BONAPARTE,

AND

THE FRENCH PEOPLE

UNDER HIS CONSULATE.

Translated from the German.

VERITAS ODIUM PARIT.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE almost unexampled sale which the first edition of this book has experienced (a very large impression having been sold in five weeks) is the strongest indication of its merits. Written by a man who, from his situation in France, had the best means of diving into the inmost recesses of the Court of Paris; an attentive observer of the comprehensive plans of the First Consul; he has delineated his character and views with the utmost freedom and accuracy. Not satisfied with obliging the different Princes of Germany to suppress the work under very heavy penalties, Bonaparte has within these few days caused absolute search to be made in the different booksellers' houses for every copy, which, for obvious reasons, might have been secreted.

LONDON, *August* 11, 1804.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE affairs of France have, for the last fifteen years, excited the attention and astonishment of all Europe. Superficial observers have seen in them nothing but the madness and folly of a people, incapable of governing themselves, or the arts of various factions aiming at power, and regardless of every thing which stood in the way of their wishes. They are astonished, therefore, at the conclusion, if it is concluded, of this strange drama: at the restoration of monarchical government, and the usurpation of a foreigner, who at the commencement of the revolution was in a very subordinate post in the army, and without any prospect of attaining to a considerable degree of elevation.

To account for this phœnomenon, by no means novel in the history of mankind, the life of this individual must be studied with attention, as well as the circumstances in

which he was placed at the moment when he formed the plan of seizing the sovereign authority. That this was conceived before he had quitted the army of Egypt, scarcely admits of a doubt; and the manner in which he deceived the various parties on his arrival at Paris, did not require any extraordinary degree of sagacity or penetration. Every thing conspired both at home and abroad to assist his designs. At home mutual distrust had disabled every party from resisting him, and abroad the ill-planned schemes of the supposed friends of the Bourbons, gave him an opportunity of gathering fresh laurels. The splendour of his military achievements raised him far above any competitor; and a nation, compelled to become military by the continued though impotent attacks of all its neighbours, would naturally turn with gratitude and veneration to him, who had increased the dominions of France beyond the utmost ambition of its greatest monarchs.

Still it would seem an arduous task to establish despotic authority in a nation, which had so lately and so repeatedly sworn to maintain liberty and equality; which had destroyed every vestige of kingly government; and seemed to entertain a most

most invincible aversion to both priesthood and nobility. To bring it back to its former train of servility, and to prove to all Europe how fickle is its character, was an undertaking worthy only of the genius, who could feel his happiness increased by so fatal a measure. The splendour of his actions, and the circumstances of the times had placed him in a situation, perhaps one of the most enviable that ever fell to the lot of man: he had it in his power to heal the wounds of the country; to shew himself its benefactor; to limit the caprice of arbitrary power, and set bounds to the madness of the people. He might, without injuring his own rights, or supposed rights, have given to France the blessings of a free government, and saved it from revolutionary principles, by a constitution that should respect both sovereign and people.

But no! he had been bred in camps, and knew of no other law than force. To resist his will was the highest affront, that could be committed. He must be every thing, the people and the laws nothing; and every person was to be made to feel his dependence on the sovereign. Hence, whatever had been done was to be undone,

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and yet care was to be taken, that nothing should be assimilated to the ancient government. France had been under a king; she shall now be under an emperor. Her monarchs felt themselves restrained by their nobles and the clergy: the clergy shall no longer have power or possessions; a new nobility shall be created, but incapable of resisting the authority of their sovereign. The people have been amused with the forms of liberty and equality; these shall remain, but not a vestige of their pretended rights shall they possess. Authorities have been constituted; their names may still exist, but no constitutional means shall be left of disputing the will of the sovereign.

Much was to be done, and resolution and perseverance were requisite. The return of peace was favourable to the first part of the plan. The blessing was attributed entirely by France to the efforts of her First Consul. The war broke out again, but this was owing not to his ambition, they said, but to the envy of the rival nation, and the determination to prevent France from recovering from its state of anarchy. A grand project was now artfully set on foot, and the nation

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ran at once into the snare: they thought of nothing but the downfall of England. The First Consul had other plans in view: his armies were every where; and at the moment when he chose to develope his scheme, resistance was futile. He declared himself to be Emperor: the nation acquiesced or seemed to acquiesce in this new revolution; for he was at the head of a powerful army, and the people, grown wise from their former sufferings, submitted without a murmur to military despotism. How long it will patiently endure the change, or what new schemes may be set on foot for the disturbance of Europe, it would puzzle the most enlightened statesman to prognosticate.

To set the actions of this extraordinary man in the true point of view requires both talents and opportunities that are not frequently united. The writer must have known France under its ancient government, and have been a witness to the changes effected in the manners of the people during the various processes of the revolution. He ought to possess a mind free from the various prejudices on religion and government, which mark the supporters as well as the opposers of every system that has

has appeared in France. He should hold the balance equally between the excesses committed by a monarch and those committed by the people; should perceive the necessity of some changes in the French Constitution, without sanctioning the anarchy by which it was overset; could allow the weakening of the clergy and the nobility, without injuring the rights of religion, or sapping the foundations of just subordination. To what nation could we best look for a union of these qualities, but to that which is distinguished more for soundness of judgment than vivacity of imagination; which acknowledges within its limits a variety of forms both of government and of religion. In this nation the members of the free states would naturally be pointed out as the fittest for such an undertaking, and it adds to the recommendation of this work, that it proceeds from the pen of a free German.

That on its publication, it should have excited great indignation on the part of the constituted authorities of France, was natural, for it speaks the truth, and does not consult the feelings of several men, who are a disgrace to civil society. It unravels every plot; shews France what it is, and what

what it always has been; and points out that change, which must take place in its moral, before it can aim at any excellence in its political character. The German does not consult the feelings of contending nations; and, if he speaks the truth of our enemy, we must not every where expect a panegyrick on ourselves. Indeed he could not fail of seeing, that the English nation has been a great instrument in giving the new Emperor to France.

On all sides faults have been committed in this strange Revolution, which has presented to our view a race of men spotted with every crime. Yet some allowance is to be made for a people kept in ignorance and superstition, which had not, like the English, the benefit of the Reformation to correct its views of religion nor of constitutional barriers to limit the power of the Sovereign. The abolition of the States-general led to every abuse, and increased the difficulty of correcting them: when they were restored by the unfortunate Monarch who expiated with his life the errors of his predecessors, anarchy was the necessary consequence.—Thus Providence sets before men their duties in the most awful colours: if her laws are violated, a return to true wisdom

dom is scarcely to be made.—The French nation has suffered much, and must suffer more before it can settle for its own repose and that of Europe; and this account of the French under a Consul, will prepare us for the scenes we are to expect under an Emperor.

PREFACE

BY THE AUTHOR.

A GERMAN, of no party, not unacquainted with the former ſtate of France, a near obſerver of the French revolution, ſometimes abſent, ſometimes preſent, and of late its inhabitant, does not think it an unwelcome ſervice to his countrymen, if he faithfully relate to them what he has found moſt remarkable and intereſting during his ſtay at Paris. He does not aim at the honor of being ranked either among the detracters or the apologists of the preſent conſtitution and government, but will rather abſtain, as much as poſſible, from all opprobrious terms and enthusiaſtic praiſes, with which foreign and French writers too often abound. His chief object is, to unravel the conduct of the French government to his readers, as far as he is able to comprehend it.

Every occurrence in new-modelled France, deriving its ſource from that extraordinary man, who gave to it its preſent form, a view of his life, which

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may ſerve to eſtabliſh the truth of former accounts, to correct others, and to bring ſome new facts to light, appeared to him the moſt unobjectional way. Thoſe readers who may deſire to be informed of his military achievements, or political tranſactions, will find much ſatisfaction in a number of great and ſmall French publications; in ſeveral journals publiſhed in Germany, by Archenholz, Huber, Botticher; in the political annals of Poſſett, and in another journal, appearing under the general title "France."

PARIS, *in the 11th Year of the Republic.*

BONAPARTE

AND

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NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, eldeſt ſon of a lawyer and land-owner at Ajaccio, a ſmall ſea-port on the West coaſt of Corſica, was born there on the 15th of Auguſt, in the year 1769.

At the beginning of that year, General Marbœuf had conquered Corſica for France, and remained there as governor. He became ſoon an intimate of the family of Bonaparté, and intereſted himſelf with paternal care in the education of Napoleon. In the tenth year of his age, he procured him a ſituation in the royal military ſchool at Brienne, in Champagne, where Bonaparté entered in March 1779.

