

acknowledged the discriminating judgment and observation of Josephine, both during his absence in Egypt, and while enjoying that prelude to the eventful changes which soon after paved his way to a throne.

He found France retrograding in every respect. The Congress of Rastadt had resulted in the assassination of French plenipotentiaries, and open war. Suwarrow with his battalions had overswept Italy, and taken from him his miniature republics. On nearly all of the national boundaries the foe hung menacingly, glorying over the spoils of victory, and to complete the discord and danger, the Directory, distracted by the conflict of royalty with extreme republicanism, was the centralization of anarchy and imbecility rather than of power and dignity. There was necessarily almost universal discontent, and poor France turned with disgust from that substitute for appalling terrorism—the oppressive mockery of a republic.

## CHAPTER IV.

Napoleon in Paris.—The 18th Brumaire.—Napoleon at St. Cloud.—The consular government.—The motives of Napoleon.—Reforms.—The new constitution.—Napoleon at the Tuilleries.—Josephine.—Personal appearance of the first consul.—News of Washington's death.—The Bourbons.—Napoleon's policy.—Propositions of peace with England.—Correspondence.—Causes of war.—Movements of the armies.—Capitulation of Genoa.—Napoleon at Marengo.—The battle.—The results.—Napoleon at Milan.—Renewed hopes of the Bourbons.—A new campaign.—Battle of Hohenlinden.—The emperor sues for peace.—Napoleon returns.—His work of reform of national advancement.—The infernal machine.—The spring of 1801.—The battle of Copenhagen.—The English take Egypt.—Invasion of England.—Peace of Amiens.—Letters.—Napoleon's designs of reform.—Treaty with the Pope.—Legion of honor.—Consulate for life.—Colonial conquests.—Napoleon and the invasion of Hayti.

NAPOLEON retired again to his quiet dwelling in the *Rue de la Victoire*, to contemplate the events of the past, and wait for the moment in the future, when the reins of government might be safely seized. He was conscious of the capacity to govern France, and of the sympathies of the people. His purpose, which had for many years been unfolding in his gigantic mind, was now matured. Yet was there preliminary work to be done, before the decisive blow was given, which should crush the Directory, and sweep away the Council of the Ancients and of the Five Hundred. Besides, Bernadotte was opposed to him, and Moreau was likely to resist his power. In a conversation with Moreau, Napoleon used language which briefly explains his marvels of military prowess, and shows his unsurpassed knowledge of the universal principles of human action. "It was always the inferior force which was defeated by the superior. When with a small body of men I was in the presence of a large one, collecting

my little band, I fell like lightning on the wings of the hostile army, and defeated it. Profiting by the disorder which such an event never failed to occasion in their whole line, I repeated the attack, with similar success, in another quarter, still with my whole force. Thus I beat it in detail. The general victory which was the result, was still an example of the truth of the principle, that the greater force defeats the lesser." When he appeared first at Louxembourg, he was welcomed with enthusiastic expressions of devotion. Not a murmur arose over his flight from Egypt. His studied and mysterious reserve did not cool the ardor of the people. He accepted an invitation to a public dinner, gave a toast—"The union of all parties"—and retired. The parties, besides the subdued royalists, were the Jacobins, under Barras, and the *moderates*, or republicans, led by Sieyes; both of which sought an alliance with Napoleon, whose influence would be a tower of strength. He chose the latter, as better suited to his grand design. His brother Lucien was president of the Council of Five Hundred, who, with the shrewd and unprincipled Talleyrand, was his confidential friend. The 17th Brumaire (November 8th, 1799) came, and with it the distinct and ominous tokens of civil commotion. The dragoons, the officers of the national guard, and of the garrison, who had requested an interview with Napoleon, on the evening of that day were astir with excitement; Napoleon had named the next morning for their reception at the *Rue de la Victoire*. The 18th Brumaire dawned; and at six o'clock the military bands were moving toward the humble residence of Napoleon, marching to the strains of martial music, which drew the populace in throngs along the streets. Bernadotte was there *in citizen's dress*. Having desired Napoleon's arrest as a deserter

