

with pleasure. The enraged troops poured a fresh storm of bullets upon the enemy; and Napoleon, who greatly admired Dessaix, said, "Why is it not permitted me to weep? Victory at such a price is dear." The day declined, and the last smile of the sun, after the twelve hours' carnage on whose beginning it rose, flashed over twenty thousand men, mangled and bleeding; the dead and dying, in hideous chaos among the pools of yet warm life-blood.

The tricolor again waved over the triumphant consul, and unnumbered living hearts were breaking beneath the swelling shout of conquest.

The next day, Melas opened a negotiation, whose terms Napoleon accepted. The Austrians abandoned Genoa, Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Legations, and were allowed to leave the field undisturbed, and gain the rear of Mantua.

Napoleon then entered Milan, a conqueror with the mysterious greatness of a military prodigy, and the boundless enthusiasm of the people of France. Four days after the affair of Marengo, he wrote to his associates in office, at the capital: "To-day, whatever our atheists may say to it, I go in great state to the *Te Deum*, which is to be chanted in the cathedral of Milan;" an expression indicating that external regard to forms of religious worship, which his convictions of the Divine sovereignty, and sagacious policy in governing men, approved.

Massena received the command of the army of Italy. Jourdan was minister at Piedmont. The first consul started for Paris. His journey was the march of a nation's idol, to whom their wildest and most sounding homage was paid. July 2d he arrived at the Tuilleries, and the Parisians seemed frantic with joy. Illuminations nightly made the city flash and glow like a magnificent

temple, whose dome was the bending sky, filled with acclamations.

During the month of August, the Jacobins, who hated as bitterly the royalist, as they had ardently admired their republican leader before his apostacy, plotted his assassination. Ceracchi, a sculptor, who modeled a bust of Napoleon, came from Italy to aid in the design. The plan was to surround Napoleon in the entrance of the theater, and stab him. But a conspirator betrayed his comrades, and they were arrested at the moment the consul was expected, and quietly given into the hands of justice.

September 5th, Malta surrendered to the English under Lord Keith, which increased the indisposition to close the war with France, on the part of England; whose government had bound Austria to her consent, before a treaty could be definitely signed.

"During the armistice, which lasted from the 15th of June to the 17th of November, the exiled princes of the house of Bourbon made some more ineffectual endeavors to induce the chief consul to be the Monk of France. The Abbé de Montesquieu, secret agent for the Count de Lille, afterward Louis XVIII., prevailed on the third consul, Le Brun, to lay before Bonaparte a letter addressed to him by that prince—in these terms: 'You are very tardy about restoring my throne to me: it is to be feared that you may let the favorable moment slip. You cannot establish the happiness of France without me; and I, on the other hand, can do nothing for France without you. Make haste, then, and point out, yourself, the posts and dignities which will satisfy you and your friends.' The first consul answered thus: 'I have received your royal highness's letter. I have always taken a lively interest in your misfortunes and those of your family. You must not



think of appearing in France—you could not do so without marching over five hundred thousand corpses. For the rest, I shall always be zealous to do whatever lies within my power towards softening your royal highness's destinies, and making you forget, if possible, your misfortunes.' The Comte D'Artois, afterward Charles X. of France, took a more delicate method of negotiating. He sent a very beautiful and charming lady, the Duchesse de Guiche, to Paris. She without difficulty gained access to Josephine, and shone, for a time, the most brilliant ornament of the consular court. But the moment Napoleon discovered the fair lady's errand, she was ordered to quit the capital within a few hours. These intrigues, however, could not fail to transpire; and there is no doubt that, at this epoch, the hopes of the royalists were in a high state of excitement."