In this military monaſtic reſidence, where the young people were kept in very rigid confinement, and ſtrictly watched, his weak frame of body gained as little in ſtrength, as his naturally dark and reſerved diſpoſition gained in cheerfulneſs and ſociability,

by a mode of living so favourable to his propensity to solitude and stoical austerity. Out of school hours, he lived mostly shut up alone in his monastic cell, the whole furniture of which consisted in a girth bed, an iron water-pitcher and bason, and in which each pupil was locked up for the night separately, and guarded by a watch in the gallery.

At a later period he often prosecuted his solitary studies in a little lonely garden, for the enlarging of which, he contrived to oblige some of his comrades to give up to him the part allotted to them, and which he sought to separate more and more from the little possessions of his companions, by planting it thick with trees, and surrounding it with palisades. As the latter once, on the failure of a firework, by which many were wounded, broke in their fright through this fence, in order to seek for shelter in Bonaparté's garden, he, armed with his garden tools, drove them back into the fire. In his leisure hours he never took any part in their sports or youthful amusements. He soon acquired the nick-name of *the Spartan*, which he retained to the last.

The deliverance of his country from the French yoke was his favourite idea; and his expressions frequently betrayed, that he thought himself called upon to continue with better fortune the unsuccessful part of Paoli, at that time his favourite hero. Nothing made him so angry as being called a vassal of France: to the Genoese, who sold Corsica to France, he had sworn eternal hatred.

A newly-arrived Corsican being once announced to him as a Genoese, he instantly seized him by the hair,

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and would have killed him, had not ſome perſons interfered; for ſeveral weeks he was ſeized with a tranſport of rage whenever he ſaw the young Corſican. On the other hand, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, to the joy of his clerical teachers, among his young ſchool-fellows, by his devotion.

The mode of inſtruction in this ſeminary was what anſwered moſt to his inclination; for it was almoſt wholly devoted to teaching the art of war. Bonaparté, who at firſt made little progreſs in his learning, ſoon devoted himſelf excluſively to the mathematical ſciences; he paid little attention to the ſtudy of languages, and ſtill leſs to the fine and agreeable arts: even the mathematical arts of youth, as writing, horſemanſhip, &c. he practiſed but little, for which reaſon he ſtill writes an illegible hand, and is even a bad horſeman.

For his amuſement, after the ſerious mathematical ſtudies, he read often, with pleaſure, Plutarch's Lives, and the Life of Marſhal Saxe.

The firſt of Bonaparté's ſchool-fellows with whom he formed a cloſe intimacy was Faucelet de Bourienne, who, like him, devoted himſelf to the mathematics, and who, by his gentle manners and pleaſing modeſt character, had acquired the love of all his ſchool-fellows. Faucelet became afterwards, and was ſtill at the commencement of the current republican year, Bonaparté's firſt private ſecretary.

His ſour diſpoſition and rough manners brought him almoſt daily into quarrels and battles with moſt of his ſchool-fellows, in which, as being the weakeſt, he generally came off the worſt; yet never would he

complain againſt thoſe who offended him to the rigid maſters of the ſchool: on the contrary, in the little mutinies of his ſchool-fellows againſt the latter, he was generally the ſpokeſman; and while the others trembled with fear of ſevere puniſhment, he was always puniſhed as ring-leader; the ſevereſt chaſtiſement, however, never drew from him an audible complaint.

He even ſeemed to be totally inſenſible to a military diſgrace, which he once ſuffered. The ſcholars, divided into companies, formed a battalion, the officers of which were choſen among themſelves; and, adorned with all the external honours of the French uniform, Bonaparté had the rank of captain. A court-martial, according to all due forms, once declared young Bonaparté unworthy to command his comrades, and degraded him to the loweſt place in the battalion: he heard the ſentence and ſuffered the diſtinctions of his rank to be taken from him without betraying the leaſt emotion.

At that time he ſometimes took part in the paſtimes of his comrades, who teſtified an uncommon intereſt towards him, and led them to games, which were formed according to the plan of the Olympic games, and the combat of the Roman Circus. The games, however, ſoon became battles; then enſued bloody heads; the leader was puniſhed, and the games were put an end to.

Bonaparté withdrew again entirely into his cheerleſs ſolitude, until his ever-increaſing inclination to the art of fortification inſpired him, in the hard winter of 1783, with the thought of executing a little fort of

ſnow. With the help of common garden tools, he and his moſt zealous comrades perfected a complete quadrangle, defended at the corners by four baſtions, the walls of which were three feet and a half high. The ſevere froſt had ſo hardened this work, that traces of it were ſtill viſible in the month of May.

After he had paſſed five years in this ſevere ſchool, the Royal Inſpector, on his annual examination, found him ſo well informed in the art of fortification, that he removed him to the great Military Academy at Paris. Here Bonaparté arrived on the 17th of October 1784.

A very different and more liberal tone prevailed in this chief ſchool. The pupil received, immediately on his entrance, his commiſſion as an officer. He was here under the inſpection of able and meritorious officers, and found able and important teachers in all arts and ſciences.

Yet even here Bonaparté retained all his roughneſs and ſtoical contempt for all the pleaſures of life. Here alſo he devoted himſelf wholly to the mathematics. The inſtructions of the celebrated Monge promoted his ſtudies to ſuch a degree, that immediately after the firſt examination, Bonaparté was placed as an officer in the artillery. Here too, among 300 ſtudents, Lauriſton, a phlegmatic, and Dupont, a hot-headed youth, were the only ones with whom Bonaparté formed a nearer intimacy.

His hours of recreation were paſſed almoſt entirely in one of the baſtions of Fort Limboune, which had been erected for the inſtruction of the ſtudents at the end of their uſual walk. There he was ſeen leaning on the breaſtwork, with Vauban, Cohorn, and Folard

in his hand, drawing plans for the attack or defence of the little fort.

In July 1785, Bonaparté entered as Lieutenant into the Regiment of Artillery *La Fére*, which was then in garrison at Auxonne. Here also he passed the greatest part of the day in the fortifications, and half the night over his military books.

His Republican love of liberty frequently drew him into disputes. One of his comrades once challenged him on this account; but the affair was made up by the intercession of others. Once, however, as during a walk on the water-side, he openly declared himself an enemy of the King, his loyal companions flew into a rage, and were going to drown him; and it was with difficulty he escaped their fury.

In the year 1786, General Marbœuf died. His death deprived this young favourite of the support and protection which probably alone could have made the service of the regiment agreeable and advantageous to him, and he returned to Corsica to his mother, where he lived entirely given up to military studies.

In 1790, as the Revolution broke out in Corsica, Bonaparté was appointed commander of a battalion of national guards in Ajaccio. Paoli, however, who feared he might stand in the way of his own self-interested views, expelled him with his whole family, with which he arrived in France in 1793.

Bonaparté was now placed again in the artillery, and was observed by the representatives Barras and Frenon at the siege of Toulon, as he was calmly serving a cannon surrounded with dead bodies. They immediately gave him an important battery to defend.

defend. As Barras himself, an experienced general, soon after blamed the position of one of the guns of this battery, Bonaparté desired he would mind his own business as representative, and leave him to manage his battery as he pleased.

After the taking of Toulon, Bonaparté was appointed general of brigade, and sent to Nice; but there he was disgraced by the deputy of the convention, Aubry, and imprisoned as a terrorist. After he was set at liberty they were going to place him in the infantry, but he hastened to Paris, and complained of the injustice he had suffered. Obtaining no redress, he requested to be wholly dismissed, and to be permitted to go to Constantinople: both were denied him.

On the insurrection of the sections of Paris against the convention in Vendemiaire (the 4th and 5th of October 1795), Barras had the chief command of the troops that defended the convention, and Bonaparté commanded under him on that day, in which the citizens of Paris lost so much blood.

Tranquillity being re-established, Bonaparté obtained the command of the army of the interior. Soon after he married the *chère amie* of Barras, the widow of the brave General Beauharnois: with her, Bonaparté acquired a property of 500,000 livres, considerable possessions in the islands, and the chief command of the Italian army.

He found this army in the most wretched condition, but contrived soon to restore discipline, and, by successful enterprizes, to diminish the want under which the troops suffered. At Lodi he first shewed the

military obſtinacy which ſhrinks from no ſacrifice. He made himſelf maſter of Lombardy. The Venetians firſt drew on themſelves his anger, by openly aſſiſting the Auſtrian army. Bonaparté marched againſt Rome and Naples, treated the Pope with reſpect and moderation, and concluded an armiſtice, in which, among other advantages, he demanded and obtained the delivery of the fineſt works of art in the Roman galleries and muſeums, and the rareſt treaſures of the Vatican library, and cabinets of all kinds, to the French nation.