upon his arrival from Egypt, he refused all the proposals to join the new party, and left the splendid cavalcade around the man who had little cause to fear his hostility, with the promise, that as a citizen he would do nothing against him. The Council of the Ancients assembled at the Tuilleries, at seven o'clock in the morning, and the president declared the necessity of bold measures to save the republic; and announced two decrees for immediate adoption. One was to remove their sittings to the chateau of St. Cloud, a few miles from the capital; and the other conferred upon Napoleon the supreme command of all the military force in and around Paris. The motions passed, and the tidings were carried to Napoleon. Mounting a steed he rode off to the Tuilleries, to finish the victory so nearly won. He addressed the Council in these words: "You are the wisdom of the nation; I come, surrounded by the generals of the republic, to promise you their support. Let us not lose time in looking for precedents. Nothing in history resembled the close of the eighteenth century—nothing in the eighteenth century resembled this moment. Your wisdom has devised the necessary measure; our arms shall put it in execution."

While these scenes were transpiring at the *Rue de la Victoire* and St. Cloud, the three Directors, who were not dreaming of a revolution, awoke as from a deep sleep to the crisis. Moulins suggested that they send a battalion of troops, surround Napoleon's house, and take him prisoner. But he was already in the palace, encircled by devoted and brave men in arms. Barras sent his secretary with an appeal to Napoleon, and received the haughty reply: "What have you done for that fair France which I left you so prosperous? For peace, I find war; for the wealth of Italy, taxation and

misery. Where are the one hundred thousand brave French whom I knew—where are the companions of my glory?—They are dead.” Sieyes and Ducos had resigned, and now Barras, dreading the exposure of his corruption and bribery, followed.

Bernadotte, whose pledge did not allow of active hostility as a citizen, offered his command to the opposition, urging that would give the troops a choice of leaders. The offer was rejected, and the Directory of France passed away before the advancing power of Napoleon. The Council of Five Hundred only remained. When they heard of the decree which changed their place of meeting to St. Cloud, they separated, indignantly shouting, “*Vive la Republique!*” “*Vive la Constitution!*” Next morning, attended by all who sympathized with them, they repaired for a final struggle to St. Cloud. Napoleon was in the Tuilleries, the soldiers ready for action, and the people anxiously waiting the issue of these far-reaching events. Murat led a formidable force to the arena of civil strife. On the 19th Brumaire, the assemblies gathered to their chambers.

“The Council of Ancients were ushered into the Gallery of Mars, and, the minority having by this time recovered from their surprise, a stormy debate forthwith commenced, touching the events of the preceding day. Bonaparte entered the room, and, by permission of the subservient president, addressed the assembly. ‘Citizens,’ said he, ‘you stand over a volcano. Let a soldier tell the truth frankly. I was quiet in my home when this council summoned me to action. I obeyed: I collected my brave comrades, and placed the arms of my country at the service of you who are its head. We are repaid with calumnies—they talk of Cromwell—of Cæsar. Had I aspired at power the opportunity was mine ere now. I swear that France holds no more

devoted patriot. Dangers surround us. Let us not hazard the advantages for which we have paid so dearly—Liberty and Equality!’ A democratic member, Linglet, added aloud, ‘And the Constitution.’ ‘The Constitution!’ continued Napoleon—‘it has been thrice violated already—all parties have invoked it—each in turn has trampled on it: since that can be preserved no longer, let us, at least, save its foundations—Liberty and Equality. It is on you only that I rely. The Council of Five Hundred would restore the Convention, the popular tumults, the scaffolds, the reign of terror. I will save you from such horrors—I and my brave comrades, whose swords and caps I see at the door of this hall; and if any hireling prater talks of outlawry, to those swords shall I appeal.’ The great majority were with him, and he left them amid loud cries of ‘*Vive Bonaparte!*’

