed to him. I added that he had often spoken to me of the Countess Woss as being a most respectable lady, and I advised him not to arrest the Prince, or, at least, to delay that disagreeable measure. "Let us go and call on him," said I, "he will not expect us, and we shall see what effect our visit will produce on him; at all events, we will require him to give his word of honor not to quit Hamburgh before the affair be settled." Bernadotte, who was always disposed to act kindly, complied with my request. It was ten o'clock at night when we went to call on Prince Wittgenstein, and Bernadotte had received the letter only two hours before. We found the Prince in *deshabille*, quietly taking his tea. Supposing we had come to make him a friendly visit, he made many excuses for the way in which we found him, observing that it was our own fault for coming so late. He behaved in his usual polite and easy way, so that we could not imagine that

he had any idea of the business we had come upon. The Marshal tried every delicate way of giving him to understand the nature of our visit, but at last we were obliged to tell it him plainly. His first idea was that we were joking; but when he saw that we were serious, and when Bernadotte presented to him the translated copy of the letter of the Countess Woss, his surprise and indignation were beyond all expression. Bernadotte required him to give his word that he would not leave Hamburgh without permission, which the Prince willingly did, declaring that he had not received the original of the letter communicated to us.

Next day, the 17th of November, Prince Wittgenstein called on me at an early hour. I was too well acquainted with his excellent character to require any assurance of his being neither a revolutionist nor a murderer. He seemed much agitated by what had occurred. I said all I could to allay his apprehensions, and advised him to apply for the original letter of the Countess Woss.

In spite of friendship and conviction, the orders we had received made it impossible we could dispense with examining the Prince's papers. I looked them over myself, assisted by General Gerard, and we found nothing upon which the slightest suspicion could be founded. Bernadotte, urged by my solicitations, and personally convinced of the innocence of the Prince, persisted in his determination of not arresting him. However, to secure

himself against any reproach, the Prince of Pontecorvo wrote on the 19th a letter to the Emperor, who was then in Spain, in which he stated what had passed, adding, that he had not thought it necessary to arrest Prince Wittgenstein, but that he had taken measures for securing him should it be necessary, and that he awaited further orders.

I still strongly urged Prince Wittgenstein to demand that the original letter of the Countess Woss should be shewn to him. On the 21st of November Count Daru wrote to inform him, that the original letter had been sent to the King of Prussia at Koningsberg. On the other hand Dayoust asserted, that the original had actually been sent to Prince Wittgenstein, but that he had destroyed it, and that he now denied the projected conspiracy and poisoning. On the 22nd of November Count Woss, the nephew of the Countess, had a conversation at Berlin with Count Daru, who had assured me that the letter had merely been copied, and then forwarded by the post, and that it must be delivered according to its address. But Count Woss had informed the Prince, that on the 20th he had been promised to have a sight of the letter on the 23d.

These incomprehensible contradictions proved that the original letter was still in existence, and that some one had an interest in preventing it being compared with the translated copy. But the prince, conscious of his own innocence, and

well assured that the Countess Woss could not have written any thing to compromise him; insisted that the sense of the original letter must have been perverted in the translation.

On the 26th of November I received a letter on the subject from Baron Grote, the King of Prussia's minister, who was absent from Hamburgh when M. Daru's despatch arrived. In his note the Baron protested against the calumnious imputation cast on Prince Wittgenstein and the Countess Woss, and claimed my interference to cause the proceedings against the Prince to be withdrawn.

In spite of the reiterated requests of Prince Wittgenstein, the original letter was not produced. At length, the day after that on which I received M. Grote's note, and thirteen days after the receipt of the translated copy of Countess Woss's letter, the Prince wrote me the following note in German, the autograph of which I have preserved.

“Enclosed, my dear friend, you will receive the original letter of the Countess Woss, together with one addressed to the Prince,* and another to the minister Woss. If any thing else is necessary I will come immediately to you.

“If I have failed in calling on you to-day you must regard that only as a proof of the value I

* The Prince of Ponte-Corvo.

attach to your friendship.* Those men alone who know how to make allowance for the weakness of their fellow creatures can inspire me with the high esteem I cherish for you. The idea of losing your friendship, and of having been guilty of indiscretion and ingratitude, has bewildered me, and thrown me into a state of feeling I cannot describe.

“ Ever gratefully your’s,

“ WITTGENSTEIN.