When the armistice expired, Austria, having employed the time in mustering her forces for war, put her splendid army under the command of Archduke John. Napoleon was also ready for the contest. General Brune marched against the enemy on the plains of Italy, with Vienna in view; General Macdonald was among the Alps, with victory attending his progress over the fields of snow; and Moreau with twenty thousand men was on the Rhine. December 3d he was in the dismal forest between the Iser and the Inn, when at midnight, in a howling, wintry storm, he met the archduke with seventy thousand troops. The roads, which were covered with snow, were lost; the Austrians were bewildered, and the combatants came together not unfrequently, column against column. The cannon balls cut down trees, whose crash added a faint echo to the sounds of carnage and death, which rose through that horrible midnight. The tri-color again waved over the

field of battle, and with ten thousand dead, the exulting army of the Rhine pursued the retreating Austrians, whose loss in killed and wounded, was not less than fifteen thousand.

Contemplating such scenes, the mind cannot fail to wonder at the fascination of war over the common soldiery, with the certainty of this havoc in their ranks, and an unlamented, ghastly bed of death; and often without knowing or caring for the cause of contest, rushing, like sheep driven to the slaughter, at the bidding of ambitious kings, into the leaden tempest of battle. The capital of Austria was threatened by three proud armies, and the emperor was in extremity. He must let England go, or fall himself into the hands of the French. He despatched a messenger of peace, and the result was the treaty at Luneville, February 9th, 1801. The Rhine was acknowledged to be the boundary of France, which gave to the nation Austrian and Prussian territory; Tuscany was given up, which the consul purposed to offer the House of Parma as a royal reward for Spanish services in the war; the new republics were secured against intervention; the Italian prisoners released from Austrian dungeons; and France at peace with Europe, England excepted. The terms of this memorable treaty were not immoderate; and they left without excuse the king and cabinet of the British Empire, whose isolated position and their conquering navy, were the sources of security, and of injury to the French. In the pause of the open hostilities which succeeded the treaty, Napoleon, with characteristic power, transferred his inspiring presence again to the peaceful arena of national glory. Revenues, roads, and bridges, appeared with magical rapidity; and the legal code was cast into the crucible of his molding, creative mind, where everything connected with personal and



public interest was fused under its glowing activity, and went forth bearing indelibly the stamp, *Napoleon*.

Attempts to assassinate the first consul were repeatedly made. The boldest and most nearly successful, was the explosion of *the infernal machine*, December 24th. A cart was prepared containing a barrel with gunpowder and grape shot, to be fired by a slow match. The terrible engine of destruction was designed for Napoleon, at the moment his carriage passed on the way to the opera from the Tuilleries. He reached the Rue St. Nicaise, and was startled from slumber by the thunder of the report, and the jar of the carriage, exclaiming to Lannes and Bessieres, "We are blown up." The terrified attendants were halting, when he quickly ordered them to drive on with all speed to the theater. The coachman, excited with wine, had driven faster than usual, and saved the consul's life. Half a minute earlier, and Napoleon's career would have closed suddenly and tragically as did Cæsar's, the splendor of whose military fame he admired.

Twenty persons were killed, among them the assassin who sprung the mine; and the windows near were shattered to fragments. When the tidings spread through the assembly in the theater, shouts of enthusiastic congratulation greeted him; and the escape gave a new and almost unearthly interest to their idol. The conspirators were discovered and beheaded. Such is the greatness of royalty; the adulation of the throng rises over the smothered embers of hate, whose conflagration at any moment may consume the dazzling pageant, and leave behind the brief epitaph:

Our morning's envy, and our evening's sigh.

It is an argument supporting the principle of democratic government, that nowhere is greatness so secure

—sovereignty so quiet and unguarded by force, as in an enlightened republic.

