

THE
L I F E
OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,

LATE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH,

*King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the
Rhine, &c.*

GIVING A CONCISE AND IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT OF THAT

Extraordinary Personage,

From his birth in 1769, to his abdication of the Throne
and subsequent retirement to

THE ISLAND OF ELBA,

IN 1814.

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF THE MOST CELEBRATED

GENERALS IN THE FRENCH ARMY.

BY H. SCOTT, ESQ.

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LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, &c.

It was justly remarked by Voltaire, that in order to be a good historian, a man should have neither country nor religion. Were this possible, it would be equally true of a good biographer, since partiality and misrepresentation are as unbecoming in the one as in the other. In all the accounts of the life and character of Napoleon Bonaparte, which have fallen under our observation, we have discovered little else than indiscriminate censure, or unqualified applause, a mode of delineating human life, which must always be erroneous, since no man ever existed, however wise and good, who had not some blemishes, and perhaps the most abandoned characters to be found in history, had a few qualities which were deserving of applause. It shall therefore be our business, in the present memoir, to allow him that share of praise to which his

varied talents and abilities may seem to entitle him, and we shall not restrain our censure where it is obviously merited. Matchless depravity or matchless innocence can be the characteristic of no human being. Leaving the one, therefore, to be ascribed to him by his misguided friends, and the other by his inveterate enemies, it shall be our invariable study to preserve the happy medium between these two extremes.

NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE, was born in Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica, on the 15th of August, 1769, of respectable, although not of noble parents. His father Charles Bonaparte would have left the island with General Paoli, as he took a decided part with the patriots against the French and Genoese, by whom it was subjugated; but by the earnest remonstrances of an uncle, he was prevailed with to stay. His son Napoleon, the subject of this memoir, discovered a very uncommon strength of genius at an early period; and as he advanced, his powers were equal to the rapid attainment of whatever he was taught, allowing nothing to escape him without a variety of observations, which determined his father to make him a superior man, since the liberal hand of Nature had conferred upon him such uncommon endowments. While yet very young, he became enamoured of civil liberty, and his proud, impatient spirit, made him equally fond of commanding, which ultimately terminated in a thirst for dominion. When his friends lamented the humiliating state of their native country, his feelings were in unison with theirs, and when only nine years of age, we are told that he ex-

claimed, "Corsica shall be free, but we must wait." The opposition made by his father to the French government having been at last forgotten, the Marquis de Marboeuf, on the decease of his father, became a warm friend to the whole family, and sent young Napoleon to the military school at Brienne, in the year 1778, where he remained seven years, during which time he acquired a competent knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, history, geography, mathematics, and all those branches which commonly enter into the idea of a military education. Strongly impressed with the sentiments of liberty, his favourite classical authors were Cæsar, Sallust, Tacitus, Xenophon, Plutarch, Homer, and Polybius. Among 150 scholars he was allowed to be the most eminent, as well on account of the peculiarity of his manners and solitary disposition, as for his astonishing and almost unexampled progress in every branch of literature. The sports and amusements of other boys were to him quite insipid, but he was fond of such as were of a military nature, in which he never failed to take the chief command. The bloodshed with which these were frequently accompanied, induced the master to stop them, at the same time severely reprimanding Bonaparte, on which account he abandoned his companions, and betook himself to his garden, where he delighted to amuse himself, till a period was put to this employment by the inclemency of the weather. He frequently said to his companions, with an uncommon degree of animation, "I hope one day to be in a situation to free my country

from the yoke of the French, and to restore her to her ancient liberty."

While he continued at Brienne, there was a library established for the benefit of the scholars, kept by two of the oldest boys, chosen by the rest, with the master's permission, to take care of the books, and to manage the funds for increasing their number. Napoleon applied for books so frequently, that the young librarians reproved him with a considerable degree of severity, which he only returned with silent contempt. His thirst for improvement was so unbounded, that if any one day did not bring some valuable addition to his stock of knowledge, it was considered by him as spent to no purpose. This was eminently displayed in a letter to his mother, in which he returned her thanks for the anxiety she discovered about his future promotion in the world, and in the course of his reflections made this memorable remark: "With my sword by my side, and my Homer in my pocket, I hope to find my way through the world."

When he left Brienne in the year 1786, he went to the military school at Paris, where the same political principles were exhibited by him as on former occasions, and he constantly discovered the same energy of character. When the Assembly of Notables met for the first time, he was about 18 years of age, at which period he boldly espoused the cause of the Revolution, and not long after obtained a commission in the regiment of De la Fere. The Revolution commenced soon after he became an officer, and he

openly declared himself a warm friend to liberty, which was by no means calculated to procure the attachment of his brother officers, who insulted him on many occasions, as they were the zealous defenders of the old system. He was remarkably fond of Montecuculi's memoirs, at the same time giving unwearied attention to the study of politics and morals. It was believed by some, that the want of money prevented him from keeping company with his brother officers, but his time was employed in study, in order to be thoroughly acquainted with the duties of his profession, and in preparing one of his brothers (Lucien, we believe,) for serving in the artillery.

It may be said that he first came into notice at the siege of Toulon, where his conduct attracted the notice of those who were the rewarders of merit. There he displayed the embryo blossoms of those talents, as a military character, which have astonished all Europe since that memorable epoch. He was then about 24 years of age. Being informed that the British, in the year 1793, designed to make an attack upon the island of Corsica, he desired his mother and family to abandon it, and reside about a mile from Toulon, where his friend Salicetti introduced him to Barras, representing him as a young man of uncommon abilities, and warmly attached to the Republican interest. He discovered the utmost intrepidity in the midst of danger; and when the greater part of his small force were either killed or wounded, he did the duty of a common soldier with the few troops he had remaining; and the Commissioners en-

quiring who the gallant hero might be, were informed that his name was Napoleon Bonaparte, whom they instantly promoted to the rank of captain.

When Corsica fell into the hands of the British, Bonaparte was chosen to command an expedition against Ajaccio, where he was defeated by his friend Masseria, who had been an officer at the siege of Gibraltar, under Sir Gilbert Elliot. Having been taken for a terrorist, he was arrested at Nice, but instantly liberated, as nothing to be met with in his conduct or among his papers, could be found sufficient to substantiate the charge. During his residence at Nice, an acquaintance waited on him for his advice, in a matter of importance at such an early hour of the morning, that he entertained not a doubt of finding him in bed, but was astonished to find him dressed, immersed in study, and surrounded with books and maps. "What, not in bed!" said his friend. "No," returned Bonaparte, "I have been long risen; two or three hours I find enough for sleep;" and it is affirmed by good authority, that he has very seldom exceeded this time ever since his youth. From Nice he went to Paris, in quest of military promotion, offering his services to the minister of war; but meeting with no encouragement, he applied for a passport to Constantinople, which favour was denied.

Being politically attached to one of the members of the Directory, he obtained the command of the troops which the Convention found it necessary to employ against the sections of Paris,

in October, 1795. Through the whole of this interesting business, his conduct was so masterly, firm, and intrepid, that he very soon decided the victory, and finally secured the further protection of his patron. It is a fact generally known, that matrimony, in the estimation of Bonaparte, was merely a matter of prudence, wholly unconnected with the dictates of love, and therefore he consented to take off the hands of Barras, a mistress, whose charms had lost the power of pleasing, but for whose future comfort he seemed anxious to provide. In the year 1796, Bonaparte accordingly married the widow of Count Beauharnois, a lady almost twenty years older than himself, in consequence of which he became a husband, without any prospect of being made a father, as he only designed this marriage to be subservient to the promotion of his interest.

The next memorable epoch in the life of Bonaparte, was that at which he obtained the command of the army of Italy, where his military talents were fully displayed, as he had to encounter difficulties of every description, both moral, political, and military, over which he gained a complete triumph. Being informed by a friend, that he considered him as too young for a charge of such magnitude and importance, his memorable reply was, "In one year I shall either be dead or old." He found an army without money, clothes, or discipline, in sight of a formidable enemy, with every necessary and every comfort which could be furnished by the most luxuriant country; yet his firmness and affabili-

ty gained so fast on the minds of the soldiers, that in the course of two months he supplied them with clothing and provisions; was victorious in the first and every subsequent engagement, over an army superior in every thing to his own, except in the genius of the commander. To appease the discontent of his troops, and excite them to victory, he observed, "If we are conquered, we have too much—if we are conquerors, we shall want for nothing. It is true you are now in want of every thing, but push your way to Milan, and you will want for nothing."

"In estimating the military character of Bonaparte," says a certain writer, "it is my intention to be brief; for I must ever consider the glory obtained by the destruction of the species, an object rather of aversion than of exultation and triumph; and whenever necessity compels us to lift our arms against our fellow creatures, nothing but self-preservation can justify the deed, and nothing but the sense of being preserved should make us review our conduct with any degree of complacency." We cannot see the propriety of distinguishing between what is absolutely necessary, and that which has self-preservation for its object, since no other war can be necessary. The war on the part of France was originally of this description, since the murderous threatenings of the continental powers made that people bury party spirit in oblivion, and unite as one man in their own defence. If it be granted that France might defend herself against the combinations of her enemies, we

must surely grant that no more criminality was attachable to Bonaparte—in this respect at least, than to any other general who espoused her cause. His movements were so rapid, and the manner so astonishing in which he prevented the designs of his enemies from proving effectual, that he enjoyed an advantage over other men which they could scarcely comprehend. They were vanquished by him in one place while they concluded him to be in another, and his victories followed each other in such rapid succession, that their numbers were almost incredible. His qualifications for the field were such as rarely unite in one man, such as vigour, coolness, penetration, acuteness, and presence of mind;—boldness in design, intrepidity in execution; firmness, activity, and perseverance.

The campaign of 1796 was opened with the victory of Montenotte, which was speedily followed by many others, and the Court of Turin was induced to importune him for peace, sending two deputies with very humiliating conditions; but Bonaparte received them with the haughtiness of a conqueror. His words were, "I come not to negociate with you, but to fight; you must negociate with the Directory; all that I can do is to grant you a truce. Tell your master, that a French general will never suspend his arms upon such conditions; and let him know, that it rests with me whether he shall be a king to morrow or not." The astonishing success which attended his arms, after the king of Sardinia procured a peace upon very hard condi-

tions, and the Duke of Parma was obliged to submit to any terms, induced him to address a proclamation to his soldiers, which was admirably fitted to produce the wished-for effect. It appears to us that his proclamations and addresses always betrayed very great vigour and elevation of mind, which raised them above the accustomed level of such publications. He appears to have studied the humour and disposition of the times; and he probably disguised his real sentiments by the cant of philosophy, which enabled him to make dupes of philosophers, both real and pretended. He was every where religious;—a Protestant in one country, a Catholic in another, and a Mahometan in a third, whilst we believe that real religion gave him very little concern.

The forcing of the bridge of Lodi was the next splendid military step of Bonaparte, for which he has been censured by some with the utmost severity. Let a man be engaged on whatever side he will, it is surely incumbent upon him to act according to the best of his judgment, and do all in his power to serve the cause in which he is embarked. Prior to a battle, it is impossible for any man to calculate the number of men he may lose, which renders it necessary for him to obtain his object by the best means in his power, but never wantonly to sacrifice the lives of his men, without the prospect of some adequate compensation. In hazarding the battle of Lodi, Bonaparte had the important object in view of the conquest of Milan, which had been left in his rear, as the obtaining possession thereof was ab-

solutely necessary, in order to secure his future success in Italy. Berthier, and all the general officers, were decidedly against the attempt, because they were of opinion that, should the battle be lost, the destruction of the army would be inevitable. This so agitated the commander in chief, that he exclaimed, "We must make the attack, my friends, and I'll take the whole responsibility upon myself." He instantly planted two pieces of cannon at the end of the bridge, under a tremendous fire of the Austrians, after which he rode through the ranks, forming a column of chosen men, who received orders to follow him. They maintained their ground for a considerable time, and when on the eve of giving way, Berthier rushed forward at the head of another column, and the bridge was carried in the course of a few minutes. The surrender of Milan immediately followed, together with the submission of the whole of Lombardy.

When the news reached Milan, that the bridge of Lodi had been carried by Bonaparte, the Austrians immediately abandoned the city, and a deputation of the inhabitants delivered the keys to the French. In the course of a day or two, a vast concourse of people assembled to witness the triumphant entrance of the French, by most of whom the national cockade was assumed; the imperial arms were taken down from the greater part of the public buildings, and the following laughable advertisement was put up at the palace: "A house to let; enquire for the keys at Citizen Sallicetti's, the French commissioner." The liveries and carriages of many of the nobi-

lity were voluntarily stripped of their lace and their arms; the tree of liberty was, on the 14th of May, planted in the grand square, and about 11 o'clock of the same day, General Massena made his entrance into the city, at the head of his troops. A deputation of the people, headed by the archbishop, went out to meet him; and next day Bonaparte made his splendid entry, to whom the national guard lowered their arms, and the nobles met him in their most magnificent carriages, proceeding with the victor to the palace of the Archduke, where Bonaparte was to lodge. The whole property of the Archduke and of the city, were put into the French coffers on the 17th, by order of Bonaparte. Proper persons were sent into the different towns and villages, to explain to the people the true principles of liberty and equality.

During the residence of Bonaparte at Milan, he wrote the following letter to the celebrated Oriani, whom he invited to pay him a visit:—
“ The pursuits of knowledge, which do honour to the human understanding; the arts which adorn life, and hand down the memory of great exploits to posterity, must ever obtain respect in all free governments. All men of genius, all who hold a distinguished rank in the republic of letters, are Frenchmen, be they of what country they will. Men of learning in Milan have never obtained the regard they deserved; living retired in their studies and laboratories, they thought themselves fortunate if they were not persecuted by kings and priests; but this will be no more so; freedom of thought is natural-

ized in Italy, and it will allow no more inquisition, no more intolerance, no more despotism. I invite all men of letters to impart to me their ideas as to the method by which arts and knowledge may be revived. All learned men who chuse to visit France, will be received by the government with the utmost regard. A great mathematician, a celebrated painter, or a man of merit in any line, is a more valuable acquisition to France, than the richest conquest. I request that you will make these sentiments to be known in Milan, to all men of distinguished talents, or superior merit." He issued a proclamation to the people of Lombardy on the 21st of May, in which we find these words: "That the French republic, which has sworn hatred to kings, has sworn, at the same time, fraternity to the people. If the French regard the people of Lombardy as their brethren, they have a right to expect a just return. We have a right to impose a contribution of 20,000,000 livres, which shall be raised in equal proportions in the different districts of Lombardy; the necessities of the army require it, and it is a slight sum for a country so fertile, considering too the advantages that must result from it." After crossing the Mincio, he continued his victorious career to Verona, from which place he wrote to the Directory the following dispatch. "I have just arrived at this city, and mean to leave it tomorrow: it is very large and beautiful. I have told the inhabitants, that if the Pretender of France had not quitted the town before my arrival, I should have set fire to a city so auda-

cious as to believe itself the capital of the *French empire.*"

7 Soon after this, the Duke of Modena was forced to purchase his safety by vast contributions in money and ammunition, and likewise by the loss of some of his finest pictures. His Holiness obtained a short respite by the aid of money and provisions, one hundred exquisite paintings, vases, and statues, together with 200 MSS. from the Vatican library, and the surrender of Bologna, Ferrara, and Urbino. The Court of Naples procured a suspension of hostilities on rather more moderate terms, comprehended in a separation from her allies, from the Emperor, and from Great Britain. As to the innocence of criminality of Bonaparte's conduct in removing those monuments of art, mankind will be divided in opinion. It seems fair to grant, that with regard to Europe, France is a more central situation than Italy, and Paris more so than Rome. To Britain, more than to any other country, the advantages are undeniable, and its artists found the beneficial effects of such a removal, soon after the peace of Amiens. But such collections are not only of service to artists; they have a tendency to give an imperceptible refinement to the public taste, and of consequence to the manners and the heart. Europe has certainly been a gainer by transferring the emporium of the arts to France; for while Italy has not been wholly robbed of her treasures, the valuable collections now met with in Paris, have given rise to the establishment of two schools in the room of one.

It does not appear to us that the conduct of Bonaparte towards the grand duke of Tuscany, and the state of Genoa, admits of the least shadow of excuse, unless it may perhaps be from the extraordinary nature of the war in which he was engaged,—a war in which it was by no means possible to maintain a state of neutrality. The fate of the Grand Duke was peculiarly unhappy; for the British compelled him to abandon his neutrality, and then the French dragooned him into a peace. His ambassador was forced to leave Paris in the year 1794, for the dreadful crime of asking permission to pay his respects to the daughter of Louis XVI.; and in the following year the Duke was compelled to admit a French army into his dominions, for the purpose of watching over his neutrality, entertaining at his table the victorious Bonaparte, who had formerly treated him with so much indignity, together with Garrau and Salicetti, both of whom had voted for the death of Louis XVI. his relation and ally.

Bonaparte having visited Florence, continued his route through the republic of Lucca, and although on a peaceable footing with the French government, it was obliged to furnish him with 6000 stand of arms, and a quantity of military stores, of which his army, no doubt, stood much in need. He afterwards went on to Modena, where he got the paintings agreed for with the Duke, informing the Directory that the 20 given by the Duke of Parma were sent off, and that Barthelemy was then engaged in making a selection from those which were the

property of his Holiness. He likewise intimated to the executive power, that Monge, Berthollet, and Thouin, were at Pavia, adding to the riches of the botanic garden, and the cabinet of natural history.

After Bonaparte had driven the Austrians into the Tyrol, he made preparations for the siege of Mantua, which was invested on the 5th of June, and blockaded on the 27th of August. The Austrians well knew that the fate of Italy and that of Mantua were inseparably connected, on which account they were constantly employed in reinforcing their armies in that quarter from Germany, soon surpassing the French in respect of numbers ; but Bonaparte's intrepidity was not to be resisted. In fine, after fifteen terrible engagements, the important fortress of Mantua surrendered to the French. The Austrian general Beaulieu gave in his resignation in disgust, and was succeeded by that veteran officer Wurmser, of seventy years of age. Fortune seemed to smile on his exertions at the commencement, so that even Bonaparte at first found it necessary to abandon the siege of Mantua, leaving behind him great quantities of ammunition, and upwards of 500 pieces of cannon ; but his wonted good fortune in a short time attended his operations, and after three days of incessant fighting, the French were ultimately victorious, when General Wurmser took refuge in Mantua. An army under Alvinzy, was sent to his relief, which was very soon cut in pieces ; and another effort was made by reinforcements from the hereditary states of the Emperor, under

the command of General Provera, which was likewise destroyed; for having retired under the walls of Mantua, himself and army were made prisoners, in the very sight of the city which he came to relieve.

About this time the amazing success which attended the arms of Bonaparte, gave no small degree of alarm to the genuine friends of civil liberty, being well aware that all mighty conquerors have been ultimately dangerous to their country. A celebrated Journalist expressed his fear respecting the critical situation of the republic, holding forth as examples, the conduct of Sylla, Marius, and Julius Cæsar, who destroyed the liberties of their country, and distributed among their armies the treasures they had acquired. This article was written by Roederer, who lived to see his predictions verified, and what is remarkable, became himself one of Bonaparte's most submissive agents. The Directory, too, were not without their apprehensions, to which the astonishing success of Bonaparte had given birth; but they deemed it much more prudent to soothe than to irritate, and they consequently informed him by letter, that they were perfectly satisfied with his military conduct, condemning the factious propagators of sedition, who had ventured to question his integrity. This letter was severely criticised by another patriotic Journalist, whose name was Lacroix, who exposed the meanness of the Directory for defending the conduct of Bonaparte, against the attacks of a newspaper, and humbling themselves to flatter a triumphant general, by whom their jealous

fears had been clearly manifested. He allowed that ingratitude was cruel on the one hand, and that idolatry was dangerous on the other, with respect to victorious generals. "The tribute of immoderate homage to these great men, may one day be the ruin of their country; let us, therefore, say little about those of whom posterity will say much—let us be reserved rather than ungrateful; the legions which exalted the glory of Rome would not have been dangerous to her liberty, if she had not intoxicated their generals by excessive adulation." The boldness and freedom of these remarks had a very sensible effect on the irascible temper of Bonaparte, which in vain he attempted to conceal. The following letter is a convincing proof of this: "Citizens Directors, I have received, with gratitude, the fresh proof of your esteem, which you have shewn me by your letter of the 18th Thermidor. I know not what these gentlemen want with me; they and the Austrians have attacked me both together, but you have silenced them by the publication of your letter, and I have done for the Austrians; thus, at one and the same time, these double attacks of my enemies have failed."

The third campaign in the course of one year, was opened on the 2d of November, 1796, for Alvinzy's army moved in two divisions on the 1st, being attacked next day by Vaubois and Massena, both of whom were victorious. Bonaparte, at the head of Angerean's division, formed a junction with Massena's, near Vicenza, where the enemy were attacked on the 5th. A desperate

‘battle was fought near the village of Arcola, where wonders were performed by the valour and skill of Bonaparte, who was off and on horseback during the whole of the conflict, totally regardless of danger and fatigue. As Angereau’s division refused to obey the whole of his orders, the troops were harangued by Bonaparte with animation and spirit,—he reproached them with cowardice, and enquired whether or not they were the conquerors of Lodi, of Bassano, and Mondovi. When these reproaches were found to be productive of their desired effect, he dismounted from his horse, put himself at their head, and led them to the charge with a standard in his hand, gaining the passage of the bridge in defiance of the enemy. The village, however, was so strongly defended, that he was forced to relinquish the idea of taking it in front. It was here that the fate of Italy and of Europe was nearly decided; for Bonaparte was thrown from his horse, amidst the dreadful fire of the Austrians, falling into a bog, where he continued for some minutes, with small hopes of being saved; but he speedily regained the dry ground, after freeing himself from the stirrup, and having mounted another horse, which was ready to receive him, he continued the attack till the middle of the ensuing day, when victory every where declared for the French, and the loss was immense on the part of the Austrians.

Both Jacobins and Royalists, about the end of December, 1796, entertained hopes of subverting the Directorial government, and of establishing that form to which they were attach-

ed. The former had made secret overtures to Bonaparte, earnestly craving his assistance, but he treated them with contempt. It must be admitted that he had a very mean opinion of the Directory, yet he also knew that the proper season for their final overthrow had not yet arrived. They wished to have an open avowal of his support, and therefore wrote to acquaint him with the plots of the different parties; to which he replied, that he was attached to the constitution of 1795, hating new revolutions, and declaring that the army under his command united with him in feeling the same sentiments.

During five months the garrison of Mantua, under General Wurmser, suffered extremely, living upon horse flesh for several weeks together; watching for nights and days without changing their clothes; having made many unsuccessful sorties, their case was truly desperate, during which they discovered the most invincible patience, arising from the faint hope of ultimate success;—but the terrible battle of La Favourite put a period to their exertions. No two nations recorded in history ever fought with greater obstinacy than they did, from the 9th to the 16th of January, harassing each other by successive engagements, and notwithstanding victory always declared on the side of the French, the Austrians as constantly received the assault with determined coolness. Both sides appeared resolved never to yield, but to fight as long as a single man remained on either side to sustain the sanguinary conflict. The spirit, vigour, and alacrity of Bonaparte were continually on the

watch, and he inspired both parties with such a degree of animation, as is not to be found in the history of former wars. In this dreadful contest, the very seasons were disregarded; night itself did not put a stop to the carnage; the French constantly came to the charge with the vivacity peculiar to that nation, and were received by the Austrians with solemn silence and determined valour, only yielding to the superior skill and alacrity of the Republican troops. To separate Provera from the main body of the army, and prevent his junction with the troops which had sallied out of the city, was the masterly display of generalship by which Bonaparte secured the fall of Mantua. He forced Provera, with 7000 men, to lay down their arms, and the garrison to surrender, Mantua having no longer any hopes of supply. On the 3d of February, the articles of capitulation were signed, the troops being made prisoners of war, except the veteran Wurmser, which reflected the highest honour on the conduct of Bonaparte, being truly generous to an aged officer, whose grey hairs were no doubt entitled to respect. When writing to the Directory, he spoke of him in the following terms:—
“ I have been desirous to show every mark of French generosity towards General Wurmser, an officer near seventy years of age, to whom fortune has been very cruel during the whole of this campaign, but who has, nevertheless, shewn a degree of valour and constancy which will not pass unnoticed in history. Those men who are always ready to calumniate misfortune, will not fail to persecute Wurmser.”

The French next made an attack upon his Holiness, a most completely infatuated old man, and who, in defiance of every experimental argument that it was impossible to resist the French arms, was so extremely imprudent as to send succours to Alvinzy, and even order his vice-legate to take possession of Ferrara, as soon as it was evacuated by the French troops. We are also assured, that every effort was made by M. d'Azzara to guard the Pope against bringing himself into danger; and this faithful personage wrote the following letter to Cardinal Busca, who was secretary of state to the Pope. "Though I do not pretend to be your counsellor, when you have already so many, yet I will tell you, as a last legacy of friendship, that one moment may save you, if you are willing to submit to a great sacrifice, but that moment lost, and your ruin will be complete." Bonaparte addressed Cardinal Mattei, desiring him to use his influence with the Pope, in order to cure him of his infatuation; but this also proving unsuccessful, he had immediate recourse to arms, as the only alternative to bring him to his senses. It is needless to add, that the troops of his Holiness were totally defeated, and he obtained a peace upon the most humiliating terms. Loretto was soon taken, with the immense treasure it contained. The Pope renounced all his allies, gave up an immense treasure to the conqueror, and all his temporal dominions, nothing being left to himself but the territory of Rome, and his own personal safety.

When the French made themselves masters of Bologna, a lady who was apprehensive about her personal safety, dismissed a French priest from her house, whom she had maintained for many years. In this melancholy situation, without a friend, and totally forsaken, he had recourse to Bonaparte. "General, I am come to ask a favour of you." "What is it?" returned Bonaparte. "That you will suffer me to be shot at the outside of your camp." "What induces you," said the general, "to make so singular a request?" "I am a poor, forlorn, and wretched priest," said he, "who had no other dwelling but in the house of a benefactress, and she took it into her head, that after the arrival of the French army, it was no longer safe for her to keep me, and now I have nothing left but to die, but I can patiently endure my lot." "Go to the lady," said Bonaparte, "and tell her from me, that you shall henceforth be her security." Our readers will no doubt admire the generosity and humanity of Bonaparte on this occasion, if they only glance at the horrid cruelties exercised by French cannibals towards these unfortunate men, about the beginning of the Revolution.

Numerous acts of cruelty are said to have been committed by Bonaparte while in Italy. The first of these with which we are desired to charge him, beyond the evidence furnished by his own proclamations, is that of having buried alive the dying and the wounded after the battle of Salo. The whole of those who were unfit for service, he commanded to be thrown into the

waggons among the dead, in which they suffered either by being strangled or suffocated. It is no doubt a very curious circumstance, that in spite of their being suffocated and strangled, their groans and cries were heard among the dead before they reached the place of interment. Although we really cannot comprehend how men could be first strangled, and then buried alive, yet be it so for the sake of argument, and let us attend to the sequel. After these men were strangled or suffocated, prior to their being buried alive, they were thrown into an immense pit, and instantly covered with five load of quick lime, and the rector of Salo (worthy, humane soul,) absolutely died of the horror with which he was seized upon hearing their cries. Well he might; for surely a set of sturdier fellows never appeared upon earth, who could support their being strangled, then buried alive after they were dead, and last of all cry out horribly after being covered with so many load of quick lime. Had the Austrians known them to possess such extraordinary properties, they would have as soon engaged an equal number of incarnate imps.

It must be pleasing to find such warriors as Bonaparte exhibiting the highest respect for the memory of departed genius, a beautiful instance of which we beg leave to mention. At the commencement of a previous campaign, he sent the subsequent note to the commandant of Mantua. "The people of the village of Andes, in which Virgil was born, shall, on that account, be exempted from all contributions; and you shall

Take care that all the losses they have suffered during the siege of Mantua shall be repaired."

The frequent losses and defeats which were experienced by the Austrians, never made them lose heart, for they determined to prosecute the war with renewed vigour. The hereditary states of the Emperor supplied them with strong reinforcements, to the amount of 40,000 men, that their army in Italy might be enabled to cope with the republican forces; and Bonaparte received an additional army under the command of General Bernadotte, which made the whole French force in that quarter little short of 140,000 men. The most terrible carnage resulted from such extensive preparations, and the campaign was distinguished by many sanguinary battles. It was the grand object of Bonaparte to force the Austrians to evacuate Italy, and then dictate a peace to the Emperor under the walls of Vienna. For this purpose, he resolved to form a junction with the army of Moreau, and thus pressing on the troops of the enemy in all directions, get them between the two armies, and compel them to surrender; but the success of the campaign against the Archduke Charles rendered this unnecessary.

On the 12th of March the Republican army crossed the Pieva at day-break, losing only a few men, although the river was both deep and rapid. One soldier being nearly overwhelmed by the violence of the stream, was saved from destruction by the activity of a woman, who leaped in and saved him from a watery grave, on which account Bonaparte sent her a neck-

lace of gold as a reward for her intrepidity. This tells rather better than burying him alive under five load of quicklime! The enemy retreated, and next day the Republicans came up with their rear guard, which was surrounded, and 700 of them made prisoners. Bonaparte's army marched on the 16th in different divisions, at three, four, and five in the morning, reaching the Tagliamento about eleven; the Austrians continued their retreat during the remainder of the day; and notwithstanding the darkness of the night, General Guieux attacked the village of Gradiska, from which the Archduke Charles escaped with considerable difficulty. Bonaparte still continued the pursuit, and the Austrians evacuated the town of Palma Nuova, leaving behind them 30,000 rations of bread, and 1000 quintals of flower. A division of them attacked Massena, at Tarvis, by whom they were defeated; the French general next marched to Clagenfurt, where he again vanquished the Austrians, and after the battle he made his entrance into the capital of Carinthia. During their retreat, the Austrians lost about 20,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The French commander in chief dispatched General Clarke to Vienna with overtures of peace to the Emperor, writing at the same time a remarkable letter to the Archduke Charles, which made a deeper impression at Paris than all his victories put together; it deceived those whom it was meant to delude, and gave him a more ample character as a man of philanthropy than was strictly just. The answer of the Archduke was

rather equivocal, or perhaps evasive, but Bonaparte was determined to trifle no longer. Finding that his pacific overtures were treated with a species of contempt, the Republican commander pushed forward his victorious army, drove the Austrians from Freisach, taking possession soon after of Neumark and Judenburgh, by which the inhabitants of Vienna were so panic struck, that general Bellegarde and count Meerfeldt were dispatched to propose an armistice for six days, to which proposition Bonaparte consented.

The court of Vienna, now feeling it high time to be serious, two commissioners were sent to Leobin to settle the preliminaries of peace. The Emperor sent three of his chief nobility, as a proof that he was sincere, to be detained as hostages in the camp of Bonaparte, by whom they were civilly received. During dinner, the French commander in chief, with his accustomed dignity of deportment, thus addressed them: "Gentlemen, from this moment you are free: tell your Imperial master, that if his word requires a pledge, you cannot serve as such; and if it requires none, you ought not." The preliminaries were at last signed on the 18th of April, 1797, in the castle of Eggenwald, near Leobin, which were, the renunciation of the Emperor's sovereignty in Belgium; the acknowledgement of the French Republic according to the limits described in her constitution, and of the republic of Lombardy.

The result of this campaign was extremely different indeed, from the sanguine expectations

which had been cherished by the combined powers; and it was well calculated to persuade them, that the princes of Europe could oppose but a feeble barrier to the overwhelming power of France. At the same time we will readily allow, that if the conduct and professions of the French had been always in unison, the number of their friends would have been every where augmented, and their stupendous difficulties greatly diminished. They left their own country with the avowed design of punishing a base and perfidious combination against their infant liberties, and granting freedom to such as groaned beneath the yoke of their enemies. In their outset, they strongly resembled the enlightening and warming influence of the sun as he gradually approaches the zenith, while justice demands from us the solemn declaration, that in their rapid progress they resembled a volcano, by which every thing around it is laid waste,—which destroys the face of nature, and converts the seat of beauty, of comfort, and fertility, into a barren desert.

It was the constant practice of Bonaparte to carry with him a small travelling library during his campaign in Italy, which consisted of Cæsar's Commentaries, Xenophon, Polybius, and the campaigns of Montecuculli. He had likewise a number of maps, charts, and drafts, from the royal library at Paris; but the poems of the Celtic bard were his favourite study. He had no time to pay much attention to his relations, while his military career occupied so much of it. His mother's residence was at Toulon, and his

brother Joseph was engaged in business in the same place, which he soon determined to relinquish, and attempt to profit by the astonishing fortune of his brother. He accordingly applied to his friend Salicetti, who gave him a lucrative place in the commissary department. As soon as Bonaparte was made acquainted with this circumstance, he sent for his brother Joseph, and wished to be informed if he stood in need of money, "If you do," said the general, "tell me, and you shall be welcome to the half of my purse; but I must request you to give up your place immediately, and leave the army, for I will never have it laid to my charge, that I have used my influence improperly to provide for my family. Return to Toulon, and there you may be always sure of advancing yourself by trade." It does not appear, however, that Joseph paid much regard to this advice; for he went directly to Paris, and on his application to one of the ministers, he was soon presented with a snug situation. Some have called in question the sincerity of Bonaparte on this occasion, an opinion founded on his subsequent conduct to his family, the different branches of which he laboured to exalt to the highest pinnacle of earthly grandeur. It must not be dissembled that the supposition is highly probable, for if he was sincere with Joseph *at that time*, his subsequent conduct towards his brothers gave it the lie.

As the French marched with rapidity towards the German metropolis, they received a few trifling checks from the Austrians, which led the government of Venice to hope that they might

be cut off from the army of Italy, by attacking them in the rear, and thus be obliged to surrender. The friends of royalty openly avowed this hope in France, in Italy, and in Britain. To strengthen this hope, the Venetians rose upon the French, and butchered them by thousands at Verona, in the most barbarous manner, and even excited the peasantry in the Tyrol to follow their ferocious example. Bonaparte having forced the Austrians to agree to an armistice, by measures always characteristic of his prudence and vigour, at the very time when the Venetians were making such a powerful diversion in their favour, had full leisure to inflict merited vengeance on that perfidious people. On the 5th of May, 1797, a part of the French army entered Venice, openly declaring their design of subverting the old government, in place of which they were to establish another much more democratic. On the 12th of the same month, the people rose in a mass against the French, but 30,000 additional troops having entered Venice on the 17th, tranquillity was restored, and much of the property which had been plundered on the 12th, was ordered to be given up. The new municipality consisted of sixty members, being composed of Jews, Turks, and men of every description. The Doge made a voluntary surrender of his authority on the 18th, recommending it to the people to be submissive to the new government. Bonaparte signed preliminaries with the new republic in the month of June, by which they agreed to pay a most enormous contribution in money, six ships of the line, forty of their

most valuable pictures; a number of MSS. from the library of St. Mark, the two celebrated bronze lions, and four horses fabricated of the same metal.

Much about this time Bonaparte interceded with the Emperor of Germany for the liberation of M. la Fayette and his unfortunate companions, so unjustly confined in the horrible dungeons of Olmutz. For the accomplishment of an object so truly honourable to his character, he could not possibly have chosen a more favourable opportunity than at the head of a victorious army, when it would have been extremely hazardous to refuse his request; and therefore it is unnecessary to add, that his request was immediately granted, the miserable captives being set at liberty.

During the severe and incessant exertions of this astonishing personage in Italy, he was seized with a violent hæmoptisis, or spitting of blood, which was of several days duration, and gave no small degree of alarm to those who were anxious to save his life; but we have heard, that even these now wish that he had died in the midst of his glory, and that he had lived too long, both for himself and the world. A certain author tells us, that if Bonaparte had died at the conclusion of the campaigns in Italy, his vices would never have been heard of. If this be true, it is curious how this same author should have been acquainted with so many of his vices before that campaign was half completed, not excepting even his strangling of dead men, and then suffocating them with quick-lime.