“ Hamburg, 27th of November, 1808.

“ P. S. I have not kept a copy of Count Woss’s letter. If the Prince wishes for his long letter which I read to you yesterday evening, he shall have a copy of it to-morrow.”

Prince Wittgenstein’s state of mind was not improved by the reception of the original letter of the Countess Woss. Two days after, on the 29th of November, he wrote to me the following billet.

“ I have just risen after having slept nine hours. I have now forgotten all my troubles, which before had almost driven me to despair.

* It had been agreed that Prince Wittgenstein should call on me every day to prove his presence in Hamburg; but the pleasure I derived from seeing him, was the only reason for my attaching any importance to this condition. I was too well convinced of the integrity of his character to allow his absence ever to cause me the least uneasiness.

On awaking, my first prayer was, that God would bless you and your family, and procure me an opportunity of proving to you that I am not unworthy of your friendship."

The original letter of the Countess Woss, the translated copy which had been sent from Berlin, another translation which I made, and a third made by an aide-de-camp of the Prince of Pontecorvo (I believe M. Gentil, de Saint Alphonse), were all forwarded to the Emperor. He easily perceived the difference between the translations, and saw no just ground for the accusation which had been brought against Prince Wittgenstein.

After this statement of facts, supported by uncontradictable proofs what is to be thought of the attack upon me contained in the publication from which I have given an extract? When that publication came to my knowledge, I was already engaged in writing these Memoirs, though I had no idea of the time at which I might publish them. I had already in my possession all the documents to which I have just referred, and which are certainly more than sufficient to refute the unfounded attack. However, with the view of throwing all possible light on this affair, I wrote to Prince Wittgenstein, who was then, and still is, a minister of the Prussian cabinet. And on the 29th of May, 1828, I received from him an answer, in which, among other things, he said :

“ If you intend to publish any thing relative to your functions at Hamburgh, you can, with justice state, that you did not induce me to write a letter to Baron Stein of the nature of that mentioned by the author of a publication, entitled, *Nos Souvenirs, ou les péchés de Napoléon*. On the contrary, I retain a grateful sense of all the kindness I experienced from you during that difficult period, and I am ready to make this declaration to whoever may doubt my sentiments towards you.”

I will now lay before the reader a letter from the King of Prussia, which was transmitted to me through the medium of Prince Wittgenstein, previous to the miserable contrivance to which the latter had well nigh fallen a victim. I insert the letter in this place, because the date to which it refers, brings me precisely to that point at which I shall resume the thread of my narrative in the next chapter. I have in my possession the autograph copy of this letter, and without affecting any false modesty, I will candidly confess, that I am proud to take this opportunity of publishing it:

“ Monsieur de Bourrienne. I am informed of the just dispositions and obliging interest which you have manifested for my states and for my subjects, whenever circumstances have given you the opportunity of so doing. I feel great pleasure in thus directly returning you my thanks,

and I beg that you will continue to manifest the same sentiments on occasions, which will, no doubt, frequently recur. Be convinced that I shall retain a grateful recollection of your conduct, and that I shall have great satisfaction in proving by all means in my power, that I rendered you full justice. I pray God, &c.

“ FREDERICK WILLIAM.

“ Koningsberg, March 18th, 1808.”

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Eagerness of the German Princes to join the Confederation of the Rhine—Attack upon me on account of M. Hue—Bernadotte's successor in Hamburgh—Exactions and tyrannical conduct of General Dupas—Disturbance in Hamburgh—Plates broken in a fit of rage—My letter to Bernadotte—His reply—Bernadotte's return to Hamburgh, and departure of Dupas for Lubeck—Noble conduct of the aide-de-camp Barral—Promulgation of the Code of Commerce—Conquests by Senatus-Consulta—Three events in one day—Recollections—Application of a line of Voltaire—Creation of the imperial nobility—Restoration of the university—Aggrandizement of the kingdom of Italy, at the expense of Rome—Cardinal Caprara's departure from Paris—The interview at Erfurth.