“A far different scene was passing in the hostile assembly of the Five Hundred. When its members at length found their way into the Orangery, the apartment allotted for them, a tumultuous clamor arose on every side. *Live the Constitution!*—*The Constitution or death!*—*Down with the Dictator!*—such were the ominous cries. Lucien Bonaparte, the president, in vain attempted to restore order: the moderate orators of the Council with equal ill success endeavored to gain a hearing. In the midst of the tumult Napoleon himself, accompanied by four grenadiers, walked into the chamber—the doors remained open, and plumes and swords were visible in dense array behind him. His grenadiers halted near the door, and he advanced alone toward the center of the gallery. Then arose a fierce outcry—*Drawn swords in the sanctuary of the laws!*—*Outlawry!*—*Outlawry!*—*Let him be proclaimed a traitor!*—*Was it for this you gained so many victories?*

Many members rushed upon the intruder, and, if we may place confidence in his own tale, a Corsican deputy, by name Arena, aimed a dagger at his throat. At all events, there was such an appearance of personal danger as fired the grenadiers behind him. They rushed forward, and extricated him almost breathless; and one of their number (Thomé) was at least rewarded on the score of his having received a wound meant for the general.

“It seems to be admitted, that at this moment, the iron nerves of Bonaparte were, for once, shaken. With the dangers of the field he was familiar—he had not been prepared for the manifestations of this civil rage. He came out, staggering and stammering, among the soldiery, and said, ‘I offered them victory and fame, and they have answered me with daggers.’

“Sieyes, an experienced observer of such scenes, was still on horseback in the court, and quickly reassured him. General Augereau came up but a moment afterward, and said—‘You have brought yourself into a pretty situation.’ ‘Augereau,’ answered Napoleon, ‘things were worse at Arcola. Be quiet; all this will soon right itself.’ He then harangued the soldiery—‘I have led you to victory, to fame, to glory. Can I count upon you?’ ‘Yes, yes, we swear it,’ was the answer that burst from every line—‘*Vive Bonaparte!*’

“In the Council, meantime, the commotion had increased on the retreat of Napoleon. A general cry arose for a sentence of outlawry against him; and Lucien, the president, in vain appealed to the feelings of nature, demanding that, instead of being obliged to put that question to the vote, he might be heard as the advocate of his brother. He was clamorously refused, and in indignation flung off the insignia of his office.

Some grenadiers once more entered, and carried him also out of the place.

“The president found the soldiery without in a high state of excitement. He immediately got upon horseback, that he might be seen and heard the better, and exclaimed: ‘General Bonaparte, and you, soldiers of France, the president of the Council of Five Hundred announces to you that factious men with daggers interrupt the deliberations of the senate. He authorizes you to employ force. The assembly of Five Hundred is dissolved.’

“Napoleon desired Le Clerc to execute the orders of the president; and he, with a detachment of grenadiers, forthwith marched into the hall. Amid the reiterated screams of ‘*Vive la Republique,*’ which saluted their entrance, an aid-de-camp mounted the tribune, and bade the assembly disperse. ‘Such,’ said he, ‘are the orders of the general.’ Some obeyed; others renewed their shouting. The drums drowned their voices. ‘Forward, grenadiers,’ said Le Clerc; and the men leveling their pieces as if for the charge, advanced. When the bristling line of bayonets at length drew near, the deputies lost heart, and the greater part of them, tearing off their scarfs, made their escape, with very undignified rapidity, by way of the windows. The apartment was cleared. It was thus that Bonaparte, like Cromwell before him,

“ ‘Turn’d out the members, and made fast the door.

Some of his military associates proposed to him, that the unfriendly legislators should be shot, man by man, as they retreated through the gardens; but to this he would not for a moment listen.

“Lucien Bonaparte now collected the *moderate* mem-

bers of the Council of Five Hundred; and that small minority, assuming the character of the assembly, communicated with the Ancients on such terms of mutual understanding, that there was no longer any difficulty about giving the desired coloring to the events of the day. It was announced, by proclamation, that a scene of violence and uproar, and the daggers and pistols of a band of conspirators, in the Council of Five Hundred, had suggested the measures ultimately resorted to. These were—the adjournment of the two Councils until the middle of February next ensuing; and the deposition meantime, of the whole authority of the state in a provisional *consulate*—the consuls being Napoleon Bonaparte, Sieyes, and Ducos.