At Caſtiglione he was defeated for the firſt time; this only increaſed his boldneſs at Lonado. This battle was ſoon followed by another equally ſucceſsful at Roveredo. At Arcola, he experienced with Augereau, the firſt reſiſtance of French troops, who would not, as at Lodi, paſs the bridge in the face of certain death. He altered his plan, and fought the bloody battles of Arcola and Rivoli with more fury. Mantua ſurrendered to him February 2d, 1797.

Bonaparté advanced into the Tyrol, took Clagenfurth, and marches directly towards Vienna. While his advanced troops already were within a hundred miles of Vienna, the Venetians treacherouſly fall upon the ſmall garriſons and wounded who had been left behind, and provoked anew his anger and vengeance.

The Emperor ſued for peace, and the preliminaries were ſigned at Leoben the 18th of April 1797. The Venetians, the oldeſt republicans in Europe, were made ſubject to the Emperor.

Bonaparte returned to Paris, and was received in triumph as a deliverer. He was appointed plenipotentiary

tiary at the congreſs at Raſtadt; but perceiving, here, that both ſides were going into tedious and perplexed negotiations, he ſoon came back to Paris, where he was loaded with fêtes, honours, and flattery of every kind.

He was ſoon appointed to the command of an expedition, the object of which was a landing in England. But while he appears only to be occupied with ſcience and its cultivators, he ſecretly formed the plan for the conqueſt of Egypt. The weak Directory, to whom Bonaparté was a terror and a burden, willingly came into his ideas, and exerted all their power to fit out a great expedition, accompanied by a vaſt number of men of ſcience.

The treaſury of Berne, which was believed much greater than it really was, was deſtined for the expenſive expedition; and this unhappy error decided the fate of poor Switzerland, which had already excited the anger of the haſty warrior, by ſome meaſures of precaution againſt the march of the French troops through its territories.

In May 1798, a fleet of 194 ſail, with 40,000 choſen troops, commanded by the beſt generals, left Toulon; ſome thouſand men of learning, artiſts, and workmen, accompanied it.

Bonaparté having in a moſt wonderful manner eſcaped the Engliſh fleet, took, by a happy union of force and ſtratagem, the iſland of Malta; left it on 20th of June, and ſteered directly for Egypt. Nelſon miſſes him again by a few days and leagues. On the voyage Bonaparté addreſſed a proclamation to his troops, in which he commanded them to behave

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to the Muſſulmen and women with reſpect and moderation.

He landed happily near Alexandria, took it, marched ſtraight to Cairo, found unexpected reſiſtance, from the admirably mounted, and warlike Mamalukes, but by ſkilful manœuvres made a great ſlaughter of them, and diſperſed them. Cairo was taken. The ſoldiers made rich booty, particularly of the property of the Mamelukes.

Bonaparté then followed Ibrahim Bey to Syria; ſpoke, near the great Pyramid of Cheops, to the Turks like a Turk, and called himſelf a friend and admirer of Mahomet.

During his bloody but ſucceſsful battles with Murad Bey, the ſevere exaction of contributions excited a revolt in Cairo, which coſt the inhabitants much blood and treaſure: Bonaparté ſuppreſſed it, and planned a ſort of conſtitution for Egypt. He then purſued his march to Syria, took Jaffa by ſtorm, beſieged the fortreſs St. Jean D'Acre, which was garriſoned and defended by the Turks and Engliſh; but after a bombardment of ſixty days, many battles, and ſeveral vain attempts to ſtorm it, he was forced to raiſe the ſiege, and retreat with a ſmall remnant of his army to Cairo. He retook from the Turks the fort of Aboukir, and prepared in ſecret to leave Egypt.

Lucien Bonaparté had, by addreſs and money, contrived to keep up a correſpondence with his brother, even by means of Engliſh veſſels, and had informed him of the internal bad condition of France, and the diſorder of the army, every where defeated; while the Directory

tory left him without information, or rather uſed all their endeavours to keep him in total ignorance of what was paſſing in Europe. It is probable that his intention of leaving Egypt was known to the Engliſh there, who willingly ſuffered him to depart, aſſured that, with the removal of the projector, the bold plan of conqueſt would remain unexecuted.

With two frigates and two ſmall veſſels, Bonaparté ſailed from the Egyptian coaſt Auguſt 23, 1799, in ſight of the Engliſh fleet, having firſt, in a ſealed order, appointed Kleber commander in chief of the whole army of Egypt, and Deſaix general in Upper Egypt. He met only one Engliſh frigate, and landed on the 30th of September at Ajaccio, his native place. Here he appeaſed a ſpirit of diſcontent which had broke out, landed ſoon after at Frejus, and haſtened to Paris. His way thither reſembled a triumphal proceſſion.

Bonaparté found France under the feeble diſcordant Directory, both at home and abroad, in the moſt wretched ſituation; it was perhaps near to its total diſſolution. The exhauſted treaſury was no more to be ſupported by legal exactions, by forced loans. The armies were in the moſt wretched ſtate, and every where beaten.

Among the directors, he found Barras and Sieyes inclined to make uſe of his daring ſpirit, and ſucceſsful aim, for the execution of their different plans. The two brothers, however, more prudent and ſure in their plans, contrived to profit by the credit of the two former, for the preparation of their own undertaking.

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At firſt it ſeemed as if Bonaparté ſuffered the firſt enthuſiaſm of the people to paſs over without advantage; for he took time to learn the ſituation of affairs, the character of the directors, and the leading members in the two councils. It was alſo found neceſſary to get Lucien Bonaparté made preſident of the Council of Five Hundred, for the moment of execution.

Sieyes had for ſome time conceived the plan of a proviſory dictatorſhip; probably he thought of entruſting it to ſeveral perſons who might be depended on, for neither himſelf nor Barras, nor any one of the five directors, was proper for ſole dictator. He thought to uſe the daring and reſolute ſpirit of Bonaparté for the execution of his idea, and then to open to him again a theatre of victory in Italy. Röderer and Talleyrand ſtood as intermediators between the two, and only a few in the Council of Ancients, and in that of Five Hundred, were in the ſecret.

On the 18th of Brumaire, at ſix in the morning, cards of invitation were ſent to all thoſe members of the Council of Ancients who could be depended on, and at eight o'clock they aſſembled in the Thuilleries, when they came to the reſolution, "That the Legiſlative Body ſhould be transferred to St. Cloud, and meet there the following day." The Council of Ancients entruſted the execution of this decree to General Bonaparté, by giving him the command of the guard of the Legiſlative Body, and of the ſeventh diviſion of troops of the line.

In a few hours, two addreſſes from Bonaparté were ſeen poſted up every where, one to the People of Paris, the other to the Soldiers. Both, it was eaſy

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to perceive, had been drawn up in haſte. In that to the ſoldiers, Bonaparté already uſed the alarming words, "Theſe two years the Republic has been ill-governed; you have hoped that my return ſhould put an end to ſo many evils."

In the Council of Ancients, whither the directors Sieyes and Roger Ducos alſo repaired, Bonaparté ſaid, "We will have a republic founded on liberty, equality, property, and the ſacred principles of national repreſentation." Of the exiſting conſtitution which they had all ſworn to obſerve, no mention whatever was made. A ſhort paper, written for the purpoſe, and every where circulated in abundance, ſought to prevent the apprehenſion of the people, that Bonaparté wiſhed to become a Cæſar or a Cromwell.

Towards noon, the Council of Five Hundred met; but on notice from the preſident that the Council of Ancients had removed the Legiſlative Body to St. Cloud, and had appointed it to meet there the following morning, they were obliged to ſeparate. This was done without oppoſition, according to the 103d article of the conſtitution; but the next day this Council aſſembled nearly complete, and began its unexpectedly violent reſiſtance, by ſwearing to the conſtitution. Lucien Bonaparté, who preſided at the aſſembly, was treated ſo roughly and brutally, that he was even required to declare his brother an outlaw. He diſplayed, for a long time, much preſence of mind and eloquence, till the proper moment arrived to lay down his office of preſident. Napoleon Bonaparté having made all neceſſary preparations for

a military

a military undertaking, appeared in the Council of Ancients, but did not find all the opinions there ſo entirely in his favour as he might have wiſhed. At laſt he put them in mind, that he was come accompanied by the deities of war and of fortune. In his abſence, however, it was propoſed, in the Council of Ancients, to renew the oath to the conſtitution.