The preliminaries of peace with the Emperor of Germany being signed, Bonaparte resolved that they should be instantly followed by a definitive treaty, to effect which he chose the castle of Passerians near Udina, for his residence ; but many obstructions were thrown in his way by the tardiness of Germanic forms. The Marquis de Gallo was placed in a situation extremely critical ; for he had, on the one hand, to temper the fire of Bonaparte, and on the other to accelerate the sluggish pace of Austrian formality ; yet the conferences were slowly conducted, in spite of all his diplomatic address. It was at length too much for the patience of Bonaparte to endure, and he exclaimed, " What, not yet sign ? not yet ? this is the last opportunity I will give you ; in six months you shall all tremble ; and did I not respect the law of nations, thus would I." Having uttered these words, he cast a threatening look at the Austrian minister, and snatching up his hat from the table, threw it with vengeance among a set of porcelain standing near him. The Marquis durst not venture to oppose him any longer, but agreed to terminate the business respecting which they were met : and peace was of course concluded on the 17th of October, 1797.

The period was now fast approaching when Bonaparte was to reap the benefit of all his toils, his perils, and his victories, in the approbation of his fellow-citizens, and in the gratitude and thanks of that government which he had hitherto served with so much apparent fidelity. Wonder and astonishment take fast hold of the mind

when we look back from this point on his past life. He quitted Paris almost as a simple individual, without fame, distinction, or notoriety, and he was now about to return to it as the conqueror and pacificator of Europe. Had it been the fate of Bonaparte to flourish in the days of Roman magnificence, when their Generals traced back their steps in triumph, the armies which participated of his victories would have accompanied him, with the immense spoils taken from conquered nations, and captive princes chained to the wheels of his chariot; but spectacles of this nature would have ill accorded with the public taste at the end of the 18th century, and Bonaparte was too well acquainted with the sentiments of civilized life to suffer their revival. He quitted Italy as a private gentleman, having no other attendants than two generals, two aide-de-camps, a secretary, and a physician. He was spoken of by one out of an immense multitude near Avenche, who were assembled to behold him, in the following manner: "I had an opportunity of being very near to him, and he seemed to me always to be talking to those around him as if he was thinking about something else; he has the mark of great sense in his countenance, and an air of profound meditation, which reveals nothing that is passing within; he seems constantly big with deep thought, which will some day or other influence the destinies of Europe." A burgess of Morat, observed with astonishment the figure of the general. "How small a stature for so great a man," cried he, loud enough to be heard by one

of the aids-de-camp. "He is exactly the height of Alexander," said some person, "Yes," said the aid-de-camp, "and that is not the only trait of resemblance." On the evening of the 22d of November, he left Geneva, and next night arrived at Berne. Every town was illuminated through which he passed in the night. He stopped some hours at Basle; but seemed not to enjoy the great fête which the people of Lausanne had prepared for him. During his whole journey, he spoke very little to strangers, being well aware that every word he uttered would be particularly noticed.

On his arrival in Paris, he studiously evaded every opportunity of being taken notice of. The house was small in which he chose to reside, and the street uncommonly retired. He seemed to have no relish for company, avoiding all places of public resort, and never going out but in a plain carriage drawn by two horses. He sometimes dined with the ministers of state, and was no oftener than twice at any public meeting. He cautiously avoided giving any offence to the Directory, whose final overthrow had been planned by him before this time, while he was fully sensible that the time for its execution was not yet arrived. The Directory, before his departure from Italy, had chosen him commander of the army of England, which could be regarded as nothing more than nominal, being chiefly intended to amuse and betray. He wished to gain the approbation of the public by appearing studious to avoid it, and this was the grand secret of his policy. He assumed the appearance

of great moderation, and publicly avowed his abhorrence of Jacobin sentiments. These were exactly suited to his principles in an individual point of view, although the objects of his dread when considered as a party. Truth obliges us to confess, that he constantly evinced himself inimical to discussion and the freedom of inquiry. The members of the new constitution established in Italy, were almost of his own nomination, and men as devoid of popularity as possible. All the first legislators and public functionaries were nominated by himself, and he ordered, prior to his departure from Milan, that every political society should be shut up. His constant practice was to address the military as the guardians of the different constitutions which himself had established, and he always appeared more strongly attached to military power than to any other. The treaty of peace was wholly his own composition, and he advised the Directory to diminish the force of the combined powers, by concluding separate treaties with each. It was likewise his wish that moderate conditions should be proposed to the Emperor, by which means the other powers might be inclined to treat, when they saw that even when vanquished, he was not oppressed.

The formal presentation of Bonaparte to the Directory was no doubt the most splendid which ever happened to any human being, all things considered. The principal governors of a nation long famous in arms, in manners, and in arts, were to receive a general who had vanquished the most formidable enemies ever brought into

the field, by the endless resources of his own talents, thus preserving the glory and independence of his country against an almost unexampled combination of powers, who were hostile to Republican principles. The place destined for this magnificent spectacle was the court of the Luxemburg, the walls of which were decorated with hangings of the national colours and military trophies; an altar was erected at one end of it, surmounted with statues of liberty, equality, and peace, ornamented with the different standards which had been taken from the enemy. It was seated on each side of the altar in the form of a semicircle, forming an amphitheatre of immense extent, intended for the constituted authorities, and the musical conservatory. The colours of the different armies of the Republic were suspended from the walls; a vast number lined the court and palace windows, and the whole adjacent streets were crowded with those who found it practicable to gain admission. The thunder of cannon about noon announced the commencement of the fête, and the procession moved towards the Luxemburg from their different places of meeting, which consisted of the Directory, the Ministers of State, and the constituted authorities. Having arrived and taken their seats, the President of the Directory desired that intimation might be given to the foreign ministers, the minister of war, and generals Bonaparte, Joubert, and Andreossi, that the Directory were ready to receive them. A beautiful symphony was then played, which was frequently interrupted by the shouts of "Long live the Republic, long live

Bonaparte, long live the great Nation." The noise continued to increase, and the people eagerly rushed forward; every eye was turned towards the great door, full of curiosity and expectation. At last Bonaparte entered, at which moment the enthusiasm of the multitude reached its unexampled height; not an individual was silent, but the universal burst of gratitude and wonder was, "The deliverer of Italy—the pacificator of the Continent." Bonaparte walked forward with dignified calmness. One would have imagined that this was almost too much for human nature to support, yet the same coolness which had distinguished him in the field, did not desert him, even on the present occasion. He was attended by the minister of foreign relations, the war minister, and his aids-de-camp; the music then played the hymn to liberty, and all present stood up uncovered. When they reached the steps of the altar, Talleyrand presented him to the Directory in an appropriate speech, which, when ended, the whole assembly were impatient to hear the conqueror of Italy, whose simple and modest appearance formed a striking contrast to the grandeur of his situation; and every one present figured him in imagination at the bridge of Lodi, at Arcola, or Campo Formio. A solemn silence immediately ensued, when Bonaparte delivered into the hands of the President of the Directory the Emperor's ratification of the treaty of peace, and thus addressed the executive power:—"Citizen Directors,—The French people, in order to be free, had to combat with kings; to obtain a constitution founded

upon reason, they had to vanquish the prejudices of eighteen centuries. The constitution of the third year, and you, have triumphed over all obstacles. Religion, feudality, and royalty, have successively governed Europe; but the peace which you have concluded, dates the æra of representative governments. You have organized the great nation, whose vast territory is circumscribed only by the limits which nature herself hath placed. You have done more. The two most beautiful parts of Europe, formerly so celebrated for the arts, the sciences, and the great men which they produced, see, with renovated hope, the genius of liberty rise from the tombs of their ancestors. These are the two pedestals on which the destinies have placed other nations. I have the honour to present the treaty signed at Campo Formio, and ratified by his Imperial Majesty. Peace gives the earnest of liberty, prosperity, and glory to the Republic. When the happiness of the French people shall rest on well founded organic laws, all Europe will become free."

Bonaparte had scarcely ended his speech, when the air was rent with shouts of acclamation, and nothing was to be heard but the cry of, "Long live the Republic, long live Bonaparte." A very long speech, in reply to the general, was made by the President, Bonaparte afterwards receiving from him what the French then denominated the *fraternal embrace*, which example was followed by every member of the Directory. Bonaparte then descended from the altar, being conducted to an arm chair by the minister of foreign relations, which had been

prepared for him in front of the diplomatic body. The other generals were next presented, who received and returned addresses suited to the memorable occasion. The sitting was closed by the Directory, who returned to their palace with the rest of the procession, in the same order in which they came. The commander in chief, with a vast number of civil and military officers, had a splendid dinner given them at the Luxemburg, and the evening terminated with a ball at the house of the minister of the interior.

The peculiar manners of Bonaparte, and the great simplicity of his dress, at all public dinners to which he was invited, seemed as if designed to point out his genuine superiority. Others were sumptuously dressed in order to do him honour, his dress was constantly plain, and he wore no powder in his hair. He avoided the gaze and acclamations of the multitude, yet he was never without a crowd wherever he could be seen. He appeared, we are sorry to say, at the abominable ceremony called the celebration of the 21st of January, the day on which the unfortunate Louis XVI. was brought to the scaffold; but here, we believe, he was ashamed of his company. He sat as a private individual among the members of the National Institute, and was so extremely anxious to conceal himself, by hanging down his head, and drawing himself together, that he could not be perceived till near the close of the ceremony, when he was noticed with bursts of applause. As this ceremony was intended to keep alive upon the public mind a deep rooted enmity against kingly govern-

ment, it was unquestionably odious to Bonaparte, who had no doubt, even by this time, conceived the *vast project of making himself an Emperor*. He must have felt himself at once flattered and gratified by the evidences of public favour which he experienced at Paris, and yet it can hardly be affirmed that he deemed himself in safety. Carnot assures us that he was hated by the Directory, who were above all things anxious to accomplish his ruin, which did not escape the penetration of Bonaparte himself. He held them in detestation as men, while he was envious of the power with which they were vested. He resembled a monarch on his throne when in the army, without any rival, but he was a private citizen in Paris, sound policy and pride inducing him to appear as such, although it must have run counter to the dictates of his ambition. Terrible must it have been to Napoleon to court the favour of any man upon earth, yet he felt himself in the power of individuals whom he could not help despising, such as Rewbell, Sieyes, and Lepaux, of the Jacobins and Royalists; and this led him to the resolution—to the necessity of doing something, by which he might be delivered from a state at once painful, submissive, and inactive. Viewing matters in this light (which we presume is just,) it is reasonable to conclude that the celebrated expedition to Egypt was a contrivance of his own.

He remained three months at Paris, during which time he no doubt concerted plans with the Directory for the grand expedition, the ob-

ject of which was to destroy the power of Great Britain in India, and thus give to France new sources of wealth and commerce. This was kept a profound secret, and the public could only conjecture what might be the subsequent employment of Bonaparte. At one time it was rumoured that he was to be sent to Brest, to head an army which was destined to act against Britain; and another report was, that he was going to Rastadt, to hasten the conferences of the Congress; and that this misrepresentation might gain credit, Bonaparte wrote to Count Cobentzel to meet him there, on the very day on which he arrived at Toulon. Monge had formerly suggested the ideas of giving liberty to Egypt and Greece, and we give the words in which he delivered himself, as no mean specimen of true bombast. "The glory of the army of Italy resounds even to the farthest corner of Egypt; the Arabians of the desert talk of nothing else in their tents. A gleam of hope hath enlightened the minds of the descendants of the Greeks, and their hearts have leapt for joy. The little children of Sparta and Athens sing in French the hymn which formed our battalions, and led them to victory; they will soon sing our triumphs; and these hymns, like the hymns of Orpheus, will pass from mouth to mouth in every nation, and descend to posterity!" When this speech came to the ears of the Turkish ambassador, he complained to the minister of the foreign department, who returned for answer, that this ought to have given neither offence nor alarm, not being the language of any person in

office, but the effusions of an individual speaking without authority, and for which, of course, the French government did not hold itself responsible.

Bonaparte arrived at Toulon on the 9th of May, 1798, to assume the command of the troops which were destined to act against Egypt. With such enthusiasm and confidence did his presence inspire the army, that the nature and probable result of such an expedition were never once attended to. It consisted of about 36,000 men, made up of the veteran troops from the army of Italy. On the 21st of May, the fleet set sail from Toulon, which consisted of 15 sail of the line, 14 frigates, several sloops of war, and about 100 transports, under the command of Admiral Bruceys, and furnished with every thing proper for a long voyage; of which nothing more ever returned to France, than 5000 men and five ships of war. The first news from this army respected the capture of Malta, a circumstance which was generally ascribed to treachery, as the place was remarkably strong. We give the following extracts from some of his proclamations, and leave our readers to make their own comments. Bonaparte said, "All the Greeks of the isles of Malta and Goza, who preserve any connection with Russia, shall be put to death. All Greek vessels which sail under Russian colours, shall be immediately sunk when they fall into the hands of the French." He thus wrote to the bishop of Malta. "I have learnt with sincere pleasure, good Mr. Bishop, the kind conduct and reception which you have shewn to the French

troops. You may assure the people of your diocese, that the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, shall not only be treated with regard, but its ministers especially protected. I know no character more respectable, nor more worthy of veneration, than a priest, who, inspired by the true spirit of the Gospel, is persuaded that his duty ordains him to render unfeigned obedience to the temporal power, to maintain peace, tranquillity, and union in his diocese. I request you to repair immediately to the town of Malta, and to preserve by your influence there, harmony and tranquillity among the people. I shall be there myself this evening. I request also, that at my arrival you will introduce to me all the priests and other chiefs belonging to Malta and the surrounding villages. Be assured of the desire which I have to prove to you the esteem and consideration which I have for you personally."

The next information respecting this memorable expedition came from Egypt itself, announcing the safe landing of the troops, and the terrible fate of the French fleet on the 1st of August. The Directory received both these accounts at the same time: still the good fortune of Bonaparte appeared on his side, the British fleet having left Alexandria only two days before the arrival of the French, by which Bonaparte was induced to land his army with the utmost expedition, for which purpose he made preparations on the 2d of July in the evening. During the hurry and confusion of debarkation, a vessel was discovered at a distance, which was conjectured to

belong to the British. Bonaparte, on this occasion, appeared very much agitated, and exclaimed, "Fortune, wilt thou abandon me? I ask only five days, and then do thy worst." The debarkation of the troops was attended with some difficulty. He landed at one o'clock in the morning, putting himself at the head of 3000 men, whom he formed into three columns, and marched on to Alexandria without either cavalry or cannon. There were about 300 horse on the heights which commanded the city, on which the French fired and instantly dispersed them. The whole of the Republican army landed by 10 o'clock next day, commencing the attack on Alexandria, in a great measure defenceless, being very ill provided with artillery, and only surrounded by walls of mud. The garrison consisted of 500 Janissaries, and 5000 Mamelukes defended the city, with whom the French had a short engagement, losing about 150 men, whose lives might have been saved by ordering the place to surrender; but it was thought adviseable to begin by striking terror, in consequence of which the French took the city by assault, putting every person to death who came in their way; and if report may be believed, even the mosques were not considered as places of refuge. Bonaparte, in order to flatter the vanity of his troops, commanded that all those who were slain in the engagement should be buried under Pompey's pillar, on the base of which their names were to be inscribed, and the event to be recorded in the orderly book of every regiment.

We have been informed that Alexandria was given up for four hours to pillage and massacre, at the end of which period Bonaparte gave orders that the carnage should cease. Such horrid barbarity shall never cease to meet with our severest reprehension, since to act like cannibals is an indelible disgrace to men professing civilization. It reminds us of an anecdote we have somewhere heard related of a British tar, who, after an enemy's ship had struck her colours, exclaimed, "Damn the b——rs, let us have another stroke at them." Being a good marksman, he nearly swept the quarter deck of the remaining officers, for which, we are told, he was instantly promoted. Now, the only promotion that such a villain deserved was the halter, because it was cowardice and butchery to fire on a submissive enemy, who had thus avowedly yielded the palm to British heroism, without expecting to meet with any thing like British barbarity.

After this, Bonaparte issued a proclamation, by which he commanded his troops to abstain from plunder, from which it was ridiculous to expect obedience, after the encouragement which they had so lately received. He issued another proclamation to the natives, wherein he declared himself to be the friend of Mahomet, and would respect their religion, which it was impossible for them to believe, since their mosques had afforded them no protection against murderers. We shall make no apology for inserting the following proclamation, as it is of such a singular texture:—"For long the Beys of Egypt have insulted the French nation and its merchants.

The hour of their punishment is arrived. For long this horde of slaves from Caucasus and Georgia have tyrannized over the fairest part of the world ; but God has ordained that their empire should now be at an end. People of Egypt, they will tell you that I am come to destroy your religion ; believe them not ; answer that I come to restore your rights, to punish usurpers, and that I respect God, Mahomet, and the Koran, more than the Mamelukes. Tell them that all men are equal before God. Wisdom, talents, and virtue, make the sole difference among them. What wisdom, what virtues, or what talents, distinguish the Mamelukes, that they should exclusively possess all that can render life desirable and pleasant ? Is there a beautiful spot of ground ? it belongs to the Mamelukes. Is there a beautiful female slave, a fine horse, or a good house ? It belongs to the Mamelukes. If Egypt is their farm, let them shew their lease, which God has granted them ; but God is just and merciful towards his people ; and all the Egyptians are equally entitled to hold all offices ; let the wisest, the best informed ; and the most virtuous govern, and the people will be happy. You had formerly great cities, great canals, and great commerce among you ; what hath destroyed them but the avarice, the injustice, and the tyranny of the Mamelukes ? Cadis, Chieks, Imams, and Tchorbadjys, tell the people that we also are true Mussulmen. Is it not we who have destroyed the Pope, who said we must make war against the Mussulmen ? Is it not we that have destroyed the knights of Malta, because those

foolish men believed that God intended them to make war against the Mussulmen? Is it not we who have been at all times the friends of the Grand Seignior, and the enemies of his enemies? The Mamelukes, on the contrary, have they not always been revolting against the authority of the Porte, which even now they refuse to acknowledge? They consult nothing but their own caprice. Thrice happy they who shall be with us; they shall prosper in their fortune, and their rank. Happy they who shall be neuter; they shall have time to know us, and they will be on our side; but miserable, thrice miserable, they who shall arm for the Mamelukes, and fight against us; there shall be no hope for them; they shall perish."

This proclamation undoubtedly came with a bad grace from the man who declared that he came to extend the blessings of civilization, to rouse the dormant arts and sciences, and deliver the inhabitants of the country from the yoke of the Mamelukes and Turks. It has often been asserted, that Bonaparte is destitute of the finer feelings of the human heart, which, if it be true, is a singular circumstance, as he can so well describe the feelings of others. His letter to the widow of Admiral Brueys is a convincing proof of this. "Your husband was killed by a cannon ball, in fighting nobly for his country; he died without suffering for a moment, and his death is envied by all good soldiers. I feel sincerely for what you must suffer. The moment which separates us from the person whom we love, is terrible; it insulates us from every thing around

us, and causes convulsions of agony; the faculties of the soul are almost annihilated, and we hardly preserve any connection with the world, but in a dream. Men appear to us more cold, more selfish, more wicked, and more odious, than they really are. We think in this situation, that if there was nothing which compelled us to live, it were better for us to die; but after these first emotions, when we press our infants to our breasts, tears and sentiments of tenderness awaken nature within us, and we live again for our children. Yes, madam, let me advise you to see them instantly; let them soften your heart to the tender impressions of melancholy; you will weep over them, you will watch over their infancy, and cultivate their youth; you will speak to them of their father, of your own sufferings, and of the loss which they and their country have sustained. After having thus re-attached yourself to the world, by filial and maternal love, endeavour to set some value upon the lively interest which I shall ever take, in all that concerns the widow of my friend. Be satisfied that there are at least some men in the world, how few soever they may be, who deserve to be considered as the only hope of the wretched, because they feel for their sufferings with sensibility. BONAPARTE."

After the Republican general made himself master of Alexandria, he laboured to gain the affections of the people by repeated professions of esteem, and some marks of friendship, next marching forward to meet the Mamelukes, the only enemy whom he pretended to oppose. His

army having suffered much from thirst and fatigue in its march through the desert, at last espied the banks of the Nile, into which they threw themselves, clothes and all, and drank most abundantly. The beating of drums instantly called them to their ranks, on the appearing of 800 Mamelukes, well armed, and mounted on horseback, who attacked the division under General Desaix, but were totally defeated, after a severe engagement. The next conflict was of a more desperate nature, the Mamelukes being more numerous, and fighting with more determined obstinacy. The next was still more bloody, and decided the fate of Cairo, which Bonaparte entered, after encountering a very warm opposition from the Beys. He spoke in high terms of the firmness and resolution of the Mamelukes, because they fought with the most astonishing valour. This obtained the name of the battle of the Pyramids, because it was fought within sight of those stupendous piles.

Having got possession of Cairo, Bonaparte marched forward to complete the conquest of Egypt, and pursue the obstinate Beys, who were flying before him. Ibrahim, the chief of them, betook himself for safety to the deserts of Syria. General Desaix pursued Mourad Bey; but although his troops were very much dispersed by the engagements he had sustained, they could not be said to be either taken or conquered. About the end of October, a serious insurrection broke out among the inhabitants of Cairo, who did not appear to be satisfied with their French

masters. General Dupuis being informed on the morning of the 22d, that a multitude had assembled in the vicinity of one of the chief mosques, went to disperse them at the head of twelve of his cavalry; but they declared that they were not satisfied with the taxes, which was the sole cause of their meeting. Perceiving that they discovered no inclination to disperse, General Dupuis attacked them, which they returned with stones and other weapons of a similar nature, one of which wounded the French general so severely, that it terminated his existence in a very short time. The number of the Turks continued to increase, retiring to their mosques, which they continued to fortify, but the French forced the greater part of their gates, and the unhappy insurgents were put to death. Fresh numbers supplied the place of the slain, and the carnage continued for three days, during which upwards of 3000 men, women, and children, were put to the sword. Bonaparte, after quelling this insurrection, issued the following strange proclamation, which we think worthy of a paragraph by itself.

“ People of Cairo, perverse men have led you astray, and they have perished. God hath commanded me to be mild and merciful towards the people, and I have been so towards you all. Is there a man among you so blind as not to see that fate directs all my operations? Is there a man among you so incredulous as to doubt, that the whole of the universe is subject to the empire of destiny? Let the enemies of the people know, that when the world began, it was writ-

ten, that after having destroyed the enemies of Islamism, and overthrown the cross, I should come from the farthest part of the west, to fulfil the task which is imposed upon me. Make the people see, that in more than twenty passages of the Koran, that which has happened has been foretold, and that which will happen is equally explained. I might demand of each of you to tell the most secret thoughts of his heart, for I know them all, even those which you have never divulged to any one; but the day will come, when all the world shall know, by evidence too strong to be denied, that I am conducted by orders from above, and that no human efforts can prevail against me. Happy they who are the first to attach themselves to me."—This has been denominated *shameless audacity*, but it appears to us to be worse than audacity. One part of it resembles the reveries of a madman, and some parts of it contain absolute blasphemy, for he ascribes omniscience to himself, which is an incommunicable attribute of the Deity.

Bonaparte committed many acts of hostility against the Porte, yet he still professed himself anxious to preserve the friendship which had subsisted between it and the French Republic. To prevent the Turks, if possible, from forming any alliance with Great Britain, was his grand object by such pretences; for if such an alliance should have taken place, the forces of both countries would be united against France. The Turks did form this treaty, and it seemed the determination of both to drive the French out of Egypt. Bonaparte on his part was not idle, but

used every effort in his power to thwart the designs of his enemies; to accomplish which he prepared an expedition into Syria, to take vengeance on the Djezzar Pacha for giving a friendly reception to Ibrahim Bey; and to destroy the preparations made in Egypt against the French by the British and Turks. On the 22d of December he marched for Suez, of which he got possession on the 6th of January. There he obtained information that the Djezzar had been appointed Pacha of Damascus and Egypt, and that a part of the troops he had collected there had reached El Arish, only a day's journey from the desert. The battering train of artillery sent by Bonaparte to be shipped at Alexandria, and he wrote the following letter to the Djezzar before his departure. " Since I came into Egypt, I have told you many times that my intention was not to make war against you, but against the Mamelukes. You have given no answer to my repeated overtures. I told you, that I desire you to drive Ibrahim Bey from the frontiers of Egypt. So far from that, you have sent troops to Gaza, and even to El Arish, which is six leagues within the territory of Egypt. I will march in a few days against St. John d'Acce. But why should I take away the few years that remain from the life of an old man whom I have never seen. I wish to be merciful, not only towards the people, but towards the great. You have no reason to be my enemy, for you were formerly the enemy of the Mamelukes; become again my friend and the enemy of the Mamelukes and the English, and I will do you as much

good as I intend to do you harm. Send me your answer by the messenger, who has full powers to treat with you. - I shall set out for St. John d'Acree the 24th of the month: I must, before that time, have your answer." It is certain, however, that no answer was sent to this letter.

The assault of General Regnier's troops was opposed for some days by the garrison of El Arish, but it surrendered at last to the remainder of the army under General Bonaparte. No farther opposition was experienced by the French army, which continued its march through the desert, and after reaching Gaza, from which the enemy retired, the French entered the town, where they found large quantities of provision and military stores. It was treated in a friendly manner, and immediately placed under military authority. The army then marched through a sandy desert of vast extent, to the town of Jaffa (the ancient Joppa), where the enemy made a formidable appearance. The French immediately began the siege of the place, which was taken after an obstinate resistance, and the greater part of the garrison put to the sword; but as the remainder took refuge in their mosques, the French officers and soldiers refused to pursue the helpless fugitives, and spared every individual who implored their clemency.

Some have given us a most dreadful account of the conduct of Bonaparte towards 3800 prisoners, with whom he felt himself encumbered. The action we allude to, is so repugnant to the feelings of all civilized nations, although we

have no less authority for it than the *honour of a British officer*, that our readers must find it extremely difficult to believe it. Bonaparte not being satisfied with the lenity of his troops just mentioned, made a severer trial of their obedience, and having given orders that these prisoners should be marched to an eminence about a mile from Jaffa, when they were surrounded by the infantry of General Bon, the whole of which fired upon them at once, and the unfortunate Turks fell dead by hundreds, the soldiers humanely dispatching those with the bayonet who had escaped the fury of the bullets. It is said that General Kleber refused to comply with the order, without instructions in writing, when Berthier was sent by Bonaparte to enforce obedience. Prior to this scene of butchery, the French commander in chief inspected the prisoners, among whom an aged Janissary engaged his attention. "Old man, what do you do here?" said Bonaparte. "I must answer that question," replied the Turk, "by asking you the same, and you will no doubt reply, I come to serve my Sultan; so do I to serve mine." Bonaparte smiled, which led some person present to say to one of his aids-de-camp, "He is saved." "No," said the officer, "that smile does not proceed from benevolence, but revenge; remember what I say." The poor old man was left in the ranks, and suffered. We are informed by Mr. Burdon, that Dr. Wittman was afterwards at Jaffa, and saw the very spot where the horrid murder was committed, and he gravely brings this forward as a convincing proof of the fact. The Dr.

might see a spot which was said to him to be the spot, but what person in his senses would take such hearsay evidence for a crime so atrocious and inhuman? We have just as good ground for believing that the spots on the shoulders of a haddock were made by the thumb and forefinger of St. Peter.

It has likewise been said, that the sick among the army at Jaffa were too numerous to be maintained, in consequence of which Bonaparte hinted to a physician, that he must be relieved from such a burden; but he boldly refused to comply with such a dreadful proposition. He found an apothecary, it is said, who had no such scruples of conscience, but dispatched 580 soldiers by large dozes of opium, mixed up with some pleasant food. One authority, seemingly conscious of the difficulty of believing this story, says, it must be remembered that Bonaparte is a Corsican. What a strange argument! as if a man possessed of the feelings of humanity could not be born in the island of Corsica, as well as any where else. We must likewise observe, that this story has been given up as fabulous by the most respectable writers, some of whom were by no means attached to Bonaparte, but rather the reverse, and their testimony in such a case must be very important.

After these things Bonaparte marched towards St. John d'Acre, where the utmost exertions of his military talents, so prodigiously beyond mediocrity, were for the first time baffled. The French opened their trenches against this place on the 10th of April, when the loss of their

battering artillery was severely felt, which had been taken by Sir Sidney Smith, and were soon to be employed against Bonaparte by an experienced emigrant officer of engineers. The troops which belonged to the Pachá were far from being regularly disciplined, yet they were three times more numerous than those under Bonaparte; they possessed abundance of provisions, while his troops were nearly in a state of starvation; and in addition to these advantages, he had to send a considerable number of his little army (only 10,000 when he left Cairo) to oppose a multitude of Mamelukes, Janissaries, and Arabians, destined to attack him in one direction, while the Djezzar made a desperate sortie on another. Hearing that they were about to form a junction, Junot was detached in order to prevent it, who succeeded in conquering one of their armies near the village of Loubi. Bonaparte not being as yet assured of their complete overthrow, Kleber was sent with an additional force; but as their numbers still continued to increase, he marched in person with the main body of his army, and accomplished their utter destruction in the battle of Fouli. Having thus delivered himself from any farther molestation from the inhabitants of the country, he returned to the siege of Acre, which the exertions of the British rendered every day more difficult and laborious. Many of his troops were carried off by the pestilence, and perpetual sallies from the garrison continued to distress them, on which account he began to think seriously of abandoning the enterprise as altogether hopeless; and af-

ter attacking it during sixty days (some say sixty-nine,) he determined to depart from the walls of Acre. With such profound secrecy was the departure of the army conducted, that, as it commenced in the evening, the enemy were wholly ignorant of it till the ensuing morning, when scarcely a single trace of the French army was left behind. Bonaparte set fire to a number of villages which had offended him on his march, and put the unfortunate inhabitants to the sword. He reached El Arish in the course of thirteen days, and in another period of the same duration he arrived at Cairo, where by his orderly and rapid return, he filled both the inhabitants and the garrison with the utmost astonishment. He had twice traversed the most inhospitable desert, in the course of five months, and combated a prodigious number of enemies, of nations and manners so entirely different.

It will be admitted as a fact, that the defeat of Bonaparte before St. John d'Acre was matter of triumph to the British, yet this event cannot be said to detract from his military talents and abilities. It should be carefully remembered, if we have any wish to make a proper estimate of the business, that he was then in a country where he had to cope with every possible difficulty in procuring provisions; he was deprived of his heavy artillery; he was called to contend with one of the ablest engineers of the old school of France; he fought against an army at least three times more numerous than his own, driven to desperation by the reports of his unrelenting cruelty, and he was finally induced to

raise the siege at any rate, from considerations of infinitely greater moment. When these circumstances are candidly considered, it will surely be allowed, that, whatever praise may be due to Sir Sidney Smith, and to much he is entitled on account of his activity and spirit, it would be the height of absurdity and national partiality to say, as some have foolishly done, that he is in the least equal to Bonaparte as a soldier, or as a man possessed of general talents. We cannot, we *will* not deny him the merit of being a brave officer, but to make him equal to Bonaparte, the most consummate general who perhaps ever appeared upon earth, would be quixotism run mad. We sincerely request it of our readers, as they value their own discernment, carefully to distinguish between Bonaparte as a soldier, and Bonaparte as a man. In the one case he has no proper parallel in the annals of history, while in the other, he is too often criminal. Sir Sidney Smith, says Mr. Burdon, in his second life of Bonaparte, is as far superior to him in one point, as light is preferable to darkness: he is possessed of British generosity. Many acts of cruelty have been ascribed to Bonaparte, some of which we are by no means disposed to deny; but we are well assured, that the man who can approve of cruelty in others, has dispositions capable of cruelty himself; and Mr. Burdon has admitted that Sir Sidney *did* approve of cruelty in the Turks, calling the Djezzar Pacha an *energetic old man*, who was the most detestable tyrant that ever Turkey produced. We are told likewise, that the name, or rather nickname, Djezzar,

signifies a butcher in that language. The cruelties exercised by this monster, or in the words of Sir Sidney, by this *energetic old man*, towards his subjects, appear to transcend all belief, were they not fully authenticated. British officers have declared, that it was no uncommon thing to see people walking about the streets of Acre deprived of their noses, ears, and limbs, by the barbarity of this butcher of the human race; and it is a matter well known that he put the French prisoners into sacks, two and two together, and thus threw them into the river, in which horrible manner upwards of 400 perished. From such energetic old men, may Almighty God deliver the whole human race! Before such a tiger as this, Bonaparte must appear as an angel of light.

Soon after the return of Bonaparte to Cairo, he found that the Turks were determined, if possible, to retake Egypt, having brought for that purpose an hundred ships into the bay of Aboukir, from which they landed 10,000 troops, gained possession of the castle of Aboukir, and were constantly receiving new accessions of strength. This induced Bonaparte to leave Cairo, on the 16th of July, and in ten days he was in a situation to give them battle. The action terminated in the defeat of the Turks, 10,000 of whom were destroyed, and in a few days the garrison laid down their arms, which was taken possession of by the French. This may be considered as the last military transaction of Bonaparte in Egypt; for being made acquainted with the disorderly state of affairs in

France, whose armies were vanquished abroad, he resolved to leave the army and return home, where he had now the most flattering prospects of reaching the zenith of his ambition. None but General Berthier was made acquainted with his design, and he sent orders to Admiral Gantheaume to provide him with a frigate, and let him know when the British and Turkish fleets were out of sight. This agreeable information he received about six in the evening of the 18th of August, and at nine he sent orders to all those whom he designed should accompany him to Europe, to meet him at the time and place agreed on, and not on any account to open their instructions, prior to their arrival. They instantly obeyed, left behind them what property they had, and their horses on the beach. Sealed orders were sent to General Kleber, appointing him to the chief command of the army then in Egypt, and on the 23d of August 1799, Bonaparte went on board; but adverse winds detained him in the bay of Aboukir till the 25th, and he reached Ajaccio in the island of Corsica on the 1st of October, where he lay wind bound till the 7th; and after he had escaped the vigilance of all the British cruizers, he made the port of Frejus on the 9th of the same month.

“To make a fair estimate,” says a certain writer. “of the evil and the good which resulted from the expedition to Egypt, we must not be so far blinded by the one as to lose sight of the other. The murder, distress, and misery of innocent men, whether among the conquerors or the conquered, are unquestionably evils of no in-

considerable magnitude, and will lie heavy on the heads of those by whom they were either wantonly occasioned or aggravated. The example of that treacherous violation of civilized customs by which Egypt was invaded, when her government was at peace with the French, is also an evil, which it requires much good intention and many good consequences to palliate; and I much doubt whether the sum total of the advantages which have resulted, either to the natives of Egypt or the rest of the world, can balance the fatal precedent of so gross an attack upon the laws of society. The blessings of civilization are so great as almost to make amends for any price that may be paid for them; but at this enlightened period of the world, are nations to be civilized by the sword? Those who are inclined to be of the same mind with Mr. Burdon, will be ready to put the question, what had the French to do in Egypt? If it be contended that the love of plunder or a thirst for conquest took them there, be it so, for the sake of argument; and permit us to ask, in our turn, what took the British to the East Indies, or the Spaniards to South America? Surely none will be bold enough to make the sturdy assertion, that the peaceable inhabitants of those distant regions were intermeddling with the affairs either of Britain or of Spain. We presume to say, that the chief merit of the present Life will be found to consist in its impartiality, and while we shall never palliate nor disguise the guilt of Bonaparte, where that can be undeniably established, we wish those who are perpe-

tually raising the hue and cry about *his* crimes, to consider well if their own country be innocent. We are firmly of opinion that the best method of civilizing any country whatever, is by the gradual operation of commercial intercourse. One advantage obviously resulting from the invasion of Egypt by the French, is the superior degree of knowledge respecting that country which it has been the means of giving to the world; of its natural, moral, and political state, of the present manner of living, and its remains of antiquity, on which accounts we will venture to recommend to our readers the perusal of Denon's travels in Egypt. These may by some be denominated mere objects of curiosity, but to the man of science and research, they are an absolute luxury.