“Thus terminated the 19th of Brumaire. One of the greatest revolutions on record in the history of the world was accomplished, by means of swords and bayonets unquestionably, but still without any effusion of blood. From that hour the fate of France was determined.”

Napoleon immediately returned to Paris, and communicated to the waiting, anxious Josephine the tidings of that day's decisive scenes; the convulsive throes in which a monarchy was born of a monster republic. After a cordial embrace, he said to her triumphantly, “Good night, my Josephine! To-morrow we sleep in the palace of the Louxembourg.”

The next morning, the consuls met in council. Napoleon displayed his versatile talent, by the superiority of his knowledge on all questions of governmental, civil, and social reform. And the words of Sieyes, when he returned to his house, where Talleyrand and others were assembled, fell like a knell upon their ears; and their ambition to divide the power with Napoleon vanished forever. “Gentlemen,” he exclaimed, “I

perceive that you have got a master. Bonaparte can do, and will do everything himself.” Then thoughtfully pausing a few moments, he added, “But it is better to submit than to protract dissension forever.”

This stride of the Corsican General, not yet thirty years old, toward the summit of absolute rule, has been the theme of bitterest condemnation, and is one of the most difficult questions to rightly consider and justly settle, in all his surprising career. That France was not prepared for the rational construction and enjoyment of a republic like our own, cannot be denied. And further, that wearied with ten years of successive revolutions, and new constitutions the masses were ready for any form of stable authority, under the disguise of freedom, is equally clear. On the other hand Napoleon was ambitious, and without an effort to mold into form and durability the elements of democratic government, he dissolved the legislative assemblies, and by a resort to arms, which if opposed might have ended in sanguinary civil war, crushed out every germ of a republican state; and sat down upon a throne, which the populace did not at first behold, because obscured by the satellites he kept in servile evolutions between *it* and those who bowed before their idol.

Dizzy and dazzled with his own premature greatness, Napoleon doubtless believed he was doing the best for France, while bringing her under the undisputed sway of his transcendent genius. But he was responsible for the absence of those moral qualities, that enlightened conscience, and regard to man as possessed of inalienable rights, and sighing the world over for freedom, which gave the world a Washington. How great the temptation to the Father of American liberty at one crisis in the great struggle, to become a king; and how indignantly he spurned it, and would rather have been a bleed-

ing sacrifice upon the demolished altar of freedom, than grace a throne of willing subjects. Napoleon has been maligned by English historians, but "no sorcery of words," nor admiration of the biographer, can make him compare, only in glaring contrast, with the youthful chieftain of Valley Forge, and the sage of Mount Vernon.

Napoleon, with no opposition but the hatred of the powerless Jacobins, set about the reorganization of the empire, and the administration of its chaotic affairs. The first act of the consuls was to arrange the finances of the nation, which were in a disordered and burdensome condition. Twenty-five per cent. was added to the regular taxes, and the revenue fixed on a systematic basis of income and expenditure. The "Law of Hostages" which confined multitudes of innocent people in prison, on account of the real or imagined crimes of their exiled friends, was wiped out of the statute book, and the captives ushered into the light of day. The humane deed spread joy over France, and increased the popularity of Napoleon. The next and most honorable stroke of policy, was the reopening of the Christian temples for religious worship, in the face of that skeptical, materialistic philosophy which has ever been the curse of the nation, and was imported into the heritage of the noble pilgrims, from that fair land, during the revolutionary war. Without a belief in the personality, holiness, and power of God, and the spiritual worship and religious institutions which attend it, a republic never did long, and never can permanently exist. Napoleon understood this want among a people, although he was not a Christian. He carried the measure, restoring nominally Christianity on the ground of its utility—the necessity of it in the progress and control of a great nation. He secured immediately the

devoted fidelity of not less than twenty thousand of the clergy who had pined for months or years in prison. Shipwrecked exiles were set free. Lafayette and other conspicuous revolutionists who had been banished, were recalled—of whom Carnot was made secretary of war, and soon showed the wisdom of the choice by his reforms in the army, which the neglect of the Directory had weakened and divided. The time had arrived for the formation and announcement of a new government for the people. Sieyes presented a plan to Napoleon, in which the chief magistrate was to be styled grand Elector—having a splendid salary but only the form of authority. Napoleon, with contempt, rejected the proposal, and the following constitution in substance was accepted December 14, 1799:

"Three assemblies shall be composed of persons chosen from the notables of France, viz.—1. *The Conservative Senate*, consisting (at first) of twenty-four men, of forty years of age, to hold their places for life, and receive, each, a salary equal to one-twentieth of that of the chief consul: 2. *The Tribunate*, to be composed of one hundred men, of twenty-five years of age and upwards, of whom one-fifth go out every year, but re-eligible indefinitely; the salary of each, 15,000 francs: and, 3dly, *The Legislative Senate*, composed of three hundred members, of thirty years of age, renewable by fifths every year, and having salaries of 10,000 francs. The executive power shall be vested in three consuls, chosen individually, as chief consul, second, and third; the two former for ten years, the last for five. In order that the administration of affairs may have time to settle itself, the tribunate and legislative senate shall remain as first constituted for ten years, without any re-elections. With the same view of avoiding discussions during the unsettled state of

opinion, a majority of the members of the conservative senate are for the present appointed by the consuls, Sieyes and Ducos, going out of office, and the consuls, Cambaceres and Lebrun, about to come into office; they shall be held to be duly elected, if the public acquiesce; and proceed to fill up their own number and to nominate the members of the tribunate and legislative senate. The acts of legislation shall be proposed by the consuls: the tribunate shall discuss and propound them to the legislative senate, but *not vote*: the legislative senate shall hear the tribunate, and vote, but *not debate* themselves; and the act thus discussed and voted shall become law on being promulgated by the chief consul. Bonaparte is nominated chief consul, Cambaceres (minister of justice) second, and Lebrun third consul."

The *first consul* was virtually sole regent, whose authority, by the confirmation of the legislative body, was nearly dictatorial. He was elected for ten years, and was re-eligible. He was also irresponsible, and appointed all the employes of peace and war. He was the head of the army. By the organ of the council of state, and of the ministry, who were entirely dependent on him, he had the right of proposing laws. He controlled the finance, police, war, peace and alliances. Indeed the checks upon supreme rule were rather apparent than real.

Finding his republican residence too small for his court and ambition, he obtained a removal of the consular domicile to the Tuilleries, although the very center of kingly associations, and of that hated pomp which the people had trodden in the dust with the blood of their monarch. Everything opposed to the leveling democracy was proposed and carried forward under disguise. The ancient halls of royalty were

named the Government Palace, and given into the hands of rulers whose chief wore in place of a crown a conqueror's cockade, and for a scepter a sword which he grasped with more devotion than ever did a despot the symbol of power.

The occasion of this transfer was one of great splendor—resembling an English coronation in the ceremony and jubilant festivity of the scene. The consul's tried and brave companions in arms were many of them in the train which delighted to do him honor. The troops dashed proudly along the streets, the banners were flung out on the breath of departing winter—and the swell of martial music led on the excited cavalcade to the silent apartments made desolate by the Reign of Terror. Upon their walls was engraved in golden letters, the word *Republic*—completing the deception which calmed the fears of the masses unconsciously rendering homage to Jupiter, while, as they supposed, bowing to the goddess of liberty.

The evening of this memorable day brought the arena of Josephine's glory. The spacious drawing-rooms occupied by her were crowded by eight o'clock with the beauty and chivalry of France. Foreign ambassadors in decorations that were indices of the courts that they represented, veteran officers, and the remnant of an ancient nobility, all assembled to congratulate the hero of Egypt and Italy, upon his accession to the guardianship of their beloved France. Beautiful women in rich apparel and with jeweled brows, shed the light of their admiring eyes upon the flashing star, coronet, and plume, that were the attractive insignia of greatness in that gay assembly. The horrors of civil war which for ten years had agitated and ravaged the realm were forgotten—the dead slumbered in the covered caves of their hurried burial—the guillotine had ceased to haunt