Lucien Bonaparté had demanded, in the Council of Five Hundred, that his brother ſhould be heard. The latter appeared there, but was received with reproaches and inſults, and ordered to withdraw. Some eye-witneſſes deny that daggers were drawn againſt him. His friends defended him againſt numbers who rushed upon him, uttering bitter reproaches, and conducted him ſafe out of the aſſembly. Bonaparté then called on the armed force to diſperſe the enraged aſſembly. General Murat, his brother-in-law, preſſed forward with the grenadiers into the hall, juſt as Lucien Bonaparté laid down his inſignia as preſident, and openly declared his reſignation. To place him in ſafety was the firſt care of the grenadiers, then they ſummoned the aſſembly to leave the hall, who, however, did not immediately loſe courage. Many members, in violent ſpeeches, addreſſed the ſoldiers, and called upon them, in the name of liberty, not to obey their leaders, who ſought to overthrow the Republic. But General Murat, whenever any one began to ſpeak, ordered the drums to beat ſo loud, that no human voice could poſſibly be heard. At length, tired of reſiſtance, he, by a ſkilful manœuvre to the right and left, cauſed the aſſembly to be ſurrounded, and, with fixed bayonets,

nets, to be driven out through all the iſſues of the hall, through all the doors and windows.

Without doors, Bonaparté had from the firſt of the moving, by continual evolutions, and all kinds of complicated manœuvres, ſecured the troops againſt plots. He himſelf was ſeen every where, and was no where ſparing of obliging and flattering words, and magnificent promiſes. Theſe were particularly well received by the ill-paid and ill-fed ſoldiery, and "*Vive Bonaparté!*" reſounded from all ſides, after every ſpeech from the favourite chief.

The unexpected violent reſiſtance in the Council of Five Hundred, had, however, very much ſhaken him. Contrary to his cuſtom, he broke out into loud exclamations and violent threats. A captain of the guard, who, on the motion that the Council of Five Hundred ſhould declare they had not given the command of their grenadiers to Bonaparté, entered the meeting, and profeſſed himſelf ready to fulfil the orders of the Council, was degraded by Bonaparté on the ſpot.

Lucien ſeemed to have retained his whole preſence of mind, and preſſed his brother, as ſoon as he was free, with double ardour, to profit by his victory to the full extent. He followed the reporter of the Council of Five Hundred into the Council of Ancients, and ſought, by his eloquence, to enfeeble the reporter's declaration concerning the illegal uſe of military force againſt the Council.

In the night, the two Councils met again, the members having been prevented from leaving St. Cloud. Of the Council of Five Hundred, however, ſcarcely two-thirds were aſſembled. This Council at length

length resolved, "That there was no longer any Directory; that sixty members were excluded from the Council; and that a Consular Executive Committee, consisting of the Ex-Directors Sieyes and Roger Ducos, and General Bonaparté, under the title of Consuls of the French Republic, shall be provisionally formed, and invested with the full directorial authority." To this Committee was added an intermediate Committee of twenty-five members of each of the two Councils, who were to be chosen before they declared themselves adjourned.

The new Consuls appeared, and took the sacred oath of inviolable fidelity to the Sovereignty of the People, the French Republic, one and indivisible, Equality, Liberty, and the Representative System.

The resolution of the Council of Five Hundred met with some resistance in the Council of Ancients; but passed at length. The Consuls appeared here also, and took the oath of fidelity.

The next morning, two proclamations from the Minister of Police, Fouché, and from Bonaparté, acquainted the people with what had passed, and the new government immediately entered on its functions without obstacle.

Bonaparté now stood free and secure in the midst of thirty millions of people! All parties crowded round him; all weary of the past troubles and countless disorders, expected from him security and happiness! all were full of confidence in the republican hero, who had endeavoured to carry the light of freedom and intellect, even into the African deserts! It was such a moment as never fell to the lot of any

hero,

hero, of any law-giver of either the ancient or modern world. Every thing was prepared; the elements of the beſt conſtitution that ever bleſſed mankind were in readineſs, and awaited only the wiſely-ordaining hand of the great man, who could forget himſelf for the ſake of humanity, and thereby exalt himſelf above every elevation that humanity ever attained. But this was not the elevation to which the eye of Bonaparté was directed.

Whether Bonaparté were guided by his propenſity to uncontrouled power, which is ſo natural to every man of reſtleſs activity, and reſolute ſpirit, or by a conviction that the French character is not calculated to receive the benefits of a free conſtitution, certain it is that he has exerted all his courage, art, and activity, only to lay the baſis of his own ſupremacy!

As early as the 24th Frimaire (Dec. 15) a new conſtitution, as it was called, appeared, by which Bonaparté was appointed *Firſt Conſul*, and all other authorities made ſubordinate to him! By this conſtitution, *one* man is every thing, and the conſtitution itſelf is but a tool in his hands, which he can lay aſide whenever he finds it unfit for his purpoſes: a Legiſlative Body, that gives no laws; a Tribunate, which indeed can make remonſtrances, but to which the government has the right not to attend; and a Senate, which decides upon violations of the conſtitution, but has no means of making its deciſions reſpected, are only ſpecious bulwarks againſt the power of a man, who unites in his perſon all the branches of the executive power; who has the propoſing of laws, and, when he pleaſes, can ſuſpend the conſtitution itſelf!

Sieyes, with his troubleſomeſpeculations and theories,

that were always in the way, was soon laid aside; and in order to make his moral death complete, he was enriched with estates, the accepting and open enjoyment of which, deprived him of the regard of those who still honoured in him one of the few disinterested patriots of genuine Republican principles.

Bonaparté, who, if he had desired only the well ordained, duly limited constitutional monarchy, which the first constituent assembly intended, might have placed himself immediately, and without opposition, at the head of government, under any title he had pleased, chose, however, to preserve the external appearance of a republican constitution, or rather of a divided government, and admitted two Sub-Consuls, who in every respect only figure as such.

His choice, however, fell, not without design, on two tractable men, who were versed in departments with which the First Consul was least familiar. Cambacéres was an experienced lawyer, and Le Brun a well known financier.

Besides the two Bonapartés, not only many generals, who had acquired reputation in war, or had served at least under Bonaparté, were taken into the ministry and the different corps; but also the most distinguished heads among the writers, and loudest adherents of all parties, and even the most considerable among the *Savans*, whose political sentiments and ready devotion were to be depended on. A great part of the lucrative places were given also to the nobles who had remained in France, and even to emigrants, whose return was facilitated, and soon left quite free.

Thus it was hoped that all parties would be satisfied;

fied; and this end was at first in some degree obtained: for so long as each was busied only about himself, his own arrangements and convenient establishment, they cared little about the true course of the government, which only impartial foreigners were able to observe and follow. These, who alone possess the advantage of being able to observe calmly on all sides, without the necessity of declaring themselves vehemently for any party or any man, to which in the scene of tumult one is partly obliged in order not to be pressed and trodden under foot on both sides; these have, during the whole French Revolution, this remarkable and disgraceful spectacle before their eyes. The nation was continually the sport of parties counteracting each other, who were often put in motion by some artful and interested men, in such directions as by no means seemed to tend to the goal, at which they properly aimed, but which they attained with the more certainty in proportion to the ardor with which the crowd on both sides was employed. At this period, all were weary and exhausted; all ways, as it appeared, had been explored, all situations tried, without reaching the end, which insured tranquillity and enjoyment. He who could now lead all the weary thither, was the true long desired benefactor. A man in full power, who with unparalleled boldness had forced his way through all parties, through all obstacles, and with adamantine resolution placed himself at the head, who appeared now to have no wish but to procure tranquillity and enjoyment for all, the more power and ability he drew into his own hands, the more he would be able to afford to all the

languiſhing hungry and weary: and thus all agreed in yielding up every thing to his power!

In vain did ſome writers of truly noble and genuine patriotic ſentiments, endeavour to draw the attention of the new dictators to the arbitrary nature of their ſucceſsful attempts and uſurped ſituation. In vain did the worthy *Lacretelle* exclaim to them, "All is overturned in our inſtitutions, but all riſes again in our ſouls. Steadfaſtly perſevere in never deviating from that juſtice which the preſent moment preſcribes to you; from the generous and ſalutary mildneſs which our laws owe to all, becauſe they require the ſupport of all: preſerve in your power an honourable reſpect for public opinion, which is re-animated by you, that truth may ever perfect your wiſdom, and watch over your glory."