I SHALL not trace a picture of all the acts of turpitude committed by second-rate ambitious aspirants, who hoped to come in for their share in the division of the continent. The Emperor's lieutenants regarded Europe as a Twelfthcake, but none of them ventured to dispute the bean with Napoleon. Long would be the Litany, were I to enregister here all the fraud and treachery which they committed, either to augment their fortunes or to win the favour of the Chief, who wished to have Kings for his subjects. The fact

is, that all the Princes of Germany displayed the greatest eagerness to range themselves under the protection of Napoleon, by joining the Confederation of the Rhine. I received from those Princes several letters, which served to prove at once the influence of Napoleon in Germany, and the facility with which men bend beneath the yoke of a new power. I must say, that among the emigrants who remained faithful to their cause, there were some who evinced more firmness of character than the foreign Princes. I may mention, for example, M. Hue, the valet-de-chambre of Louis XVI. I do not intend to deny the high regard I entertained for that faithful servant of the martyred King: but the attentions which I congratulate myself on having shewn to an excellent man, should not have drawn upon me false imputations.

I have read in a publication the following statement:—"M. Hue retired to Hamburgh, where he passed nine months in perfect obscurity. He afterwards went to Holland, provided with a passport from Bourrienne, who was Napoleon's minister, though in disgrace, and who, foreseeing what was to happen, sought to ingratiate himself in the favour of the Bourbons."

The above passage contains a falsehood in almost every line. M. Hue wished to reside in Hamburgh, but he did not wish to conceal himself. I cheerfully permitted him to remain there, in spite of contrary and very strict orders, which I had received, and with which I made M. Hue

acquainted. I invited him to visit me, and assured him that he might remain in Hamburg, without apprehension, provided he acted prudently. He wished to go to Holland, and I took upon myself to give him a passport. I left M. Hue in the free management of his business, the nature of which I knew very well, and which was very honorable; he was deputed to pay the pensions which Louis XVIII granted to the emigrants. As for myself, I had tendered my resignation of private Secretary to Bonaparte; and even admitting I was in disgrace in that character, I was not so as Minister and Consul-General at Hamburg. My situation, which was of little consequence at the time I was appointed to it, was rendered, by circumstances, exceedingly important. It was, in fact, a sort of watch-tower of the government, whence all the movements of northern Germany were observed; and during my residence in the Hans Towns, I continually experienced the truth of what Bonaparte said to me at my farewell audience:—"Your's is a place independent and apart."

It is absurd to say that the kindness I showed to M. Hue was an attempt to ingratiate myself in the favour of the Bourbons. My attentions to him were dictated solely by humanity, unaccompanied by any after thought. Napoleon had given me his confidence, and, by mitigating the severity of his orders, I served him better than they who executed them in a way which could not fail to render the French government odious. If I am

accused of extending every possible indulgence to the unfortunate emigrants, I plead guilty, and, far from wishing to defend myself against the charge, I consider it honourable to me. But I defy any one of them to say that I betrayed in their favour the interests with which I was entrusted. They who urged Bonaparte to usurp the crown of France, served, though perhaps unconsciously, the cause of the Bourbons. I, on the contrary, used all my endeavours to dissuade him from that measure, which I clearly saw must, in the end, lead to the restoration, though I do not pretend that I was sufficiently clear-sighted to guess that Napoleon's fall was so near at hand. The kindness I showed to M. Hue and his companions in misfortune, was prompted by humanity, and not by mean speculation. As well might it be said that Bernadotte, who, like myself, neglected no opportunity of softening the rigour of the orders he was deputed to execute, was, by this means, working his way to the throne of Sweden.

Bernadotte had proceeded to Denmark, to take the command of the Spanish and French troops who had been removed from the Hans Towns to occupy that kingdom, which was then threatened by the English. His departure was a great loss to me, for we had always agreed respecting the measures to be adopted, and I felt his absence the more sensibly when I was enabled to make a comparison between him and his successor. It is painful to me to detail the misconduct of

those who compromised the French name in Germany, but, in fulfilment of the task I have undertaken, I am bound to tell the truth.

In April, 1808, General Dupas came to take the command of Hamburg; but only under the orders of Bernadotte, who retained the supreme command of the French troops in the Hans Towns. By the appointment of General Dupas, the Emperor cruelly thwarted the wishes and hopes of the inhabitants of Lower Saxony. That General said of the people of Hamburg: "As long as I see those driving in their carriages I will have money from them." It is, however, only just to add, that his exertions were not made on his own account, but were for the benefit of another man to whom he owed his all, and to whom he had in some measure devoted his existence.