On Bonaparte's return to France, every friend of that country expressed their joy and exultation, because they considered him as the enemy of anarchy and confusion, and the chief support of well regulated liberty. He passed through no place where the cry of "peace, peace," did not resound, and he might be said to have enjoyed a perpetual triumph from Frejus to Paris. On his arrival in the metropolis, he had an interview with the Directory; the courts and streets through which there was a direct passage to the Luxemburg, were filled with spectators, who discovered the utmost impatience to behold him again, and their expressions of joy seemed to give him much more satisfaction than when he returned from Italy. He condescended to shake several soldiers most affectionately by the

hand, who had served with him during his memorable campaigns in Italy, and his manners were more open and affable than seemed consistent with his natural reserve.

He reached Paris on the 16th of October, and in less than a month the constitution of 1795 was totally subverted. This interval was no doubt employed by him in devising measures for the accomplishment of the plan he had in view. A splendid dinner was given by the Directory on the 7th of November to Bonaparte and Moreau, in the temple of victory, at which time the company consisted of 750 guests, the chief design of which was to delude those with the appearance of friendship, whose political existence was so near a termination. It is generally believed that Sieyes made the first proposal for subverting the Directorial government to the unambitious Moreau, by whom it was rejected, but readily agreed to by Bonaparte, and on the 7th of November there was a meeting of a number of the deputies in the house of Le Mercier, where the proper measures were concerted, and the 9th of the same month was fixed on for the grand exhibition. To hasten the execution of the plan, the committee of inspectors sent messages to about 150 chosen members of the council, charging them to meet in the Thuilleries at 8 o'clock in the morning of that day, although very few of them were made acquainted with the business. When they met, in pursuance of the invitation received, it was found that about a hundred of the most furious Jacobins had been left out of the list, no doubt intentionally. Car-

not, reporter of the committee, opened the meeting by an able speech, fully stating the imminent dangers which threatened the existence of the Republic, as well as the alarming conduct of the factions, and concluded by moving that the assembly do adjourn to St. Cloud, agreeably to the 102d and 103d articles of the Constitution; that the execution of the decree should be committed to Bonaparte, and to him be given the chief command of all the troops in Paris, whether belonging to the line or the national guard. This decree was carried by a great majority, and that instant Bonaparte appeared at the bar, attended by Berthier, Moreau, Lefebre, Macdonald, and other French generals. When the President informed Bonaparte of his appointment, he delivered the following speech. "The Republic was upon the brink of ruin, but your decree has saved it. Woe to those who wish for anarchy, whoever they be. I and my brave companions in arms will arrest their course. Let us not seek in the past for examples to justify the present. For nothing in history resembles the conclusion of the 18th century, and nothing in that resembles the present moment. We wish a Republic founded on liberty, on civil liberty, and national representation, and we will have it. I swear it, and I swear it also in the names of my brave comrades."—"I swear it," was instantly returned by the other generals, and the sitting closed amidst the acclamations of "Long live the Republic."

Thus easily was the Directory overthrown, and a consular government established in its

stead, composed of Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Roger Ducos. Barras, one of the Directors, who was the chief instrument of Bonaparte's elevation, sent his secretary with his resignation, and waited in his carriage to know the result. The haughty, and we must say, ungrateful answer of the First Consul was, "Tell him that I desire to hear no more of him, and that I trust I shall ever make the authority respected which is entrusted to me." Upon this he raised his voice so as to be distinctly heard by the grenadiers at the door, and exclaimed, "What have you done with the country which I left you so flourishing? I left you peace, and I have found war. I left you victory, and I have found defeat. I left you the treasures of Italy, and I find nothing but oppression and poverty. Where are the 100,000 heroes, my companions in arms, whom I left covered with glory? What is become of them? Alas! they are no more. This state of things cannot last long; in three years it will end in despotism. But we are for a republic, founded on the basis of equality, civil liberty, and political toleration. If you believe the assertions of the factious, we are the enemies of the Republic; we, who have strengthened it by our labours, and cemented it by our blood; but we wish for no better patriots than the brave men who have suffered in its service." This speech was highly applauded by all who were within hearing of it, and the secretary of Barras went away in confusion to report what he had heard. Barras resolved to repair instantly to his country house; but as he was rather appre-

ensive for his personal safety, he requested that a party of horse might be allowed to escort him, which was readily granted.

On the 10th of November, the two Councils met at St. Cloud, where the troops were assembled before them, planting themselves in every avenue which led to the castle, in consequence of which none of the deputies could pass without producing their medal, nor any person whatever who could not produce a ticket signed by the committee of inspection, and the number of these was but small. The business was opened by a speech from Gaudin, who proposed a committee of seven members, to consider the most proper means for providing for the public safety, which motion, it was believed, would be instantly carried; but as the meeting was uncommonly full, it was warmly opposed by that restless and turbulent banditti, the Jacobins, the wretched authors of all political mischief. Bonaparte in this respect was to blame; for on the preceding night it had been proposed, that a ticket signed by the inspectors should alone entitle any man to admission; but this was opposed by Bonaparte, who never apprehended that the Jacobins possessed so much power, and whose very admission he could easily have prevented, had he exerted his abilities. These were a set of miscreants, who verified the fabulous accounts which have been given of the salamander. He entered the Council of Ancients under a strong impression of his danger, and with more agitation of mind than he ever felt in the field of battle,

amidst rivers of blood, and fields of carnage, he thus addressed them :—

“ Representatives of the people, you are placed in no common circumstances ; you are in the mouth of a volcano, which is ready to devour you. Permit me to speak to you, with the frankness of a soldier, and the candour of a citizen, zealous for the welfare of his country. You informed me of your dangers, and I hastened to your assistance with my brother soldiers. Is not the blood which we have shed in battle, a sufficient proof of our devoted attachment to the Republic? Have they who dare to lift their voices against us, given similar pledges? They speak of a military government, and a conspiracy. Alas! the most dangerous of all is that which surrounds us every where, that of the public misery, which continues to increase. Have not ignorance, folly, and treason reigned long enough in our country ; have they not committed sufficient ravages? What class has not in turn suffered by them? Have not Frenchmen been long enough divided into parties, eager and desirous to oppress each other? The time is at length arrived to put an end to these disasters. You have charged me to present you with the means, and I will not deceive your expectations. If I had any personal or ambitious objects in view, I needed not to have waited till this time to realize them. Before my departure, and since my return, I have been often solicited to take the reins of government. I could make discoveries which would silence the greatest part of my calumniators ; but I will content myself with

saying, that Barras and Moulins entreated me to overturn the government, and place myself at the head of affairs. I rejected their overtures, because liberty alone is dear to me, and because I never wish to serve any faction or any party whatever; I wish to serve the French people alone. Let us not then be divided. Unite your wisdom and your firmness to the force which surrounds me, and I will devote myself to the service of the Republic."—"And to the constitution," said Linglet. "The constitution!" said Bonaparte, in the heat of indignation, "Does it become you to name it? What is it but a heap of ruins? Has it not been successively the sport of every party? Have you not trampled upon it on the 18th Fructidor, the 20th Floreal, and 28th Prairial? The constitution! has not every kind of tyranny been exercised in its name since the day of its establishment? Who can be safe under it? Is not its insufficiency manifested by the numerous crimes which have been committed in its name, even by those who are swearing to it a contemptuous fidelity? All the rights of the people have been unworthily violated, and to establish them on an immoveable basis, we must endeavour to establish in France, Republican liberty." In this speech we find none of the studied embellishments of rhetoric, because it was delivered extempore, but in this view we must grant that it exhibits uncommon eloquence, although his subsequent conduct has too clearly evinced, that it was devoid of sincerity.

Here he was in great danger of being assassinated, but still more so in the Council of Five Hundred, to which he next repaired. Many members exclaimed with violence, "Down with the tyrant, down with the dictator," while others loudly vociferated, "kill him, kill him;" and pistols, poignards, and fists, were promiscuously aimed at him. Arena, who was a native of Corsica, struck at him with a dagger, but the stroke was received by a grenadier on his arm, else it probably would have consigned Bonaparte to the grave. In this dangerous situation, General Lefebre advanced at the head of the grenadiers, and carried him out. He then mounted his horse, and made an effort to address the troops, but in such a feeble tone as was scarcely audible. The Council of Five Hundred decreed, that the Council of Ancients had far exceeded its powers in appointing Bonaparte to the chief command of the troops, since it exclusively belonged to the Directory; but they probably did not know that the Directory no longer existed, as a majority of its members had given in their resignation. At this awful moment he was tottering on the verge of ruin, had not his brother Lucien, during this solemn pause between destruction and triumph, mounted a horse, and delivered an oration to the troops, in which he stated, in strong and energetic language, the dangers of the country from the triumphs of the Jacobins, and concluded with these memorable words: "Generals, soldiers, and citizens, they only are the representatives who have followed me out of that seditious assembly; they

who remain there, must be expelled by force." The troops immediately exclaimed, "Long live Bonaparte, long live the Republic." The chamber was instantly ordered to be cleared by a company of grenadiers, whereupon the spectators leaped out at the windows, but the members waited their arrival. Every member who valued his own preservation, was requested by a general of brigade to leave the chamber, and join the president, with which many deemed it proper to comply. Another officer declared from the chair of the president, "Representatives, the commander in chief requires that you will quit this room." As numbers of them shewed signs of reluctance, the officer exclaimed, "Grenadiers, advance." On the beating of drums, the grenadiers came forward, and a shameful scene of confusion immediately ensued; but the chamber was cleared in the course of a few minutes. The members, as they fled out at the doors and windows, were received by the people with hisses and other marks of hatred; and such was the shame with which numbers of them were covered, that they tore away the badges of office as fast as possible, which were next day found in the surrounding ditches and plantations. The Directory was superseded by a consular government, consisting of Bonaparte, Sieyes, and Roger Ducos.

Popular satisfaction and applause hailed the arrival of the new Consuls at Paris, who held their first sitting at the Luxemburg, where "the palace of the Consuls of the Republic," was made the inscription, instead of "Directorial Palace."

In the first acts of his authority after he attained the dignity of first Consul, Bonaparte aimed at being popular, by which he discovered no small degree of political acuteness. He wrote a letter to the British government on the subject of peace, which was rejected, as he probably foresaw it would be, a circumstance which devolved the odium on Britain of continuing the war. It was consequently carried on by both parties with additional fury, and this country had reason to repent that the overture was refused. The great object of the chief Consul was to inspire confidence by his first acts of government, by giving the people the most favourable opinion of his moderation, clemency, and justice, which gave so much splendor to his deportment, that individual acts of cruelty were in a great measure hid from the public eye. Another political step was a decree for the honourable interment of the Pope, whose body had lain for six months at Valence. He naturally expected that such a measure would conciliate the favour of all those who were zealously attached to the Catholic religion. The pathetic terms in which this decree was expressed, were designed to convince the world how much he respected the memory of the unfortunate Pontiff, though we cannot help thinking that nothing was farther from his heart.

To prosecute the war with redoubled energy, Bonaparte formed an army of reserve at Dijon, chiefly composed of conscripts, and troops which had returned from La Vendee, to the amount

of nearly 50,000 men, comanded by General Berthier, a man equally acquainted with the rigours of war, and the intricacies of negociation and intrigue. As Bonaparte had resolved to open the campaign in Italy in his own person, he ordered the army to wait for him at Geneva ; on the 12th of June he reviewed the vanguard, commanded by general Lannes, the whole being next day in motion for mount St. Bernard. As they marched through Switzerland, the ease, simplicity, and affability of his manners were universally pleasing, the grandeur of the scenery of that fascinating country having afforded him much pleasure, and induced him to throw off his gloomy reserve. When he passed through it before, he conversed with familiarity and ease, though naturally inclined to speak little, and he constantly appeared to be pleased with the simplicity of nature, which is said to have been characteristic of Danton and Robespierre. He visited Madame Saussure, the widow of the celebrated mineralogist, with whom he conversed about half an hour with the utmost familiarity and freedom. He supped at the house of the prefect, stood and conversed for two hours together, entertaining the company with several anecdotes respecting Egypt, some of which were calculated to excite a laugh. His aids-de-camp observed to some persons in company, that the conversation must have been highly agreeable indeed, before it could engage his attention for such a length of time. No epic poem ever contained a greater number of astonishing events than the second

conquest of Italy by Bonaparte, and the passage of his army over the great St. Bernard was little short of a miracle. He performed three times more in five days, than Hannibal did in fifteen, though the latter had no heavy artillery to transport. Both were men of talents far superior to the rest of mankind, and it would be superfluous to exalt the one by a comparison with the other.

Confiding in the inexhaustible resources of his own mind, he promised to his army before setting out from Dijon, that they should be at Milan in the course of two decades, which he performed, after a complication of such difficulties as no human being ever surmounted before, in so short a time. The artillery was assembled at St. Pierre, and the mind which was capable of conceiving the vast project of its passage, had also discovered the means. Having dismounted the great guns, and placed them in hollow trees, they were drawn by a certain number of soldiers according to their weight; the wheels were carried on poles over men's shoulders; the axletrees, and empty waggons were placed on hurdles constructed for the purpose at Auxanne, and the ammunition was put into fir boxes, which were placed upon mules. The men who should convey each waggon with its cannon, were promised 500 livres, but they nobly refused the offer. The path across the mountain was so extremely narrow in many places, that only one man could pass it at once, without running the hazard of being buried among the

snow. From an excess of fatigue, and when nearly exhausted, they dipped their biscuit among the snow, which they considered as highly refreshing. Each man was allowed a glass of wine when they reached the convent of the great St. Bernard, a seasonable refreshment, of which they stood very much in need. They had still 18 miles to descend, before they passed the most perpendicular part of the montain, where their greatest difficulties commenced. The horses could scarcely be kept from slipping by the greatest care and attention ; and the soldiers, in spite of all their précaution, with difficulty kept their feet, so as to preserve themselves and horses in the proper path, being every moment in danger of being precipitated into the gulph below. The commander in chief slid down on his breech for upwards of 200 feet, his aids-de-camp going before him.

The strong fortress of Bard still impeded the army in its march, situated amidst rocks and precipices ; but Bonaparte determined to capture it, to whom nothing appeared impracticable ; and it surrendered to the French, after it cost them immense labour and fatigue. The first consul at one period was so completely exhausted, that he slept for two hours upon the ground, when the troops filed past him, making as little noise as possible, being very unwilling to disturb his repose. When he entered Milan the second time, it was little inferior in splendor to the first. Those who had been incarcerated, or plundered of their property, on account of their attachment

to the French, were set at liberty, and had their possessions restored.

On the evening 'before he fought the dreadful battle of Marengo, he went alone, and surveyed with attention the plain on which the awful scene was to take place. He was on horseback during the whole of the day, and returned at night to the camp completely drenched with rain. On the 14th of June, by the break of day, the troops were roused from their slumbers by the roar of cannon at a distance, and the whole French army was in the field in a few minutes, after a slight repast. It was discovered about 11 o'clock, that the outposts of the French had been attacked by the Austrians, in consequence of which Bonaparte instantly mounted and repaired in great haste to the scene of action. The extent of the enemy's line was about six miles. To gain Voghera was the great object of the Austrians, in consequence of which the retreat of the French might be cut off; the charge was incredibly violent, and the conflict was terrible beyond description, although scarcely two thirds of the French were in action. The troops in the rear were ordered to advance, but the division under the command of Desaix was yet at a considerable distance. The left wing of the army, under the command of General Victor, first began to give way; the infantry retreated, and the cavalry were severely repulsed; the enemy had also gained ground on the right wing, and followed up the advantages they acquired with the utmost rapidity. Bonaparte himself advanced

in front, in order to prevent a retreat, and his body guard of horse kept their station no longer near him, but were eager to take an active part in the conflict. The consular guard of infantry supported a most dreadful assault from the enemy, without being assisted by either cavalry or artillery; and though they were forced to yield, their retreat was as orderly as if they had been on parade. But all these exertions failed of producing the desired effect; the retreat of the French became general, the centre began to give way, and the Austrians turned both their wings. Bonaparte, upon this occasion, displayed incredible activity, to animate the remaining troops who defended the road and a defile through which they were passing, being inclosed by a thicket on one side, and by a spacious and lofty thicket on the other. The left of this place, so memorable for blood in the annals of war, was flanked by the village of Marengo, and the French had to sustain the thunders of 30 pieces of cannon, which tore in pieces both men and trees; the falling branches of the latter accomplished the destruction of those who were only wounded at first. At this dreadful moment, to give a description of which sets all language at defiance, and even baffles imagination to form an adequate conception of it;—when the earth every where around him was nearly covered with the dead and dying, and cannon balls with irresistible fury were tearing up the ground beneath the feet of his horse, Bonaparte seemed to smile at death in all his terrific forms, giving his orders

with that astonishing coolness which is peculiar to himself. He beheld the tempest with indifference ; his countenance never once changed, nor did he seem agitated for a moment. While using all his endeavours to rally his flying troops, he said, " Recollect that it is my custom to sleep on the field of battle," a seasonable reprimand, which produced the desired effect, bringing many of them back to their duty with redoubled vigour. At this instant Fortune appeared to have forsaken him, but in a short time was again upon his side. The Austrians found it impossible to force the defile, which was defended only by a handful of Frenchmen, with such heroic intrepidity ; and in a short time the reinforcements began to come up. Monnier and Desaix arrived with their respective divisions, and after a forced march of 30 miles, and meeting their flying army in all directions, nothing could retard their rapidity. Having looked attentively at their beloved commander, they felt themselves disposed to face every danger, and think of nothing but victory. Melas, the Austrian commander-in-chief, finding that his centre had to contend with such numerous difficulties, from the obstinacy with which it was resisted by the French, formed the idea of extending his wings, in consequence of which he was firmly persuaded that he would entirely surround them, and thus render it impracticable for them to retreat. By this movement he was prevented from seeing all that passed, and was of course unacquainted with the reinforcements which the French had received.

As Bonaparte constantly kept a watchful eye on his antagonist, he instantly availed himself of this blunder, formed his army into close columns, and poured his whole force upon the Austrians with irresistible fury, by which means the defile was cleared immediately, and the enemy defeated at every point. The division under General Desaix jumped over hedges, ditches, and mounds, while the division of Victor on the right carried the village of Marengo. The gallant Desaix entirely cut off the Austrian left wing, at the village of St. Stephano; but he was mortally wounded by a musket ball in the very midst of his triumphs, by which his valuable existence was terminated; and Bonaparte was much affected by the loss of such an officer. After his death the battle did not last long, for his troops were so fired with resentment for the loss of their favourite commander, that they charged the enemy with redoubled vengeance, putting a period to the conflict in a very short time, and pursuing the Austrians in every direction, whose safety from utter destruction was entirely owing to the approach of night.

Although Bonaparte was victorious abroad, and the arms of France were on the eve of completing the subjugation of Europe, his life was in imminent danger from a conspiracy at home. The persons concerned in this plot were composed of royalists, Jacobins, and what were called *moderates*, all of them men whose fortunes were ruined, and their ambition disappointed; who united in one common scheme for the sake

of plunder or preferment, having no desire to free their country from slavery, since Bonaparte as yet had not evinced himself a tyrant. Their scheme, however, proved abortive, yet it furnished him with a sufficient pretext for assuming a degree of authority incompatible with freedom. The instrument fabricated for his destruction was a machine of a singular nature, which, by some mismanagement was too late in exploding, in consequence of which he passed on to the opera house without having received the smallest injury. On the day before it took place, the minister of police received some obscure hints of the design, with which he next morning acquainted Bonaparte, and obtained for answer, "That's your affair, not mine."—"Will you go to the opera, then," rejoined the minister. "Without doubt," said the Consul.

Bonaparte shewed a wish to substitute his own will in the room of the constitution, by a law which passed the two legislative councils by a very small majority, the design of which was to institute a special criminal tribunal, in order to set aside the trial by jury, and enable all the judges to decide in a summary manner against all who were enemies to the state, in consequence of which the life of every man was placed in the utmost jeopardy. This attack on the constitution was a fatal precedent, for wherever liberty is guarded by certain established principles, the first inroad may be considered as demolishing the whole. The advances of Bonaparte towards supreme authority were slow, regular, and syste-

matic; he assumed the trappings of state, to try how they would be received; the etiquette of a court, a levee, drawing rooms, and all the appendages of monarchy, were seemingly highly agreeable to the people of Paris, who still retained some of their attachment to royalty; the term female citizen was abolished, the feudal appellation Madame being substituted in its place, and the epithet Monsieur was permitted to be adopted at pleasure. These things seemed to prove that the design of Bonaparte was to banish every trace of that revolution to which he owed his elevation. His attacks on liberty, and his strides towards empire, kept pace with each other, and every day produced some new departure from that sacred right for which the people of France had suffered such a complication of calamities. When the councils were dismissed in a peevish humour, the consular guard was augmented, prior to which the establishment of religion had not long taken place.

It was his constant wish to appear the patron of literature and science; whose bounty was dispensed by his brother Lucien, who likewise affected a passion for literature, and two or three speeches made up of flowing periods, acquired him the reputation of a man of taste. These are said to have been composed by the assistance of his dry nurse Fontanes, a report, the truth of which we are very much disposed to call in question. It has a strong resemblance to an account respecting his brother, by which he had been announced as dead, at least ten times, before

this period, although he is still alive for any thing we know to the contrary, and yet killed other twenty times more. The pension of L.100 per annum, given to the amiable St. Lambert, 80 years of age, and whom the revolution had ruined, was certainly a poor compensation for a man of poetry and philosophy.

Not long after Bonaparte obtained the Consulship, he made a number of experiments, in order to ascertain how far it would be prudent and safe for him to proceed; and to find out the temper of the people, he hinted at a very early period, that he expected some more interesting reward for his past services than any thing which they had yet bestowed. In the month of July, 1800, he declared to a committee which was sent to him upon business of no great moment, "That, after the time of his consulship was expired, and for a year longer, he would accept of nothing from the people; but if, after that period, they chose to apply to him the article of the constitution which decrees, that some great recompense shall be given to those warriors who have signalized themselves in defence of the Republic, he would then accept their kindness with gratitude." It is by no means improbable, that the article to which he here alluded, had been inserted for the express purpose to which he at this time applied it.

No man in the smallest degree acquainted with the life of Bonaparte, can bring himself to believe, that by the re-establishment of Popery in France, he had any serious design to do ho-

nour to the See of Rome, since his conduct in matters of religion has invariably given the lie to his professions. It will always hold good with respect to religious topics, that the man who professes to believe every thing, in fact believes nothing at all. In Italy he was a Christian, and in Egypt a true Mussulman, from which philosophy draws this conclusion, that he was neither the one nor the other. If a man believes that the earth rolls round the sun, he cannot at the same time believe that the sun rolls round the earth. He found, however, that in every country religion was an object of importance with most men, in consequence of which he saw clearly that it might be made subservient to the interest of his ambition. In this manner we shall be at no loss to account for his memorable *Concordat*, the first article of which points out the advantages to be gained by the civil over the ecclesiastical power, since the Reformation, and mentions the submission of the church to the state. "The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, shall be freely exercised in France; its worship shall be public, but conformable to the regulations of police which the government shall judge requisite for the general tranquility." 2d. "The Holy See, in concert with the government, shall agree to a new circumscription of French dioceses." To lessen the number of priests is manifestly the object of this article.

The Consulta at Lyons again represented the farce of liberty, which had been so frequently successful in the hands of Bonaparte, and the ex-

penance was to be paid by the Italians. If any credit is to be given to the French accounts, about 450 of the most respectable and enlightened characters were to become subservient to the pleasure of Bonaparte; and be the tools of his ambition. These men declared, as if wholly unacquainted with patriotism or liberty, that not a single individual except Napoleon Bonaparte, could properly have the sovereignty of the country conferred upon him. They virtually threw themselves at his feet after a flaming speech delivered by the president, and another by Bonaparte, whom they requested to become the head of their government. In the whole of this transaction, it is manifest that both parties had got their lesson by heart: Bonaparte had probably informed them what to say, and they would have a pretty strong guess what he was to answer. There was next a *something* brought forward, which went by the name of a constitution, in which the various powers of government were so confusedly huddled together, that, with the exception of the president's supreme authority, none of them could be distinctly perceived, which confusion was intended to keep despotism as much as possible in the back ground, which was no doubt paying a compliment to the spirit of the times, as open and avowed tyranny must always be disgusting, without some artful contrivance to give it the appearance of liberty. In states which were much indebted for their existence to the sword of Bonaparte, there can be little doubt that his influence would have been

very considerable, but no penetration could have previously discovered that it was his design to place himself at its head, and rule in a country with an absolute sway, in which he could not be personally present.

The news of the preliminaries of peace being signed between Great Britain and France on the 1st of October, 1801, as it was unexpected, afforded the sincerest joy and satisfaction. Some were of opinion that the repose of Europe would never again be disturbed; others were apprehensive that its duration would not exceed a few years, till both parties had acquired sufficient strength to enable them to recommence hostilities; but they who regarded it as nothing more than a truce,—a cessation of arms for a few months, discovered themselves the ablest politicians of the whole. They seem to have understood what would be the consequence of power on the mind of Bonaparte much better than others, especially than those who gave him credit for sincerity.

With the dastardly spirit of a Roman Senate during the existence of the empire, the council general of the department of the Seine, proposed that a monument should be erected in honour of Bonaparte, which he refused with appearances of modest dignity; but he had more important objects in his eye, and it was no great proof of self-denial in one who always affected to despise the applause of the multitude; yet the answer he returned was very well conceived, and expressed in a manner extremely proper for the occasion.

“The idea of dedicating monuments to men who render themselves useful to their country, is honourable to nations. I accept your offer; let the place be marked out, but leave to future ages the care of constructing the statue, if they confirm the good opinion which you entertain of me.” When the senate of Rome returned their thanks to the Emperor Nero, his reply was, “*Quum meruero*,” that is, when I shall have deserved it, which we are assured he never did deserve, but rather a halter. Bonaparte seems to have had the words of Nero in his eye; but we are not inclined to push comparisons too far.

To commemorate the restoration of religion and peace, in order to deceive both the British and French, a magnificent religious ceremony was ordained to take place in the church of Notre Dame on the 18th of April, 1802, at which the whole family of the first Consul was present. Had there been any kind of analogy between his civil eminence and his moral character, his uncle and mother must have regarded this, which in fact was nothing but the most abominable mummery, as a transporting sight; yet if they were in any measure acquainted with his heart, it must have occasioned many a heavy sigh, and perhaps floods of tears, to think what humanity had suffered to procure his exaltation. The archbishop of Paris consecrated the sword of Bonaparte, as if it had been meant to point out his subsequent exaltation to imperial dignity; the minds of the weak were wrought upon by all

the splendour of religion and the magnificence of state, that in their imagination the church and the throne might be united.

We cannot pass over in silence the conduct of Bonaparte towards the miserable inhabitants of Hispaniola, perhaps the most atrocious and abominable in the whole of his unexampled career. When this island was ceded to the French in 1795, in consequence of the treaty with Spain, it suffered all the miseries of oppression under the different tyrants of France, who followed each other in mournful succession; it was rent in pieces by its own inhabitants as well as by the wretched despots who were sent out to govern it. In 1797, the Directory nominated the black General Toussaint Louverture, to be commander in chief and governor-general of the island, because they considered him as qualified for such an important trust, as he so gallantly defended it against the British, and discovered such a determined resolution to restore internal tranquillity. His talents were above mediocrity, although born and bred a slave, and seemed to possess the milder virtues which Christianity is fitted to inspire; his manners were generous and noble, and such as might make even Europeans ashamed. He performed every thing which could in reason be expected, by virtue of the commanding influence he possessed over the minds of the negroes. Bonaparte, however, was unwilling to admit of an independent sovereign in any country whatever, which had formerly been in the possession of France, nor allow that

any man should be independent of him, whom he believed himself qualified to subdue. He therefore determined to bring Toussaint to an explanation, or subdue him by force of arms, a resolution which was neither liberal, just, nor humane. Toussaint had without doubt done much good, and his power was equally as legal as that of Bonaparte. If the one was usurpation, so was the other. In order to subdue the island, Bonaparte fitted out 26 ships of war, and 25,000 men, to bring about the subjugation of Toussaint, but his cause and that of his countrymen was only avenged by the ravages of the sword and pestilence, so that scarcely 1000 men out of the 25,000 ever returned to France. The army thus butchered in that inhospitable island, was chiefly composed of veteran troops, whose residence in France, it is probable, gave Bonaparte some uneasiness. The chief command of it was given to General Le Clerc, said to be a man fully qualified for conducting such a cruel expedition. The Consul addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Hispaniola, which had some appearance of moderation, and a letter to Toussaint, in the former of which he invited the people to return to their allegiance, and in the latter he requested Toussaint to accept the office of lieutenant, under Le Clerc, who was appointed captain and governor-general of the island.

The fleet destined for this expedition reached Cape François on the 2d of February, 1802, when Le Clerc sent an officer on shore, to inform the commandant of the place, whose

name was Christophe, that the First Consul of France had sent him to take possession of the island, and to accept the submission of the inhabitants. He also sent him the proclamation of Bonaparte, accompanied with his own, and fully expected that no opposition would be given to the landing of the French troops. Christophe's reply, no doubt by the orders of Toussaint, was, that he would by no means acknowledge the authority of France, nor allow a single man to come on shore. The army, however, did land on different parts of the island, and commenced the most shocking and barbarous war to be found recorded in history. The troops under Le Clerc were the first to give no quarter—men who should have been possessed of much greater humanity than the unfortunate blacks, whom they came to destroy. Coisman, who was tutor to the children of Toussaint, related the meeting to the minister of marine, between them and their father. His letter was, no doubt, intended to give an unfavourable representation of the black general, and yet in spite of this design, it conveys a striking proof of his affection and high-minded generosity. The sly tutor, perceiving the father and his sons all dissolved in tears, clinging around the necks of each other, thought it a seasonable moment for sounding him on his fidelity. "Is it Toussaint, the friend of France, whom I am about to embrace?" "Can you doubt it?" said the general. His son Isaac gave a detailed account of every thing he had been told by the Chief Consul and the captain-

general, to which Toussaint listened with the most profound attention. "I then presented to him the box containing the Consul's letter, which he read, and appeared satisfied. I entreated him to declare that he had no knowledge of the cruelties which had been committed at the Cape, and pressed him to surrender himself to the captain-general." It is passed over in silence in this letter of the tutor, that this great man, after he had hesitated for some time, and almost yielded to his proposition, exclaimed, "No, I cannot betray my brethren and my God; take back my children, since it must be so." Next day Toussaint wrote to Le Clerc, after which a correspondence was continued for some time; but as the parties could not be brought to mutual satisfaction, hostilities were recommenced with greater fury than before.

On the 5th of May, the blacks were obliged to submit to the terms of the French, by which means the children of Toussaint were restored to him, and he went to his estate at Gonaive, a mournful proof how dangerous it was to confide in the promises of Bonaparte. Here he had a delightful opportunity of exercising justice and compassion; but nothing short of unconditional submission could satisfy his imperious temper, and then he could only be pleased by the vilest treachery. Therefore, under the pretence of a conspiracy which Toussaint had scarcely time to conceive in his own mind, much less to put in execution, he was seized with his whole family, in open defiance of the most solemn treaty,

put on board of a frigate, and sent in irons to France, where there can be no doubt that he was secretly butchered in some shape or other. We have not forgotten the fate of the gallant Pichegru, and Bonaparte, if he durst, would have dispatched the amiable Moreau in a similar manner. The negroes have frequently been represented as cruel, stupid, and wholly incapable of being civilized; but, in opposition to this, let us contemplate the character of Toussaint, and it will appear manifest to every unprejudiced person, that in the possession of whatever is truly amiable and honourable to human nature, he was superior to Bonaparte. The natives of Hispaniola afterwards avenged the cause of liberty and the murder of Toussaint in a severe manner; but the cruelties which may be committed by the savages of Africa will cease to create astonishment, when civilized Europeans are guilty of setting them the bloody example. What cause have they for wonder, who delight in shedding innocent blood! We can be sorry for nothing so much as that the dreadful retaliation does not always fall where it ought.

When Bonaparte dictated a constitution to Switzerland at the point of the sword, he gave another terrible proof of his imperious nature and disposition. That unfortunate country, in which peace, virtue, and happiness once reigned triumphant, was the last which experienced French tyranny in all its dreadful effects, after the principles of the Revolution had been trampled under foot, and when the governments of every coun-

try within the reach of French influence, were doomed to be changed. The Swiss for some time held out against their oppressors with a spirit which would have done honour to the supporters of William Tell, but their force and councils were divided by intrigues and the omnipotence of gold, and were therefore incapable of opposing any longer the arms of France. The diet of Schweitz dissolved itself, which had been the focus of insurrection, and this fixed the fate of Switzerland as an independent country, while the constitution imposed by the chief Consul humoured the ancient prejudices and habits of the people to a certain extent.

Bonaparte fought many desperate battles for the French Republic, and frequently avowed himself to be a Republican, but that he ever was so in reality, it would be ridiculous to affirm. The time was now fast approaching, when he was to give indubitable proofs of the reverse, to break off all correspondence with Republicans, and possess no longer any respect for those very principles to which he owed his elevation. Men of penetration had long perceived this, as well as his attachment to monarchy, not like a philosopher, because it was a theory which he preferred, but entirely with a reference to himself, as it afforded the best means of gratifying his ambition, the predominant passion of his mind. His attachment to royalty was manifested even by things very trifling in themselves, such as his use of the term *subjects*, found in the treaty of peace between France and Russia, unques-

tionably not without design; and we cannot help remarking, that when this term is applied to the people at large, every Republican idea is completely destroyed. This unlucky phrase *subjects*, alarmed the few genuine Republicans who were still found in the tribunate, in consequence of which an explanation was required from government; but that explanation rather too clearly evinced the design with which it had been applied. Bonaparte, in his letter to the unfortunate Toussaint, made use of the term *We*, which has always been employed as distinctive of sovereign authority, and it appears that it was used by him intentionally, as well as frequently.

When he resolved to make rapid strides towards the assumption of monarchical power, he did not lose sight of the press as a masterly engine in his hand for that purpose. He completely enslaved it, in which even men of literature assisted him, and nothing could be printed without the consent of government. The remains of liberty in this respect in Britain, was matter of indignation to the government of France, and the freedom of election, however limited, was regarded as a defect. Roederer, Fievez, and Portalis, who once were the strenuous advocates of liberty, now employed all their talents in the vindication of absolute monarchy, while Bonaparte was sapping the foundation of every thing valuable in the human mind, that his *subjects* (for so he ventured to call them,) might be prepared for the most ab-

ject slavery. Houses were opened for balls, gaming, and lotteries, as encouragements to unbounded dissipation, and for corrupting the public mind, while Bonaparte was lecturing on morality to the institute, and religion to the clergy, notwithstanding he held both in the most sovereign contempt.

On the 6th of May, 1802, a daring proposal was made in the Tribune, that some striking proof of national gratitude should be conferred on Bonaparte, which was conveyed to him by a deputation, sent to congratulate him on the peace with Great Britain, and his style on this, as on former occasions, was fulsome in the extreme. In short, it required to be read backwards, and of course the terms *patriotism, country, philanthropy, public happiness, and social good*, were to be considered as importing ambition, vanity, and self-interest. It is thus evident, however, that men must at least pretend to consult the public good, before they can ever hope to gain the public confidence. To cheat the people of France, Louis XIV. found it only requisite to flatter their vanity, but Bonaparte endeavoured to arrive at the same object by pretending to consult their interest.