Afterwards, he ſays to them, "You have ſworn, to what? To overthrow every thing you found ſtanding. What did your oath imply? An entire revolution. From a ſenate appointed for the maintenance of the conſtitution, you have required, what? To open you a wide road out of the conſtitution. From bodies which ſhared the national repreſentation, you have required, what? That they ſhould reſign their full powers. Into whoſe hands? Into yours. At a moment, when the foreign war continued in all its rage, when a civil war was renewed amidſt all kinds of miſery, of all tumultuous paſſions, in the preſence of all factions, of all Europe, what have you brought about? *A Dictatorſhip!*"

In a ſtriking manner, he exhibits to the new dictators, two leading men of ancient Rome:—"Cæſar made

made himſelf dictator, and under this name aboliſhed the Roman Republic. Before him Sylla had aſſumed this power, to puniſh, as he ſaid, the inſolence of the people, and reſtore the dignity of the ſenate. The one periſhed in his dictatorſhip; the other ventured to reſign it, and lived unmoleſted in countries ſtill reeking with the blood which he had ſhed. But before them, a number of citizens had borne the dictatorſhip, without even abuſing the extent of their power."

After going through many dictatorſhips of modern, and of the lateſt times, both in England and France, he adds, "The dictatorſhip is a conſequence of the diſorders and convulſions of the political body; it is produced by circumſtances; it ceaſes with them; it is conferred; it is uſurped; it comes into the hands of a body, or of a ſingle man; it exiſts either by or againſt the laws; it preſerves, or it deſtroys them; it delivers nations, or it oppreſſes them; it prolongs its duration, or it ceaſes when it ought; it does more or leſs than was allowed to it; and all this according to the character and way of thinking of thoſe who poſſeſs it, the circumſtances of the people among whom it is exerciſed, according to the parties, the propenſities, the opinions and maxims which prevail at the time. Let us conſult circumſtances, before we call for or reject the dictatorſhip; and the characters of men, before we grant or refuſe it. Let us allow it every thing when it inclines to good, withdraw every thing from it when it inclines to evil; let us render it as little neceſſary as may be poſſible; let us watch over it even in its benefits; unveil its errors, and, if it muſt be ſo, ſhew ourſelves formida-

ble againſt its enterprizes; let us be without fear of it, without enthuſiaſm for it; enjoy the relief it procures us; but eſtimate all its actions, at times with gratitude, at others with miſtruſt; now with blame, and now with admiration."

To Bonaparté, he even then applied the following expreſſive words: "I was inclined to think well of Bonaparté; he muſt, in ſpite of the wonderful maturity of his head, yet poſſeſs the generoſity natural to a young heart. If any thing can intoxicate him, it muſt be the thought of being more than a *Protector*, more than a King; the reſtorer of a great revolution, which ſeemed to be loſt; the founder of a great and glorious republic. The ſeductions of power may yet decide him, who perhaps had not erred till he thought himſelf ſecure from error." He reminds him of words which he is ſaid to have once pronounced: "What might eaſily have happened at the end of the ſeventeenth century, is out of all queſtion at the end of the eighteenth."

Laſtly, Lacretelle dwells expreſsly, on what true patriots at that time regarded as ſo important, the union of *Sieyes* and Bonaparté. "Thus," ſays he, "was the dictatorſhip given, not to the philoſopher, not to the warrior alone; but to both united, as the junction of power and wiſdom. Would not theſe men, the laſt hope of a people, oppreſſed under the load of crimes, follies, and ſufferings of every kind, have wilfully reſigned all pretenſions to the public eſteem, have ſhewn themſelves merely as cold calculators of their own dangers, have diſplayed a hateful ambition, which founds its advantage even on the

ruin

ruin of ſtates, if they had not, in order to effect as much good as poſſible, taken upon them the power, for which they muſt be accountable, and which later, when the evil was at its height, would have fallen to them as the gift of deſpair?"

Perhaps ſuch expreſſions only accelerated Bonaparté's reſolution to rid himſelf of his troubleſome aſſociate. Scarcely had this bold pamphlet appeared, when Sieyes was diſmiſſed from all power.

In vain did *Cabanis*, in his ſpeech of the 25th Frimaire, to the Legiſlative Committee of the Council of Five Hundred, trace the chief characteriſtics of a genuine repreſentative ſyſtem, and the functions of the Legiſlative Body, as of the Tribunate. With preſaging anxiety he ſaid, "The exiſtence of this popular magiſtracy, connected with the *freedom of the preſs, which under a vigorous government muſt be perfect*, is one of the chief guarantees of public liberty; for, in whatever point of view one regards it, there is no real and durable guarantee, where it is not grounded on public opinion."

The ſame uneaſy preſentiment of what was to come induced the patriotic orator to add—"Our ſituation may make it neceſſary that certain members of the Executive Body ſhould place themſelves at the head of the armies, or that numerous bodies of troops ſhould remain under their orders in the neighbourhood of the great commune in which they reſide. *All this muſt be regarded as merely temporary*; but we muſt not defer returning to right principles in proportion as peace at home and abroad ſhall be reſtored."

Equally in vain did Chenier expoſtulate in his ſpeech at the ſitting of the Tribunate on the 23d of Germinal, when he ſo wiſely required that, during the future eight months adjournment of the Legiſlative Body, the Tribunate ſhould hold its ſittings twice a month, to take cognizance of every thing that might ſeem advantageous to the adminiſtration in all the branches of legiſlation, and formally to recommend it as the wiſh of the Tribunate to the juriſdictions. Equally in vain with Lacretelle and Cabanis, he exclaimed, "The unwearied enemies of reaſon, the intereſted calumniators of the light of inſtruction, hope in vain to ſee the fabric of the French revolution overturned; in vain do they expect to lead us back to fanatic dreams; to feudal prejudices, the refutation of which is ſo eaſy, that the grounds on which they reſt are become common place; they will be as little able to hinder the progreſs of the human underſtanding, as were the inquiſitors who impriſoned Galilei to ſtop the revolution of the earth; as little as the perſecutors of Fauſt and Guttenberg could prevent the infant art of printing from threatening all tyranny with deſtruction, and changing the face of the earth!

The brave Chenier has ſince experienced but too much in his own perſon, how far the government has ſince proceeded in this courſe without obſtacle—a ſubject on which we ſhall have much to ſay in its proper place. But before we follow the progreſs, or rather retrogreſſion in the interior, we muſt, in order to complete the review we have begun of Bonaparté's public life, follow him in his fortunate undertakings abroad for the attainment of peace.

In

In the full conſciouſneſs of his good fortune and his new dignity, Bonaparté wrote, ſo early as the 5th of Nivoſe (26th December) to the King of England, and to the Emperor of Germany, without obſerving the accuſtomed formalities, and received no anſwer. The miniſter for foreign affairs, Talleyrand, ſent a note to Lord Grenville, containing a conciſe hiſtorical ſtatement of the circumſtances which had occaſioned the war; a developement of the cauſes of all the evils which had torn the interior of France, and convulſed Europe. The French note left no accuſation unanſwered, no reproach unrefuted; it contained, at the end, preliminaries towards an amicable underſtanding; in its contents, and in its object, it was a declaration of liberal principles, the evident expreſſions of peaceful, philanthropic ſentiments.

Lord Grenville's anſwer contained only the denial of the moſt inconteſtable facts, evaſions, and challenges to continue the war. From his Lordſhip's ſpeeches in the Houſe, it is equally clear that he had not a mind to negotiate. Remarkable enough are the pretexts which he, and the ſupporters of his opinion, bring forward to juſtify this want of good will.

They ſay, "the French were the aggreſſors." Strange enough that they are not to be treated with on that account! by this reaſoning, every war muſt be a war of extermination. The worſt of the matter was, that England had in reality been the aggreſſing party, and had only contrived to throw the odium of the firſt open aggreſſion on the French.

They ſay farther, "they cannot negociate with the French, becauſe France, ever ſince the war, had been governed

governed by revolutionary principles. Had they not already, in the firſt year of the republic, ſoon after the diſmiſſal of the French miniſter, themſelves made attempts towards a reconciliation, by propoſals to Dumourier? Had they not, in the ſecond year, even ſent a negociator with propoſals to the Committee of Public Safety? Had not they, in the fourth year, propoſed to treat with the Directory? Did they not negociate with theſe ſame Directors, both before and after the eighteenth of Fructidor, and publicly declare, after the negotiation was broken off, that they ſhould be ready to renew it as ſoon as the revolutionary government of the republic ſhould ſhew itſelf inclined to peace? Why then would they not at that time negociate with Bonaparté? The direct anſwer to this queſtion, perhaps, explains the whole conduct of the Engliſh miniſtry during the French revolution.

Bonaparté paſſed at that time for the man who might very likely have the noble exalted ambition, as well as the ability, to give the French nation the genuine free conſtitution, which it had ſought for in vain ſo many different ways; and thus execute the great work, at which England, or rather the Engliſh miniſtry, had trembled, from the very commencement of the French revolution. Should this great work be accompliſhed, through whatever means, by the French nation, who are deſtitute of almoſt every genuine republican virtue, how much better would it be for the Engliſh nation, which has been accuſtomed to freedom for centuries, and poſſeſſes, in ſo eminent a degree, the chief requiſite in a free citizen, which the French have not, namely, the ability of inveſtigating

laws

laws by calm, careful discussion, and a sacred reverence for the laws once established.