The spring of 1801 opened with a new aspect of continental affairs, favorable to the interests of France. A treaty had been formed with the United States; Pope Pius VI. had died, and was succeeded by the bishop of Imola, a favorite of Napoleon; and at the request of the emperor of Russia, to whom the queen of Naples went in mid-winter to implore his mediation, peace was made with that kingdom March 28th. Thus instead of re-establishing the "Roman Republic," upon the second conquest of Italy, the papal reign was continued, as more subservient to the consolidation of the consul's power, than his removal would be. It was no longer difficult to enlist Paul of Russia in the plans of Napoleon. His vanity was flattered; and the Russian prisoners sent home, equipped and clothed at the expense of the state. England claimed the right of a general blockade of France, and to search merchant vessels of every nation. She was the undisputed mistress of the seas. The neutral powers, it is true, had consented to the principle of blockade and search; but when Russia revived the opposition felt at first to this exercise of authority, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden soon followed, and united their powers in an alliance against England. Meanwhile, the British fleet, under Lord Nelson, had passed the Sound, to secure an engagement with those allies, before the forces of France and Holland should be added to them. April 2d, with a favoring wind, Nelson advanced with twelve ships of the line, beside frigates and fire-ships, upon the Danish armament, which included six ships of the line, eleven floating batteries, and an immense number of smaller vessels chained together and to the shore, and covered by crown batteries and the



fortifications of Amack. The terrible battle opened and raged with fiendish fury. For four hours limbs fell like autumnal leaves—the brains flew on every hand, and blood ran in streams upon the decks. Another complete victory was gained by the naval power of England, and at so fearful a sacrifice, that Nelson said, “I have been in above a hundred engagements, but that of Copenhagen was the most terrible of them all.” The prince-regent of Denmark was compelled to abandon the alliance with France. A few days before this event, the emperor of Russia was assassinated in his palace, and was succeeded by Alexander, who consulted the wishes of the nobility in a change of policy toward Napoleon. The intelligence was more melancholy to the consul than the defeat in the Baltic. He exclaimed, “Mon Dieu!” and immediately wrote the following brief note to Joseph, evidently not aware of the real cause of his death.

NAPOLEON TO JOSEPH.

“PARIS, April 11, 1801.

“The emperor of Russia died on the night of the 24th of March, of a stroke of apoplexy. I am so deeply afflicted by the death of a prince whom I highly esteemed, that I can enter into no more details. He is succeeded by his eldest son, who has received the oaths of the army and of the capital.”

Malta had surrendered to British arms, and now came the loss of Egypt, while Napoleon was preparing to send reinforcements thither. The brave Kleber was killed by a Turkish assassin, and Menou, his successor, was unpopular. At this crisis, the English under Lord Keith, on the sea, and Abercrombie on land, made the descent March 8th, at Aboukir. The French

were beaten in a single campaign, and the remnant of the splendid army which sailed under Napoleon two years before, was transported free in English vessels home again.

Upon hearing of the fate of his dearly purchased colony, he remarked, “Well, there remains only the descent on Britain.” An army of one hundred thousand men was rapidly concentrated on the coast of the English channel, and flat-bottomed boats were ready to convey the troops across the Rubicon, whenever the possibility of avoiding the English fleet should occur. Lord Nelson was again the formidable and watchful commander of the opposing naval force, and after repeated surveys of the French preparations for invasion, at length determined to move down upon the flotilla, under the fire of the batteries, and cut away the boats of the enemy. August 4th, before dawn, the bold attempt was made. But the boats were chained to each other, and to the land; and after a brief and furious fire, Nelson retired, without any show of success. A more desperate assault was made August 16th, with more decided defeat. Everything now conspired to urge measures for peace. Ireland was restless, and combustible material of a serious kind was accumulated in England. The increase of taxation to meet the enormous expenses of prolonged conflict, was oppressive, and corruption prevailed in Parliament. The probabilities of a victorious descent upon British soil were becoming daily less, and Napoleon also desired a cessation of hostilities. Pitt, the champion of the anti-revolutionary party, who was too obstinate to yield to any pressure but that of self-preservation, retired from office, and was succeeded by Addington. Lord Hawkesbury, the new secretary of foreign affairs, expressed immediately the king's willingness to make peace.



The congress met at Amiens, midway between London and Paris. Lord Cornwallis, who was conspicuous in the American Revolution, was the English minister, and Joseph Bonaparte the ambassador of the court of France. About this time Louis Bonaparte was married to Hortense, the daughter of Josephine, and the mother of the present emperor of France.

Letters to Joseph, during the negotiations at Amiens, shed light upon that conference, and on his manifold ambitious plans.