The promotion of Bonaparte to supreme power, has very properly been considered by some as a species of tragi-comedy, by means of which, the French people were deluded into a surrender of their liberty and civil equality, and all the scenes which were consequent on this, served to pave the way to the establishment of heredi-

tary empire. Bonaparte, however, was not satisfied with the degradation of the French people, as he had likewise in view the subjugation of all the countries of Europe, without which his vast scheme of ambition could not be matured. These were not only to be rendered passive, but timid; not only humbled, but self-abased; not only despised by others, but ashamed of themselves; they were to present such a spectacle as Europe has rarely beheld, of an insolent, imperious individual trampling on the necks of all other sovereigns; they were to revive the times of popery, when Gregory VII. puffed up with spiritual pride, like Bonaparte with ambition, extended his dominions over the face of the earth; when kings and princes were considered by him as subjects, and he mounted his horse with his feet on the neck of an emperor, his stirrups being held at the same time by two monarchs. The next part of Bonaparte's drama was to be performed by the conservative senate, by decreeing the addition of ten years to the customary duration of the Consulship, while nothing but their gratitude was decreed to the other two Consuls. While this matter was under discussion in the senate, it was observed by Languinai, "That it was rather singular the French should give themselves a master from that very island whence the Romans disdained to chuse their slaves." To this Peltier replied, "That the Romans were at liberty to chuse their slaves from whence they pleased, but not their masters." The other two

Consuls then came forward and declared, that the resolution of their colleague to accept the honour conferred on him, was a splendid homage to the sovereignty of the people, and decreed that the people should be consulted on that which concerned their dearest interests, "Shall Napoleon Bonaparte be Consul for life?" For this purpose registers were opened in the different communes of the Republic, for ascertaining the votes on this momentous question. This had all the appearance of respect for the people, but the manner in which it was conducted made it no better than an insult. The strength of the military prevented any man from giving a negative, by which his life and liberty might be endangered; and the actual number of votes thus procured, bore a very small proportion to the whole population of France. The success attending this part of the plan, afforded fresh spirit to persevere; and the next scene was opened with the question, "Shall Napoleon Bonaparte nominate his successor?" A pretence was made that this came from the people themselves, but as the registers were very slowly filled up, we have good reason to believe that the people were both bullied and slandered. On the 10th of August, the registers were closed by the senate, and they proclaimed the result of the election, and decreed Bonaparte to be chosen Consul for life, which was presented to him by a speech from Barthelemy, in the middle of a diplomatic audience, and answered by Bonaparte in such a manner as it was natural

to expect, "I am happy to have been called by him, from whom all things emanate, to restore justice, order, and equality on earth." If this be not blasphemy, we must of necessity give up the divine benevolence.

The favourable circumstances attendant on the commencement of Bonaparte's power, were surveyed with no small degree of satisfaction by the moderate friends of liberty; for although it must be granted that they did not find in him every thing they could have wished, they were ready to make every possible allowance, which could be suggested by the nature of the times, the characteristic temper of the French people, and the peculiar manner in which the surrounding nations were affected. They beheld in him few things to censure for a number of months after his accession to power, but many to applaud, yet they paid too much regard to the voice of calumny and detraction, which represented him as possessing every odious quality, though once the friend of freedom, and on account of these they regarded him as an object of hatred; a discovery which is rather to be attributed to malice than to penetration. It was their firm resolution to think every thing ill of him, and we cannot affirm that they have been greatly disappointed; yet their praise would have been withheld, had he even continued what he formerly appeared to be. As long as they could persuade themselves that he was honest, the friends of liberty and moral melioration continued to adhere to him, even after he had given too many strik-

ing proofs of the reverse. But when the prospect of an immediate rupture with Great Britain carried him to the utmost pitch of resentment, making him transgress the common bounds of decorum, such as pardoned his re-establishment of popery, asking the Consulship for life, and demanding the suppression of British newspapers, acknowledged themselves to have been egregiously duped, and united in execrating the man whom they considered as at once a deceitful and unprincipled tyrant.

The next institution of Bonaparte which was attended with danger, and respected the defence of his future throne, was the *Legion of Honour*, resembling the order of Cincinnatus established by Washington, being a vile attempt to introduce distinctions of an aristocratical nature, and designed to destroy that Republican equality which exalts or honours mankind, only on account of their merits, talents, or official authority. Some may no doubt reckon it harsh to institute a comparison between these two, or insinuate any thing against the character of General Washington, yet we have good authority for saying, that he was not averse to distinctions of an aristocratical, or even a monarchical nature; and had he not been born in a country of stauncher Republicans than the French were, in all probability he would have died a king, if not an emperor. This point seems to be placed beyond a doubt by the order of Cincinnatus; but what was intended to establish aristocracy in America, proved its destruction in France. The sword was sheathed for a

little between Great Britain and France, but the pen was employed with reprehensible virulence, the *Moniteur* being used by the one party, and the *Times* and the *Sun* by the other, which poured forth the most terrible invectives against each country, in order to depreciate their constitution, government, and resources; from which it was very naturally concluded that the peace would not be of long duration.

No sooner was the Legion of Honour decreed, than Bonaparte formed the resolution of extinguishing the only remaining spark of liberty yet found in the constitution. He obtained the power of arbitrary imprisonment, banishment, and the utter suppression of every species of writing with which he was not satisfied; all which could not furnish abundant fuel for his ambition, and therefore he resolved to make every civil office dependant on himself, and to controul the administration of justice, and the new constitution was hurried through the Conservative Senate during one day's deliberation, being next day promulgated in the form of a law. He established arbitrary power at home with great success; next turning his attention to foreign countries, new modelling the empire of Germany, and making the other powers of Europe subservient to his will. The arrangement of the indemnities having proceeded slowly, by no means suited to the native impetuosity of his temper; he prevailed with the Emperor of Russia to interfere in adjusting the claims of the different parties, which had little appearance of being soon

adjusted through the medium of discussion. Bonaparte and the emperor submitted a plan of settlement to the German Diet, which was accepted as the conclusion of this tedious affair.

To banish *in toto* the simplicity of the Republican government, and bring back the forms of monarchy, as preparations to something more substantial, Bonaparte decreed that the garments of all the public functionaries of justice should be nearly similar to those which were made use of under the old government, not wishing to admit the axiom, if possible, to exist any longer, that men should be estimated by their merit, and by that standard alone. The most zealous friends of monarchy have long since acknowledged the folly and inutility of many forms, which were perhaps necessary in times of gross ignorance, with a view to keep the people in awe, by giving to public officers of authority, a degree of veneration almost more than human. It will be readily admitted, we believe, that some sort of distinction is necessary to point out the persons who are vested with superior power, but every thing beyond this can only subject them to the ridicule of those who are possessed of discernment. We know that this is the case in Britain, and it would be impossible to bring these things back again, if they were once fairly abolished. The large wig and the black patch which are worn by a judge, can surely add nothing to the genuine respectability of the man, more than the plain dress of a country justice of the peace, and the members of a dissenting congregation

pay as much deference to their minister in a plain black coat, as can be expected by a doctor of divinity with a white surplice and a scarlet hood ; for it is the man alone who can make the office esteemed.

The determination of Bonaparte to establish despotic power, was likewise evinced by the manner in which he new-modelled the National Institute. This society originally consisted, of three classes, each of which was again divided into sections ; but he made the classes four in number, in which many of the former sections were united, a new class added, and two sections raised into classes. Nothing can be so hostile to the views of tyranny as those studies which lead to the investigation of the origin of power, the rights of man, the duties which the members of society owe to each other, and the means by which political knowledge may be both diffused and preserved. It would perhaps be difficult to assign a reason why the section of political economy was banished along with those researches which might prove inimical to the views of tyranny ; for we know that Bonaparte always affected at least, to be anxious for the improvement of the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of France, so as to raise them above all other nations, and therefore why should political economy be proscribed ? The reason may probably be, that he was fond of no species of learning beyond what is properly ornamental, or to mathematical science, which is wholly unconnected with the conduct of mankind. They are

so far from being hostile to despotic power, that physical and mathematical sciences, have been said to flourish most under such governments, while those which tend to the improvement of man can only flourish in a state of civil liberty. It has been remarked by some, and no doubt with great propriety, that if Adam Smith, Montesquieu, and Stewart had been in France at that time, they would have been excluded from the institute.

Were we to affirm that Bonaparte never did any thing well, it would be the height of calumny and detraction, the grossest blindness and prejudice ; and to conceal the good he has done, would be malevolence in the extreme. It is indisputable that his talents are great for the civil administration of a country, if we only examine the civil code and the national almanac ; for although these may not have been the result of his own individual wisdom, they are both much indebted to him ; and what a man approves of in other people that is entitled to approbation, renders him deserving of praise, though inferior in degree to that which belongs to the inventor. The French nation was divided into departments by the constituent assembly, but their administration, by means of civil and criminal tribunals, is well adapted to secure the execution of the laws, and the union of the government, with every part of the empire. Were they always in the hands of honest men, they might powerfully contribute to preserve the comfort and happiness of the people ; but the passions peculiar to Bonaparte

were too strong for the effects of his wisdom, and converted every thing into the misery, rather than the happiness of the human race.

When hostilities were on the eve of recommencing, the first act of violence we find Bonaparte guilty of, was the detaining of the British who had gone to visit France during the existence of an ephemeral peace, although they had a particular promise of security. This was no doubt a shocking violation of the laws of civilized war, probably more so than any other which is to be met with in history, and it afforded a terrible specimen of the manner in which the war was to be conducted on the part of France. Nothing after this need be matter of astonishment in the life of Bonaparte. The British were not only detained, but were likewise to be put to death, and many of them would no doubt have suffered, had the issue of the war proved calamitous to France.

After Bonaparte had subjugated the greater part of the Continent, he employed every effort to reduce Britain to a similar situation; and when he was obliged to attempt openly what he could not accomplish by fraud and deceit, his resentment became unbounded, as he had no conception that the British ministry would penetrate his designs, nor that such vigour and unanimity would be exhibited by the people at large. We believe that he always saw the absurdity of attempting to invade this country, whatever he might at one period pretend; but he laboured to accomplish his object by the ruin

of our commerce, and exhaust both our patience and our funds by protracting the war; in both of which he completely failed, as will be seen in the sequel.

It may here be proper to mention the particular circumstances, which occasioned the breach between Bonaparte and the court of St. Petersburg, which do not represent the late Emperor of France in the most amiable light, but are rather descriptive of his irritability, peevishness, haughtiness, and the extreme littleness of his mind; they prove how impatient he was of opposition, how he held in contempt the established forms of refined society, and therefore they speak more forcibly than whole volumes of history. Count Markoff possessed a very superior degree of urbanity of manners, and was well acquainted with the world, on which account he was extremely much disgusted with the conduct of Bonaparte towards the polished Lord Whitworth, when he was publicly affronted by him in the midst of a diplomatic circle, and was the only person who ventured to shew his displeasure against the rudeness of the Consul. He gave a smile of the most sovereign contempt, and then went directly up to the British Ambassador, which filled the ruler of France with determined hatred. Count Markoff, from this period, was never invited to any of the diplomatic dinners, nor spoken to at the levees. When it was proposed to request the mediation of Russia between Great Britain and France, the Count, hinted, without any ambiguity, that

no lasting peace could be expected, without the restoration of his Sardinian Majesty's dominions, and an acknowledgement made by France of the independence of Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. Not many days after this, Bonaparte insulted him with the most shameful and abusive language, and even went so far as to insinuate, that he would confine him in the Temple. This put a period to the attendance of Count Markoff, both at the Thuilleries and at St. Cloud, although he so far complied with court etiquette as to take his leave before he set out for St. Petersburg.

On the 25th of February, 1804, Louis XVIII. was informed by the Abbé Edgeworth, that M. President de Meyer, who was immediately arrived from Berlin, had a mission of great importance to his Majesty from the King of Prussia. Louis received him next morning, when the president explained the nature of his business; proposing to him, in a very earnest, but respectful manner, to give up his claim to the monarchy of France, in return for which Bonaparte would allow him a very ample indemnity. The unfortunate sovereign instantly answered him by rejecting the proposition, and in two days wrote to him the following dignified letter. "I am far from confounding Bonaparte with those who have preceded him. I think highly of his valour and his military talents; neither do I feel ungrateful for many acts of his administration; for whatever is done for the benefit of my people, shall always be dear to my heart. I cannot pretend to know what may be the intention of the

Almighty respecting my race and myself, but I am well apprized of the obligations imposed upon me by the rank to which he was pleased I should be born. As a Christian, I will continue to fulfil these obligations to my latest breath. As a descendant of St. Louis; I will endeavour to imitate his example, by respecting myself, even in captivity. As a successor of Francis I. I will at least aspire to say with him, "We have lost every thing but our honour." That Bonaparte, circumstanced as he was, should have been the author of such a scheme, is by no means astonishing, but it is matter of surprise indeed, that the King of Prussia should have had the meanness to be the medium of such a dispicable proposition. What littleness of soul does this exhibit, when contrasted with the dignified conduct of the exiled prince! The one was great even in the midst of sufferings and calamities, whilst the other on his throne sunk beneath the level of his lowest subjects.

Finding there was no hope of success from this quarter, Bonaparte grew more outrageous than ever; increasing his rigorous measures throughout the whole Republic, as well as doubling the number of those infamous wretches called *spies*, and ordering numbers of executions in secret, which by degrees came to be well understood, and were the just causes of greater execration than even the massacres of that monster Robespierre. He was tormented by the want of success, even after the performance of his dirty job by so great a personage as the

King of Prussia; finding also that an invasion of Britain was impracticable; that his barbarous proceedings in Hispaniola produced an effect the very reverse of what his mind had presaged; that his threatenings in some of the European courts were in a great measure disregarded, and that France itself appeared weary of his usurpation. The prisons were said to be much fuller than at any former period.

The Chamber of Hell, so called by those who visited it, is a long, damp, and dark room, about 10 feet below the surface of the ground, into which were barbarously driven all those who were suspected of being hostile either to his person or government. There they were fed on bread and water for two days and nights, or for double that period, by which treatment, it was hoped they would be induced to subscribe any thing that might be demanded of them. From this they were conducted to another unusually illuminated, to be examined by Real or Fouche. Bonaparte attended in an adjacent closet, in order to be ear witness of every thing that passed. If these wretched victims of affrighted despotism had nothing to confess, or which was ultimately the same, were determined to make none, they were ordered back to their dismal abode, to be examined at a subsequent period, before which the experiment of the rack was frequently tried. Few of those who made any confession were ever heard of more, and even those who were presumed to be innocent could not procure their deliverance without the payment of large sums

of money, being also required to sign a declaration, as well they might, of the GREAT HONESTY AND CLEMENCY OF THE GOVERNMENT, which was deposited in the hands of the police. Measures of such a cruel nature only rendered Bonaparte the more detested, and gave birth to a general wish for the restoration of monarchy. Among the number of those who created suspicion in his mind, our readers will not be surprised to find the great and gallant general, Victor Moreau, whom he had dared to arrest, to the astonishment of all Europe. He was first sent to the Abbey, and from thence to the Temple, in the course of three days. When apprehended on the 15th of February, 1804, he was in his carriage, proceeding from Paris towards his country house, and the person who performed the dirty job was General Moncey, at the head of 50 *gens d'armes*, who commanded the coachman to stop; when General Moreau, calmly putting his head out at the window, desired him to drive him to the Abbey; to which his servant with warmth, replied, "No, general, *they* may take you there, that will not *I*;" on which he dismounted from the box, and one of the soldiers, by the command of Moncey, took his place.

Much about the same time Pichegru and Georges were arrested, who being examined and tortured, agreeably to the accustomed *humanity* of Bonaparte's government, were separately imprisoned. Such astonishing proofs of firmness and intrepidity were given by Pichegru, that he was appointed to a secret death, whilst every

thing was done to impress a conviction on the public mind, that the amiable Moreau was included among the conspirators. No doubt could be entertained of the existence of a conspiracy; but what rational being, in the smallest degree acquainted with his character, could possibly believe that Moreau was concerned in it? The trial by jury was suspended; the report of the grand jury had the appearance of condemning him prior to any trial whatever, and all men of penetration clearly perceived, that it was the ardent wish of Bonaparte to destroy him, if that could be accomplished with any prospect of safety, his illustrious character being so vastly superior to his own. Pichegru was secretly removed, because his evidence would have proved incontestibly the innocence of that great man. The infant Republic had been saved by Pichegru, who, when he saw tyrants ruling under the venerable, the sacred name of liberty, determined to renounce a cause which had been so dreadfully dishonoured. He was murdered in a secret manner, because Bonaparte durst not venture to dispatch him in public, although tyranny, aghast, pretended afterwards, that he had been guilty of suicide, which from his situation was absolutely impossible.

When we advert to the means by which the different plots and conspiracies against the government of Bonaparte were discovered, they give us a terrific picture of the state of society in France, and of the abominations gendered by the Revolution. The system of police, which

was the child of Talleyrand, was made up of men totally unknown to each other, though not so to Bonaparte. They acted as spies on each other, and on society, were entirely supported by the sacrifice of others, and only existed for the work of destruction. Such were the *noble* pillars of his throne, who proved the ruin of every honest man whom they found it possible to deceive; they swarmed through France, and even the whole of Europe, insinuating themselves into the houses of the great, to pamper their luxury and vanity, to watch over their actions, company, and conversation, and give in to their employers the result of their treachery. They filled shops, theatres, churches, and counting houses, in consequence of which they imparted a sort of omniscience to Bonaparte, which was only to be employed in mischief and murder.

To this abominable vermin the *gens d'armes* were a kind of supplement, consisting of 28 legions, one of them called emphatically the *chosen band*: the rest of them were stationed through the whole of France, patrolling the high ways both day and night, stopping every traveller to examine his pass, and were not amenable to any man but their general officer, for whatever enormities they might think proper to commit, and he again to the minister of police, the fountain of his instructions. They were selected from the most abandoned and atrocious characters in the whole army, in which they must have served at least three campaigns. The chosen band resided in the seat of government, under the ministers of

the secret police, who likewise guarded the Temple and other state prisons, as well as the secret agents of torture and of murder. Nor must we omit to mention, that they could not be advanced to such *enviable dignity* before a five years service in the *honourable* employment of spies!!

By these, and ten thousand more, who were emphatically called his own guard, was Bonaparte defended on his throne, who was denominated by French newspapers the *idol of the nation*, and who *reigned in the affections of his people!* A government supported in a manner so extremely corrupt, by force and fear; by spies, murderers, and assassins, must have had a shocking appearance in the eyes of the world; and tended to the destruction of those moral principles by which mankind have been held together in social union; it was destructive of the finest feelings of human nature, and reduced the whole to the dastardly consideration of fear; for such as were driven to consult their own preservation alone, must have been utter strangers to philanthropy, public spirit, and patriotism. In process of time, the calamities of their nearest relations were viewed with indifference, and if they could enjoy any degree of personal security, it was to them a matter of small importance who might suffer or die; they murdered unpleasant reflections by means of dissipation, and in this manner they accomplished the objects of the usurper.

After the grand conspiracy was known, the situation of Bonaparte did not appear to be en-

vable. The root of the evil had been ascertained, but it was not in his power to determine how great its extent might be. Every man was considered as an enemy on whom he cast his eyes, and he appeared unwilling to confide even in those who discovered for him the greatest attachment. Both his body and mind suffered severely, and his distressing days were not succeeded by the balmy comforts of sleep, being free from suspicion in no apartment of his palace. A man may fall upon ways and means to conceal his villainy from the world, but no method has yet been found out, by which he can fly from himself. His countenance was said to be pale, haggard, and wan, resulting from the disordered state of his mind, while the only hope of his own safety was made to rest on the destruction of others. He was deprived of present comfort by his uncertainty respecting the future, and his reflections continually tormented him. His greatest cause of uneasiness arose from the royal family of France, to effect whose extermination from the face of the earth he left nothing unattempted.

A proposition, it has been said, was made to the court of Berlin, to deliver up Louis XVIII. as one of those who were concerned in the conspiracy, while others are of opinion that he went no farther than to order his papers to be searched, and his body confined in some of the fortresses belonging to the Prussian dominions during the continuance of the war with Britain. If the former supposition be regarded as true,

to which the sudden change of couriers seemed to give rise, it must be viewed as a most abominable demand, or master-piece of cruelty. Could motives of interest or fear have made his Prussian majesty so base as to deliver up an unfortunate sovereign to the rapacity of a determined, implacable foe, it would have tarnished his reputation for ever; and to have violated the laws of hospitality, by giving up an innocent personage to be murdered, would have been the *ne plus ultra* of cruelty, being a man who never had any personal enmity, and whose misfortunes never originated from himself. Had Louis XVIII. been murdered, either by day or night, his death ought to have been revenged, not merely as the cause of sovereigns, but of the people of every civilized country; and nothing could have been justly reckoned too great a sacrifice for punishing the authors of such a horrid deed.

The murder of the Duke d'Enghien happened not long after this. He was a young, loyal, and generous prince, against whom no real crime could be brought. It was indeed surmised that he had formed a design against the life of Bonaparte, which we cannot believe. He was apprehended in the territories of a neutral power, from whom he had received protection from the rage and persecution of his enemies, and dragged out of bed at the dead hour of the night, by a number of soldiers. The prefect and military commandant examined him at Strasburgh, whose verdict was, that they found

nothing against him, by which his life might be endangered. After a journey of 300 miles without intermission, he was conveyed to the Temple, where the soldiers were ordered to carry him to the castle of Vincennes. During the whole of his journey, he was not permitted to sleep, after which he was put into an empty room, loaded with irons, which were struck off at the close of a few hours, when he was conducted into the governor's apartment, in which were assembled his pretended judges. Here he underwent a mock trial, destitute at once of witnesses and jury; and then for other twelve hours he was hurried back to his wretched abode. His sentence being pronounced, he desired three favours from the cannibals who were thirsting for his blood, two of which were in some respects granted. The first, was a request that a priest might be permitted to wait upon him in his last moments, which was granted for an hour; the second request was, that a lock of his hair might be sent to a lady whom he named; and his third request was, that he might give the signal himself when the soldiers were to fire, which was positively denied with the most ferocious cruelty. When he reached the fatal spot, supported by two soldiers, he seemed to recover all his strength and spirit for a moment, requesting that his eyes might not be bound; and having heard the language of his butchers (who were Italians), he thanked the Almighty that he was not to be murdered by his own countrymen. He then uttered these

emphatic expressions: "O God, save my King, and deliver my country from the yoke of a foreigner;" when the bloody signal was given, and having fired upon him, he was instantly pierced through with bullets, and fell breathless to the ground. In this manner a race of heroes terminated their career, who had rendered themselves illustrious by their courage and their virtues.

It is very difficult, if it be not impossible, to give a satisfactory reason for this savage conduct of Bonaparte. It was the height of extravagance, if he expected to destroy the whole race of the Bourbons, while many of them were to be found in different countries of Europe, which made the destruction of one of them a piece of the most wanton cruelty. He designed, perhaps, by this barbarous measure, to inspire the rest with fear, and prevent them from making any attempt upon his life. Perhaps he thought, that to remove the nearest from the throne, might be instrumental in preventing the people from being deeply interested about the remaining branches. Had Bonaparte impartially weighed his conduct in this particular, he surely must have discovered that it could not fail to increase the numbers of his enemies. More obscure characters might have passed unobserved, and been murdered with impunity, but both the inferiors and superiors of the Duke were interested in his fate. We may form some idea of the opinion generally entertained at Paris respecting it, from

the following paper, which was fixed upon the walls, by order of General Murat.

“ The governor of Paris recommends to all the officers of the garrison, and national guards, whenever they shall have an opportunity, to enlighten the citizens on the subject of many false reports which the ill-disposed have endeavoured to circulate ; they have omitted nothing in their power to spread alarm ; sometimes they publish, that the death of Pichegru was not the result of suicide ; and sometimes they dare to affirm, that numbers of suspected persons are shot every night. The citizens of Paris ought to know, that military justice, any more than civil justice, cannot be executed without public formality, and that no guilty person has been condemned by the military tribunals, without his sentence being printed, and publicly pasted up. The arrests which have taken place, since that of General Moreau, all tend to prove his guilt. Ducorps, one of the brigands, mentioned in the list published by the grand judge, has been taken at Chartres. To this moment, all that the grand judge has, and nothing but what he has asserted, is true. Although the governor well knows, that idle reports do not occupy the attention of the citizens of Paris, yet he thinks it requisite to recommend to the officers of the national guard, who are dispersed in different parts of the city, not to suffer the public opinion to diverge ; that of all classes of the people is essentially connected with the confidence and af-

fection which the First Consul has a right to expect from Frenchmen. (Signed) MURAT."

All the powers of Europe did not pass over in silence the murder of the Duke d'Enghien, as it is well known that the Emperor of Russia entered his protest against it in the German Diet, as Duke of Courland, affirming it to be an attack on the peace and safety of the empire; and the King of Sweden followed his example as Duke of Pomerania, the ministers of both of these monarchs being ordered to wear mourning at the court of Bonaparte. A note on the same subject was transmitted to Paris by the Emperor of Russia, to which Talleyrand returned an evasive and insulting answer, charging the Emperor with inconsistency in thus loudly demanding satisfaction for the Duke d'Enghien's murder, while he permitted those to pass with impunity who had assassinated his father. When all sense of honour is lost, either by nations or individuals, and when they can tamely submit to the vilest indignities, we may fairly pronounce society to be making rapid strides towards a state of barbarism, in which there is no security for the weak against the insolent abuse of the powerful. Why allow a ferocious individual to shed unpunished the blood of the innocent, and insult all those who venture to exclaim against his barbarity.

Bonaparte at length ventured to proceed a step farther than that of First Consul, and in fact assumed the imperial dignity, thus hoping to render his power more permanent, and fix it in

his own family to the consummation of all things. This design had been long whispered before the event, and the belief was general that it would take place; but conjecture was changed into certainty on the 27th of March, 1804, by an address from the Conservative Senate to the First Consul, on the papers which had been transmitted to them by the grand judge, relative to the conspiracy of the royalists. The danger of himself and the state, was urged as a pretext for his assuming more extensive powers. Having only hinted at their design, Bonaparte, in his answer, desired them to speak their sentiments freely, and observed that he understood them to mean, that he should make his power hereditary, that the triumphs of liberty and equality might thus be insured, as well as the safety and preservation of the country. He then took notice of the sovereignty of the people, which in his mouth by this time was the most unintelligible jargon, and he concluded his rhapsody, by assuring them, that the happiness and glory of the nation *lay very near his heart!* All continued silent from this period till the 29th of April, when the following motion was brought forward by Curée in the Tribune: "That the government of the Republic be entrusted to an Emperor, and that the empire be hereditary in the family of Napoleon Bonaparte." It is matter of astonishment how the French nation could swallow such consummate nonsense;—the Emperor of a Republic!! It would be just as good sense to say, the absolute monarch of a democracy. The mo-

tion, however, was unanimously carried, and a committee of thirteen members was chosen, to consider of the most proper means for carrying it into effect. The report was to be received and discussed on the 1st of May, but the debate was remarkable neither for length nor animation, as only a single person ventured to oppose the measure. This was the celebrated Carnot, who had formerly given a solitary vote against the first extension of his power, thus defying his fury by the exercise of an honest independence. Some have called in question the sincerity of Carnot on this occasion, and it must be granted that there are many plausible arguments both for and against it. It has been considered as a concerted plan between him and Bonaparte, to give the air of freedom to the debate. If so, it was undoubtedly the most artful confederacy which is any where to be met with, and therefore we cannot dismiss it without some examination. The suspicion that it was a manœuvre between them, is said to be countenanced by Carnot's general character, for he shared all the bloody transactions of Robespierre as a member of the Committee of Safety, which renders it the more probable, we are told, that he was equal to the perpetration of any species of villainy. It is no doubt true that Carnot was a member of that abandoned committee, but he was never a party to their bloody proceedings, and only remained in it for the purpose of directing the military department, in which capacity he was of the most singular advantage to his country. It is

possible too, that he may have given, to a certain extent, his sanction to the conduct of Robespierre, for every execution of which he was the author, was by no means unjust. At all events he may have reconciled to his conscience his remaining among such a groupe of monsters, as the only situation in which he could be of real service to France; and men who have fixed the resolution of doing good in times so momentous as these were, do not always find it practicable to make choice of their company. One thing is quite apparent, that when the atrocities of Robespierre became wholly insufferable, he withdrew entirely from their meetings; except when his presence was rendered necessary by military affairs, for which he was frequently reproached by Robespierre, and their misunderstanding came at length to such a height, that Carnot called him a cowardly tyrant. He escaped the punishment inflicted on the other members of this infernal committee, for which he was probably indebted to the conduct just now mentioned.

General Danican, in a work entitled "Brigands Demasques," has not brought forward a single fact which can tend in the smallest degree to criminate Carnot, who was always a genuine Republican, alike an enemy to violence and to servility. Not long after Bonaparte came into power, he refused to accommodate himself to his measures, and was dismissed from his service. We are convinced that Carnot was sincere in his opposition, which may be learned from his

speech, replete with such incontrovertible arguments against the establishment of a new empire, and such forcible accusations brought against Bonaparte himself, that he undoubtedly overacted his part if he was not sincere; and we cannot conceive what motives could influence Carnot to be guilty of such meanness. It is a fact, that his services never were rewarded; he had neither the public countenance nor the private confidence of Bonaparte, and it never was alleged against him, that he either shared of his bounty or his honours. He mourned over the degradation of his country, not having it in his power to restore her to liberty, though such an happy event was the ardent wish of his soul.

The proposition of Curée already mentioned, was again considered on the 2d of May, and finally adopted on the 3d, being sent to the Senate for the sanction of their approbation, who in their turn referred it to a committee, the report of which was returned on the 8th, and on the 11th the new constitution was decreed and published. Joseph and Louis Bonaparte were instantly vested with the rank of Imperial Highness, and they and their heirs were nominated successors to the throne. The sisters of Napoleon were created princesses, while his mother, who had been the honoured instrument of bringing such a valuable present to the world, was allowed to remain in secret, with the plain appellation of, *Lætitia Bonaparte*. The safety of her imperial son gave her much uneasiness, and much of her time was taken up in consulting

fortune-tellers, in saying masses, and in making confessions to her priest. It was declared by men of discernment several years ago, that the dominion of Bonaparte could not last long; and since we have lived to witness its termination, it may not be improper to give their sentiments at that time, which assumed the form of predictions, but are now literally true. "The strength of the revolutionary party, not the consent of the people, must secure the continuance of the imperial government, because if they prove more than a match for the royalists, the dominion of Bonaparte is established; but if they cannot carry this important point, it seems impossible to prevent the restoration of the Bourbons. Royalty appears already to be reckoned superior to Republicanism, and therefore the point at issue is, whether royalty shall be administered by the old family, or a new one; and as a degree of veneration is generally attached to antiquity, it is not unlikely that the old family adherents may ultimately prevail. The assumed dignity of Bonaparte has two difficulties to struggle with, the want of prejudice in its favour, and the want of virtue in itself, both of which, we believe, may be vanquished in time. Should this power pass quietly from Napoleon to his successor, whoever that may be, it may perhaps take root and flourish; but if it should not exist so long as the first transmission, it will certainly fall never to rise again." This is a remarkable prediction, which we have seen verified in a great measure; and time only can declare whether it

has actually fallen *never to rise again*. We will not hesitate to say, that revolutionary tyrants are the worst, for this obvious reason, that they have neither the esteem of the people nor hereditary prejudice in their favour, and their power is not held by the force of opinion, but by the point of the bayonet.

The steps which paved the way to the trial of General Moreau occupied nearly three months, who in the mean time wrote a submissive letter to Bonaparte, which has been viewed by some as tarnishing his memory. Its great length precludes its insertion here, as well as his defence before his partial judges, the latter of which discovered the great and amiable man in almost every sentence, and as a connected whole it contained an indescribable something which guilt could never have penned.

It is said, that at the intercession of some of the princesses, Bonaparte affected to be very merciful in extending pardon to some of the conspirators, by which he endeavoured to mimic the conduct of Augustus; but while the soul of the Roman emperor possessed a genuine degree of dignity and generosity, that of Napoleon was never susceptible of the finer feelings. He who could murder the Duke d'Enghien and Pichegru, could not be the votary of mercy and compassion. His determined hatred of Moreau, a man who could design no injury against any person whatever, is remarkably exhibited in his conduct towards such of the conspirators as were acquitted,—for their unprincipled evidence tended

chiefly to criminate the great Moreau, and consequently they obtained their lives as a reward for their perjury. His splendid victories alarmed the mean soul of Bonaparte, who measured the virtues of that hero, by his own want of them, and concluded that his eminent popularity might make him stoop to be as ambitious as himself. In every thing which can add dignity to human nature, Bonaparte felt him to be superior to himself, and it is evident that the nation thought so too, since an offer was made him of assuming the reins of government, before any such tender was made to Bonaparte. Even as a soldier, the late Emperor of France never surpassed the retreat of General Moreau through Germany, by the valley of Hell, and Bonaparte was too well acquainted with every thing great and splendid in the genius of a commander, not to feel so with the bitterness of envy.

The conspiracy formerly mentioned, on account of which Pichegru, Georges, Polignac the elder, and several others, lost their lives, and of which a Mr. Drake has been denominated the chief agent and mover, is said to have been avowed by Lord Hawkesbury, in the circular letter written by him to the different European powers. It was indeed denied, that the direct assassination of Bonaparte was the object in view; but we do not think that this is any better than a distinction without a difference. Whatever scheme tends to subvert any government, must ultimately endanger the life of its head, which is an idea perfectly in unison with

the laws of England, which regard all attempts to subvert the government as affecting the life of his Majesty, on which account it is pronounced high treason, and punished accordingly. It is certain that Bonaparte made the most of this plot he could, and it is probable that it was of some advantage to him in France, while several nations of Europe perhaps lamented the failure of the plot.

In examining the conduct of Bonaparte to foreign powers, we find that Austria had ample ground for alarm and complaint. A single year had scarcely elapsed after the treaty of Luneville, till he found means to raise himself to the presidency of the Italian republic. A little after this, one of the Swiss cantons made part of the Republic of France. This paved the way for subduing the whole country by force of arms, and dictating that form of government which he thought proper, contrary to the express letter of the 11th article of the treaty of Luneville. In this the contracting parties had mutually guaranteed the independence of the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics, and the right of the inhabitants to establish that form of government which they respectively should think most suitable to their situation.— As a proof that he had already resolved on hostilities with Austria, whenever it might suit his purpose; when he reviewed his troops, he frequently put them in mind of Marengo and Hohenlinden, and told them that they must keep themselves in readiness for again covering them-

selves with glory. This was a time of profound peace. The supineness of the court of Vienna was in part, at least, to be accounted for from the character of their ambassador Philip Cobentzel. Long before his mission to Paris in this character, he was under the influence of Bonaparte; and therefore was the more readily induced to enter into his views, and to impose upon, and mislead his own court. It was owing to his treachery, that the following indications of hostility to Austria did not rouse that court to a sense of the danger that threatened her.

In the year 1802, Count Stahremberg, the Austrian ambassador at the court of St. James's, had occasion to visit his own country. He returned to Britain by the way of Paris, where he had scarcely arrived, when he was ordered by an officer of police, "to quit Paris in 24 hours, and France in three days." He could not even see Count Cobentzel, but in the company of that officer. This harsh mandate was neither reversed nor mitigated, although Cobentzel and himself waited personally on Talleyrand, and then on Bonaparte. Such treatment of an ambassador belonging to a country at peace with France, was passed over in silence at Vienna. Neither the occupying of Hanover by a French army; the heavy exactions from the Hanse Towns; the murder of the Duke d'Enghien, nor the violation of the laws of nations with respect to Sir George Rumbold—nor his demand that such emigrants as the Bishop of Nancy, and Comte D'Avary, should be delivered up to

him, although accompanied with an assurance, that if not complied with, he would carry it into execution by the force of arms, in the heart of Vienna ;—all these circumstances united, were not by this cabinet deemed sufficient ground for putting themselves in a state of resistance.