I will state some particulars respecting the way in which the generals who commanded the French troops at Hamburg, were maintained. The Senate of Hamburg granted to the Marshals thirty friederichs per day for the expenses of their mess, exclusive of the hotel in which they were lodged by the city. The Generals of Division had only twenty friederichs. General Dupas wished to be provided for on the same footing as the Marshals. The Senate having, with reason, rejected this demand, Dupas required that he should be daily served with a breakfast and dinner of thirty covers. This was an inconceivable burthen, and Dupas cost the city more than any of his predecessors.

I saw an account of his expenses which, during the twenty-one weeks he remained at Hamburgh, amounted to 122,000 marks, or about 183,000 francs. Only the most exquisite wines were drunk at the table of Dupas. Even his servants were treated with champagne, and the choicest fruits were brought from the fine hot-houses of Berlin. The inhabitants were irritated at this extravagance, and Dupas accordingly experienced the resistance of the Senate. Among other vexations there was one to which the people could not readily submit. In Hamburgh, which had formerly been a fortified town, the custom was preserved of closing the gates at night-fall. On Sundays they were closed three quarters of an hour later, to avoid interrupting the amusements of the people.

While General Dupas was governor of Hamburgh, an event occurred which occasioned considerable irritation in the public mind, and might have been attended by fatal consequences. From some whim or other, the General ordered the gates to be closed at seven in the evening, and consequently while it was broad day-light, for it was in the middle of Spring, no exception was made in favour of Sunday; and on that day a great number of the inhabitants, who had been walking in the outskirts of the city, presented themselves at the gate of Altona for admittance. To their surprise they found the gate closed, though it was a greater thoroughfare than any other gate in Hamburgh. The number of persons

requiring admittance increased, and soon a considerable crowd collected. After useless entreaties had been addressed to the chief of the post, the people were determined to send to the Commandant for the keys. The Commandant arrived, accompanied by the General. When they appeared, it was supposed they had come for the purpose of opening the gates, and they were accordingly saluted with a general *hurrah!* which throughout almost all the north is the usual cry for expressing popular satisfaction. General Dupas not understanding the meaning of this *hurrah!* supposed it to be a signal for sedition; and instead of ordering the gates to be opened, he commanded the military to fire upon the peaceful citizens, who only wanted to return to their homes. Several persons were killed, and others more or less seriously wounded. Fortunately, after this first discharge the fury of Dupas was somewhat appeased; but still he persisted in keeping the gates closed at night. Next day, an order was posted about the city, prohibiting the cry of *hurrah!* under pain of a severe punishment. It was also forbidden, that more than three persons should collect together in the streets. Thus it was, that certain persons imposed the French yoke upon towns and provinces which were previously happy. Dupas was as much execrated in the Hans Towns, as Clarke had been in Berlin, when he was governor of that capital during the campaign of 1807. Clarke had burthened the people of Berlin with every kind of

oppression and exaction. He, as well as many others, manifested a ready obedience in executing the Imperial orders, however tyrannical they might be; and Heaven knows what epithets invariably accompanied the name of Clarke, when pronounced by the lips of a Prussian:

Dupas seemed to have taken Clarke as his model. An artillery officer, who was in Hamburg at the time of the disturbance I have just mentioned, told me that it was he who was directed to place two pieces of light artillery before the gate of Altona. Having executed this order he went to General Dupas, whom he found in a furious fit of passion, breaking and destroying everything within his reach. In the presence of the officer he broke more than two dozen plates which were on the table before him: they had, of course, cost him very little.

On the day after the disturbance which had so fatal a termination, I wrote to inform the Prince of Ponte-Corvo of what had taken place, and in my letter I solicited the suppression of an extraordinary tribunal which had been created by General Dupas. He returned me an immediate answer, complying with my request.*

* The following is Bernadotte's reply:—

“I have received your letter, my dear minister: it forcibly conveys the expression of your right feeling, which revolts against oppression, severity, and the abuse of power. I entirely concur in your view of the subject, and I am distressed whenever I see such acts of injustice committed. On an examination of the events which took place on the 9th, it is impossible to deny that the officer who ordered the gates to be closed so soon, was in the wrong; and next, it may be asked, why