Lastly, the minister said, "The French government affords no sufficient guarantee; and time alone can shew what degree of confidence it deserves." As if in negotiations, one regarded the future and not the past and present! as if, even in case of a change of government in France, the new government would be inclined to bring upon itself a new war and a new coalition!

After many confused, contradictory reproaches and observations, the minister observes, that the best security for such a change would be the re-establishment of the dynasty expelled by the revolution; it would secure to France the undisputed enjoyment of her former territory—perhaps still more, the English ministry from unfavourable impressions on the part of the English nation!

In Pitt's speech, in the House of Commons, the same accusations and reproaches were repeated in stronger terms. Both there and in the upper House, Bonaparté was frequently spoken of, as a faithless robber and murderer. The sword, therefore, must decide the question, and peace be gained by conquest.

In order to be able to act more efficaciously against the external enemy, Bonaparté first employed every source of severity and mildness, of stratagem and force, to quiet La Vendée, and thus to free himself from the internal enemy, the only one that, in the whole course of the war, had been dreadful and invincible to the French. He succeeded by the assistance of General Bernadotte, who in this affair promoted Bonaparté's wishes

wiſhes and views by his activity, as much as, on the great deciſive day of Vendemiaire, he had done by well-conſidered and concerted inactivity.

Maſſena executed Bonaparté's plans againſt the Ruſſians and Auſtrians in Switzerland with equal good fortune, and penetrated into Italy; but thought it neceſſary there to yield to the ſuperiority of the enemy, and to ſhut himſelf up in Genoa.—Moreau penetrated ſtill more ſucceſsfully into the heart of Auſtria, and prepared for Bonaparté the moment in which, by a daring enterpriſe, by one happy blow, he might finiſh every thing.

With an army of reſerve of 30,000 conſcripts, which had been aſſembling at Dijon ſince the 16th of Ventoſe (7th March), and which by the junction of ſeveral troops returned from La Vendée, and of many volunteers, was increaſed to 50,000 men, Bonaparté paſſed the Great St. Bernard. If this bold paſſage over the Alps is not to be compared to Hannibal's great undertaking, yet it will remain as memorable in modern military hiſtory, as the other was and is in ancient hiſtory. The two heroes, their daring enterpriſes, and their ſucceſsful execution, ſtand perhaps in the ſame relation to each other, as the times in which they lived, and the wars they carried on.

The paſſage over the Simplon and St. Gothard was effected on both ſides with the ſame ſucceſs. *Turin*, *Milan*, *Piacenza*, and other cities of leſs importance were taken. The paſſage over the Po was equally fortunate. A warm battle was fought near *Montobello*, and *Tortona* was beſieged. A few hours after

after this battle, Bonaparté's good fortune brought the brave General Desaix from Egypt to the camp.

The position and manœuvres of the enemy on the 25th of Prairial (the 14th of June 1800) made Marengo, a village between Tortona and Alexandria, the scene of a decisive battle, for which Bonaparté was by no means prepared. The Austrians had retired the day before, and seemed inclined to avoid an engagement. General Melas, however, seeing Massena advancing from the other side, and fearing to be placed between two fires, altered his plan, and made a hasty but masterly disposition for battle.

For several hours, the defeat of the French seemed inevitable. They considered themselves as beaten, and General Berthier had already ordered the retreat to be sounded. At this crisis, Bonaparté rushed among the fugitives, encouraged the officers and soldiers, and ordered them to join the reserve, which was just advancing under General Desaix. Convinced that to him all depended on the issue of this battle, Bonaparté exposed himself like any private to the most heavy fire of the artillery, and thus animated the soldiers with fresh courage.

The enemy were far superior to the French both in artillery and cavalry. The French had but thirteen cannon, and of these ten were already lost. With the three others, and with fixed bayonets, the most formidable weapon of the French, Desaix advanced at the head of the reserve. In a short time he had retaken six cannon, and was on the point of seizing the seventh, when he fell mortally wounded by it! "*Conceal my death from the soldiers*," exclaimed he, at the moment,

moment, to his Aid-de-Camp; and soon after he said to him, as he was dying, "Go and tell the First Consul, that I die with the regret of not having done enough to live in the memory of posterity." The immovable presence of mind with which this modest, magnanimous hero had acquired immortal glory, with Moreau and Bonaparté in Germany, Italy, and Egypt, did not forsake him even to his latest breath: so that, to the personal valour of Bonaparté, and to the unshaken courage of the Consular guard, which formed a firm battery in the midst of the field of battle, and repeatedly repulsed the attacks of the terrible cavalry of the enemy, to all these it was owing that the battle recommenced, and that the advantage which night put an end to, was on the side of the French. The victory, however, seemed very far from decided, and Bonaparté fully expected to be attacked again the next morning. The more astonished was he, therefore, at the proposal of the hostile general, and his readiness to sign such a highly disadvantageous convention, according to which an armistice was concluded, and all the fortresses between the Po, the Oglio, and the Chiesa, were given up to the French. Genoa, Piedmont, and Lombardy, regained their liberty!

Bonaparté hastened to Milan, where his triumphal entry filled the friends of freedom with the more joy, as report had at first announced the total defeat of the French. A solemn Te Deum was then sung in the presence of Bonaparté and his staff officers, by the people of Milan, in the cathedral. When the priests asked the hero how he chose to be received on this occasion, he replied, "Like the Emperor!"

Bonaparté

Bonaparté eſtabliſhed a proviſional government for the Ciſalpine Republic, and returned to Paris by the way of Lyons, where he encouraged the inhabitants to rebuild the ſquares and ſtreets deſtroyed in the unhappy times of Terroriſm, and laid the firſt ſtone towards rebuilding the fine ſquare *Bellecour*, to which the name of Bonaparté was now given. He arrived on the 13th of Meſſidor at Paris, earlier than he was expected, and before the public triumphal entry deſigned for him could be prepared, and thus avoided the public feſtivities. The following days however he received the formal congratulations of all the conſtituted authorities *en corps*, of the National Inſtitute, and the different branches of adminiſtration. Paris was illuminated during two evenings; all the theatres exhibited plays that celebrated the great victory; the joy ſeemed univerſal, all indulged in the moſt pleaſing hopes. Moreau's glorious victories in Germany improved the hopes of a general peace, almoſt to a certainty. On the 14th of July, the anniverſary of the revolution, it ſeemed that the late victory and the victor, were celebrated more than the revolution. The double feſtival was ſolemnized in the magnificent *Champ de Mars*, as a true popular feſtival, with all the republican feſtivities, bodily exerciſes, and popular amuſements, on a grand ſcale, introduced in the late times. Bonaparté and his family took part in the general joy, as well in the *Champ de Mars* as in the theatres, which were all opened to the people.

On this feſtal day alſo was laid the foundation of a national column, which was to illuſtrate the chief epochas of the revolution, and the newly-introduced order;

order; as alſo the foundation of a monument for the excellent Deſaix, to whoſe reſolution and heroic valour, Bonaparté and the nation, in fact, owed the happy iſſue of the battle which now filled all with joy.

The friends of freedom embraced, however, every proper opportunity of pointing out the line of duty to a victor, ſo enthuſiaſtically honoured by the nation. Even in the ſeſſions of the Tribunate, on the 3d of Meſſidor, which was occaſioned by the news of the victory at Marengo, and in order to hear the report of a committee appointed for that purpoſe, concerning the moſt proper method of celebrating this victory, and the heroes who gained it, the patriotic ſpeakers did not omit, along with their juſt enthuſiaſm and teſtimonies of gratitude for the gallant fallen hero who had gained the victory, to expreſs their apprehenſions and wiſhes reſpecting the hero who was happily returning. They knew but too well how dangerous is the gratitude of an enthuſiaſtic people towards a youthful, ambitious, and fortunate hero.

"The battle of Marengo," obſerved Daunou, "ſo glorious in itſelf, is ſtill more ſo from the effects which you are entitled to expect from it; it confirms the power of the Republic; it honours the government; it renders liberty more ſecure; it removes more than ever the apprehenſion of ſeeing ordinances ariſe among us, which are incompatible with the ſpirit of the Republic; it adds luſtre to the national feſtival (the anniverſary of the Republic) which the people will ſhortly celebrate, in which they will this time indulge

indulge in the nobleſt feelings of the human heart, and without any mixture of mournful recollections. Liberty, the fruit of ſo many ſacrifices, the reward of ſo many victories, can no more be taken from us."