But he did not stop even here. The president of the Italian republic was soon proclaimed King of Italy—the republic of Genoa became a part of the French empire ; and to shew how he was to maintain these strides of ambition, the *Moniteur* announced the formation of a camp at Marengo, and another at Castiglione. In the mean time, the only thing done by the Emperor of Germany, to put himself on a footing with his opponent, was, to assume the title of *Hereditary Emperor of Austria*. It would have been at least more magnanimous, had he laid aside this title altogether, at least for the present. Bonaparte had recourse to more secret, but not less efficacious means of provoking war with Austria. Scarcely were hostilities begun with Britain, when a number of secret agents were dispatched to Poland, Hungary, Austria, and the Turkish provinces bordering on the latter. For this purpose, he selected such as had been tried, and in whom he could repose confidence. He sent Mengaud into Servia, who had been at the head of the police at Calais, under the Directory. The business of these emissaries, according to their instructions, with which they faithfully complied, was to excite sedition and disturbances, wherever they could find materials fo

their purpose. On account of a scarcity, over which the government could have no controul, the price of the necessaries of life was very high—the persons just mentioned were taken in the act of paying people who had become clamorous, on account of the dearth of bread, to insist upon a reduction of its price. This charge they did not attempt to deny. They were imprisoned, and had their sentence been executed speedily, they would have been sent to the mines of Hungary, prior to the arrival of the French army at Vienna to release them. This discovery gave rise to the following order from the police of Vienna, dated 19th July, 1805, and addressed to the magistrates of the several bailiwicks:—"Ordering them to arrest all foreigners on the frontiers, whose passports were dated after the first or second days of the riots, and to conduct them to Vienna in irons, whatever their rank might be."

Britain was not the only country which was favoured with the commercial agents of Napoleon. This was peculiar to his system, respecting the different powers against which his designs were hostile. When General Hedouville returned from St. Petersburg, where he had acted in a diplomatic capacity, he was placed at the head of the commercial agents at Venice. Here, as in every other place, they were constantly on the alert for the benefit of their master. Three of these agents were apprehended at Venice, while engaged in making a survey of the Po; and the account of their

capture appeared in the *Moniteur* of 25th July, 1805, to which the following was subjoined:—
“ An Aulic counsellor of Austria has been arrested at Paris, by order of the minister of police, by way of retaliation for the arrest of our vice-commercial agent, and other French subjects on the Austrian territory. This will prove to the Austrian government, that it is not to violate the laws of nations with impunity.” Had spies been detected in similar employments in France, a military commission would soon have decided their fate, in defiance of the parade of Bonaparte, respecting the laws of nations, whenever it suited his purpose. These agents were dispersed through the whole of Germany; and in every town of any consequence, great numbers of them were to be found. The greater part of the Postmasters and Post-office clerks were in the pay of France; the latter received annually from 200 to 400 ducats. By these methods the French ministers at Vienna, Berlin, Frankfort, Munich, Dresden, Hamburgh, &c. had access to the letters and dispatches of these offices, at all times, and even kept such as they supposed might be of advantage. Correspondence thus iniquitously obtained, often appeared in the *Moniteur*. The dispatch from Lord Harrowby to Earl Gower, appeared in that paper of the 20th March, 1804, taken from Mr. Wagstaff, a British messenger, in the vicinity of Berlin, not by common highwaymen, but by the agents of Bonaparte. From this it is manifest what the extent of his influence was over the whole of Germany, which might in

fact be regarded as so many departments of France! It may also be proper to attend to the influence acquired by him over Prussia, whose duty and interest it certainly was to unite with the other powers, and oppose the encroachments of the common enemy. - There were only two leading members in the Prussian cabinet, the one minister for the foreign, and the other for the home department. The latter was styled comptroller-general of the kingdom. Count Schulemberg, who had been a cabinet minister for upwards of forty years, and strongly attached to Britain, filled the latter department.—But as his estates were situated in Westphalia, when this was erected into a separate kingdom, he reluctantly took the oath of allegiance to Jerome Bonaparte. Count Haugwitz, a man of wit and genius, had long been minister for foreign affairs. He espoused the interests of France, and was flattered by Bonaparte with the appellation of the Sully of Prussia. Mr. Lombard, the son of a French hair dresser to the late King, was secretary for foreign affairs, and Mr. Boyssé for the home department. The influence of these secretaries was very great, as cabinet councils were but seldom called. According to the terms of the peace of Basle, Prussia received annually from France £200,000 Sterling, as the price of her neutrality—and Bonaparte often affirmed, that the neutrality of Prussia was at the same time purchased by the combined powers.

It was understood by our government, at the termination of the peace of Amiens, that Hano-

ver was to be occupied by a French army, to counteract which design, Mr. Jackson, the British minister at the court of Berlin, proposed to place the patrimonial possessions of his Britannic Majesty, under the protection of a Prussian army. A note to this effect was delivered to Mr. Haugwitz, but it never found its way to the King through the proper channel. The first notice which the King received of this proposal, was from Mr. Jackson himself, after the French were in possession of Hanover. Haugwitz, when interrogated respecting the note, pretended that he had delivered it to Lombard, and Lombard said he had mentioned it to the King. Haugwitz on this account was superseded, but only for a short time :—he was soon after restored to the full exercise of his office.

As soon as Bonaparte had made himself master of Hanover, he began to discover his ultimate views with respect to Poland. Under the pretext of restoring that ill-fated country to liberty and independence, his real design was to embroil the three great powers who had partitioned that kingdom among themselves, and blotted it out of the map of Europe. Had he been successful in kindling the flames of war in that part of the Continent by his attempt upon Poland, it is probable, that he would have tried in good earnest the invasion of Britain. Of the result of such an attempt, there can be but one opinion among all descriptions of persons in this country. Some even lamented that it was not tried, as it might have hastened the ruin of the

new dynasty, the erection of which made such havoc among the old establishments of Europe.

To accomplish his designs in the revolution of Poland, Bonaparte resolved to introduce Irishmen and other foreigners to purchase land, and to cultivate the soil, and establish such manufactures as were most needed, or could be carried on to the greatest advantage. Under this disguise, his soldiers were to gain admission. Haugwitz was made acquainted with, and approved of the scheme of Bonaparte—a memorial on the subject was transmitted to Haugwitz, and presented by him to the King, asking leave to purchase lands, and to introduce manufactories in that part of Poland, which was subject to Prussia. This scheme, however, was overthrown by the influence of Count Schulemberg. Haugwitz, on the 8th of October 1803, returned an answer to the agent of Napoleon then at Warsaw, purporting that his Majesty did not consider it adviseable at that time, to accept of the proposal submitted in the memorial, concerning the new settlements in Prussian Poland.

Prussia was over-run with secret agents from France, purposely sent there to bribe the clerks in the post office, and in the other departments of government. Some of these emissaries were taken into custody by order of Count Schulemberg, and afterwards banished from the Prussian dominions. They would have experienced a severer fate, had it not been for the influence of secretary Lombard. One of these agents in whom Bonaparte could confide, was charged to

bribe such as filled subordinate places in every office under government in Berlin. He had no connection with any of the French ministers, but conveyed information of his proceedings directly to Bonaparte himself. His treasonable practices being discovered by Eckhardstein, who belonged to the foreign office in Berlin, he was banished from Prussia, and commanded by the King to depart in three days. He could not even gain time to communicate on the subject with his own court. Schulemberg, in reply to the letter of this emissary, told him, that the order was peremptory; and therefore he left Berlin in three days.

Haugwitz was again superseded, and Baron de Hardenberg, a man of a very different character, was appointed to his place. This, together with the detection and treatment of his agents, however proper, and his disappointment respecting Poland, increased the haughtiness of his conduct, and the virulence of his tone towards Prussia. She was indeed the first who acknowledged his title as Emperor, because she had gone too far to express her dissent; yet she was already marked out as an object of Bonaparte's vengeance, as soon as it might suit his purpose to inflict it. When her monarch was promoted to a post in his legion of honour, he was given to understand, that if he did not accept, his refusal would be considered as a declaration of war. This boon was designed as an exchange for the subsidy of £200,000, which, till now (1804) had been paid by France. It

was now stopped ; and this left the Prussian monarch more at liberty to interfere in behalf of Sir George Rumbold. Had Haugwitz, however, been in office, all the influence of Mr. Jackson the British Minister, could not have accomplished even this.

In this manner did Bonaparte conduct himself towards the three great powers on the Continent ; and they, in consequence of their ardent wish to see his mighty rivals humbled, never to join cordially or in proper time, in the cause which equally interested them all—therefore sudden, and perhaps *deserved* ruin, came upon them. It was equally in their power, by sincere co-operation, to have saved the lesser powers—Holland, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, from that destruction which was impending over them. Switzerland was in the list of the conquered, and the doom of Sweden and her gallant prince was already fixed. It could afford these three powers but poor consolation, while wringing out the dregs of the cup of bitterness, to reflect, that, through their means, the same ingredients were mingled for their neighbours.

Two of these powers, viz. Austria, and Prussia, were at last roused from their slumbers, and perceived their danger. Prussia refused to join the coalition, but Britain united with the other two against the common enemy. On the rupture of the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte discovered the deepest rancour against Britain, and every thing belonging to it. The first who felt the bitter effects of this, were our countrymen

who remained in France, after the departure of our ambassador. The invasion and conquest of this country was to fill up the measure of his vengeance. There is the best authority for affirming that this was once his real design. He was sufficiently aware, however, of the magnitude and danger of the undertaking. He well knew, that a number of events, over which he had no controul, might, notwithstanding all his shew of preparation, prevent him from hazarding the execution, and therefore he planned his measures so, that he might have an honourable retreat. He found this in the triple alliance, when unforeseen, and to him untoward events convinced him, that mighty as he was, an immediate attempt at invasion might overwhelm him in ruin and disgrace. Bonaparte had collected an immense flotilla at Boulogne. He was too knowing a warrior to commit his honour and success to this alone. A large fleet was necessary to cover his flotilla, which he supposed he had at his command. Admiral Villeneuve had been sent to the West Indies, for the purpose of decoying our fleet after him. He had positive orders, however, to return to Brest in the end of May or beginning of June, 1805. This, together with the Spanish fleet under Admiral Gravina, amounted to about 46 sail of the line. There were 25 sail of the line in Brest, in all about 70 sail, whose junction for the above purpose was positively ordered about that time. In aid of this also, there were eight sail of the line and two fifty gun ships in the Texel, belong-

ing to the Dutch. Means were also adopted at the same time, to obtain the Danish fleet, to convey to this country the French army in Hanover under the command of Bernadotte.

The flotilla amounted to more than 300 vessels of different rates. The army to be conveyed by these consisted of more than 200,000 men: of these, 100,000 were to embark at Boulogne, 20,000 at Etaples, 2000 at Ambleteuse, and 10,000 at Calais—50,000 were to remain as a corps de reserve at Boulogne. Between the latter place and Metz there were posted more than 150,000, to act as circumstances might demand,—either as the rear guard of the army of England, or the advanced guard in his designed attack upon Austria, in case of abandoning the invasion of this country. This immense body of men was increased by the army of General Marmont in the Texel, consisting of 80,000 men. There was also the Irish legion, composed of people from all nations, which amounted to 4000—These, with 10,000 French under Angereau, were to sail from Brest. The corps of military guides was commanded by Mr. Cuvelier; General Clarke, a native of England, was appointed secretary of his Imperial majesty's cabinet. Men of letters, especially those who could speak the English language, and were acquainted with the affairs of this country, were ordered to Boulogne. Plays were also composed for the occasion; and a company of comedians, styled the Vaudeville Company in London, were

ready to embark!! There were with this army several men of property, who intended to commence bankers and merchants in London!!!

Truth obliges us to confess, however much we may blush for those who could have wished to see this armament on the shores of their *native* land, that there was a constant correspondence kept up with some people in England; for this there was a particular office in the French foreign department.

Bonaparte's head quarters were in Boulogne. His troops were constantly kept in exercisc, particuarly in learning to embark and debark with alacrity—part of their provisions were on board. And now, as a prelude to this grand descent, he ordered about 100 of his flotilla to try their skill with a British ship of the line and three frigates, stationed to watch their motions, and were lying about a league from Boulogne. The British, with all the coolness and intrepidity of tars, waited their arrival without firing a gun. The French, who for nine hours kept up a constant firing, took care never to come within the reach of British metal. When this specimen of French naval prowess, however, appeared in the *Moniteur*, it was represented as a regular engagement, and so well contested on their part, that the English were glad to sheer off!! It is to be observed, however, that there were frequently in such cases, two copies of *Moniteurs* for the same day; and an article of this kind was inserted or withheld, according as it might suit the meridian where it was to be read. None of the numbers

containing the account of this engagement appeared at Boulogne, or any where upon that coast.

The fleets under Admiral Villeneuve and Gravina did not return from the West Indies according to orders, or in that juncture that was favourable for the invasion, if such a period could have been at all found. The victory of Admiral Calder, who fell in with, and defeated Villeneuve on his return, was the most fortunate for Britain of any that was gained during the war. The rage of Bonaparte at this disappointment, and his bloody cruelty towards this gallant admiral, represent the light in which he viewed the defeat, as it completely deranged his plan of invasion. In cowardly revenge, Villeneuve was strangled in his own apartment at Morlaix, by four Mamelukes in the habit of gens d'armes, who were sent thither for the purpose. The surmise that he had committed suicide, being devoid of all probability, was not credited by any who knew the character and relations of the admiral. He would have been honourably acquitted, had he been tried by an equitable court. But no alliance, however intimate—no bravery, however conspicuous—no innocence, however immaculate, can expect to obtain forgiveness from an unrelenting tyrant.

The alliance between Britain, Russia, and Austria, had reached Bonaparte before he received information of the defeat of Villeneuve, and he was made acquainted with both prior to his leaving Paris, to head the descent upon B.

tain. As soon as he heard that the Austrians were advancing to the Rhine, he broke up his camp at Boulogne, and marched with all possible expedition to engage the Austrians. The corps-de-reserve at Metz now became the advanced guard, and was in the neighbourhood of Strasburgh before the camp at Boulogne broke up. That Bonaparte meditated this attack, and at this same time endeavoured to mislead the Austrians, is manifest from the following article which he inserted in the Hague official Gazette, as early as the 30th of July, 1805.

“ Napoleon will no longer delay the execution of his grand plan ; he will send out the expedition against England, and compel that kingdom to make a separate peace before the powers of the continent can join the same. Napoleon has foreseen the possibility of a great and sudden change in the dispositions of the powers on the Continent, and he has determined at the same time, to be beforehand with them, by a sudden and unexpected blow.” By the treachery of Cobentzel, Bonaparte was enabled to carry his determination into effect. Cobentzel might easily have known that the army at Boulogne, from the disappointment of their expectations on England, were on the brink of mutiny ; that they were beginning to treat this rash attempt with ridicule ; and that Bonaparte could neither advance nor retreat with honour or safety—that therefore this was by no means a proper time for Austria to attack France, and particularly before their forming a junction with the Rus-

sians. On the contrary, however, he wrote expressly to his court, that, "before they could receive his dispatches, Bonaparte would be embarked, and that now was the time to march." He assured them, that as the French troops were all engaged in the descent upon England, they had nothing to fear on that quarter—that Bonaparte had no forces in Germany, but that there were 30,000 French troops in Italy and 20,000 in Naples, and therefore Austria should send her whole forces into that quarter. In obedience to this treacherous advice, the Archduke Charles was sent to Italy at the head of the best troops belonging to Austria. Where Bonaparte therefore made his attack, he had to contend with nothing but the refuse of the Austrian forces. Our astonishment may rise higher still, when it is recollected that Cobentzel's dispatch was actually dictated by Bonaparte at Boulogne, and sent to Talleyrand to be given to the Austrian minister, to be transmitted to Vienna as his own; and he sent it by a secretary of the Austrian legation.

From this, it evidently appears, that Bonaparte was in the habit of paving the way to victory by other means than either his own, or the skill of his officers and the valour of his army. Happily for himself, but unfortunately for mankind, he found by these means a safe retreat from Boulogne. General Mack seems to have been fully aware of the part which Cobentzel had acted; when he understood that the French army was in the vicinity of Ulm. His words

on that occasion were, "We are all betrayed; the Austrian cabinet is sold to Bonaparte." Hostilities commenced on the 7th September, when the Austrians were defeated with the loss of many killed, wounded, and prisoners, in attempting to oppose the passage of General Vandamme across the bridge at Donawert. Field Marshal Auffenburg, while on his march to Ulm, was completely surrounded by the French, and obliged to surrender. The Austrians are reported to have lost 2 colonels, 5 majors, 60 officers of inferior rank, and 4000 men made prisoners. Memmingen surrendered on the 14th to Marshal Soult (Duke of Dalmatia), after which he marched into Biberach, to cut off the retreat of the Austrians by that road. Marshal Ney crossed the Danube, and made an attack upon Elchingen a little above Ulm. The Austrians made a sortie, but were driven back to their entrenchments before Ulm, with the loss, we are told, of 8000 men taken prisoners; and at Langenau their loss amounted to the same number, in an action with Prince Murat, who had the command of the cavalry. This officer again brought them to action on the 17th, when their loss was computed at 1600 men, and next day General Werneck's division was obliged to capitulate. From Albeck to Nuremburg, Murat is said to have got possession of 150 waggons, and 16,000 prisoners, but Prince Ferdinand effected his escape. Ulm surrendered by capitulation on the 17th, and this unaccountable step was taken by General Mack, because he was as-

sured by Berthier that the Austrians were on the other side of the Inn ; that Lannes was in pursuit of Prince Ferdinand ; that Werneck had capitulated, and that it was impossible for any succours to reach Ulm. After this place surrendered, the Austrian generals who were made prisoners, were sent under an escort through Bavaria to Vienna, and Mack was entrusted with some proposals to the emperor of Germany. General Mack was accused of treason by many, but the charge was unjust, The treachery of those who should have supported him, prevented him from gathering those laurels which he otherwise would have won.

A spirited proclamation was issued by the Emperor at Vienna, on the 28th of October, declaring that the views of Austria and Russia were extremely moderate, and execrating the designs and views of Bonaparte. Every division of the French army, except that under General Ney, crossed the river Inn on the 1st of November. Bonaparte himself was with the right wing at Salzburg ; and the centre, commanded by Prince Murat, marched towards Lintz with uncommon rapidity. The Austro-Russian army retreated to Maelk, 50 miles from Vienna, as the enemy advanced. The Austrians and Russians made no stand between the Enns and Vienna, which latter place the French entered on the 12th of November. Bonaparte arrived on the 18th, and took up his quarters in the palace of Schoenbrunn, about two miles from the city of Vienna. The utmost propriety and decorum dis-

tinguished the French troops, by which means no disturbance took place in the metropolis.

On the 27th of November, as Bonaparte perceived the dreadful carnage which was inevitable from the conflict of two such prodigious armies, as that of the allied and his own, he seemed anxious to spare the effusion of human blood, and for this purpose he proposed an armistice, which was rejected with disdain. Bonaparte soon discovered that the allies were acting from presumption, want of consideration, and imprudence, of which circumstances he was but too well qualified to take the advantage. The battle commenced at sunrise, and a tremendous cannonade took place along the whole line. The left wing of the allies was cut off in less than an hour, their right being at Austerlitz, the head quarters of the Russian and Austrian emperors. From the heights of this place, they witnessed the total defeat of the Russians by the French guards. The loss sustained by the allies during this battle was estimated at 150 pieces of cannon, with 45 stand of colours, and 18,000 Russians, and 600 Austrians were left dead on the field. The French loss in killed and wounded was stated at 30,000 men. Francis, on being introduced to Bonaparte, was informed that he must sign an armistice, which if he refused to do, the French emperor declared he would send a courier to Vienna, with orders to raze that city to the foundation, with all the other cities and towns in the Austrian dominions that were occupied with troops. An armistice was mutually agreed to, which was

to serve as the basis of a definitive treaty. The Emperor of Russia was comprehended in this armistice, on the express condition that he marched home his army in such a manner as the victor might prescribe. The French agreed to evacuate Vienna on the 10th, and the whole Austrian states in the course of six weeks after the signing of the treaty, with the exception of such as were ceded to Italy and Bavaria.

It would have required the invincible modesty of a Washington, not to be elated with the uncommon success which attended the arms of Bonaparte in this last attack upon Germany;—a qualification which we believe he never possessed. After the battle of Austerlitz, his conduct was of course marked with the most horrid injustice, tyranny, and rapine, both respecting Hanover, and the ill-fated King of Naples. During the progress of Bonaparte and his armies, the law of nations was outraged in the most violent manner, which was nothing more than his usual custom. The Prussian and Swedish ambassadors found no protection in the neutrality of the elector of Baden. On his approach, they fortunately saved their persons by flight, but their papers and other valuable articles fell within his grasp. A still worse treatment was experienced at Stutgard by the ministers of Russia, Austria, and Sweden. Not satisfied with giving up their houses to plunder, their persons were confined in a dungeon at Strasburgh, along with the persons of their secretaries, and that for the space of two months. It was positively stipulated, that Marshal Ney was not to set a

foot in Stutgard, yet he forcibly entered the town, and left not a single horse in the stables, nor any thing of value in the Elector's palace.

The troops of his Prussian Majesty took possession of Hanover; and the country of Anspach was ceded to the King of Bavaria, who received his royalty from the hands of Napoleon. The King of Naples took refuge in Sicily, hoping to be protected there from the vengeance of the self-elected monarch of France, by the united exertions of the naval force of Britain, Russia, and Sicily. His Neapolitan Majesty no doubt frequently violated the treaties which he entered into with France; but charity leads us to recollect, that these were made under the impulse of fear, the prospect of impending ruin, and to prevent a band of robbers from plundering himself and his subjects of their last shilling. When the affairs of the Continent at any time wore a more favourable aspect, it must be allowed that he trampled on such extorted treaties, in the hope of regaining that of which he had been unjustly deprived; and under such circumstances, even justice itself could not condemn him, and the dictates of humanity commiserated his misfortunes. From the humbled situation of the Emperor of Germany after the battle of Austerlitz, it was naturally to be expected that he would feel it for his interest to make peace with the French Emperor, which was denominated the treaty of Presburgh, signed and ratified on the 26th and 27th of December, 1805. It consisted of 23 articles, and formed no bad specimen of the kind of treaties the powers of

Europe had to expect from Bonaparte, when he had it in his power to dictate the terms, in consequence of the fortune of war.

In the course of three months and a few days, the late Emperor of France almost annihilated the powers of the Continent who had combined to limit his dominions and destroy his authority. In that time we have beheld a great European Empire reduced to the most degrading, the most abject submission, and a part of its territory conferred upon those who were only electors in the state, but afterwards elevated to the rank of kings, under the auspices of Napoleon; and the following proclamation shews, that the kingdom of Naples was to have a new sovereign:—

“Soldiers, for ten years I have done all I could to save the King of Naples; he has done every thing in his power to destroy himself. After the battles of Dego, Mondovi, and of Lodi, he could give me no effectual opposition. I placed confidence in the word of this prince, and I behaved with generosity towards him. When the second coalition was dissolved at Marengo, the King of Naples, who was the first to commence that unjust war, abandoned at Luneville by his allies, remained alone, and without protection. He solicited my pardon, and I forgave him a second time. A few weeks ago you were at the gates of Naples. I had sufficient reason to suspect the treachery which was intended, and to avenge the insults which I had received. Still I was generous. I acknowledged the neutrality of Naples—I ordered you to evacuate

that kingdom, and for the third time the house of Naples was confirmed and saved.

“ Shall we grant pardon for a fourth time? Shall we, for a fourth time, place any confidence in a court without truth, honour, or common sense?—No! No! the Neapolitan dynasty has ceased to reign—its existence is incompatible with the repose of Europe, and the honour of our crown. Soldiers! march—drive into the sea, if they will wait your attack, these feeble battalions of the tyrants of the sea. Shew to the world the manner in which we punish the perjured. Lose no time in informing me, that the *whole* of Italy is subject to my laws or those of my allies; that the finest country in the world is enancipated from the yoke of the most perfidious of men; that the sacredness of treaties is avenged; and that the *manes* of my brave soldiers, massacred in the ports of Sicily, on their return from Egypt, after having escaped from the dangers of the sea, the deserts, and a hundred battles, are at length appeased. Soldiers! my brother will lead you on; he is the depositary of my authority—he is in full possession of my confidence—let him have yours.

(Signed,) NAPOLEON.”

During the progress of the negociation for peace, it was peremptorily insisted on, that Hanover should be restored to his Britannic Majesty without any thing being given in exchange, which was conceded on the part of France. It had been given in full sovereignty to the King of Prussia, to detach him from the third coalition, as the price of his honour and

the reward of his perfidy. He had swallowed the bait so artfully offered, yet he was now to discharge it amidst the pangs of mortifying regret. He who led him into the snare, into which he discovered so much eagerness to fall, now appeared to despise his baseness, and to exult in the exposure of his infamy. The Confederation of the Rhine was an additional cause of dismay to this venal cabinet. As there is a point at which even cowardice may be roused to deeds of heroism, so Prussia now began, on contemplating her present condition, to appear decidedly hostile to the governor of France. The same ardour and firmness seemed to influence the court, the army, and the people, which was cherished by Sweden, by Britain, and by Russia, who were still ready to unite with Prussia, in spite of former disappointments, in order to check the ravages of the common enemy. His Prussian Majesty received a letter from the King of Sweden, in which was proposed the oblivion of former differences.—Lord Morpeth was sent to Berlin with ample proposals of co-operation from Britain, besides the immediate release of the Prussian vessels which had been seized in consequence of recent hostilities. The Russian forces were likewise in readiness to unite in the common cause.

The agents of Bonaparte in Prussia were too numerous not to be minutely informed of all that was passing. He was too knowing, too enterprising, and too ambitious, not to be on the alert, and to collect his mighty force, to make it bear on a state which he had flattered, de-

ceived, and doomed to destruction. He left Paris on the 24th of September to join the armies; and as he proceeded, he made every arrangement possible, in order to accomplish his object with that promptitude and decision which were so remarkably displayed in his former campaigns. In the month of October, the ultimate determination of Prussia was announced in a very able and interesting manifesto, drawn by the celebrated Mr. Gentz. In this masterly production was exhibited a very correct picture of the politics of France. Prussia was now completely committed, and there was no alternative but an appeal to arms; and so confident was she in her own resources, that she ventured single handed into the contest.

The French army advanced in three divisions. The Prussian army, under General Blucher, on the right, the Duke of Brunswick in the centre, and Prince Hohenloe on the left, occupied a strong position on the north of Frankfort on the Maine. Hostilities commenced with the battle of Schleitz, in which the Prussians, after a display of great bravery, lost nearly 700 men in killed, wounded, and taken; and 500 waggons containing articles of singular advantage to the enemy. On the 10th, the left wing of the French, under Marshal Lannes, was equally successful against Grafenthal. The fruits of this victory were 1000 prisoners, 30 pieces of cannon, and 600 of the enemy left dead on the field. In this battle fell Prince Louis of Prussia, the king's brother, by the hand of a marshal of the 10th regiment of French hussars, with whom he was

engaged in single combat. The success of France in these engagements placed the main body of the Prussian army in a situation unfavourable to their future operations. They were of consequence forced to make different arrangements, and to remove their head-quarters from Blackenburgh to Averstadt. The army was drawn up in order of battle, near Capelsdorf. Bonaparte reached Jena on the 13th, reconnoitred the position of the enemy, and fixed upon an elevated plain, on which, during the night, he placed his cannon with extreme labour and difficulty. The centinels of the two armies were nearly close to each other; their lights were within the distance of half a cannon shot, and every sound on either side was distinctly heard by the other. All was vigilance and activity, and the night was solemnly interesting, almost beyond conception. Bonaparte, in the morning, under cover of a fog, which continued during two hours, rode along the line, giving particular directions to his officers, and animating his men by reminding them of the laurels they had won, in circumstances nearly similar, during the campaign of the preceding year against Austria.

The Prussians were driven from a strong position on the road between Jena and Weimar, at the commencement of the action, which enabled the French to extend their line in order of battle upon the plain. Fifty thousand of the Prussian army, sent to cover the defiles of Naumburg, and take possession of Koasin, were anticipated by Marshal Davoust. Another army of 80,000 men opposed themselves to the French

who had drawn out on the heights of Jena. When the mist dispelled by which both armies were covered, they found themselves within cannon shot of each other; and in less than an hour the action became general. Every manœuvre on both sides was performed with precision, while 250,000 men and 700 pieces of cannon were scattering death on every side, and displayed one of the most affecting spectacles ever performed on the theatre of the world. When the reserve of the French cavalry and two other fresh divisions came into action, the Prussians were thrown into disorder, which, however, they corrected for about an hour; and at this crisis of the battle, as the French themselves admitted, there was room for a moment's doubt. When, however, a fresh reinforcement of dragoons and cuirassiers under the Duke of Berg came into action, every effort of the Prussians to maintain their ground was in vain. They were completely overwhelmed by the rapidity and force of the onset, both of cavalry and infantry. Their loss in this battle amounted to almost 40,000 in killed, wounded, and taken, including about 20 generals, among whom was Ruchel and the Duke of Brunswick, both wounded. The loss on the part of the French, according to their own statement, was nearly 5000; but theirs decisively was the victory, and they followed it up with rapidity to the very gates of Weimar.

On the 16th, Erfurth, to which General Mollendorf had retreated, surrendered with 14,000 men, of whom 8000 were wounded—Spandau

followed their example on the 24th, and Magdeburg on the 27th. Stettin, a strong fortress, in which was a garrison of 6000 men, and 160 pieces of cannon, gave up without any effectual resistance. The remains of the army under the Prince of Hohinloe, who had reached Prentzlow, were vanquished in the suburbs, and the Prince, who had just entered the town, was summoned to surrender, and that very day entered on terms of capitulation, and became prisoners of war. The gallant General Blucher, through many perils, effected a very masterly retreat to Lubeck, into which the enemy had been admitted by treachery. This place in consequence became a scene of the most horrid carnage and blood, through its squares, its streets, and even its churches. Being exhausted in strength and in numbers, and especially for want of ammunition, farther resistance being impracticable, he was obliged to capitulate. The French entered Leipsic on the 18th of October, from whence, having thrown a bridge over the Elbe, at that place, Marshal Davoust directed his march by Wittenburg (of which he gained possession by surprise,) to Berlin, which he entered on the 25th.

It has been affirmed by some, that both the war department and the commissariat of Prussia were under the controul of Bonaparte; and that by his injunctions the fortresses of Spandau, Custrin, Stettin, and Magdeburg, were not provided with artillery, stores, and provisions; besides, that before the battle was fought, Bonaparte was informed by special messengers *every*

* *hour* from the Prussian head-quarters, what were the intentions of the Prussian council of war. Lucchesini and Haugwitz thwarted the designs of the Duke of Brunswick, who proposed that the first attack should be made on the corps of Bernadotte, which was in Anspach, at a distance from the main army.—Even while the French were forming at Jena, the Duke intended to attack, but was prevented, on the pretence that Bonaparte had not above 120,000 men in the field, and would not attack the Prussians first, and that it would be easy for the Duke to take them in the rear, and make the whole army prisoners. The provisions, too, were three days march in the rear of the Prussian army, so that it was not difficult for Bonaparte with 300,000 men, to intercept their provisions, and cut them off from their capital. The fortresses were taken with ease, and this can only be accounted for because they were not supplied with necessaries to enable them to sustain the siege.

The King of Prussia, whose dominions were now swept with the besom of destruction, partly by his own infatuation, and partly by the treachery of the leading men in his own cabinet, having found every effort to recover his capital unavailing, dispatched the Marquis Lucchesini and General Zarstrow to his haughty conqueror, to solicit an armistice, which was granted on such terms as Bonaparte thought proper to dictate. It was signed on the 30th of October, and was to serve as the basis of a definitive treaty of peace. This armistice only served to

throw the King of Prussia off his guard, and to delay the exertions which he might still be able to make to render his condition rather more secure. It did not for a moment suspend the military operations of Bonaparte. His troops marched with all expedition towards Poland; and, in order to excite the Poles to join his standard, a proclamation dated the 1st of November, 1806, in the name of their gallant and beloved General Kosciusko, and bearing his signature, was issued from Napoleon's headquarters. Kosciusko was wholly ignorant of this proclamation and this use of his name, as he was still in retirement near Fontainebleau, and had, on account of his infirmities and Republican principles, declined the invitation he had received, to follow the fortunes of the Emperor of France in his native land. When he saw this proclamation in the Paris papers, he waited on the editors, and requested the insertion of the most positive contradiction of this forgery; but as it was inserted by the orders of Mr. Maret, secretary of state, they durst not provoke the vengeance of their master.

The hopes of the King of Prussia, which were founded on the co-operation of the Russian monarch, and in consequence of which he was prevented from ratifying the second armistice, were completely cut off. The triumph of Bonaparte, and the gratification of his subjects, naturally vain, bore proportion to Prussia's humiliation. With the force of a mighty empire, with its whole resources at his absolute disposal, while the ripening of his plans, and the nomi-

nation of his subordinate agents depended wholly on himself; taking into the account, at the same time, the influence which he possessed in the cabinets and in the armies of those kingdoms which he had marked out for his prey; the rapidity and extent of the conquests of this extraordinary man, will appear less surprising. Before the complicated springs by which the allies were actuated could be put fully in motion, he had nearly completed the destruction of one, when another appeared to add fresh laurels to the victor. In little more than two months, he finished his campaign against Prussia and her magnanimous ally. The assistance from Britain and Sweden, however powerful and sincere on their part, would arrive too late.

It may not be improper in this place to acquaint our readers with the cause of Bonaparte's deadly hatred towards the unfortunate king of Sweden, as it shews what mere trifles could irritate his temper, and lead him to the squandering of treasure and of blood. In the year 1801, Prince William of Gloucester happened to be at Stockholm, who, with the British ambassador, was invited to sup with the king, but the French minister received no invitation, on which account the *magnanimous* Napoleon was determined on revenge. He resolved to seize the king of Sweden, when he carried off the duke d'Eng-hien, as it was known to his mortal enemy, for the above reason, that he meant to spend a few weeks with the Duke about the time of his arrest. He was fortunately on a visit to his father-in-law when the duke was apprehended, but he

arrived only four hours after the murderers were gone. The King, on missing the Duke, with his accustomed intrepidity, caused alarm bells to be rung, and endeavoured to collect a body of men sufficient to rescue the Duke; but his exertions were unavailing, for before he could reach Ettenheim, his royal friend was lodged in the castle of Strasburgh. It seems that the mock indictment against the Duke prepared before his arrest, contained the name of the king of Sweden, who was destined to share his fate. Gustavus sent a letter to Bonaparte by his own aid-de-camp, remonstrating against his treatment of the Duke; but he was ordered to leave Paris in an hour. The ambassador of Gustavus was likewise ordered, on account of his zeal in the cause of his master, to leave Paris in an hour, and France in three days. So far from being overawed by such tyrannical proceedings, the king dismissed from his capital and territories the whole of the diplomatic agents of France, and even before the Emperor of Russia had recourse to the same measure; and he declared both to Russia and to Britain, that he was ready to participate in the most decisive hostilities against France. A secret convention was concluded with Britain on the 3d of December, 1804, by which a depot of Hanoverian troops was to be established in Swedish Pomerania, and Britain was to advance £60,000, to be applied to the defence of Stralsund.