When Bernadotte returned to Hamburgh he sent Dupas to Lubeck. That city, which was poorer than Hamburgh, suffered cruelly from the visitation of such a guest. Dupas levied all his exactions in kind, and indignantly spurned every offer of accepting money, the very idea of which, he said, shocked his delicacy of feeling. But his demands became so extravagant that the city of Lubeck was utterly unable to satisfy them. Besides his table, which was provided in the same style of profusion as at Hamburgh, he required to be furnished with

were not the gates opened instead of the military being ordered to fire on the people? But, on the other hand, did not the people evince decided obstinacy and insubordination? Were they not to blame in throwing stones at the guard, and forcing the palisadoes, and even refusing to listen to the voice of the magistrates? It is melancholy that they should have fallen into these excesses, from which, doubtless, they would have refrained had they listened to the civil chiefs, who ought to be their first sentinels. Finally, my dear minister, the Senator who distributed money at the gate of Altona to appease the multitude, would have done better had he advised them to wait patiently until the gates were opened, and he might, I think, have gone to the commandant or the general, to solicit that concession.

"Whenever an irritated mob resorts to violence there is no safety for any one. The protecting power must then exert its utmost authority to stop mischief. The Senate of ancient Rome, so jealous of its prerogatives, consigned to a dictator in times of trouble, the power of life and death, and that magistrate knew no other code than his own will and the axe of his lictors. The ordinary laws did not resume their course until the people had returned to submission.

"The event which took place in Hamburgh produced a feeling of agitation, of which evil disposed persons might take advantage to stir up open insurrection. That feeling could only be repressed by a severe tribunal, which, however, is no longer necessary. General Dupas has accordingly, received orders to dissolve it, and justice will resume her usual course.

"J. BERNADOTTE.

"Densen, May 4th, 1808."

plate, linen, wood, and candles; in short, with the most trivial articles of household consumption.

The Senate deputed to the incorruptible General Dupas M. Nolting, a venerable old man, who mildly represented to him the abuses which were every where committed in his name, and entreated that he would vouchsafe to accept twenty louis per day to defray the expenses of his table alone. At this proposition General Dupas flew into a rage. To offer him money was an insult not to be endured!—He furiously drove the terrified Senator out of the house, and the next minute ordered his aide-de-camp Barral to imprison him. M. de Barral, startled at this extraordinary order, ventured to remonstrate with the general, but in vain, and, though against his heart, he was obliged to obey. The aide-de-camp accordingly waited upon the Senator, Nolting, and there, overcome by that feeling of respect which grey hairs involuntarily inspire in youth, instead of arresting him, he beseeched the old man not to leave his house until he should prevail on the general to retract his orders. It was not till the following day that M. de Barral succeeded in getting these orders revoked—that is to say, he obtained M. Nolting's release from prison; for Dupas would not be satisfied until he heard that the Senator had suffered at least the commencement of the punishment to which his capricious fury had doomed him.

In spite of his parade of disinterestedness, General Dupas yielded so far as to accept the twenty louis a day for the expense of his table,

which M. Nolting had offered him, on the part of the Senate of Lubeck; but it was not without murmuring, complaints, and menaces, that he made this generous concession; and he exclaimed more than once, "These fellows have portioned out my allowance for me." Lubeck was not released from the presence of General Dupas until the month of March, 1809, when he was summoned to command a division in the Emperor's new campaign against Austria. Strange as it may appear, it is, nevertheless, the fact, that oppressive as had been his presence at Lubeck, the Hans Towns soon had reason to regret him.

The year 1808 was fertile in remarkable events. Occupied as I was with my own duties, I yet amused my leisure in observing the course of those great acts by which Bonaparte seemed determined to mark every day of his life. At the commencement of 1808, I received one of the first copies of the Code of Commerce, promulgated on the 1st January by the Emperor's order. This code appeared to me an act of derision; at least it was extraordinary to publish a code respecting a subject, which it was the effect of all the Imperial decrees to destroy. What trade could possibly exist under the continental system, and the ruinous severity of the customs? The line was already extended widely enough, when, by a *Senatus Consultum*, it was still further widened. The Emperor, to whom all the continent submitted, had recourse to no other formality

for the purpose of annexing to the empire the towns of Kehl, Cassel, near Mentz, Wessel, and Flushing, with the territories depending on them. These conquests gained by degrees, and senatorial decisions had at least the advantage of being effected without bloodshed. All these things were carefully communicated to me by the ministers, with whom I corresponded; for my situation at Hamburgh had acquired such importance, that it was necessary that I should know every thing.