NAPOLEON TO JOSEPH.

“PARIS, January 6, 1802.

“I am to set off to-morrow, at midnight, for Lyons.\* I shall stay there only eleven or twelve days.

“I believe that General Bernadotte has gone to Amiens. Whether he be there or not, I wish him to let you know if he would like to go to Gaudaloupe as captain-general. The island is in a high state of prosperity and of cultivation; but Lacrosse made himself unpopular; and as he had only five hundred whites in his service, he was driven out, and a mulatto has set himself at the head of the colony. The peace with England was not then expected. Three ships, four frigates, and three thousand good infantry, have been sent to disarm the blacks, and to maintain tranquillity. It is an agreeable and important mission in every respect. Some reputation is to be gained, and a great service done to the republic, by tranquilizing forever this colony. From thence he may perhaps go to take possession of Louisiana, and even of Martinique and of St. Lucia.

\* The objects of Napoleon's visit to Lyons were to arrange the details of the Constitution of the Cisalpine Republic, and to be received as its President.—Tr.

“If this tempts Bernadotte's ambition, as it appears to do, you must immediately let me know; for the expedition will set off in the month of Pluviôse [January—February], and missions to the colonies are desired by the most distinguished generals. I shall wait for the courier's return before I appoint to this post.”

A few days later, he wrote more fully his views upon the difficulties before the congress, and gave another exhibition of his thirst for conquest, in his designs upon Hayti; a fact which fixes an indelible blot on the character of the first consul, and which we shall expose more at length in another place.

NAPOLEON TO JOSEPH.

“PARIS, March 21, 1802.

“Your last letter has been shown to me. I approve of your conduct, and especially of your reserve.

“It seems that to-day we are again approaching an agreement. As to the prisoners, Otto tells me that the English ministers admit that France should be allowed in account what the prisoners taken from the allies of England have cost her. This seems right.

“With regard to Malta, there can be no harm in declaring, since it is a fact, that the post of Grand Master is vacant; as one of the articles provides that there shall be no longer an English or a French nation,\* a Frenchman cannot be appointed. This stipulation has been made chiefly on account of the Bourbons, because it has been said that England wishes to appoint a Bourbon Grand Master. We hold that the French emigrants are not eligible, as there is no longer a French nation, and, although the emigrants are in exile, they retain their nationality.

\* The knights were divided into seven Langues or nations. Tr.



“The words ‘forming part of the Neapolitan army,’ which they want to substitute for the term ‘native,’ are rather important if their secret wish is to introduce French emigrants or Englishmen; if this be not the motive for the change of words, it is of less importance.

“What relates to the Prince of Orange may stand if the words ‘patrimonial estates’ are added.

“What is very important is that no mention should be made of nobility as regards Malta; our system of government is opposed to it. It would be absurd if we were made to say that a man must be noble in order to enter the order of Malta: the middle course, and the right one, is not to allude to the subject. This matter is the most important in the Maltese questions.

“It is also important to put the article on Turkey last, and to cancel the words ‘allies of England;’ otherwise you would likewise have to insert ‘former allies of France, allies of Russia, and of the emperor;’ but the better plan is to suppress the words ‘allies of Great Britain.’ This is a very important article, because these words, standing alone, would give to England a species of supremacy which would not suit us.

“I have just received letters from St. Domingo, dated the 20th February; they contain good news. Port Republican has been taken, with all its forts, without burning anything. They have taken Toussaint’s military chest; it contained two million five hundred thousand francs. The Port de la Paix and St. Domingo are occupied. The Spanish party has submitted, and on the 29th General Leclerc had gone to attack Toussaint, who held out with seven or eight thousand men.

“You will find enclosed a letter to Jérôme.”