In conformity to the treaty with Britain, Gustavus occupied Lauenburgh, which belonged to the electorate of Hanover, that he might assist

4,00
 2,00
 16,00
 18,00
 60
 70
 1,00
 60
 40,00
 4,00
 6,00
 13,000
 13,000

in protecting it against France. When the views of Prussia on that territory were fully developed, he not only expressed himself in language that marked his indignation at her conduct, but exerted himself to the utmost to resist her pretensions. He united with Britain in blockading the Prussian ports, and returned to the king of Prussia the order of the Black Eagle, because the latter had accepted from Bonaparte the *croix d'honneur*. In consequence of his determined hostility to the ambitious designs of Bonaparte when the war between France and Prussia was on the eve of breaking out, his Swedish majesty wrote a letter with his own hand to the king of Prussia, wishing a restoration of that friendship and confidence which had been suspended by the war. His spirited manifesto to the states of Germany was couched in the following terms. "German soldiers!—A German prince speaks to you, who has never forgotten what is due to honour and duty. Still his voice hails you to remind you, that you are a nation destined to honour and independence, but not to infamy and oppression. Your Princes have forgotten the loyalty of their ancestors; they have forgotten that Germany is but one state, and the Germans but one nation; they have exposed you to the most infamous destiny, to promote the abhorred principles of the Corsican, Napoleon Bonaparte. Shake off then, in God's name, the ignominious bondage; never can a more favourable opportunity occur to turn your arms against the oppressors of your unhappy country. From the ramparts of Stralsund, the only independent burgh remaining in

Germany, which has bid defiance to time, thousands will descend, and unite with you in your deliverance."

The eighth corps of the grand army in the north of Germany, glutted with plunder and blood in Hamburgh, Lubec, and the other towns which in their turn became the scene of violence and rapine, were ordered to direct their operations against Swedish Pomerania. Before this, Bonaparte employed such means to prevail with the king of Sweden to depart from his alliance with Britain and Russia, as would have shaken the resolution of less persevering minds, but he continued inflexible. The French therefore took possession of Anclam in the month of January; but as Mortier was occupied in the siege of Colberg, the operations before Stralsund were tardily carried on. The Swedes got possession of Anclam and Grieswald, with the extensive magazines established there, and the Dutch military chest. The French were obliged to retreat with the loss of several thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The news of this defeat coming to the ears of Mortier, he collected his forces, at Pasewalk, attacked the centre of the Swedish army, the line of which was too far extended, drove them back to Altokosenow, and afterwards to Anclam. The Swedes, who fought with great bravery, were obliged to pass the river Peen, without having it in their power to destroy the bridge. They were pursued in their retreat by the enemy sword in hand, and besides the numbers of killed and wounded, their loss in prisoners was about 600, together with 600 more

taken by parties of the enemy who followed them in other directions. They likewise lost six pieces of cannon. A truce was asked and granted, which was followed by an armistice, by which the islands of Usedom and Woolenstall were given to the enemy, who were likewise bound to offer no interruption to the sieges of Dantzic and Colberg. If his Swedish majesty should refuse to ratify the armistice before the recommencement of hostilities, it was agreed to give ten days previous notice.

New efforts were made by Bonaparte to detach the king of Sweden from his alliance, by more extensive offers than were made before; but he was so far from being allured, that he would not extend the ten days previous notice of the recommencement of hostilities to a month, which he was earnestly desired to do. Having rejected the offers of Bonaparte, he exerted every nerve to strengthen the works at Stralsund, and to erect new ones at Rugen. He blockaded all ports in the Baltic which were under the influence of France. His army consisted of 30,000 Swedes and 4000 Prussians, and he remained in expectation of a powerful force from Britain, to enable him to take the field against the enemy. Not long after this, a large body of foreign troops under a British commander, arrived at Stralsund and Rugen; but before the greater part of the troops which were to be embarked could be in readiness, the consequences of the battle of Friedland and the peace of Tilsit, were known in Britain. This intelligence, however, did not prevent the sailing of a mighty armament. Con-

jecture was at a loss to find out the particular point of destination, when it was known that its first object could not be accomplished.

Whether the terms of the treaty of Tilsit were fully known or not, there was good reason for concluding that Alexander would second the views of Bonaparte against Great Britain. He obtained, by virtue of this treaty, an accession of territory from the dominions of the king of Prussia, which contained a population of 200,000 persons. The monarch who could robe himself in the spoils of one of his allies, might, without any breach of charity, be presumed capable of engaging in direct hostility against another; and to have doubted the designs of France, would have betrayed a scepticism, and implied a mental imbecility, or infatuation. These intentions were sufficiently, though undesignedly, developed, in the very invectives with which the official paper of France abounded against the Danish expedition, as a violation of the rights of nations, and unexampled in the history of modern governments, or of civilized warfare.

The fleet under Admiral Gambier, employed in this expedition, consisted of 40 sail of ships of war, of which 22 were of the line. The troops under Lord Cathcart amounted to about 20,000 men. On the 16th of August the army was landed at Wisbeck, on the island of Zealand, about eight miles from the capital. All possible means were employed before this by Mr. Taylor, his majesty's resident at Copenhagen, to obtain the object which the British had in view, in an amicable manner, but in vain. A proclamation

to the same effect was issued by the commanders, containing the reasons why they assumed this attitude against a power with which they were at profound peace, and requesting the Danes to accede to friendly arrangements. It declared, among other things, "That the deposit of the Danish ships of the line was the sole object of their enterprize, which was undertaken in self-defence, merely to prevent those who had so long disturbed Europe, from directing against Great Britain the resources of Denmark; that the most solemn pledge had been given, and was now renewed, that if the demand were acceded to, every ship would be restored in the same condition as when delivered up; that Zealand should be treated by the British forces, while on shore, on the footing of a province of the most friendly power of Great Britain, and persons and property held most scrupulously sacred: that the innocent blood which must be shed, and the horrors of a besieged and bombarded capital, must fall on those only who advised resistance to a measure thus dictated by imperious circumstances; and that, though the Danish government had hitherto declined an amicable accommodation, the voice of reason and moderation might yet be heard."

As resistance was unfortunately determined, the British proceeded to invest Copenhagen, which was effected by the army on the north and south, and on the east by the fleet. Many of the conveyances of water into the city were cut off;—the gun-boats and frigates took their station to throw shells into the town. At Fre-

deric's work a depot of cannon and powder, together with 850 Danish soldiers, fell into the hands of the British. In an affair between Castenschild and Sir Arthur Wellesly, the Danes lost 60 officers, 1100 men, and 10 pieces of cannon. In a severe contest between the Danish gun-boats and praams, supported by the crown battery and some other works, and the British gun-boats stationed nearest the shore, the latter were obliged to retire, being in the most imminent danger from the red hot shot of the enemy. The British batteries on shore, however, had more success against their gun-boats, which obliged them, in their turn, to fall back. Every thing was ready for the bombardment on the morning of the 2d of September, which commenced from the mortar batteries erected by the army, and from the bomb-vessels stationed in places convenient for co-operation. The town, as might be expected, was soon on fire in different places, and continued so till the evening of the 5th, when a considerable part of it was consumed. When the destruction of the whole seemed inevitable, General Peiman sent a flag of truce, desiring an armistice of 24 hours, to prepare for capitulation. The answer stated, that the basis of the capitulation must be the delivery of the *whole fleet*, which was admitted on the part of the Danes. The articles were settled in the night between the 6th and 7th, and ratified on the following morning. Every thing in the terms which had a tendency to wound the feelings of the Danes was cautiously avoided, and every possible accommodation granted. Every

thing was done in the spirit of conciliation.— All military excesses were guarded against; all the gates were in the possession of the Danes, except that which led to the citadel—the post was re-established, and the police of the town was conducted by the proper officers. The loss was comparatively small on the part of the British, while that of the Danes amounted to about 2000 persons, and the destruction of 400 houses.

That this measure, which the British cabinet considered themselves as bound to adopt, in the present state of the Continent, was spoken of in terms of indignation by many in this country, is not to be concealed. It was condemned as a deep, an indelible stain on British honour—as an imitation of Bonaparte's wanton aggressions on neutral and friendly states, which are so pointedly and deservedly reprobated. The advocates for its expediency insisted that it was not at variance with the strictest morality, as it was nothing more than wresting the weapon of destruction from the hand that was ready to grasp it, not only for the injury of Britain, but for the ultimate ruin of Denmark herself. It was not plundering for the sake of the property—it was not robbing to enrich themselves with the booty;—it was removing combustible matter to prevent the spreading of the conflagration: it was merely the seizure of armour which could not have been kept from the grasp of our mighty antagonist, who, when he had put it on, would be the more enabled to strike a deadly blow at our vitals.

Let us now return to the King of Sweden, whom we left in anxious expectation of the arrival of the remainder of the British forces, and eager for the field of battle at the termination of the armistice, which had been agreed on between the Swedish and French generals. The peace of Tilsit, however, put it in the power of the French to pursue the most vigorous operations in Pomerania, and bring the contest in that quarter to a speedy issue. The Swedish troops being unable to maintain their ground against a greatly superior force, retreated before the invading army. They fell back to Stralsund without coming to any regular action. The fortress was delivered into the hands of the magistrates and senate, who were left at full liberty to act as circumstances might seem to require. The troops were withdrawn from Stralsund in the mean time, with so much secrecy and dispatch, that they were all embarked for Rugen, before the enemy were aware that a single battalion had left the fortress! The French accepted the terms of submission which were offered, and obtained immediate possession of the place. They likewise possessed themselves of Danholm, an island between Stralsund and Rugen, in which case it was impossible that the latter could hold out for any length of time. General Toll, therefore, resolved to deliver Rugen to the French, as he was vested with a discretionary power by the King, who had retired to his capital. In a conference held on the 7th of September, between the French and Swedish commanders, it was agreed

that the Swedes were to give up Rugen, and cede that island to the French, as well as all those on the coast of Germany. A convention was signed in these terms, and Gustavus, like the greater powers on the Continent, left the scene of conflict; not only mortified by defeat, but robbed of some fair gems of that crown which was afterwards to be taken from his head.

In whatever light the career of Bonaparte in Prussia, in Poland, and in Pomerania, was viewed by the several nations of Europe, and the world at large, it increased his renown in his own dominions, and softened the asperity of such acts of his government as were by no means popular, as for example the conscript laws. The horror which these excited when first enacted, began to subside; and they were either viewed as a piece of wise policy, or as necessary at least to the glory of the Empire. In order to have an army sufficiently numerous for new triumphs, and to supply the loss resulting from sanguinary warfare, a message was sent to the senate in the month of March, 1807, anticipating the conscription of 1808. This was rendered necessary, amidst all the conquests of the Emperor, in consequence of the unrelenting and mercenary policy of Britain, whose monopoly was purchased by the blood of the Continent. So said the message. Not a whisper of insurrection among the lower orders was heard, nor did the higher ranks manifest any disposition towards cabal and intrigue. When he returned to Paris, his birth day was celebrated with every possible mark of distinction. In his address to the Legislative

Body and the Tribunate, which met, according to the usual forms, on the following day, the Emperor observed, that since their last meeting, new wars, triumphs, and trophies, had engaged the political relations of Europe; that the house of Brandenburg, the first to combine against French independence, was only permitted to reign through the friendship of the Emperor of the north; that a French prince would speedily reign in the Elbe; that the house of Saxony again possessed the independence it had lost for 50 years; that the inhabitants of the duchy of Warsaw and Dantzic had recovered their country; and that all nations concurred in joy at the extinction of the pernicious influence of Britain on the Continent. By the confederation of the Rhine, France was united with Germany; by her own peculiar system of federation, she was united with Spain, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy.—Her new relations with Russia were founded on the mutual esteem of two great nations. The tranquillity of the French nation during his absence, had excited his ardent gratitude. He had contrived the means of simplifying their institutions, he had extended the principle on which he had founded the legion of honour; the finances were prosperous; the contributions on land were diminished, various public works had been completed; and it was his resolution, that, in the remotest parts of his empire, and even in the smallest hamlet, the comforts of the citizen and the value of the land should be increased by the developement of a general system of improvement."

On the same day was delivered the report on the state of the empire. Mention was made of the internal improvements which had taken place; the establishments for preventing mendicity; the zeal with which taxes were levied and the conscription executed; the erection of bridges; reparation of roads; extended navigation of rivers; the attention bestowed on agriculture; the institution of veterinary schools and 35 new colleges, and the exertions made to complete the meridian circle. France was now surrounded by a chain of friendly nations, and her finances were in a flourishing condition. She alone, amongst all the states of Europe, possessed no paper money.

The finished picture of the empire, which Bonaparte had drawn, was not destitute of spots. The commerce of the country was admitted to be sustained only by hope and preparation. To supply this defect, they were flattered with a commercial code, which was to extend to the towns of the Baltic, as if the substitution of splendid pages, and theories of law, could atone for those restrictions on human intercourse which render them at once useless and insulting. It was the wish of Bonaparte, that there should be no parties in politics, that is, there must be no discussion of political subjects, no interchange of sentiments, which might be fatal to usurpation. The heat of debate might have interrupted the tranquillity of despotism, and the exclusion of party was the torpid acquiescence of slaves. There was no immediate necessity for putting this seal on the lips of party. It implied, however, a fear that the time might come,

when this enlightened nation, which unfortunately had wasted its energies in the establishment of tyranny, might recoil with indignation at its bondage, and unite to destroy that sceptre under which their most valuable privileges and sensibilities were crushed.

While such was the apparently happy state of France, those which were subjugated by Napoleon, especially those which chiefly subsisted by commerce, had the greatest reason to mourn. The calamities of Holland, arising from the loss of her colonies, the annihilation of her trade, and continuance of the war, were extreme. It wrung the heart of the reigning monarch, that, instead of reversing, he durst scarcely soften the cruel edicts of his imperial brother against the introduction of British commodities, in exchange for their own. The frauds of the Dutch merchants, and the connivance of the government agents, were the perpetual theme of invective in the *Moniteur*. In order, therefore, to put a final stop to all commercial intercourse with Britain, a decree was published, in which it was enacted, that the *consignee* of every ship should give bond on her arrival, to the amount of twice her value, to prove that she had not touched at a British port. Since the press in Holland was not yet reduced to absolute silence, the groans and complaints of the people found a vent in the public papers. The continuance of the war was deprecated in the address of the legislative body to the throne; and the king, instead of being offended, repeated their complaint with increased energy, lamenting that,

instead of diffusing happiness among his subjects, he could scarcely alleviate their afflictions; and that in a general peace alone, could they hope for the termination of their calamities. According to the accustomed plan of Bonaparte, a change took place in the territory of Holland, soon after the peace of Tilsit. The strong fortresses along the banks of the Maese, to its discharge into the sea, which formed its bulwark on this side, were annexed to France, in lieu of which the Dutch received a portion of the territory belonging to the conquered dominions of Prussia.

It may here be proper to observe, that the arrangements at Tilsit, and the treaties solemnly concluded, seemingly restored peace to the Continent. It was, however, amply provided for in the secret articles between Bonaparte and Alexander, that this was to be of short continuance. "The dynasty of the Bourbons in Spain," says that convention, "and of the Braganza family in Portugal, shall cease to exist. A prince of the blood of Bonaparte's family shall be invested with the crown of those kingdoms."

Spain and Holland had been gained over by the influence of France, with which power they had jointly treated at Amiens. By virtue of a treaty in 1796, Spain became bound to furnish a contingent of troops and ships to assist France, in opposition to any power with which she might be at war. Spain was to remain neutral, but this not being sustained by Britain, Spain declared war against her, on the 12th of December, 1804, for different reasons which were enu-

merated in her state paper. Her North American settlements were bestowed on France, and disposed of by that power to enrich her treasury. Her fleet was sacrificed to support the ambition of her ally, and of course she was destitute of the means of protecting her foreign provinces, either from the grasp of such adventurers as Miranda, or from the regular forces of her enemies. Her commerce was fast verging to destruction, and her revenues were rapidly on the decline. Both king and heir apparent were under the controul of the Prince of Peace, a minister who was under the complete influence of Bonaparte. The characteristics of Spain were bigotry, poverty, and humiliation; and in vain had she recourse to beads and priests, to processions and images, to exalt her in the scale of nations. A reform of old establishments and public abuses, could alone be effected by totally different means.

As the ships of Spain were employed, and numbers of them lost in fighting the battles of France, so the flower of her army was sent into Germany, to enable Bonaparte to subdue Austria, Prussia, and Russia. These troops were drawn far from Spain, to weaken the regular forces, and French troops were introduced, under pretence of taking possession of the harbours of Portugal. This indeed was a mere pretence, for no sooner did they enter Spain than they took possession of her fortresses, and declared all those who resisted to be in a state of rebellion. When Bonaparte once formed his plans, and the time for execution arrived, he never hesitated in carry-

ing them forward. He consequently found a pretext for drawing out of Spain about 16,000 of her best troops, and sending them to such a distance, as to render it extremely improbable that they could impede his designs. He proposed a match between the Prince of Asturias and a relation of his own, whom he had *manufactured* into a princess, to which Ferdinand agreed with extreme reluctance, and would have absolutely refused, had he not been afraid of Bonaparte's displeasure, and of hurting the alliance between the two crowns. The Madrid gazette of 31st of March, 1808, when the prince had succeeded to the throne, after the abdication of his father, said, "That with the view of promoting the prosperity of the Spanish empire, he wished, in October 1807, to marry a French princess of the blood (probably of the blood of Adam,) and that the steps he had taken for that purpose were perfectly his own, and without compulsion." This, however, was the language of policy, and not of the heart. This marriage was not proposed by Bonaparte to secure the crown of Spain to Ferdinand, as he had determined before-hand to put an end to this dynasty in Spain. Cevallos thought, and probably with great justice, that this proposal was made to foment discord in the royal family of Spain, and, under the appearance of promoting his interest, to cover from Ferdinand his real designs.

It was not sufficient for Napoleon, that he had got his army into the heart of Spain. He was determined to gain possession of its princi-

pal fortresses, and such were his address and treachery, that he obtained his purpose with little or no difficulty. The manner in which a French corps obtained possession of Barcelona is a convincing proof of this. On the 13th of February, about 10,000 French troops arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, which, as the commander affirmed, were marching to Valencia, to which place he desired passports from the governor. That his troops might rest and refresh themselves, he declared his design to halt a few days at Barcelona, should the governor grant permission. He agreed to his request; the gates of the city were thrown open to the French army; and the inhabitants received and treated them with the utmost kindness and hospitality. In three days the *generale* was beaten, and the whole French army appeared on parade, prepared, and seemingly intending to march immediately. The inhabitants assembled to take leave of their friends, when to their astonishment the French army divided into two bodies, one of which marched to the citadel, of which they took immediate possession, and the other to Mountjoi, a fort on the top of the hill commanding the town. Here was a garrison of 6000 Spaniards, whom the French ordered to surrender, to whom the commandant replied, that he must wait for the instructions of his government, but that the French troops in the mean time should be supplied with every accommodation. The French officer insisted that his orders should be instantly executed, on which the Spaniards gave up the fort. Besides the

army which got possession of Barcelona in this treacherous manner, the number of troops which entered Spain through Irun amounted to 71,789 infantry, and 10,104 cavalry.

In pursuance of his insidious measures against the royal family, having obtained a firm footing in Spain, Bonaparte, in a letter to Charles, complained in reproachful terms, that he had not renewed the proposals of the marriage of his son with a French princess.—To this Charles replied, that the marriage was still agreeable to him, and that it should take place immediately. Finding from this that he had missed his aim, he determined to intimate his designs more unequivocally to the royal family. Esquerdo was sent to the king and queen, who were then at Aranjuez, with a message which Bonaparte would not commit to writing. Godoy conducted him into the royal presence, and none but the parties themselves can tell what passed; his stay was short, and after his departure the king and queen seemed to relish the plan of emigrating to South America, after the example of the Prince Regent of Portugal. To this they would be the more inclined, should imprisonment or death be the alternative on refusing to comply. Godoy most probably advised this measure, that by emigrating along with his master, he might escape the vengeance of Napoleon. This was a matter of too great magnitude to be long kept a profound secret. It was not to be supposed they would take their departure for such a distant country, without acquainting the Prince of Asturias and his brother. The confusion of

public affairs; the want of confidence in the heads of government, and the undue influence which Godoy was known to have over the mind of the king, were the prolific sources of inexpressible agitation.

Among the perils with which the king apprehended himself surrounded, and which were still increasing, he adopted the strange resolution of abdicating the throne in favour of Ferdinand, his heir and natural successor. The royal decree in which Charles made known his resolution, declared, that his habitual infirmities did not permit him any longer to sustain the weight of government, and that the re-establishment of his health, requiring a more temperate climate, after the most mature deliberation, he had resolved to abdicate his crown in favour of his son, the Prince of Asturias. That the accession of Ferdinand to the throne was by no means agreeable to Bonaparte, is beyond a doubt, and of course Murat was the only diplomatic character who did not congratulate him on that event. He hastened the march of his army to the capital, and the new king sent a deputation of three grandees to Bayonne, to compliment Napoleon on his arrival; and he paid the same attention to Murat when he approached to Madrid. The French general sent a person officially to Charles and his Queen, condoling with him on the severity of his fate, and assuring him that if his abdication was involuntary, he would procure him the assistance and support of the emperor. Charles affirmed that his calamities were brought upon him by his own son,

with the assistance of Caballero, the minister of justice. Had he not resigned, he was of opinion that his own life and that of the queen would have fallen a sacrifice. The result of this interview was faithfully transmitted to Bonaparte.

On the public entry of the new king into Madrid, Murat had the most unequivocal proof that the accession of Ferdinand was inimical to the designs of Bonaparte, from the enthusiastic expressions of joy which pervaded the metropolis; and therefore he had recourse to every mean, short of violence, to draw him away from Madrid. He laboured to persuade Ferdinand that if he would go and meet Bonaparte, who had already entered Spain, he would deem it such a flattering compliment, that he would instantly recognize his title to the throne. General Savary, who had come officially from the French emperor, repeated the same assurances. Before the deluded Ferdinand set out, he assured his subjects, in a royal decree, that he had great satisfaction in the approaching visit of his mighty ally the Emperor of France (and so he well might!) as it promised to be of great utility to his kingdom. He left his capital, he said, only for a few days (he might have said years,) in order to shew proper marks of respect and attachment to the Emperor. During his *short* absence, he had appointed a supreme junta, at the head of which he had placed his uncle Don Antonio. He recommended tranquillity and obedience to the laws; and hoped they would cultivate a good understanding with the French troops in Madrid, affording them regular sup-

plies of every thing necessary for their maintenance, till the object of the Emperor's visit, which was the firmer and closer alliance of the two nations, should be accomplished.

Savary assured him that he would meet the Emperor at Burgos, although perfectly convinced that he was telling a lie upon the honour of a soldier, and Ferdinand on his arrival found himself deceived. With a similar falsehood (for even an officer can be honourable at times) he decoyed him to Vittoria, but no Emperor could be found, only he was surrounded by French soldiers, where Savary left him till he should obtain fresh instructions from the Emperor. This same General Savary, every way worthy of the master whom he served, assured Ferdinand, that if he would proceed to Bayonne, in fifteen minutes after his arrival he would be recognized as King of Spain and the Indies. He was prevailed with to go forward; but as soon as he entered the territories of France he found himself betrayed. Savary told him in plain terms, that the dynasty of the Bourbons should reign no longer in Spain, as the throne was to be conferred on one of Bonaparte's own family. To bring him to a more ready compliance with his requisition, Bonaparte resolved that Charles should be brought to Bayonne, to set out for which place the Grand Duke of Berg was ordered to employ all his influence with the king and queen. This they absolutely refused, unless Godoy should be released, and permitted to go before them. He was liberated with some difficulty,

and set out for Bayonne under a strong escort, to which place the king and queen immediately followed. Ferdinand was obliged to renounce his claim to the crown, for Bonaparte addressed him in these words: "Prince, you have only to choose between accession and death." He was to have the annual sum of 1,000,000 of livres, the title of Royal Highness, and the domain of Navarre.

Abounding as the annals of mankind are, especially in these latter unparalleled and portentous times, in examples of treachery, perfidy, and violence, it would be difficult to point out one deed, which in every part of its performance, in its own nature, or in the character of the means by which it was carried into execution, bore such strong and infamous marks of villainy. Had not the indignation and abhorrence of Europe been almost worn out, by what it had witnessed and felt for 20 years before, the occurrences of Bayonne would have created more astonishment than they really did. But that action, which at any former period would have marked the age in which it had been performed, as permanent in deceit and outrage, occurring after a regular series of deeds similar in nature, though left far behind in the degree of their guilt, was by no means regarded with the abhorrence it ought to have excited. It was a transaction presenting throughout the whole of its progress no intermission of villainy, and not one feature even of daring greatness or consummate talent.

General Murat (grand Duke of Berg) entered Madrid on the 2d of May, and told the infant Don Antonio that his presence was necessary at the conferences to be held at Bayonne, between Bonaparte and the king; and that it was expected he would issue a proclamation, declaring him (Murat) regent, during his absence. To this the Infant replied, "That he had received the regency from the king, his nephew, into whose hands only he could resign it; and that as the duties of regent of Spain were incompatible with a journey to Bayonne, he would remain at Madrid." Murat finding the Infant inflexible, ordered a large body of troops, which he had withdrawn from Madrid a few days before, to re-enter that city, intending, as was believed, to seize the person of Don Antonio, and to declare himself regent. The inhabitants got intimation of it, however, and being alarmed at the return of the French, they collected in the streets, attacked the French army with vigour and resolution, took their cannon, which they turned against them, and drove them out of the town with great slaughter. It is supposed that more than 10,000 persons lost their lives in the conflict. The French force was originally 80,000, and rivers of blood were running through the streets. This was a very strong proof of the perfect regard and esteem for his royal highness, which Bonaparte had expressed so shortly before!!

The following exhibits a striking contrast to this bold and spirited conduct. On the 29th of May, the Council of Castile held an extraordinary assembly, in pursuance of an order communicated by their excellencies Don Sebastian

Pinuelah, and Don Arias Mon, the seniors of the council. "Sir,—His royal highness the Grand Duke of Berg (the very Murat whom the people of Madrid so bravely drove from that city), lieutenant-general of the kingdom, commands, that, at eight o'clock of the morning of to-morrow, the 30th of May, the Council do assemble, in order to proceed to the execution of a decree and a proclamation of his majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine." Then follows a memorable paragraph which is worthy of insertion. "In this decree it has pleased his imperial and royal majesty, by virtue of the rights to the crown of Spain which have been ceded to him, to inform the Council of Castile of the measures which he has taken, in order to fix the basis for a new government of the kingdom. His majesty commands, at the same time, that his highness the grand Duke of Berg shall continue to fulfil the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom; and he requires the Council of Castile to publish and affix the said imperial decree, that no one may pretend ignorance of the same."

In no countries under heaven has priestcraft maintained such an ascendancy over the minds of men, or afforded such effectual aid to the designs of political tyrants, as in those where the popish religion has been fully established. Of this fact Bonaparte was constantly aware, and it was of singular advantage to him on the present occasion. Although probably destitute of religion himself, he always paid court to it in every country, for the promotion of his ambitious pro-

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jects. We have always heard that Charles IV. was an extremely weak prince, but we can scarcely think that his children are so likewise; and when we recollect that he and his whole family were swindled out of Spain by the artifice and cunning of Bonaparte, we ought not rashly to attribute their conduct to an act of their own choice. But as their renunciation of their rights to the Spanish throne have been given to the world, our readers may judge from these whether they acted from the heart, or under the infernal cunning and superior power of Napoleon the last.

We shall now turn our attention more particularly to the affairs of France. The Emperor Alexander of all the Russias, completely subdued by the superior power of Bonaparte, wrote a letter, in conjunction with the self-elected emperor of the French, from Erfurth, dated the 12th October, to his Britannic Majesty, on the subject of peace, of which the following is a copy. "Sire,—The present circumstances of Europe have brought us together at Erfurth. Our first thought is to yield to the wish and the wants of every people, and to seek, in a speedy pacification with your majesty, the most efficacious remedy for the miseries which oppress all nations. We make known to your Majesty our sincere desire in this respect by the present letter. The long and bloody war which has torn the Continent is at an end, without the possibility of being renewed. Many changes have taken place in Europe; many states have been overthrown. The cause is to be found in the state of agitation

and misery in which the stagnation of maritime commerce has placed the greatest nations. Still greater changes may yet take place, and all of them contrary to the policy of the English nation. Peace, then, is at once the interest of the Continent, as it is the interest of the people of Great Britain. We unite in entreating your Majesty to listen to the voice of humanity, silencing that of the passions; to seek, with the intention of arriving at that object, to conciliate all interests, and by that means to preserve all the powers which exist, and so insure the happiness of Europe and of this generation, at the head of which Providence has placed us.

(Signed) ALEXANDER.—NAPOLEON."

This gave rise to a correspondence between M. de Champagny on the part of France, and Mr. Canning on the part of Great Britain, which was not productive of peace. Mr. Canning, in his last note to Champagny, says: "But his Majesty is determined not to abandon the cause of the Spanish nation and of the legitimate monarchy of Spain; and the pretensions of France to exclude from the negotiation the central and supreme government, acting in the name of his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII. is one which his Majesty could not admit without acquiescing in an usurpation which has no parallel in the history of the world,

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING."

Hostilities being again renewed between France and Austria, Bonaparte was personally present at the battle of Abensburg, where he determined to beat and destroy the corps of the

Archduke Louis and General Keller, amounting to about 60,000 men. He took post at Abensburg on the 6th of May, 1809; he gave orders to the Duke of Averstadt to keep the corps of Hohnzollern, of Rosenberg, and Lichtenstein, in check, while with the two divisions of Morand and Gudin, the Bavarians and the Wirtembergers, he attacked the army of the Archduke Louis and General Keller in front, and caused the communications of the enemy to be cut off by the Duke of Rivoli, who, passing by Freyburg, from thence proceeded to the rear of the Austrian army. The divisions of Morand and Gudin formed the left, and manœuvred under the orders of the Duke of Montebello. On the 10th of May, about 9 o'clock in the morning, the Emperor of the French appeared with the corps of the Marshal Duke of Montebello, at the gates of Vienna. It was just one month, on the same day and hour, that the Austrian army had crossed the Inn, and the Emperor Francis had rendered himself guilty of a breach of faith, which was the prognostic of his overthrow. The emperor experienced a secret satisfaction, when, approaching the immense suburbs of Vienna, a numerous populace, women, children, and old men, hastened to meet the French army, and received the soldiers as friends.

There were found at Vienna 500 pieces of cannon, a great number of carriages, and immense quantities of ball, &c. The Austrian monarchy issued upwards of 300,000,000 of paper to support the preparations for this war, and the number of bills in circulation amounted to more than

1,500,000,000. During the bombardment of Vienna, only about ten houses were destroyed; and the people remarked, that this misfortune fell upon the most zealous promoters of the war.

The grand object with Bonaparte was to dethrone all the lawful sovereigns of Europe, and replace them by his brothers or favourite generals, that he might in the issue be more than a match for the whole civilized world. His brothers, while they acted in subservience to his designs, naturally adopted his style, as appears from the following proclamation of King Joseph, usurper of the Spanish throne.

“Spaniards, the moment is arrived when you can listen with advantage to the truths which I am about to utter. Thinking persons well know, that for more than a century the force of circumstances, which masters all events, determined that Spain should be the friend and ally of France. When an extraordinary revolution hurled from the throne, the house that reigned in France, it was the duty of the Spanish branch to support it, and not to lay down its arms until it was re-established, to preserve itself from the same fate. It required a spirit of heroism to adopt such a resolution. It was thought better to wait for that from the progress of time, to obtain which by arms, courage was wanting. The cabinet of Madrid disclosed its intentions in arming against France, when it perceived her engaged in a remote war. The victory of Jena confounded its projects. It vainly endeavoured to return to its system of dissimulation, and to resume the spirit of the negociators of Basle.

The *Conqueror of Europe* would not allow himself to be duped. The princes of the house of Spain, not having the courage to fight, renounced the crown, and were content to make stipulations for their private interests. The Spanish grandees, the generals, the chiefs of the nations, recognized these truths. I received their oaths at Madrid; but the occurrence at Baylen threw every thing into confusion. The timid became alarmed, but the enlightened and conscientious remained true to me. A new continental war, and the assistance of England, prolonged an unequal contest, of which the nation feels all the horrors. The issue was never doubtful; the fate of arms has this day declared so. If tranquillity is not immediately restored, who can foresee the consequences of such blind obstinacy? It is the interest of France to preserve Spain (*as a tid-bit for Joe*) entire and independent, if she become again her friend and ally, but if she continue her enemy, it is the duty of France to weaken, to dismember, and to destroy her. God, who reads the hearts of men, knows with what view I thus address you. Spaniards, the irrevocable destiny is not yet pronounced. Cease to suffer yourselves to be duped by the passions excited by the common enemy. Employ your understanding; it will point out to you in the French troops, friends who are ready to defend you—It is yet time; rally around me. May this day open to Spain a new æra of glory and happiness.

“ I the KING.”

About the month of February, 1810, the city and territory of Rome were annexed to France,

and the whole spiritual power of the Pope completely abolished in every part of the French dominions. Bonaparte by such a step, reduced the mistress of the world to the second city, and the title of the king of Rome was conferred on the heir apparent of the French empire. About the same time it was decreed by Napoleon, emperor of the French, that the edict of Louis XIV. founded on the declaration of the clergy of France respecting the ecclesiastical power made in the month of March, 1682, shall be a general law of the empire. The chief point of this declaration is, that neither the successors of St. Peter, nor even the whole church, have received from God any power over things temporal and civil, a position which sound reasoning will never controvert, and upon this principle no clergyman has any right to interfere with the affairs of the state. Bonaparte said, and with the utmost propriety, that the power of the church extends only over spiritual matters; and the inference he drew from this fact was, that the sovereigns of France are subject to no ecclesiastical power whatever in temporal matters. The chief article is followed by other three, declaring that, even in spiritual matters,—the power of the Pope is limited by the council of Constance, and by the usages and constitutions of the Gallican church.

The emperor, in his message to the senate, on the 27th of February, 1810, informed them, that the Prince of Neuschatel was dispatched as ambassador extraordinary, to solicit the hand of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor of Austria, and that he had ordered the

articles of the treaty of marriage which was concluded, signed, and ratified, to be laid before them. This marriage could not be agreeable to the Emperor of Germany nor his daughter, although the humbled state of the former made it dangerous for him to refuse. It was at best but an adulterous connection ; for though Josephina was repudiated, she could not be legally divorced. Surely her having no children at an age past the period of child bearing, could be no fault ; and however little reason she might perhaps have to love Bonaparte, we can scarcely believe that her giving up all claim to him was a voluntary act. After the emperor had delivered his sentiments on the subject, she thus spoke. " By the permission of our dear and august consort, I ought to declare, that, not preserving any hope of having children, which may fulfil the wants of his policy, and the interest of France, I am pleased to give him the greatest proof of attachment and devotion which has ever been given on earth. I possess all from his bounty ; it was his hand which crowned me, and from the heights of the throne I have received proofs of affection and love from the French people. I think I prove myself grateful to the dissolution of a marriage which heretofore was an obstacle to the welfare of France ; which deprived it of the happiness of being one day governed by the descendants of a great man, evidently raised up by providence to efface the evils of a terrible revolution, and to re-establish the altar, the throne, and social order. But the dissolution of my marriage will, in no degree, change the sentiments of my heart.

his nefarious purpose in the abdication of the crown of Spain, by its legitimate sovereigns Charles and Ferdinand; and having obtained an address from Charles, one from the Central Junta, and another from the Supreme Inquisition, urging the Spaniards to submit quietly to the new order of things, Bonaparte seemed to have obtained his object almost without resistance. The people, however, were already aroused to vengeance. Murat, less accommodating than almost any of the French generals, demanded the sword of Francis I. King of France, surrendered at the battle of Pavia, in the time of the Emperor Charles V. It was carried with much pomp to the lodgings of the grand Duke of Berg. His next demand was for great coats, of which his army was in want. He controlled the Junta, left in the administration of affairs by Ferdinand, and had the address to procure his election as their president, which at once filled up the measure of their disgrace, and completed the triumph of Murat. These things paved the way to the resistance offered on the 2d of May, to the French troops which were re-introduced into the capital, the dreadful vengeance taken by the French, and the scenes of blood which presented themselves in the great street of Alcala, the Sun Gate, and the Great Squares.