At this period, I observed among the news which I received from different places a singular coincidence of dates, worthy of being noted by the authors of Ephemerides. On the same day, namely, the 1st of February, Paris, Lisbon, and Rome were the scenes of events of different kinds, but all of which, happening on one day, afford a striking example of the rapidity of movement which marked the reign of Bonaparte. At Paris, the niece of Josephine, Mademoiselle de Tascher, whom Napoleon had lately exalted to the rank of Princess, was married to the reigning Prince of Ahremberg, while, at the same time, Junot declared to Portugal that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign, and French troops were, under the command of General Miollis, occupying Rome. This occupation was the commencement of prolonged struggles, during which Pius VII expiated the condescension he had shown in going to Paris to crown Napoleon.

My correspondence, relative to what passed in the south of France and of Europe, presented to me, if I may so express myself, merely an anecdotal interest. Not so the news which came from the North. At Hamburgh, I was like the sentinel of an advanced post, always on the alert. I frequently informed the government of what would take place before the event actually happened ; I was one of the first to hear of the plans of Russia relative to Sweden. The courier which I sent to Paris, arrived there at the very moment when Russia made the declaration of war. About the end of February, the Russian troops entered Swedish Finland, and occupied also the capital of that province, which had, at all times, been coveted by the Russian government. It has been said, that at the interview at Erfurth, Bonaparte consented to the usurpation of that province by Alexander, in return for the complaisance of the latter in acknowledging Joseph as King of Spain and the Indies.

The removal of Joseph from the throne of Naples to the throne of Madrid, belongs, indeed, to that period respecting which I am now throwing together a few recollections. Murat had succeeded Joseph at Naples, and that accession of the brother-in-law of Napoleon to one of the thrones of the house of Bourbon, gave Bonaparte another junior in the college of Kings, of which he would have infallibly become the senior, if he had gone on as he began.

I will relate a circumstance which now occurs to my mind respecting the Kings manufactured by Napoleon. I recollect that during the King of Etruria's stay at Paris, the First Consul went with that Prince to the *Comédie Française*, where Voltaire's *Œdipus* was performed. This piece, I may observe, Bonaparte liked better than any thing Voltaire ever wrote. I was in the theatre, but not in the First Consul's box, and I observed, as all present must have done, the eagerness with which the audience applied to Napoleon and the King of Etruria the line in which Philoctetes says:—

“ J'ai fait des souverains et n'ai pas voulu l'être.”

The application was so marked that it could not fail afterwards to become the subject of conversation between the First Consul and me. “ You remarked it, Bourrienne?” . . . “ Yes, General.” . . . “ The fools! They shall see! They shall see! ”—We did indeed see; not content with making kings, Bonaparte, when his brow was encircled by a double crown, after creating Princes, at length realized the object he had long contemplated; namely, to found a new nobility, endowed with hereditary rights. It was at the commencement of March, 1808, that he accomplished this project; and I saw in the *Moniteur* a long list of Princes, Dukes, Counts, Barons, and Knights, of the empire: there were wanting only Viscounts and Merry Andrews. //

At the same time that Bonaparte was founding a new nobility, he determined to raise up the old edifice of the University, but on a new foundation. The education of youth had always been one of his ruling ideas, and I had an opportunity of observing how he was changed by the exercise of sovereign power, when I received at Hamburgh the statutes of the elder daughter of the Emperor of the French, and compared them with the ideas which Bonaparte, when General and First Consul, had often expressed to me respecting a proper system of education for youth. Though the sworn enemy of every thing like liberty, Bonaparte had at first conceived a comprehensive system of education, comprising the study of history, and those positive sciences, such as geology and astronomy, which give the utmost degree of development to the human mind. The sovereign, however, shrunk from the first ideas of the man of genius, and his university, confided to the elegant subserviency of M. de Fontanes was merely a school, capable of producing educated, but not enlightened men.

Before taking complete possession of Rome, and making it the second city of the empire, the vaunted moderation of Bonaparte was confined to dismembering from it the legations of Ancona, Urbino, Macerata, and Camerino, which were divided into three departments, and added to the kingdom of Italy. The patience of the Holy See could no longer hold out against this

act of violence, and Cardinal Caprara, who had remained in Paris since the coronation, at last left that capital. Shortly afterwards, the Grand Duchies of Parma and Placentia were united to the French empire, and annexed to the government of the departments beyond the Alps. These transactions were co-incident with the events in Spain and Bayonne, before mentioned.