Jean de Bry did not heſitate to compare this memorable victory, "which ſeemed to re-eſtabliſh the republic on its baſis," and the heroic death of Deſaix, with the victories and deaths of Leonidas, and Epaminondas; and added, "Who can hinder us from here declaring our ſenſations, and cheriſhing, by all means poſſible, the ſeeds of generous emulation and noble ſentiments in the republicans, by ſhewing that the memory of virtuous citizens remains imprinted in the hearts of their magiſtrates."

Benjamin Conſtant, in his ſpeech, particularly exulted at the delivery of the Italian patriots by the convention after the battle of Marengo, in which he foreſaw a happy proſpect for the Engliſh ſtate priſoners in Ireland. "Honour," he exclaims, "the republican proclamations which have announced the language of liberty, of equality, of the ſovereignty of the people; language worthy of heroes, but which ſome contemptible voices endeavour to ſilence by fruitleſs clamours. Hail! and joyful greeting to the honourable victims of the moſt ſacred cauſe! to the glorious proſcribed, whom the fortune of the republic calls forth from the dungeon, that we may take from them a memorable example!"

Laſtly, he gloried in the peace, which he conſidered as a neceſſary conſequence of the battle of Marengo; and exclaimed, with animated patriotic feeling, "Peace

ſecures the individual rights of the citizens; peace will durably eſtabliſh the repreſentative ſyſtem, and the rights of the people; peace will reſtore to us the indiſpenſable liberty of the preſs; and thus reſtore to reaſon her innate power; to the enlightened man, the hope of becoming uſeful; and to thought, its glorious independence!"

Finally, *Riouffe*, in his republican zeal, exclaimed, "The ſoldiers of liberty ſhew themſelves every year what they have been for ten years paſt, the model of reſignation and patience, the bulwark and the pride of their country. On what can the enemies of the republic ſtill reckon? What new trials does their policy ſtill require? In want of every thing, as in the lap of plenty; on the naked Alps, as in Campania's fertile plains; in bad as in good fortune, the armies retain the ſame wiſh, ſtill ſhed their blood for the ſame cauſe—*liberty* and *equality*. In the ſtorms of raging factions, diſperſed, or united, in the dungeon, or on the curule chair, their Legiſlators repeat to them the ſame words, liberty and equality. The ſtorms of the revolution rage in vain; no ſtorm can extirpate from the heart of man *the conſciouſneſs of liberty, and of his perſonal dignity*."

Free republican writers, like *Ginguenet*, expreſſed their apprehenſions more loudly: "The true friends of the republic are not without their fears; they ſee that *one* party, which declaims againſt all parties, ſtrives to rule alone, and aims at the reſtoration of all the old eſtabliſhments, even ſuch as in the time of the monarchy were acknowledged to be injurious. They are uneaſy becauſe they do not know, where will be the

the end of the retrogradation to thoſe abuſes, which produced the revolution; becauſe the men who ſtand at the head of that party (the exiſtence of which it would be in vain to deny), are known for their hatred to every form of government that reſembles a republic, for their ambition, and for their ability. But the government, which has *ſincerely* ſhewn that it will have no parties; whoſe intereſt it is not to throw itſelf imprudently into the arms of thoſe men, who careſs it in order to ſtifle it, will defend the republic from the new danger with which it is threatened. Dangerous men! formerly they only longed for peace, only for the permiſſion of living retired in their families; and now they would boldly ſeize the firſt places, enforce their ideas, their plans, and their ſyſtems; would reverſe every thing in order to reſtore, without diſtinction, all that formerly exiſted. Family of Bonaparté! 'tis on you the republicans depend; you will remove far from you the ſecret enemies who flatter you, but who will never forgive you for having been the ſupporters, and even the founders, of our preſent government*."—Such were the words of *Ginguenet*, immediately after the firſt news of the battle of Marengo; and a few days after, on announcing the arrival of the Firſt Conſul, the univerſal joy, and the honours ſhowered on him by the enthu-

* See the Decade Philoſophique, Politique et Littéraire, Ann. VIII. No. 28, p. 28.—This valuable journal which, through all the periods of the revolution, had ſupported the ſame ſpirit of liberty and moderation, remained faithful to it, till ſilence was impoſed on it, as on all the other journals.

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ſiaſtic people, he inveighed againſt the opinion of foreigners, who thought that the French revolution, and liberty were now at an end: "Ten years of perſeverance, of execution, and heroic courage, ought to have eſtabliſhed, one would think, the contrary opinion: almoſt every intereſt is now attached to the ſupport of the revolution, and the forms it has produced. Moſt of the French have taken too active a part in it, not to be reſolved to defend it; wherefore ſhould they change their opinion now, juſt when they ſee the end of the evils inſeparable from every revolution (for wherever there are commotions, there are vices)? juſt as they have attained a firm, peaceful, happy order of things; when genius and victory inſure them its duration!*"

On the other hand, other journals in the intereſt of the government (which had expreſsly put a ſtop to and prohibited all patriotic newſpapers, had even impriſoned ſeveral of the editors, printers, and publiſhers, had their preſſes and offices deſtroyed, and ſuffered only a ſmall number of the then exiſting political publications to be continued, under the immediate ſuperintendance of the police). Theſe journals, in accord with the ſentiments of the government, and in the ſpirit of returning crowds of emigrant prieſts and nobles, called for the reſtoration of the ancient conſtitutions (*les anciennes conſtitutions*), by which they underſtood nothing leſs than the re-introduction of the one only intolerant eſtabliſhed religion, the un-

* The same Journal, An. VIII. No. 29, p. 128.

limited

limited monarchy, the hereditary nobility, and the whole train of feudal rights. They began by declaring war againſt *Voltaire*, *Rouſſeau*, *Raynal*, *Monteſquieu*, *Mably*, and all who had contended againſt thoſe abuſes, repreſenting them as atheiſtical, impious, and ſeditious.

The government was not diſpleaſed to ſee theſe active labourers turn up the ground, in which, according to its own views, it was planning to ſow and plant with prudence and precaution. Surrounded with a ſufficient number of labourers of its own, it could depend on removing the former, or even annihilating them in caſe of need, as ſoon as they became more loud and buſy than was proper. Immediately on the introduction of the new ſyſtem in all the conſtituted authorities, the government had not only given places to many of the old nobility who had remained in France and been ſerviceable to the revolution and the people, but had even contrived to employ many of the returned emigrants. It found the moſt ample opportunity for this in the appointment of one hundred prefects, and four hundred ſub-prefects, who have ſuch extenſive influence on the peace and order of the departments. The government preſumed it ſhould find in men who had ſo long wandered in baniſhment, and were now obliged to it for tranquillity and ſecurity, faithful executors of its ordinances; and in men like the *Lameths*, *Mounier*, *Rabaut*, *Pomier*, *Duclos*, &c. it has certainly found them.

After the government had declared, in forming the new conſtitution, that the liſts of proſcription were cloſed, and that perſons unjuſtly baniſhed and perſe-

cuted ſhould be eraſed from them, and recalled; the emigrants, alſo, and particularly the nobles and clergy, flocked in from all quarters. Many hoped for nothing leſs than to be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their eſtates and their old employments; and as the government left them uncontrouled for a time, they became, in the true French ſpirit, too loud in their demands. Even ſuch ex-nobles as were univerſally known to be emigrants who had fought againſt their country; and who, therefore, by the new law itſelf, were excluded from the amneſty, often inſiſted, with vehemence, on having their names eraſed from the liſt. Others, without even applying for a formal eraſure of their names, endeavoured, by ſtratagem, and even by violence, to put themſelves in poſſeſſion of their former eſtates. Returned prieſts already damned, without reſerve, all the purchaſers of the national eſtates, and the apprehenſions of the new legal poſſeſſors were raiſed to the utmoſt.

The government now found it high time to appoint a committee to aſcertain what emigrants had a right to return; and to inveſtigate the liſts of baniſhment, which compriſed ſtill 100,000 names. An upright member of this committee (*Lafalle*) was induced, by the intricate and illegal mode of its proceeding, voluntarily to quit it; he made his motives for this ſtep public, and at the ſame time expoſed the conduct of the committee. It appeared, from his ſtatement, that the duration and objects of the committee were wantonly prolonged and multiplied, by increaſing the number of reclamations, which already amounted to 24,000, by the committee's taking it upon itſelf to decide, concerning the unfortu na te

fortunate country people who had fled from the banks of the Rhine to escape the persecution of the Pro-Consuls; of whom 8000 had already applied, and concerning whom a decision could much better and more easily be made by the prefects of each department.