March 27, the treaty was concluded and hailed with

joy and festivity by both nations. England restored all her conquests, excepting Ceylon and Trinidad, ceded to her by the Batavian republic and Spain. Egypt was to be restored to the Porte; Malta given again to the knights of St. John, and declared a free port. Neither nation was to have any representatives in the Order, and the garrison was to be troops of a neutral power. This article which occasioned much discussion, was subsequently the pretext of another hostile struggle. With tranquillity, came a ceaseless flow of travel from Britain to France, where, amid the new order of things, Napoleon was the great object of curiosity to the distinguished visitors who resorted to the Tuilleries. Fox and the Consul parted with the most friendly regard. The aristocracy were pleased with the regal order of the consular court.

The treaties of Luneville and Amiens, which thus gave fresh grandeur, and the promise of abiding greatness to the new dynasty, afforded Napoleon the opportunity of prosecuting his vast designs—“vast indeed, for he aspired to nothing less than making France the world-swaying state, and himself its unlimited lord. The measures which he conceived and executed to arrive at this result, were prudent, energetic, persevering, for the most part salutary in their more immediate effects, but also frequently unprincipled, unjust, criminal, and in respect to their ultimate object, altogether execrable. It was necessary, in the first place, to heal the yet bleeding wounds which France had received in the Revolution, and to gain the confidence and the gratitude of the people for the first consul. He therefore first tranquilized and subjected all parties, in showing to all equal favor, without giving himself up to any. Then an active life that corresponded with the progress of politics, and especially with the inter-



ests of national economy, came into all branches of the administration. Roads were laid out, canals dug, harbors, dikes, and bridges constructed, everywhere ways of intercourse made or facilitated, the spirit of invention encouraged by honors and rewards, and even the genius of foreign countries rendered subservient to the French interest. Such establishments and institutions in France itself, and in its vassal states, mark the whole period of Bonaparte's power, and—however many are his faults and his iniquities—the half of Europe is full of those monuments of his creative genius and his greatness as a regent.

But besides such praiseworthy works, the most artful maneuvers of despotism, and the most insatiable ambition were early displayed. To be the venerated and loved head of a great and free people did not satisfy his selfishness. He would be despot and sole ruler, in short, all in all. No other independent power was permitted to stand beside his, and he thought he had nothing unless all.

“In the first place, he put the press in chains. But he who does not allow the word of complaint challenges the hostile deed. Only a system of terror can then protect him. Bonaparte had recourse to the last. Fouché, his minister of police, organized an omnipotent army of Arguses and police servants, which soon mastered the domain of thought itself. At the same time the first consul established *special tribunals* through the whole kingdom, composed of judges whom the consul appointed, chiefly officers, truly *revolutionary* tribunals now in the service of the monarch.”\*

By a decree of the senate, April 26th, the emigrants were allowed to return to France upon taking the oath of allegiance. But a greater measure soon followed in

\* Von Rotteck—History of the World.

the concordat, or peace between the consul and the Pope. This restored the Roman Catholic religion to its supremacy in France, but shorn of its power by the overshadowing authority of Napoleon. Ecclesiastical ordinances, the consecration of priests, and festivals, were all celebrated only with the permission of the government. A special ministry was appointed for the purpose, and but one liturgy and catechism were permitted in the kingdom. In nothing, however, did Napoleon encounter more opposition, than when the church was the object of regard. The atheism born of a corrupt, despotic system of Christianity, was roused in the minds of the revolutionary leaders into hostility, at the mention of religion. While Napoleon never identified himself with the church, he defended it, as necessary to the preservation of the state. In one of his conversations at Malmaison, he said :

“But religion is a principle which cannot be eradicated from the heart of man.” “Who made all that ?” said Napoleon, looking up to the heaven, which was clear and starry. “But last Sunday evening,” he continued, “I was walking here alone when the church bells of the village of Ruel rung at sunset. I was strongly moved, so vividly did the image of early days come back with that sound. If it be thus with me, what must it be with others ? In reestablishing the church,” he added, “I consult the wishes of the great majority of my people.”

The concordat dissatisfied the high Catholic party, and the bishops made trouble for the consul in their reluctant assent to its practical workings, yet it was ratified by the people as the best that could be done in the emergency. It was celebrated in the cathedral of Notre Dame, where Napoleon appeared in state.

A national system of education, as a substitute for