After the snare laid at Bayonne, the Emperor entered Paris on the 14th of August, the eve of his birth-day. Scarcely had he arrived in the capital, when he experienced fresh anxiety in consequence of the conduct of Russia, which, as I have stated, had declared open war with Sweden, and did not conceal the intention of seizing Finland. But Bonaparte, desirous of actively carrying on the war in Spain, felt the necessity of removing his troops from Prussia to the Pyrenees. He then hastened the interview at Erfurth, where the two Emperors of France and Russia had agreed to meet. He hoped that this interview would ensure the tranquillity of the continent, while he should complete the subjection of Spain to the sceptre of Joseph. That Prince had been proclaimed on the 8th June; and on the 21st of the same month, he made his entry into Madrid, but having received ten days after information of the disaster at Baylen, he was obliged to leave the Spanish capital.

Bonaparte's wishes must at this time have been

limited to the tranquillity of the continent; for the struggle between him and England was more than ever desperate. England had just sent troops to Portugal, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley. There was no longer any hope of reconciliation with Great Britain. The interview at Erfurth having been determined on, the Emperor, who had returned from Bayonne to Paris, again left the capital about the end of September, and arrived at Metz without stopping, except for the purpose of reviewing the regiments which were echeloned on his rout, and which were on their march from the grand army to Spain.

I had heard some time previously of the interview which was about to take place, and which was so memorable in the life of Napoleon. It excited so much interest in Germany, that the roads were covered with the equipages of the Princes, who were going to Erfurth to witness the meeting. The Emperor arrived there before Alexander, and went forward three leagues to meet him. Napoleon was on horseback, and Alexander in a carriage. They embraced, it is said, in a manner expressive of the most cordial friendship. I need not report the particulars of this interview, which has been so often described, and which was witnessed by most of the sovereign princes of Germany. However, neither the King of Prussia, nor the Emperor of Austria were present. The latter sovereign sent a letter to Na-

poleon, of which I obtained a copy. It was as follows :—

“ Sire, my brother,

“ My ambassador in Paris informs me, that your Majesty is about to proceed to Erfurth to meet the Emperor Alexander. I eagerly seize the opportunity of your approach to my frontier, to renew those testimonials of friendship and esteem which I have pledged to you; and I send my lieutenant general, Baron Vincent, to convey to you the assurance of my unalterable sentiments. If the false accounts that have been circulated respecting the internal institutions which I have established in my monarchy, should for a moment have excited your Majesty's doubts of my intentions, I flatter myself, that the explanations given on that subject by Count Metternich to your minister, will have entirely removed them. Baron Vincent is enabled to confirm to your Majesty all that has been said by Count Metternich on the subject, and to add any further explanations you may wish for. I beg that your Majesty will grant him the same gracious reception he experienced at Paris and at Warsaw. The renewed marks of favour you may bestow on him, will be an unequivocal pledge of the reciprocity of your sentiments, and will seal that confidence which will render our satisfaction mutual.

“ Deign to accept the assurance of the unalte-

nable affection and respect, with which I am,
Sire, my brother,

“Your Imperial and Royal Majesty’s

“Faithful brother and friend,

“FRANCIS.

“Presburgh, Sept. 18th, 1808.

This letter appears to be a model of ambiguity, by which it is impossible Napoleon could have been imposed upon. However he had not yet any suspicion of the hostility of Austria, which speedily became manifest; his grand object then was the Spanish business, and as I have before observed, one of the secrets of Napoleon’s genius was, that he did not apply himself to more than one thing at a time.

At Erfurth Bonaparte attained the principal object he had promised himself by the meeting. Alexander acknowledged Joseph in his new character of King of Spain and the Indies. It has been said, that as the price of this acknowledgment, Napoleon consented that Alexander should have Swedish Finland; but for the truth of this I cannot vouch. However, I remember that when, after the interview at Erfurth, Alexander had given orders to his Ambassador to Charles IV to continue his functions under King Joseph, the Swedish Chargé-d’affaires at Hamburg told me, that confidential letters he had received from Erfurth, led him to fear that the Emperor Alex-

ander had communicated to Napoleon his designs on Finland, and that Napoleon had given his consent to the occupation. Be this as it may, as soon as the interview was over, Napoleon returned to Paris, where he presided, with much splendour, at the opening of the legislative body, and set out, in the month of November, for Spain.

END OF VOL. III.

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