The same spirit which led to resistance in the capital, pervaded the northern provinces, and soon discovered itself in undisguised opposition to the French. Asturias and Galicia, the last refuge of Spanish independence in the time of the Moors, took the lead, and were soon follow-

ed by almost every part of the kingdom, not immediately intimidated by the armies of France. The Juntas which were rapidly formed in the provinces, issued the most energetic proclamations, containing representations of the treachery of Bonaparte to their royal family, and the fatal consequences which would result from tame submission to the man who had involved so many governments of Europe in slavery and degradation. To encourage them to rise for their independence, they were informed that the eyes of the countries which were crushed by his arms, and even of France herself, were now fixed upon them, and anxiously waited for an opportunity of uniting with them to procure independence, tranquillity, and happiness to the continent of Europe. The Junta at Seville proclaimed Ferdinand King of Spain, formed inferior juntas, took possession of military stores, and called upon all persons who had no children, from 16 to 45, to enrol themselves. They proclaimed war against France, and peace with Britain. This was the only nation from which they could expect speedy and extensive assistance. Two commissioners were sent to England by the Junta of Asturias, to acquaint our government with the actual state of Spain, and to crave their assistance in the arduous conflict in which they were engaged. The Ministry in parliament, and his Majesty, in his speech at the close of the session, gave the most explicit assurance of their co-operation. Arms, ammunition, and clothing, were supplied by fast-sailing vessels to Galicia and Asturias. Able officers were sent to Spain to

learn the state of the country, and to inform and direct our government as to the assistance most immediately wanted; and an army was held in readiness to embark for their relief. By an order in council, of the 4th of July, peace with Spain was restored, the blockade of their ports was raised, and all the prisoners of war belonging to that country were set at liberty.

The Marquis de Solano, governor-general of Andalusia, being commonly suspected of treachery, was put to death in an insurrection of the inhabitants of Cadiz, and Don Morla was invested with the command, as a man of peculiar firmness of mind. By his address, in conjunction with the directions of Admiral Purvis, commander of the fleet at Gibraltar, five French sail of the line and a frigate, under the command of Admiral Aossilly, after a contest of three days, were obliged to surrender to the Spanish gun-boats. Dupont, whom Murat had dispatched from Madrid with a considerable force to the south of Spain, especially with a view to preserve this fleet, after he had reached Cordova, was obliged to measure back his steps, and surrender to the Spaniards, who cut off his retreat at the Sierra Morena. This victory was gained by Castanos, who rigidly adhered to the advice of the Junta of Seville, which recommended a prolonged and cautious mode of warfare. Such was the situation of Dupont, that he could not receive any regular supplies of provisions; and on the 19th of July, a decisive battle was fought between him and Reding, in which the Spaniards obtained the victory at all-

points, and the whole of the French army were to deliver up their arms, till they arrived at Cadiz, where they were to be embarked and sent to Rochefort. Prior to the battle, the French force amounted to 14,000 men, of whom nearly 3000 were killed and wounded. The Spanish force amounted to 25,000 men, of whom one half were peasantry; and they lost about 1200 in killed and wounded.

The cause of the patriots was equally successful in other parts of Spain, and their armies were placed under the direction of brave and able generals. Palafox was charged with the defence of Arragon, whose army was fully adequate to repel the ferocious attacks of the French on the city of Saragossa; in the defence of which he was aided by women, who vied with their husbands, sons, and brothers in the display of heroism. They rushed into the midst of the battle, supplied the wounded with refreshments, and by their example animated all to such exertions as have not been surpassed in the annals of modern warfare. The French army in Valencia was defeated and drawn off with great slaughter; and the patriot army in the north under Cuesta was also defeated, but its retreat was covered by General Blake in a very masterly manner. This took place near Valladolid, on the 14th of July. The French force under Lassalles consisted of 10,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry and artillery, and a large proportion of cannon. The army of the patriots amounted to nearly 14,000 infantry, but they were almost destitute of cavalry. They had 26 pieces of

cannon, and a body of peasantry was also attached to the regular troops. The French were repulsed at the first onset, but owing to the nature of the ground, which was level and open, and their want of cavalry, the Spaniards were obliged to fall back.

The two great objects for which the Junta of Bonaparte were assembled at Bayonne, being accomplished, viz. the formal reception of brother Joseph as Sovereign of Spain, and their acceptance of the new constitution, Joseph set out for his new capital, attended by some of the most illustrious men in Spain; and was crowned amidst the indignant gloom of the inhabitants, on the very day that Dupont was forced to surrender to Castanos. This had such influence on the prior arrangement of the French troops, that Bessieres durst not venture to proceed to Portugal; and Joseph, on the 27th of July, in the short space of a week, was obliged to consult his safety in flight: he marched with all possible haste towards Burgos, accompanied by 10,000 men.

The confidence of the Spaniards in their own strength was evident, from their declining to accept of the assistance offered them by Sir Arthur Wellesley (now Duke of Wellington,) who arrived off the coast, with a strong and well appointed armament. This was in the first instance offered to the Spaniards; but they advised Sir Arthur to proceed to Portugal, to act against Junot. No sooner was Spain aware, however, of the extent of Bonaparte's preparations, than she readily accepted the renewed

proposals of the British ministry, that military stores, money, and troops should be sent to them. Thirteen thousand men under Sir David Baird, were landed at Corunna with all expedition; and a larger force had been dispatched from Portugal, under Sir John Moore.

Bonaparte expressed his wishes and unfolded his plans to his troops assembled at parade on the Carousel, in the most violent and outrageous manner. Having ordered them to be formed into close columns, and the officers being assembled, he told them, that after having triumphed on the banks of the Danube and the Vistula, and passed through Germany by forced marches, he should, without allowing them a moment's rest, order them to march through France. He had occasion for their immediate service. The hideous presence of the leopard of England contaminated the peninsula of Spain and Portugal. It was incumbent on them to drive him with dismay and destruction from the Continent. The pillars of Hercules must witness their conquering and avenging prowess. From it would result a prosperous and durable peace, and the consequent prosperity of France. These were the objects the nearest his heart; the wish to obtain them alone induced him to call for their exertions. What they had already done placed them on a level with the Roman legions: what remained, what he had no doubt they would perform with as much cheerfulness, promptitude, and success, would, if possible, augment their glory, secure the happiness of their coun-

try, and imprint its remembrance deeply and permanently on his heart.

It was not till after the Spanish armies under Castanos, Blake, and Belvidera had been defeated, that the brave Sir John Moore, on the 14th of November, arrived at Salamanca with 15,000 men; and Sir David Baird with 14,000 about the same time, at Astorga. They, together with General Hope, whose brigade of 10,000 men were on their march to Madrid, on receiving intelligence of the army of Castanos, began their retreat. Happy had it been for the British army and for its justly renowned commander, had they persisted in this determination. But being urged in dispatch after dispatch from Mr. Frere, the British envoy in Spain, and even threatened with the high displeasure of government, if he did not alter his resolution; misinformed by the Prince Castelfranco and Morla, governors of Madrid, in a paper signed by them, in the name of the Supreme Junta, bearing date the 2d of December, in which they declared, that there were 40,000 men in Madrid; that Castanos was rapidly falling back on the capital; that St. Juan was on his way with 10,000 men, and that they were in no immediate apprehensions for the safety of the place, Sir John Moore unfortunately departed from his former resolution, and the two divisions of the army resumed their respective stations at Astorga and Salamanca. He was informed on the 9th, by General Graham, whom he had dispatched for Talavera, to obtain more accurate information from the Supreme Junta, that Madrid had capi-

tulated on the 3d, but that the people still continued resolute, and would not admit the French. This was equally false, for the strong post at Samosierra, defended by 13,000 men, and 16 pieces of cannon, having been forced, the Duke of Istria got possession of the heights of Madrid. After the refusal of the first summons, a breach was made in the walls of the Reteiro by 30 pieces of cannon. On receiving the third summons, demanding immediate submission, they requested a suspension of hostilities; the capitulation was concluded, and the French got possession on the 5th of December.

About this time the operations in Portugal were more interesting in themselves, and followed by more important results. Marshal Beresford was placed at the head of their army; and a number of Portuguese troops were likewise incorporated with the army of Wellington. When his lordship retreated after the battle of Talavera, he had the protection of Portugal chiefly in his eye; and to make up for the inferiority of the troops that Britain could afford, and the want of experience in those of the Portuguese, he made choice of a position which was strong both by nature and art. It was near the Tagus, and of course he could easily obtain supplies from Britain, and embark his troops with safety and dispatch, if overpowered by the vast armies of France. Upon the same principle the French would find themselves in the heart of a hostile country, where it would be next to impossible to procure the necessary supplies; and where their retreat, if found ne-

cessary, would be hazardous in the extreme. To retard the progress of the enemy as much as possible, Lord Wellington, with about 90,000 men, of whom only 30,000 were British, advanced to the north-eastern frontier of the Peninsula. Massena's army, by his own account, was 100,000 strong, who carried on the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo with great activity, and the garrison only surrendered when the place was no longer tenable. Massena advanced, and Lord Wellington retired, thus drawing the enemy still farther from supplies, while his lordship was falling back on his own reinforcements.

Under these circumstances the army of Massena was considered as already on the verge of destruction, from the want of provisions and reinforcements, which he could not reasonably expect in any sufficient quantity, considering the season of the year, the state of the roads, and the hostility of the country. It was concluded that he would either risk an engagement, or be forced to retreat; but contrary to all expectation, he still kept his position before Torres Vedras, long after his army was said to be starving. He began his retreat on the 14th of November, followed next morning by the allied army, eagerly bent on his destruction, which they expected was now at hand. Massena, however, made good his retreat to Santarem, and took up a position so strong both by nature and art, that it would have been madness to attack him in it. Of this Lord Wellington was aware, and the French commander shewed no inclination to leave it in a hurry, or of giving his antagonist

battle. At last with the utmost secrecy, he broke up from Santarem on the 5th of March, and after a march of 30 days, attended with various success, he crossed the Portuguese frontier, which extorted from Lord Wellington a warm tribute of applause. Although the French army in its retreat had suffered less than was expected, in consequence of the masterly conduct of Massena, yet Lord Wellington was of opinion that the enemy's army would not for some time be in a situation to attempt the relief of Almeida, the only place which they held in Portugal.

Massena entered Spain on the 4th of April, and by the end of that month, contrary to the opinion of Lord Wellington, he was ready to take the field for the relief of Almeida; but after a long and desperate conflict, it was left to its fate, which fell of course into the hands of the allies. Massena was succeeded by Marshal Marmont; the siege of Badajoz was renewed; and Soult being reinforced by 15,000 men under Drouet, Lord Wellington abandoned it. He next advanced against Ciudad Rodrigo in the month of October, in order to favour the operations of the Spaniards, and keep the French still on the alert; but finding the enemy greatly superior in strength, he retreated, and the French, after relieving Ciudad Rodrigo, filed off towards Salamanca and Placentia.

As our limits imperiously call for brevity, we can only remark here, that such was the skill, such the achievements, such the deeds of valour performed by Lord Wellington, and the main body of the British army serving under him in

Spain, about the time of which we now treat, that they extorted praise from the warmest opponents of British measures, exalted the military character of Britons, greatly eclipsed the splendor of the most renowned marshals, and of the most heroic armies of France; they lowered the tone of Bonaparte, who was now capable of estimating with what success he had chained the **BRITISH LEOPARD**, and driven the British army into the sea! It is evident that he was completely disappointed in his plans with respect to the conquest of the Peninsula, and by no means aware, at the commencement of his operations, of the resistance he would meet with in the contest. About the beginning of the year 1811, he varied his mode of warfare, as he became more and more persuaded of the necessity of gaining possession of the principal cities in the Peninsula. He therefore commenced the siege of Cadiz; and Suchet made Tarragona the first object of his attack, the commandant of which surrendered on the 9th, when he and 350 officers, and 3,500 men, were made prisoners of war. After the fall of Tarragona, Suchet hastened to Valencia, in order to lay siege to the capital of that province, which surrendered on the terms offered by the French general.

Tariffa in Andalusia, was invested by a French army of 10,000 men on the 20th of December, with a regular train of battering artillery. A flag of truce was hoisted after a severe action, from motives of humanity, to permit the enemy to carry off their wounded, of which General Laval, the French commander-in-chief,

availed himself with suitable expressions of gratitude. From the partial fire kept up by the enemy after a severe loss, it was believed that he intended to make another assault; but taking the advantage of a very dark and stormy night, he effected a precipitate retreat, to the astonishment of the British, leaving behind him all his artillery, ammunition, and stores. It is said that Marshal Victor was present in the French camp, and ordered the retreat, being mortified by the unsuccessful issue of such a determined effort of 10,000, opposed by only 1,800 British and Spaniards. Ciudad Rodrigo was at length taken by storm, which added another laurel to the brows of Lord Wellington. This event took place on the 19th of January, 1812, attended by all those characteristics of bravery and discipline which shone so conspicuous in the British troops, and which fully entitled them to rank with the best soldiers in Europe. For this important service, the Cortes rewarded Lord Wellington with the title of Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and the Prince Regent of Britain advanced him to the dignity of Earl, and Parliament voted him a pension of L.2000 a year.

Although the severe loss in the battle of Salamanca did not shake the resolution of Soult to maintain his hold of Andalusia and the south, he was no sooner acquainted with the capture of Madrid, than he left the lines before Cadiz, and seemed determined to abandon every other object for the recovery of the capital. Destroying all the ammunition and stores which he could not carry with him, he raised the siege in the

night of the 24th of August. Having formed a junction with Suchet and the army of the centre, those united corps amounted to 70,000 men. He directed his march to the capital, and determined to drive the allied army beyond the Spanish frontier. He left Madrid, and advanced against Lord Wellington with 90,000 men. Carefully shunning an attack, he threw himself into positions which threatened the communication of the allied army with Portugal. Lord Wellington now found himself obliged to retreat to the frontiers, where his troops were distributed into cantonments, the season being no longer favourable for active operations.

The report of an approaching rupture between France and Russia, so often circulated in 1811, was completely silenced in the following year. A war in the north seemed to have been long premeditated by Bonaparte; and by a decisive stroke in that quarter, he fondly hoped to establish his supremacy in the European system. He was manifestly paving the way for the attack, and he expected the signal overthrow of Alexander's empire, when he separated him from those sovereigns with whom he had been in close alliance, when he obtained his sanction to his designs on Spain and Portugal, and when he encouraged him to prolong the war with the Ottoman Porte, into which Russia had hurried herself without any just provocation. A French alliance and separation from Britain, had always been unpopular in Russia. When Bonaparte gave licences to the subjects of France, permitting them to trade direct with Britain, even

when he was urging Russia to the most rigid adherence to the system of blockade, every feeling of interest and honour was roused, and a burst of indignation pervaded that vast empire. Alexander shared in the common feeling; which was greatly increased by the partiality of Britain to the subjects of Alexander, however unjustly he had deserted her cause, and enlisted himself on the side of her enemy. Bonaparte narrowly watched the growing spirit of opposition on the part of Russia, and eagerly prepared at once to place her in a state of absolute subjection, and to complete the ruin of the influence of Britain on the continent. His preparations for two years were the plainest indications of his design. Austria and Prussia were preparing their armies at the command of their master, and the fortifications of Dantzic were enlarged and strengthened.

Had the army sent over the Pyrenées after the peace of Vienna, been able to subjugate the Peninsula, the war in the north would have commenced much earlier in the year 1811. He had done enough however, to alarm the court of St. Petersburg, which more particularly seized the nobility, who intimated to Alexander, that unless other measures were pursued, neither his throne nor his life would be secure. Instead of following out the career of victory in Turkey, a large proportion of Russian troops were withdrawn, and arrived on the Polish frontiers by forced marches. The army of the Russians amounted to 300,000 men, with which she determined to act strictly on the defensive along

the banks of the Dwina, as these lay considerably within her own territory, and abounded with a long range of fortifications and entrenched camps. If her army could not make a stand here, it was determined to fall back on the interior, and that Moscow would be in the line of retreat, well aware that Bonaparte would not advance to St. Petersburg, leaving on his flank the whole force of the Russian empire. This line of retreat too, abounded with forests, marshes, and deserts, through which the stupendous apparatus of a mighty army could not be conveyed. It is said that the army of Bonaparte also amounted to 300,000 men, although the war office at Paris made them more than double that number, viz. 100,000 Poles, Confederation 120,000, French 250,000, Italians 50,000, Austrians 90,000, Prussians 80,000, making a grand total of 640,000 men! Bonaparte left Paris on the 9th of May, and on the 6th of June he crossed the Vistula, and joined his army. He crossed the Niemen on the 23d, on the banks of which river the Russians had arranged their whole force. Bonaparte made his entry into Wilna on the 28th, fixing his head-quarters where the Russian court was held for six months. From this place he continued to advance on the great road to Smolensk. Here began a most desperate engagement on the morning of the 17th of August. The city was soon in flames, which was described by Bonaparte with great propriety in the following words. "In the midst of a fine night in August, Smolensk offered to the eyes of the French, the spectacle that presents itself to the

inhabitants of Naples during an irruption of Vesuvius." Two hours after the commencement of the conflagration, General Korff destroyed the communication with the right bank of the Dnieper, and then followed the steps of the leading columns.

In passing over the ashes of this city, Bonaparte was heard to exclaim, "Never was a war prosecuted with such ferocity, never did defence put on so horrible a shape against the feelings of self preservation. These people treat their own country as if they were its enemies." About 100,000 men were engaged in this conflict, and the loss on both sides must have been immense. The Russians retreated unbroken from this terrific scene; but whether their general could be fully justified in ordering this retreat, we presume not to determine. His reasons were the destruction occasioned by the fire, and the terror lest Bonaparte should intercept his retreat upon Moscow. This was no doubt the only fortified place that remained in possession of the Russians, to cover their capital; the officers were therefore displeased because it was so soon given up, for which reason Kutusoff, a veteran of 75, was invested with the chief command. When he approached the capital, he determined to make a stand, taking up a strong position at Borodino, where he waited the attack of the enemy. Bonaparte led his troops to battle, and addressed them in the following manner. "Soldiers! behold the field of battle you have so much desired! henceforth victory depends on you; it is necessary to us; it will give us plenty, good quarters

for the winter, and a speedy return to our country. Behave yourselves as you did at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Witepsk, at Smolensk; and that the latest posterity may speak of your conduct this day with pride—that it may say of you “He was at that great battle under the walls of Moscow.” The dead bodies of the Russians killed the day before covered the ground on which they stood. This tremendous contest commenced at six o’clock, and a scene of human carnage more awful is scarcely presented in the records of destruction. Sixty thousand dead and wounded covered the field, and yet its fortune remained undecided. The issue, so far as can be discovered by a collation of different accounts, seems to have been pretty nearly equal. The loss on both sides was immense. This ancient metropolis was in a short time enveloped in flames; but the man who can assert for a moment, that the burning of Moscow was the work of Bonaparte, must be worse than mad, and labouring under a peculiar state of mind, for which no language has a name. Humanity may shudder at this dreadful act performed by the Russians themselves, but we can scarcely blame them for the terrible sacrifice. The cabinet of Russia certainly afforded to the enemy, and to all mankind, the most awful proof of their determination never to yield. Considered in this view alone, the spectacle of Moscow in flames must have fearfully appalled the heart of Bonaparte. When he left Moscow, his dismal retreat was harrassed in a more dreadful manner, both by the Russians and the elements, than any army which is

recorded in history. It has been said that the French in their retreat, were not only reduced to the painful necessity of eating horse flesh, but that in some cases they actually lived on the bodies of their dead companions. They reached Wilna on the 10th of December, where abundance of stores had been collected; but they were not permitted to enjoy them, for General Tchichagoff's advanced guard drove them through the town almost without halting; and the indelible Platoff, with his *highly civilized, highly cultivated* Cossacks, occupied the road to Kowno. The following is given as the grand total of the loss sustained by the French, during the most calamitous campaign of which we have any account: 41 generals, 1298 officers, 167,510 men, and 1,131 pieces of cannon! Bonaparte arrived at Paris from Wilna in 13 days, during which time it was impossible he could enjoy much repose. He reached Paris on the 18th at midnight, and on the 20th he received the addresses of the Senate, and of the Council of state. The Emperor of France issued a decree soon after his unfortunate arrival, consisting of three articles, by the first of which 350,000 men were placed at the disposal of the minister at war, viz. 100,000 men forming the 100 cohorts of the first ban of the national guards—100,000 men of the conscription of 1809, 1810, 1811, and 1812, taken from among those who had not been called upon to make a part of the active army; 150,000 of the conscription of 1812.

While Bonaparte was using his utmost endeavours to recruit his army, or rather employed in raising another almost new, the Russians continued to advance with rapidity, and to diminish by all possible means the miserable remains of the French army. The former were in a short time in possession of Memel, Tilsit, and Koningsberg; the latter being utterly incapable of making effectual resistance, retreated in the best manner they were able, in the melancholy circumstances in which they were placed. On the 13th of January, the Duke of Tarentum (Macdonald) arrived on the territory of Dantzic, said to be in the best state of defence. It was blockaded. In proportion as the Russians advanced, the Prussians began to discover the most pointed hostility to the French, and anxiously expected the arrival of the Russians. When they obtained possession of Warsaw, they did not stop there, but proceeded boldly to Posen, where an action of importance took place, in which they were victorious; and on the 20th of February, two days after the battle, they occupied Berlin with 19,000 men. They reached Hamburgh about the 28th, where they received a cordial welcome from the inhabitants as their deliverers from the oppression of the French, who immediately evacuated the city. Such was the fury of the inhabitants against the French authorities, that they were obliged to put themselves under the protection of the Russians.

The emperor Alexander entered Breslau on the 5th of March, on a visit to the king of Prussia, now become his ally, where the inhabitants

welcomed him with every demonstration of joy. His excellency Count Witgenstein made his public entry into Berlin on the 11th of the same month, where the inhabitants vied with each other in expressions of welcome. He was followed by General D'York on the 18th, who, with his brave army, met with the most joyful reception from all ranks, who rejoiced in their deliverance from a foreign yoke. Great was the urgency of Bonaparte's affairs, and his exertions to organize a force sufficient to meet his enemies in the field, were in exact proportion to each other. Every moment he could spare from the cabinet, was devoted to the personal toil of organizing his new recruits. He put his own shoulder to the wheel, sparing neither body nor mind, neither himself nor others. In the course of a single week, all the conscripts were clothed, and put in motion for their places of destination. He found himself, this campaign, on leaving his capital, in very different circumstances from the last; yet a man of his energy, of his unceasing activity, was not to be thought of with indifference. He might yet prove himself a match for all who were combined against him; or if he was to be overcome, it could only be effected by lessons taken from his own school. Bonaparte left St. Cloud on the 15th of April, and performed his journey with incredible rapidity. He reached Mayence in less than 46 hours, where he arrived on the 16th at 11 o'clock at night. He passed through Frankfort on the 25th, to join his army, of which, when the allied sovereigns obtained information on the 2d of May, they went

to their armies to animate the men by their presence. At break of day, all the troops drew up in order of battle, on the left bank of the Elster, with the right wing to the village of Werben, and their left to that of Gruna. At noon, General Blucher, who commanded the van guard, received orders to attack the enemy, which was made in the village of Gross-Gorschen, defended by the French in a most obstinate manner, but at length taken by storm. The battle became general along the whole line of Blucher's corps, and the French in part retook it, but the Prussian guards moved forward, and after a desperate combat of an hour and a half, this village and two others were retaken by the allies, of which they kept possession. During the conflict, the French had taken Leipsic, and lost both it and Halle, together with 15,000 of their best troops. The victory was claimed by both sides, and the combined army said, "The victory is ours, we have kept the field of battle, and accomplished our purpose." They confessed the loss of about 10,000 men, the most of them only slightly wounded.

Bonaparte claimed the victory, and perhaps with justice, but it was not decisive. He estimated his own loss at 10,000 killed and wounded; that of the allies at near 30,000 men. The French accounts said, "The field of battle presented a most afflicting spectacle; the young soldiers on seeing the Emperor, forgot their sufferings, and exclaimed, *Vive l'Empereur*." Bonaparte said, "It is now twenty years that I have commanded the French armies; but I

have never yet witnessed so much bravery and devotion." After the battle of Lutzen, the allies retired in excellent order across the Elbe, and took up a formidable position, their front being covered for several miles by the river Spree, where they waited the approach of the enemy. The French Emperor in person joined his main army before Bautzen, in the morning of the 19th of May. His force consisted of four corps, amounting to about 80,000 men, 12,000 guards, 14,000 cavalry, and a very numerous artillery. The grand attack commenced on the 20th. The corps under Oudinot, Macdonald, and Marmont, forced the passage of the Spree, opposite Bautzen, which must have been attended with immense loss, considering the strong position and numerous artillery of the allies. After a dreadful conflict of seven hours continuance, the allies, on account of superior numbers, were compelled to fall back on their second position, which was so strongly entrenched, that the French could *then* entertain no hope of forcing it. Thus ended the battle of Bautzen, in which the French did not obtain a single trophy, and only gained possession of the place at the expence of much blood.

In the proclamation of Bonaparte to his army after the battle of Lutzen, the sense which he entertained of their valour, and the signal service they had done to his cause, was expressed in the following terms: "Soldiers! I am satisfied with you. You have fulfilled my expectations, you have supplied every thing by your good will, and by your valour. On the memo-

table 2d of May, you defeated and routed the Russian and Prussian army, commanded by the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia. You have added new lustre to the glory of my eagles. You have displayed all that the French blood is capable of; the battle of Lutzen will be placed above those of Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, and Moskwa. In a single battle you have counteracted all their plots. We will drive back these Tartars into their frightful regions, which they ought never to have left. There let them remain amidst their frozen deserts,—the abode of slavery, of barbarism, and of corruption, where man is debased to an equality with the brute! You have deserved well of civilized Europe. Soldiers—Italy, France, and Germany return you thanks.”

After the different battles of the 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22d, the allied army retired by Gortlitz and Schweidnitz, in the direction of Bohemia. Breslaw, the capital of Silesia, was abandoned on the approach of the French, and fears were entertained for the safety of Berlin, to march upon which the corps of Marshal Oudinot had been detached from the grand army. On the 4th of June, the French attacked Buloz's advanced posts with great vivacity, intending to cut off his corps, before he could join the brigades of Generals Borstel and Boyen. In their attempts to storm the walls and gates of Luckau, the French were repulsed by the garrison, who defended themselves with the greatest obstinacy. In the mean time the Russian and Prussian cavalry, having thrown themselves

on the right flank of the enemy, defeated his cavalry, and put them to flight. The battle continued from eleven o'clock in the morning till nine at night. The loss of the French was estimated at 2,500 men, two pieces of cannon, and one howitzer.

While these momentous operations were going on between Bonaparte and the allied sovereigns, in which the former was still gaining ground, however obstinately every inch of it was disputed, Marshal Davoust, at the head of a strong corps, had compelled the Russians to recross the Elbe, and take possession of Lüneburg, Marburg, Cuxhaven, and the whole of the left bank of the Elbe. The fate of Hamburg likewise was determined in a short time. After a severe engagement, in which the Hanseatic legion, Prussians, and British riflemen, made a strong resistance, 1500 men took possession of Ochsenwarder. General Tettenborn informed the Senate of Hamburg, that he no longer had in his power the means of its defence, and left it entirely with them what measures they deemed proper to adopt, and left Hamburg with his Cossacks, an enlightened people of whom we have made mention before. The Danes, on the 30th of May, to the amount of 5000, with a park of artillery, entered the place, with the French General Bruyere at their head, who took possession of the town in the name of the ruler of France. They were followed in the afternoon of the same day, by 1500 French troops. As the citizens were peculiarly obnoxious to Bonaparte, on account of their late revolt, they had

no mercy to expect, now that they were reduced to subjection. In order, therefore, to punish the citizens of Hamburgh for their recent conduct, the French demanded a contribution of 48,000,000 francs, to be paid within four weeks from the time it was imposed; the one half in cash, the remainder in bills payable at Paris. This contribution was to press heaviest on those who had been most liberal in their subscriptions for the liberty of Germany. A commission of eight of the most respectable citizens was appointed to regulate the sums to be individually paid. The fate of Hamburgh was peculiarly affecting. It was forced to surrender three days before the British gun-boats promised for their protection were ready to sail. Denmark had flattered them with support. She joined their enemy, and put her forces under a French general. The Crown Prince, according to the treaties with Russia and with Britain, had entered Germany at the head of 84,000 men and 50 pieces of cannon, and his head-quarters were expected to have been at Wittenburg, in the Mecklenburgh territory, a place not above 50 miles from Hamburgh, in the very day that the French took it by force. After the excess of joy which pervaded every bosom on their deliverance, how bitter the thought, that amidst so much promised and anxiously expected assistance, they must again relapse under the iron hand which had so cruelly oppressed them, and which was now armed with tenfold vengeance!

An armistice was proposed, and readily agreed to by both parties. The plenipotentiaries ap-

pointed to conduct the negotiation were, on the part of Russia and Prussia, Count Shouvaloff and General Kleisto; and on the part of France, the Duke of Vicenza. Having met and exchanged their full powers, the village of Peicherwitz was declared neutral, and guarded at the two entrances by an equal number of infantry, and cavalry furnished by the French and the allied army. Hostilities ceased on the 1st of June, according to orders from the respective head-quarters. The negotiation was finished, and the armistice signed on the 4th of June, at two in the afternoon; the substance of which was, that hostilities should cease on all points, upon the notification of the present armistice, which should last to the 20th of July inclusive; and that hostilities should not re-commence till six days after the denunciation of the armistice at the respective head-quarters. The line of demarcation was fixed, and the armies went into their several cantonments. In a publication signed by the King of Prussia, at his head-quarters Obergradtz, dated 5th June, his Majesty says,

“ The enemy has proposed an armistice; I have, with my allies, accepted it till the 20th of July.—This has been done, to the end that the national strength, which my people in so laudable a manner put forth, may attain its full growth. An unwearied activity, uninterrupted exertions, will lead to this end. Hitherto the enemy has surpassed us in force—we could only regain our national honour; we must avail ourselves of this short interval to become suffi-

ciently strong, that in the end we may conquer our independence. Be firm in your resolution; put confidence in your king; and then continue as you have done hitherto, and we shall gain our sacred point."

If the first expedition of Bonaparte to Russia destroyed one of the finest armies that ever appeared in the martial field, by a degree of cold which only Greenlanders could support, it must be admitted that his final overthrow was owing to his want of troops, whose age and experience might enable to cope with the allies. His second army might be said to be chiefly made up of boys, and he did more with these than any other general could have done on the Continent of Europe; but although as a warrior he had no equal among his enemies, it was not given him to be a worker of miracles. At the head of such an army as he first took to Russia, if he had proceeded no farther than to Poland, he might have dictated laws to the whole of Europe, and thus prevented the King of Prussia from making Blucher either a Marshal or a Prince; but with his army of drummer boys he was pursued to Paris, and his dominion was overthrown. His elevation was rapid and astonishing, almost beyond every thing to be met with in history; but his fall proceeded with a rapidity which left imagination behind it. Yet even in his retreat across the Rhine towards the metropolis of the French empire, he sometimes convinced his pursuers that he had not lost his consummate skill, from which they were left to conjecture what they might have expected, had

it still been possible for him to meet them on any thing like equal terms.

He was not a stranger to the treachery of pretended friends, who deserted him in his utmost need, such as at the memorable battle of Leipzig, where they turned against him in the very heat of action, and clearly proved that they were only disposed to follow him in the sunshine of prosperity. This unexpected desertion he supported with uncommon fortitude, and in the midst of unexampled difficulties, he extricated himself in such a manner as no other man could have done but himself. Yet when his political career was fast verging towards a close, his uncommon presence of mind, with its almost endless resources, appeared totally to have forsaken him, and in no period of his life did he commit so many blunders, as at the very time when his situation required the utmost exertions of wisdom, prudence, and caution. Perpetual success had so far blinded his intellectual vision, naturally so acute, as to induce him to believe that his schemes were incapable of failure, and it consequently happened that he made no provision for the effects which might result from stupendous reverses, having been formerly accustomed to no such calculations. With him, the most brilliant victories had become the order of the day; and unfortunately for the duration of his own power, he never imagined that his accustomed good fortune could possibly forsake him.

With a degree of infatuation, for which it is difficult to account, he opened to the Allies the passage of the Rhine, by collecting all his dis-

posable force in Saxony, after the loss of his grand army in Russia, thus leaving France itself without any adequate defence, should he experience any severe reverses on the banks of the Elbe. To execute a project which was suggested to his mind by the successful plans of Scipio, the Roman general, on a similar occasion, he even drained the metropolis of its whole defence, wishing to compel the Allies to give up their designs upon Paris, by breaking their line where it was obviously weakest, to cut off from Germany the communication of Prince Schwartzberg's army. That he might the more effectually accomplish this favourite object, the corps of Marmont and Mortier, which ought to have covered Paris, were summoned to his assistance; but they were intercepted by the Allies, and thus exposed to destruction. This completely cleared the road to the French metropolis, in consequence of which the allies felt no longer any alarm about what might be passing in their rear. About their communication with Germany they were no longer concerned, being now within reach of the immense stores which would be furnished them by the possession of Paris. It might perhaps be possible for Bonaparte to rouse to action the inhabitants of Lorraine, together with the whole of the neighbouring districts; but the time was now gone when such an insurrection might have been of service. It was equally nugatory that Chaumont, Bois-le-duc, Ligny, &c. were occupied by his troops, or by such as wished him well; and equally vain was it that the garrison of Metz, Thionville, and Verdun,

made sallies in conjunction with his own movements. The garrisons of all the strong places on the northern frontiers of France were in vain waiting the first signal to attack the besieging or blockading armies, and to form with the troops under Napoleon, such an army as might drive back the Austrians into Switzerland. The falling Emperor was obliged to relinquish his whole plan, as soon as he was made acquainted with the defeat of Marmont and Mortier, and that the capture of the metropolis was in the power of the allies. Had he not taken the steps already mentioned, he might have rendered the situation of the allies not a little hazardous, as even before this, their communication with Basle was nearly intercepted.

Bonaparte, like many more great men in a moment of unaccountable infatuation, was now sensible of his error, when an effectual remedy was no longer in his power. He now became persuaded that he had no other alternative but the abdication of his throne, which he sent to the provisional government by the hands of Marshal Ney, with such a degree of apparent indifference as could scarcely have been expected. It was conceived in the following terms. "The Allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the establishment of the peace of Europe: The Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France. Done at the

palace of Fontainebleau, April 2d, 1814." His marshals, ministers, and generals made terms for his retreat, from motives of consideration to themselves, much greater than have yet met the public ear. The allied powers, in their treaty with the French, recognized his title as emperor, that their choice might be considered as without any regard to hereditary claims, and that he should be called Louis XVII. not Louis XVIII. The ex-empress was to have an extensive principality, and to be succeeded in it by her son, the late king of Rome.

In settling the crown of France on the ancient family, we can perceive no small degree of intrigue. Some of the French marshals had an interview with Alexander, the emperor of all the Russias, to whom it is said they proposed, that the crown should be settled on the king of Rome, to whom the empress Maria Louisa should be appointed regent. To this Alexander is reported to have returned for answer, in a spirit by which his conduct has been invariably marked, that he only wished to see the French decide for themselves, and to hear their desires proceed from the most legitimate existing organs, in which light he viewed the Senate and Legislative Body. If such a proposition, therefore, should come from that body, he ventured to affirm that it would meet the approbation of the allied powers. This conference was made known to C. M. Talleyrand, together with the reply of the Emperor Alexander. He instantly called a meeting of the leading men composing the Senate and Legislative Body, pointing out to them the

imperious necessity of protecting the nation from a military government, the only way to do which, in his opinion, was, to declare for Louis XVIII. and call him and his family, on the offer of a free representative constitution, to the country. He thus got the start of the marshals, and thus was determined the new settlement of the crown.

There is something in the conduct of the French people on this occasion peculiarly astonishing, if it cannot be accounted for from that versatility and fickleness, for which in all ages they have been so proverbially distinguished. They waded through rivers of blood, and fields of carnage; they endured every privation and misery; had their bravest warriors destroyed, their greatest patriots and philosophers sacrificed, and proclaimed to the universe that the family of the Bourbons were not qualified to reign, on account of their multiplied crimes. They submitted for almost fourteen years to the government of a man who had rescued them from imminent dangers, and laid all their enemies prostrate at their feet.—After all these things, however astonishing, have actually taken place, what is the wonderful result? In one day they deserted the object of their own choice, to whom they had sworn allegiance, and who, till the moment of his sudden reverses, had been the subject of their numerous panegyrics,—for no other reason which we can assign, but that fortune had at length declared herself on the side of his enemies, and overwhelmed him by such a prodigious superiority of numbers.

It seems, indeed, to be a matter of indifference to the inhabitants of Great Britain, what dynasty may reign in France, while their power is guarded by suitable restrictions, and the noble powers of the human mind are permitted to expand under the guarantee of a liberal form of government. Of this we can already discover strong symptoms, for we find by the provisional government, that the two legislative bodies of the state are declared perpetual, and essential parts of the Constitution, and this was the case, even before taking into consideration in whose hands the executive authority should be lodged. It ought also to be remembered that much of the praise of what we may admire in France, is chiefly due to Bonaparte, to whom these very bodies owe their existence, which are now to be the depositaries of Liberty. He indeed troubled them by far too much. The turbulent and precarious times in which he lived, may furnish candour with some apology, even for that.

The Emperor Bonaparte left Fontainebleau on the 20th of April, 1814, for the island of Elba, with fourteen carriages in his train. He was accompanied by four commissioners of the allied powers, viz. M. Sowvato, the Prussian general Kolhere, a British general, and an Austrian general. Four officers of his household formed part of his suite, but few of the military departed with him; and even those who did, it was believed, would leave him when he embarked, with the exception of general Bertrand and

Dulauley. We cannot easily forget the words which he uttered when setting off, to the officers and subalterns of the old guard, who were still with him.

“ Brother soldiers ! I bid you farewell. During the twenty years that we have acted together, I have been satisfied with you. I have always found you in the path of glory. All the powers of Europe have armed against me ; a part of my generals have betrayed their duty ; France herself has betrayed it. With your assistance, and that of the brave men who remained faithful to me, I have for three years preserved France from civil war. Be faithful to the new king whom France has chosen ; be obedient to your commanders, and do not abandon your dear country. Pity not my fate ; I shall be happy when I know you are so likewise. I might have died ; nothing would have been more easy for me ; but I still wish to pursue the path of glory. What we have done, I will write. I cannot embrace you all ; but I will embrace your general. —Come, general. Let the eagle be brought to me, that I may also embrace it. Ah, dear eagle, may the kisses which I bestow on you resound to posterity ! Adieu, my children ! Adieu, my brave companions ! Once more encompass me.” Then the staff formed a circle around him. Bonaparte now got into his carriage, at which moment he appeared confused, while the tears trickled down his cheeks.

The Empress Maria Louisa set out the same day for Vienna, accompanied by Madame de Montesquieu, the governor, and Madame Touf-

flot, sub-governess of her son. It is peculiarly pleasing to observe, on the most unquestionable authority, that Maria Louisa was extremely anxious to follow the fortunes of her husband; and share with pleasure in his prosperity or adversity. Many attempts were made to prevail with her to abandon him, but she resisted the whole. She was at last informed, in the most positive terms, that she would not be permitted to follow him, and she at last yielded with reluctance to the state policy, by which herself and son were separated from Bonaparte for ever. It is paying a compliment to the fair sex, and perhaps nothing beyond their just deserts, that the separation was by no means a dictate of her own mind. She was to receive the duchy of Parma with its dependencies, containing a population of 380,000 persons, the revenues of which were estimated at L.166,000 Sterling. The agriculture and internal administration are capable of considerable improvements.

We are informed that Bonaparte assumed a considerable degree of composure at the termination of his reign, and laboured to prevail with a person to leave him who wished to accompany him to the place of his retreat, but he resolutely persisted in his determination not to leave him. When Bonaparte departed, he declared that he never would return till recalled by France, which he predicted would not be more than three years. He was required to make choice between a British and French frigate in which to embark for the island of Elba; when he made choice of the former; but this did not prevent

him from being followed by the French corvette, which sailed at the same time. It was commanded by Captain Montcabrier; and Bonaparte making the most he could of the last moments of his authority, prior to his abdication;—knowing likewise that the island of Elba was fixed upon as the place of his retirement, gave secret orders to send thither a garrison of 2400 men, which were sent from Italy to Porto Ferrajo. These believed themselves to be under the government of Bonaparte; they were unacquainted with the circumstance of his having abdicated the throne, and never were freed from their oath of fidelity. Bonaparte reached Porto Ferrajo on the 3d of May. A boat came on shore with several officers of the Russian, British, and Austrian staff, with two French generals, attending the ex-emperor Napoleon, who was on board the frigate. The events which had taken place in France were communicated officially by these officers to the commandant of the port, with the abdication of Bonaparte, and his arrival at Elba, in consequence of which the necessary preparations were made during the night for the reception of this illustrious personage. It was recommended to all the authorities to attend the ceremony of his entrance. The emperor next morning sent a flag into the town with a suitable degree of solemnity, which was instantly hoisted on the castle, amidst a discharge of artillery. The ground of the flag was white, interspersed with bees, with the arms of Bonaparte and those of the island in the centre. Not long after the flag was hoisted, the ex-emperor of France landed.

with his whole suite, and was saluted by 101 rounds of cannon, to which the British frigate replied with a discharge of 24 pieces of cannon. Bonaparte was dressed in a blue great coat, which was the covering of a suit very richly embroidered with silver. A numerous band of musicians went before him, amidst a great concourse of people, who seemed to be drawn together from motives of curiosity, rather than of attachment or regard. He was conducted to the house of the chief magistrate or Mayor, where the whole of the civil officers of superior rank paid him a visit, to each of whom he addressed himself, assuming an air of confidence, and even of hilarity, and proposed a variety of questions relative to the state of the island. After reposing for a little, he visited on horseback, attended by his suite, the forts of Marciana, Campo, Capo, Liviri, and Rio.

On the morning of the 5th of May, Bonaparte, attended by the commissaries of the allies, rode to Porto Longone, a distance of five miles, and likewise visited the inexhaustible iron mines, which may be said to constitute the wealth of that salubrious island. Before his landing on Elba, General Delesme issued a proclamation, in which he recommended Bonaparte to the attention of the inhabitants. It was conceived in the following terms. "Inhabitants of the isle of Elba! The vicissitudes of human life have conducted the Emperor Napoleon into the midst of you, and his choice gives him to you as a sovereign. Before entering your interior, your august and new monarch addressed to me the

following words, and I hasten to communicate them to you, because they are the pledge of your future prosperity. "General, I have sacrificed my rights to the interests of my country, and have reserved to myself the sovereignty and property of the isle of Elba, which has been assented to by all the powers. Be so good as to inform the inhabitants of this new state of things, and of the selection which I have made of their isle for my residence, in consideration of the mildness of their manners, and of their climate. Tell them they shall be the constant object of my most lively interests"

"Elbese—These words require no commentary; they fix your destiny. The emperor has formed a proper judgment of you; it is my duty to render you this justice, and I willingly do so. "DELESME, *Gen. de Brigade.*"

We may be permitted to doubt whether the greater part of the French generals will be satisfied with the new constitution, at the expence of the fall of their much esteemed, and almost adored chief; and should it ever happen that they unanimously invite him back to the throne, it will not be a work of any great difficulty to accomplish. The retirement of Bonaparte has been considered by many as nothing more than a plot to entrap the remains of the ancient French nobility, at the same time delivering the country from their enemies; but the future proceedings of a versatile people can alone develop this opinion, which, for the present at least, is nothing better than conjecture.

We have admitted that the rapid elevation of Bonaparte, and his still more rapid fall from the summit of power and grandeur, are truly astonishing events; but the treatment he received from the allied sovereigns in the very depth of his humiliation, is a phenomenon a thousand times more wonderful and inexplicable. His rapid elevation was owing to a favourable concurrence of circumstances, joined to the exertion of the most consummate abilities which ever fell to the lot of a single individual; and his overthrow was the result of a momentary infatuation, the child of perpetual victory and success; but what could induce the allies to treat him as they did? The well known conduct of victors in similar circumstances will not account for it. We are here presented with an instance of human nature completely reversed, where the vanquished seems to dictate to the victor, and the victor seems obliged to yield to the terms of the vanquished. If Bonaparte was really the murderer of the Duke d'Enghien, why not bring him to condign punishment as the shedder of innocent blood? Yet 'tis truly astonishing, that what but a few years before created such a dreadful hue and cry, was not once mentioned against him in the time of his deepest abasement! Let such as are proficient in the solution of riddles, try their hand upon this. He had once been formidable to all Europe, when his very name made the nations tremble; and yet when it was no longer in his power to do injury to a child, he was permitted to choose the place of his retirement; his title of Emperor was recognized, and

a very handsome annuity was bestowed upon him ! These are mysteries which time alone can unravel, for we are acquainted with no principles in human nature which will afford us a solution of such unexampled difficulties.

We cannot help admiring the sentiments of the Emperor Alexander, soon after the entrance of the allies into Paris. He did not wish to force a constitution or a king upon the people of France, by the declaration of whose unequivocal sentiments he wished to be guided. Yet these noble sentiments, if uttered by a poor man in a humble sphere of life, might have subjected him to a prosecution for sedition, although it was known long before Alexander had any existence, that whatever a nation wishes to do, it has a right to do. It is said that Bonaparte expected to be recalled to the throne of France in the course of three years after his abdication. This prediction may never be accomplished ; but if the majority of the people should ever declare that such is their wish, the doctrine of Alexander will then be put in practice, which is the more honourable to the clearness of his head, as well as the goodness of his heart, since we should never have expected such sentiments from the mouth of an absolute prince.

In a work of this kind, however concise, it will no doubt be expected that we should present our readers with an outline at least of the character of Napoleon. We feel this to be the most arduous part of our undertaking, since it must be universally admitted, that a more extraordinary and eccentric character never appeared

upon earth. It is likewise true (and this circumstance increases our difficulty) that the pictures which have been drawn of him, are the work, either of the most zealous friends, or the most unrelenting foes. He has been invariably beheld, either by the fondness of excessive partiality, or through the jaundiced eye of prejudice and prepossession against him. In the estimation of the one he is a fiend of darkness, while the opposite party regard him as an angel of light.

We profess to be as much acquainted with human nature, as to be assured that he is neither the one nor the other, and therefore in our very concise delineation of his character, we shall study to preserve the happy medium between these two extremes. With this determination we set out, and with a strict adherence to it we shall close the present memoir.

Napoleon Bonaparte is (for as a man we may still speak of him in the present tense) of a small stature, but in every part he is allowed to be most admirably proportioned. He is rather of a spare than corpulent habit of body, but at the same time of a robust constitution, and capable of enduring the greatest fatigues, of which his unexampled military career will furnish us with innumerable proofs. His complexion is characteristic of almost all southern climates, commonly known by the appellation of *olive*; his eyes are of a blue colour; he has a prominent chin, and a square, projecting forehead. He separated from Josephina for reasons of a political nature, and was married, as we have already observed,

to the Archduchess of Austria, Maria Louisa, eldest daughter of the Emperor of Germany. Josephina died on the 28th of May, 1814, about 51 years of age.

It will admit of no dispute, that in an intellectual point of view, he possesses uncommon talents and abilities. His conversation is free, without the least tincture of pedantry, and he writes with fluency and eloquence. A complete victory over all our passions is allowed to be one of the most difficult attainments, yet it is affirmed that Bonaparte has reached it. He is abstemious in his meals, and none ever beheld him in the smallest degree intoxicated with liquor. His friends are numerous; of minions he has none; and by virtue of a rigorous silence, he more effectually preserves an inviolable secrecy, than can be done by other men who are hypocritically talkative. He has no taste for the enjoyments of the table, for the fair sex, nor for the fine arts. These would reduce him to the rank of ordinary beings, while his main object has ever been to be above them.

If we examine him with attention in every sphere in which he has acted, whether as an officer of artillery, a general, a consul, an emperor, he always put on the semblance of indifference to every thing around him. It is said that he never joined any party from philanthropic or patriotic views and sentiments, but solely from ambition, which was the *primum mobile* of all his actions as a republican, conventional, directorial, or moderate man. All other men in the career of ambition, have had their moments

of weakness, by which their pace was sometimes slackened, and for a while diverted from their usual course; but that of Napoleon Bonaparte was constantly undeviating, and no allurements whatever could turn him aside. It is truly astonishing, and perhaps unequalled in the history of war, that he never once received the slightest wound, although exposed to imminent danger in innumerable battles, the most bloody and terrific which are to be found upon record. Nor was this owing to cowardice, as some have been weak or foolish enough to insinuate, for Bonaparte was almost always found where the battle raged with inexpressible fury, and where the thunder of cannon was scattering destruction and death. Nor is it a phenomenon less astonishing in the life of this extraordinary personage, that he mounted the throne, and again descended from it, without occasioning the death of a single individual. This circumstance has no parallel in the annals of history.

His eye, which is said to shun observation, is represented as lively, sparkling, open, and deeply arched, suffering nothing to escape of what has passed within; an attainment, unquestionably, of which very few can boast, for its motions frequently betray the situation of its possessor's mind. We scorn to throw out reflections against him on account of his descent; for if it was not noble, it was at least respectable. The character of Cincinnatus was not in the least injured by his connection with the soil. No! after triumphing over the enemies of his country, he returned with pleasure to the cultivation of his four acres

of land. Nor was the character of Washington hurt by the steps by which he ascended to the first honours in America. To both these illustrious characters Bonaparte was no doubt inferior. It is certain that the ambition of Julius Cæsar and of Alexander the Great was not the more amiable, because the extraction of the one was noble, and that of the other royal. The woes of humanity were not diminished by their original station, which they spread over the earth in more wide and dismal profusion than Bonaparte himself. He certainly fought much oftener from necessity than from choice. It is from a settled conviction of this truth, that we scorn to entertain our readers with a thundering philippic respecting the fields of slain at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Friedland, at Moskwa, at Lutzen, &c. unless we could demonstrate that all these battles might have been prevented by Bonaparte, and that he was invariably the first aggressor. Stage trick, and plain, unadorned facts, are in direct opposition to each other.

It is perhaps impossible to make a proper estimate of the religion of Bonaparte, as policy and self preservation induced him frequently to change his creed. He had sometimes the appearance of being a confirmed infidel, at other times he was a deïst, a disciple of Mahomet, or even a Christian; and if every mode of deception be justifiable in war, it is probable that this religious versatility may not be deserving of the severe animadversions which have been thrown out against it. But what he is in reality we pretend not to say, although it is not improbable

that he may rather be a fatalist than a necessarian, since he appears to believe in his favourable destiny.

Such as he is, with all the faults which have ever been ascribed to him, and all the astonishing talents and abilities of which malevolence itself cannot fairly deprive him, he is unquestionably the most amazing, the most singular personage of which history makes any mention; and his genuine character, after the death of prejudice and party spirit, will be more justly appreciated an hundred years hence, than it is at present.

GENERAL PICHEGRU.

THIS brave officer has been denominated a revolutionary phenomenon, because he passed through the blood and filth of the Revolution without contracting a single stain; because he obtained renown, and merited the esteem of the good, though obedient to the orders of regicides, and a fighter of the battles of republican tyrants. He was born in the year 1761, at Arbois, at the college of which place he commenced his studies, and prosecuted them with success at the convent of the monks of the order of Minims. As he discovered a taste for the abstruse sciences, these monks prevailed with him to teach philosophy and mathematics in a college of their order at Brienne. In this agreeable,

but laborious exercise, he completed his own studies, and enlarged his information. Having a natural inclination for a military life, he enlisted, in the year 1779, in the first regiment of artillery, being then only 18 years of age, and in the course of six months was made a serjeant. In the year following he was embarked for America, and during the concluding years of the war, he profited by his own extensive learning, reducing to practice what he understood in theory.

In the year 1789, he held the post of adjutant in his regiment, enjoying for several years before this the confidence of his colonel, and was entrusted with the management of the regiment, both military and economical. His reputation was so firmly established, that the royalists wished him to emigrate, while he was promoted by the democrats, with a view to encourage him to serve the cause of the revolution. It was his opinion that the post of honour was that of danger, which last was to be found where loyalty was proscribed, and virtue butchered, or sent to the guillotine. While intrigue or sanguinary deeds promoted some to the rank of generals from common soldiers by a single stride, the modesty of Pichegru led him on by degrees and seniority. Had not necessity and danger pointed out the value of his talents, and the propriety of employing him, he might have remained among the many thousands who have died in a cause which they inwardly detested.

It was not long before he evinced that he merited the reputation which he enjoyed; for in 1790 he was offered the command of a battalion

of national guards, among whom several of his predecessors had in vain attempted to introduce order and subordination. He accepted the offer, and in a short time established, by firmness and vigour, that exact discipline which eminently distinguished him in all his subsequent commands. In 1792, he served under Custine in the army of the Rhine, in which he continued even after he was promoted to the rank of general of brigade, and then to general of division. He afterwards accepted the command of the army of the Rhine, at the hazard of his life, and contrary to his known principles, that if possible he might preserve his country from foreign dominion.

If Dumourier was the first French general who taught his countrymen how to fight, it is but justice to admit that Pichegru first taught them how to be victorious. In Flanders and Alsace, he found his country invaded, and its armies nearly dispersed; but in neither did he resign the command till he had fixed victory in his camp. Before he could expect to act either on the offensive or defensive, he occupied himself in stopping the farther progress of the enemy, and in restoring long lost discipline among his troops; but no sooner had he succeeded in this arduous task, than he was put under the orders of General Hoche, who joined him with the army of the Moselle; and under him was forced to execute his own projects, the whole glory of the success of which he beheld claimed by another.

The modesty and prudence of Pichegru constrained him to remain silent under this injury; and the only revenge he took was worthy of him; he was the first on the 8th and 9th of December, 1793; who entered and forced the lines of Haguenau, the redoubts of which he carried by the bayonet, and the Austrians were driven from the town with immense slaughter. The troops had caught a new spirit from him, and it was resolved, both by commander and troops, either to conquer or to perish. The Republican army regained possession of Weissemburg, the siege of Landau was raised, Fort Louis evacuated, and Kaiserslautern, Germersheim, and Spire, submitted to the French under General Pichegru. During the short but splendid period of three months that he commanded the army of the Rhine, neither his invaluable services nor victories could screen him from the reproach of not being a *sans-culottes* general, because his language and sentiments were always those of a gentleman. It was of course not his merit, but the imperious necessity felt by the Committee of Public Safety for his military talents, which preserved his life, and made him be appointed commander in chief of the army of the North, on the 5th of February, 1794.

When it was decreed by the Committee of Public Safety, that in future no quarter should be given to British and Hanoverian troops, and when Pichegru received it, he convened all the generals of his army, and told them, in the presence of his staff, that he believed them all to be brave men, and therefore no assassins; but if he

was mistaken in his opinion, he would that instant throw up his command, though he knew that certain death would be the consequence. They unanimously agreed with their chief, and declared that if the deputies with the army insisted on the enforcement of this bloody law, they would to a man resign. It deserves notice, that for this bold independent conduct, the name of Pichegru, after the death of Robespierre, was found upon his list for the guillotine, after the campaign should be over.

After a series of victories in Holland and the Netherlands, which evinced Pichegru to be a most able commander, and one whom no considerations could turn aside from the steady discharge of what he conceived to be his duty, he at last fell under the displeasure of Bonaparte, being charged with conspiring against his life and government, not a word of which it is possible to believe, and in the most cowardly manner was strangled in prison by order of Napoleon, who hated his virtues, envied his military talents, and dreaded his popularity, which was even more extensive than that of the illustrious Moreau.

JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

THIS person is the elder brother of Napoleon, who was clerk to an attorney at Ajaccio before the Revolution. With talents inferior to the rest of his family, he passed his time in

obscurity, and lived quietly in his own country while it was in the possession of the British. He was afterwards chosen, by the influence of his brother, a member of the Council of Five Hundred, where he very seldom ventured to speak, his talents being better suited to the giving of a silent vote, which was always in favour of the Directory. In August 1797, he was made ambassador at Rome, where the Jacobins found means to foment an insurrection, which Joseph endeavoured to crush; and proving unsuccessful (as had been previously determined), he instantly quitted Rome, and would listen to no propositions of explanation or apology. It was in vain that the Papal government offered to the Directory every possible acknowledgement. Berthier received orders to revolutionize Rome, and give up the country to plunder.

The conduct of Joseph Bonaparte on this occasion, proved his want of talents, honour, religion, delicacy, and probity, even in the opinion of Frenchmen, since he allowed himself to be made the despicable tool of the ambitious. With this very man was the Pope under the necessity of signing, in 1802, the *Concordat* for establishing religion in France. Joseph, while his brother Napoleon was in Egypt, was again chosen a member of the Council of Five Hundred, but he soon resigned his place. When Napoleon unexpectedly returned, he, in conjunction with Talleyrand, contrived the revolution which was accomplished at St. Cloud, and seated Bonaparte on the throne of the Bourbons. In 1800 Joseph was sent to Luneville to treat with the Austrians,

where he signed the definitive treaty in 1801, and concluded a convention with the Pope in the month of September the same year.

In the year 1802, he was nominated a senator, and a grand officer of the Legion of Honour; but he was superseded in the consular friendship by his brother Louis, since wickedness was the chief recommendation to favour. He is allowed to be a good father and husband, a dutiful son, and an affectionate brother, but a citizen in a commonwealth at once indifferent and dangerous. He married a woman of obscure birth and low manners, but of a good character. He loves his family and relations, but nothing else. He hates his native country, Corsica, and he hates France and Frenchmen. After swindling Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. out of their dominions, Napoleon fully intended to manufacture brother Joseph into a monarch, by making him king of Spain; but he thought proper to fly from his metropolis in a very short time after his entrance into it, merely because the Duke of Wellington intended to pay him a visit at Madrid, and congratulate him on his accession to the throne.

EUGENIUS DE BEAUHARNOIS

HAS been regarded as brutal, unfeeling, and debauched, whom nothing could prevent from being considered, in the language of a certain lady, as a real *sans-culottes* with the ill-fated

mask of a gentleman; possessing the vulgar manners of one of the sovereign mob, with the pretensions to be respected as a man of consequence. When no more than 21 years of age, he modestly gloried in keeping only six mistresses, one of them an actress, whom he killed by his brutality when in a state of pregnancy. He delighted to declare, that when his mother refused to advance him money for his profusion and licentiousness, he could command whatever sums he thought proper, by threatening her with the respectable appellation of an old witch. He presented Madame Clotilde of the opera, with a watch set in diamonds, valued at 30,000 livres, to spend the night in her company, merely to disappoint a Russian prince, who for the same night had given her 200 Louis. In the year 1800, he went through Besançon with his regiment; and at the Hotel Nationale, he was found in bed with the landlady by her husband, who rewarded his chastity with a good horse-whipping; and receiving his jewel box for a bond for 2000 Louis d'ors, allowed him to escape without broken limbs. This is the hopeful son of the late Josephina, who stood so high in the estimation of the ci-devant emperor of France.

LUCIEN BONAPARTE.

THIS personage, next in age to Napoleon, was, in 1790, bound apprentice to a petty retail grocer at Bastia; but was turned away from his

master for being not over honest, and joined the Brigands on the 10th of August, 1792, who plundered the castle of the Thuilleries, and assassinated the Swiss guards. As a reward for these services, he was admitted a member of the Jacobin club. On the 21st of January, 1793, he was one of Santerre's chosen men to guard the scaffold on which Louis XVI. suffered. Lucien was as much beloved by Henriot as by his predecessor, who distinguished him in the month of March, 1793, at the plunder of the aristocratical grocers' shops, and consequently enrolled him among the sans-culottes of Robespierre, by whom the National Convention was forced on the 1st of June, to decree the arrest of the Brissotine faction.

After the execution of Robespierre, Lucien fled from Paris to Nice, dreading the fate of his worthy employer, which he richly deserved. At this place his brother Napoleon was under arrest as a terrorist. When they both returned to Paris in the spring of 1795, in consequence of an amnesty, such was their poverty, that they travelled on foot nearly 700 miles, and in Paris they lodged in a garret at the weekly rent of two shillings and one penny Sterling! It is a circumstance no less astonishing than true, that in revolutionary countries, the distance from a garret to a throne is frequently the same as from a throne to a scaffold. Napoleon was made a general for marrying the mistress of Barras, and Lucien was appointed a war commissary at Antwerp. In the winter of 1796, he appeared at Paris for the first time, in other company than that of sans-

culottes ; but he was soon despised as a debauchee.

The revolution of 4th September 1797, made the Jacobin faction again powerful, and Lucien was chosen a member of the Council of Five Hundred, in 1798. On the return of Napoleon to France, he was nominated president of the Council ; and at the revolution of the 9th November, 1799, he deserted the Jacobins, thus adding treachery to all his other crimes. It is certain that Lucien's presence of mind that day was much greater than the courage of Napoleon ; and that if Lucien had not called out to the grenadiers not to abandon their general, the Bonaparte dynasty would then have ceased.

When Napoleon usurped the reins of government, he appointed Lucien minister of the home department, who was then in his element ; and it has been said that in the course of six months he was guilty of more crimes than were ever laid to the charge of the Bourbons in as many centuries. When he went to Spain, he continued his round of debauchery, and his prodigality in Madrid was matter of astonishment to all ; his irregularity offended, and his impudence was disgusting. He viewed the king and royal family as his equals, and the ministers and grandees as his servants ; yet this sans-culottes was by many not only bribed, but entertained, and complimented.

On his return to Paris, after the peace with Great Britain, he was chosen a senator, and one of the grand officers of the Legion of Honour. Such was his extravagance, that his jewels and

diamonds have been estimated at more than 3,000,000 livres; his mean debaucheries cost him more than that sum, and his pictures almost double. He soon squandered the millions which he carried with him from Spain and Portugal; and though his brother allowed him an annuity of 1,200,000 livres, independent of his many lucrative employments, it was not long before he was 4,000,000 in debt.

LOUIS BONAPARTE,

In the harvest of 1796, left Marseilles for Italy, and at the age of 18 he commenced his military career under Napoleon, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and aide-de-camp to his brother. He went with him to Egypt in 1798; but the mercury he had swallowed in Europe not agreeing with the heat of Africa, he returned to France in October the same year, bearing dispatches for the Directory from his brother the general. It is said that Louis is the only branch of the family who is qualified to write and spell the French language. Lucien was often heard to say, that his brother Louis is the only fool in the family, and yet it appears manifest, from a number of proofs, that in point of wisdom he is greatly superior to himself. It surely will not be supposed that the knowledge of Lucien is equal to that of Sir Isaac Newton, when in the

station of minister of the home department, he could write to the celebrated Lalande, requesting him to stop the eclipse of the moon until his arrival! If Louis can be so egregious a fool as this, he is unquestionably stupid indeed.

In October, 1800, he was entrusted with a political mission to the Courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg, at the former of which he was received with every mark of honour and respect; but before he left Berlin for the Russian frontiers, Baron Krudner informed him that he had received no orders from his sovereign to invite the brother of the Consul to St. Petersburg. Paul did not forget what he owed to himself, his rank, family, country, and subjects. His journey was of course prevented, and he returned to Berlin, without having it in his power to dishonour another sovereign. He was soon recalled to France, prior to his marriage with the lovely Fanny de Beauharnois.

Although surrounded with every thing which could render life an object of desire, Louis became an invalid at the age of 23. His health was ruined, his constitution broken, and he could not enjoy the blessings which Providence had so liberally bestowed upon him. He suffered in the midst of prosperity more pains and pangs than wretchedness itself, when accompanied by virtue and innocence. He obtained an establishment of 2,000,000 of livres, and a yearly pension of 1,200,000. At Berlin and in Germany, 1,000,000 of debts were paid for him in 1800 and 1801; when married, he was presented by Napoleon with 600,000 livres, and a similar sum on the birth of his son.

JEROME BONAPARTE.

THIS branch of the family, who is Napoleon's youngest brother, was born in 1785, and in 1795 he ran errands in a small inn frequented by waggoners, at Marseilles. At this age he could neither read nor write, on account of his mother's poverty. While his eldest brother was commander-in-chief in Italy, he sent him to be educated at Basle in Switzerland, at his own expence; and as he was the only branch of the family who had made trial of promotion in the navy, Napoleon placed him under the care of Admiral Gantheaume, who deemed himself highly honoured by being appointed tutor to such a distinguished youth. Although nothing was farther from the truth, the admiral represented his illustrious pupil as a young sea officer who promised to be an ornament to his profession, and whose great talents and undaunted courage would reflect great honour on the French navy.

In spite of this groundless papegyric, he had plunged into vice at the age of 16, insomuch that a certain surgical operation became necessary, by which he was effectually prevented from becoming too prolific. He gave a delightful proof of his undaunted courage by nobly keeping his bed during the whole voyage. At St. Domingo, his amiable sister, Madame Le Clerc, presented him with a beautiful mulatto woman

for a mistress, whom in a fit of jealousy he ordered to be torn in pieces by blood hounds, and he was present at the execution of his orders.

Jerome, until married, had a yearly pension granted him of 600,000 livres; for a hotel and two estates in the country, at his future establishment, one million and a half was allotted, and a million was deposited for his use in foreign banks. He shewed to a British officer in Jamaica, a watch set with jewels, which he said only cost the bagatelle of 10,000 Louis-d'ors.

GENERAL ALEXANDER BERTHIER

Was born a gentleman, and designed from his youth for a military life: He served in America under the elder Rochambeau with such distinction, that he returned to Europe with the rank of a colonel, and was created a knight of the orders of St. Louis and of Cincinnatus. He received a brilliant education, such as fortune could command, and soon discovered himself to be possessed of a more than ordinary genius. He acted as major-general under Count D'Estaing, commander of the national guard at Versailles. He resigned his situation from disgust at the want of subordination among the troops. His talents afterwards procured him the highest admiration, and to them, it is said, Bonaparte was chiefly indebted for his brilliant successes in Italy during 1796.

1797, and 1800. He was proscribed by Robespierre, but escaped the guillotine by the merited execution of that sanguinary monster. When released from confinement, he was offered employment in the armies of the republic, but fatigue, ill-treatment, and anxiety of mind, made him decline. In 1796, he was made chief of the staff in the army of Italy under General Bonaparte. At the action of Rivoli, on the 14th of January, 1797, Berthier's courage and presence of mind changed the fortune of the day. In the most critical moment, Berthier, making a charge with the cavalry, obliged an enemy who thought himself victorious, to make a precipitate retreat. This officer, when in Syria and at Jaffa, enforced the orders of Bonaparte to murder the Turkish prisoners; at his return to Cairo he defended, in the National Institute, the ferocity and guilt of his commander; and afterwards by the most deliberate misrepresentations, extenuated the wickedness of Bonaparte, violated truth, calumniated innocence, and, by falsehood and sophistry, held out tyranny and oppression, treachery, and desertion, to an unpardonable and impious admiration.

He was first chosen to wait upon Bonaparte during his flight from Egypt; he accompanied him to St. Cloud, when he usurped the republican throne of his benefactors, for which he was created minister of the war department, afterwards given to Carnot, for the command of the army of reserve. He was at the head of this army at the battle of Marengo, when Desaix sacrificed himself, and by his death made Bonaparte immortal, and France victorious.

From the versatile, changeable, pliant disposition of Alexander Berthier, we may safely venture to conclude, that if he had lived under the reign of Henry IV. he would have been loyal; if under a Gustavus Adolphus, *religious*; generous under a Condé; humane under Turenne; rash under Charles XII; avaricious under a Marlborough; vindictive under Eugene; an atheist under Frederick the Great; a libertine under Marshal Saxe; an intriguer under Dumourier; modest under Pichegru; ambitious under Moreau, but amiable and insinuating. This is exactly what Britons understand by the vicar of Bray. He would have butchered under Marius, proscribed under Sylla, fled under Pompey, and pardoned under Cæsar. What a pity it is that such astonishing talents, and such consummate weakness, should have met in one man, as to make him at once the glory and jest of the military character!

GENERAL ABDALLAH MENOÛ.

THE money of the Duke of Orleans in 1789, made this man be chosen a member of the States General, for the nobility of the bailiwick of Touraine, and was one of the first of those who betrayed their constituents by joining the *Tiers Etat*, or commons. Although by no means an orator, either by nature or education, he was not deterred from often ascending the tribune. He was chosen president of the National Assembly.

in the month of March, when he proved one of the cruel persecutors of the clergy, and was of course appointed one of the commissaries for conducting the sale of the property of that persecuted order.

When the King of France accepted the constitution decreed by the first National Assembly, Menou, formerly a colonel, was promoted to the rank of Mareschal-de-Camp, and was also second in command over the troops of the line quartered in or near Paris, on the 10th of August, 1792. In the spring of 1797, he was sent as lieutenant general to the republican army in La Vendee, and nominated commander-in-chief on the 8th of June by the committee of Public Safety. The representatives of the people with the army ordered him to Paris, after being wounded in the body by a pistol. Here he would have no doubt been guillotined, had he not bribed a surgeon to declare that his wound was dangerous, which procured him permission to reside at Tours until he was cured, where he prudently remained till the death of Robespierre.

At the unnecessary storming of Alexandria, he was wounded in two places, and received a contusion at the battle of the Pyramids. Bonaparte was so fully convinced of his want of military talents, that in August 1799, he appointed Kleber to the chief command, though Menou was the senior of the generals of division. When he returned to Europe, he was in a temporary disgrace with the first Consul, and compelled to remain at Marseilles till his justification procured him permission to come to Paris. After being

long unemployed, he was made lieutenant governor in Piedmont, where he not only became a Christian again, but made a convert also of his Mahometan wife.

GENERAL MURAT.

THIS man is the son of a water-carrier at Paris, and was born among smugglers and coiners in the year 1764. His father for some crime was broken upon the wheel in May, 1769, and Murat was sent to the orphan house at Lyons, where he remained till an actor employed him to run errands. By the favour he obtained with the actresses, on account of his appearance, he was brought upon the stage in 1780, which his bad success compelled him soon to abandon. Soon after the capture of the Bastille, Murat was made a corporal, and being attached to the terrorists, Santerre promoted him to the rank of a lieutenant; and when the royal family were insulted on the 20th of June, Murat was heard say, Louis, thou art a traitor, we must have thy head. Madame Elizabeth boldly challenged him for such unpardonable rudeness, and received for answer, hold thy tongue, b——h, otherwise I will cut thee in two. The next day Santerre advanced him to be his aid-de-camp, and in that capacity was employed on the 10th of August. When Bonaparte deserted his army in Egypt, Murat was one of the four generals whom he chose to accompany him in his flight. When

the destruction of the Directorial government was resolved upon, Murat received the command of the posts near the Council of Five Hundred, and when Bonaparte was placed on the throne of the Bourbons, he was chosen commander of the Consular Guard. In 1797 he obtained in marriage his patron's sister Caroline Bonaparte, but what became of his sans-culottes wife (for he was married before) we cannot determine.

Returning from Italy to Paris in the month of August 1800, he found the common topic of conversation to be the scandalous boasting of his brother-in-law Lucien, concerning an incestuous intrigue carried on with Madame Murat, the consequences of which were three duels in the course of two months; and Bonaparte interfered to prevent the dreadful consequences which might have ensued.

This upstart, unprincipled miscreant, had L.6000 per month for appointments as the governor of Paris. L.1250 were allowed him for the open table he kept for officers on business. He laid out 7,000,000 livres upon landed property in France and Italy, and his *chaste* spouse's and his own diamond's were valued at 4,000,000! Had Murat been a good actor, he had most likely been still upon the stage; but the hisses he there met with gave the scene a new turn; and he became no despicable tragedian on the great political theatre of modern Europe.

FINIS.

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