In this memoir of Lasalle are the following important words: "The longer the committee exists, and the more its members are multiplied, the more means do intriguers find of influencing its determinations. Bonaparté may conquer and give Europe peace; but in the decline of public morality, in the total want of liberal ideas and reasonable views, which is every where felt, it must be difficult for him to find thirty men who are capable of worthily executing so important a task." He calls on the government to terminate the business of the emigrants, and says, "the slowness with which it is prosecuted tends to deprave society. Citizens, who hitherto were honourable men, now accustom themselves to give their testimony to facts, the falsehood of which they know, as the public officers do not hesitate to admit such evidence. By one of the last resolutions of the Consuls, possessions and estates, which have reverted to the use of the nation, shall not be restored to the erased emigrants. But if, in the eye of the moralist, the emigrant is most guilty who has borne arms, so in the eye of the politician, the emigrant deprived of his estates is the most dangerous. He sinks back into the class of those who have nothing to lose, and becomes more dangerous, because he, at the same time, feels the pressing desire of revenge. His relations, his creditors, all who think

they have any claim on his property, compoſe, as it were, the liſt of his clients."

It will appear in the ſequel, how juſt the judgment of this worthy man was. The laſt reſolution of the government in reſpect to the emigrants, in the following year, was this: "That only thoſe who had led armed troops againſt their country, and thoſe who had accepted of military rank in the hoſtile armies, and during the time of the foundation of the republic had filled offices under the Ex-French princes; thoſe who are known as exciters, and negociators of civil or foreign war; the commanders by ſea and land, and the repreſentatives of the people, who have been guilty of treachery to their country; and, finally, the rebellious archbiſhops and biſhops,—are excepted from the general amneſty, and remain for ever baniſhed from the French territory, under pain of death or deportation."

The friends of liberty were ſoon rendered uneaſy, by ſeveral regulations of the Conſuls, which ſeemed to announce, and to prepare, greater changes; ſuch as, the re-introduction of Sunday (only the ſervants of the ſtate being obliged, by this new regulation, to the obſervance of the decadi); the liberty of celebrating marriages, not only on decadi, but on all the other days of the week; ſome decrees which determine the functions of the prefect of the police, and which refer to the inſpection of *gaming-houſes*, and public houſes of ill fame, (which, according to the law, ought properly not to be ſuffered at all); as alſo, to printing-houſes, bookſellers, and every thing relating

relating to morals and public decency; laſtly, to an entirely new regulation of the public ſchools, which had but juſt begun to proceed according to the new, and, as it ſeemed, good plan. Even in the order, that at the next anniverſary feſtival of the republic, when Bonaparté intended to lay the firſt ſtone of the monuments to be erected in honour of Deſaix and Kleber, who on the ſame day and in the ſame quarter of an hour had fallen for their country at Marengo and in Egypt, the bones of Marſhal Turenne ſhould be ſolemnly conveyed to the Temple of Mars, republican citizens found ground for apprehenſion and doubt. On the contrary, and to the great mortification of the clergy, theſe citizens rejoiced at the repreſentation of *Moliere's Tartuffe* at the *Théatre Français*, and hoped that the Firſt Conſul, who was preſent at this repreſentation, for which his favourite piece, *Corneille's Cid*, had alſo been choſen, would draw from it ſome wholeſome remarks and reſolutions againſt the Catholic clergy.

The immenſe crowd at this and the free repreſentations in all the other theatres of Paris, which threatened ſuffocation from the numbers that filled all the avenues and corners of the theatres, occaſioned, in many patriotic Frenchmen, the wiſh, that the government would have large amphitheatres built after the manner of the ancients, for ſuch feſtal repreſentations, open to the whole people, in order, by grand ſpectacles worthy of the nation, and genuine national feſtivals, to influence the character and public ſpirit of the nation.

Bonaparté, however, had quite different views; and it will ſoon be ſeen how he changed theſe republican national

national feſtivals, to the empty rejoicings formerly ordained by the court.

The people, however, celebrated the feaſt of the anniverſary with more confident joy, as the government cauſed the preliminaries of peace with Auſtria to be publiſhed the ſame evening by torch light. The government itſelf appeared to feel itſelf ſecure, in the opinion and ſatisfaction of the people.

Soon after, when the conſpiracy againſt the life of the Firſt Conſul was diſcovered, few but Corſicans and Italians were ſuſpected of ſo black an intention. The brother of the Arena who was ſuſpected of a deſign to murder the Firſt Conſul on the 18th of Brumaire, *Ceracchi*, *Topino*, *Demerville*, *Diana*, and others, were arreſted, and impriſoned in the Temple.

If the above plot at the opera on the 20th of Vendemiaire, was wholly doubted by many, and conſidered as only a pretext to ſecure, and perhaps to get rid of, certain turbulent and ſuſpicious foreigners, the plot of the infernal machine of the 3d of Nivoſe, was the more evident. Bonaparté, and the generals and aids-de-camps in the carriage with him, who were accompanying him to the opera, eſcaped death only by a kind of miracle; and he himſelf owed his life to a half-drunken coachman, who, in a moſt extraordinary manner drove full gallop through the narrow ſtreet, which was almoſt barricaded by the cart containing the infernal machine. Scarcely was the carriage paſſed by, when the caſk, filled with a quantity of lead and iron, blew up, killing and wounding a number of innocent people in the ſtreet and in the neighbouring houſes, which were many of them much ſhattered, and damaged.

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This plot alſo was laid to the charge of the Corſican and Italian priſoners in the Temple, and their partiſans. They were tried for the former plot; and a court, whoſe juriſdiction was not acknowledged by the accuſed nor their counſel, ſentenced Arena, Ceracchi, Topino, Lebrun, and Demerville, to death.

From this deteſtable event, the government took occaſion to make a law, by which it was authorized to erect ſpecial tribunals in all the departments where it ſhould think them neceſſary. Such a ſpecial tribunal, conſiſting of lawyers, military perſons, and citizens, appointed by the Firſt Conſul, has to decide upon all crimes and miſdemeanours (*crimes et délits*) which are ſubject to bodily puniſhment or infamy, againſt perſons of every kind, upon thefts, violences, houſebreakings, committed by *at leaſt* two perſons; upon deliberate murderers, incendiaries, coiners; upon menaces, riots, and outrages againſt the purchaſers of national property; upon attempts at ſecret recruiting and bribery to ſeduce ſoldiers, requiſition-men, or conſcripts, from their duty; upon ſeditious meetings, and againſt all perſons found and ſeized therein, &c. and, finally, perſons already in cuſtody ſhall be ſubject to ſuch tribunals.

This law (which empowers the government to deprive a number of accuſed citizens of the protection which the beneficent inſtitution of juries afford the innocent, ſubjects them to an extraordinary court named by the government, and whoſe juriſdiction is ſo extenſive, that almoſt every crime may be brought within it, and the juriſdiction of which is even retroactive) was oppoſed by a part of the Tribunate, whoſe pro-

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per deſtination ſhould be, to ſecure the people againſt arbitrary, unconſtitutional attempts of the government. Thirteen members ſpoke againſt it; forty-one voted againſt it; and the law paſſed with a majority of only eight votes.

A counſellor of ſtate, who even then was under the particular protection of the government, and laboured for it with great zeal, wrote againſt the oppoſing members of the Tribunate, (who, by their ſtrong oppoſition, had given the beſt proof of the life and health of the political body) a vehement, worthleſs pamphlet, in which he branded the oppoſition members, as known diſturbers of the public tranquillity and order, and even publiſhed their names; but the names only operated more ſtrongly againſt him. Bonaparté, by his unreſerved and harſh expreſſions reſpecting this firſt oppoſition, in his rapid progreſs, expoſed himſelf to the ſuſpicion of having had a ſhare in this ungenerous attack.

The affair of the infernal machine cauſed an entire revolution in the whole proceeding and mode of life of the hero. From that day he became, in his public life, quite another man; it was, perhaps, from that time, that he appeared in his real, natural character. His miſtruſt, till then often concealed, at leaſt from the eye of the multitude, and his early conceived, and, during the time of the revolution, but too much increaſed diſlike to the French nation, of which the character is ſo totally different from his own, now broke out on all occaſions. Every where was perceived the niceſt calculation of the weak and ſtrong parts of the character of an equally giddy and cruel people. His moderation

ration in the ſittings of the Council, which the government newſpaper editors, and the ſenators among them, were hitherto unable ſufficiently to praiſe, now forſook him. He had hitherto obſerved and ſtudied the temper of the people he had to deal with, and began now deſpotically to announce and to maintain his own will. From this epoch alſo, Bonaparté took occaſion entirely to change his mode of life. Till then he had ſhewn himſelf, if not popular, at leaſt friendly to the military, to diſtinguiſhed men of the old monarchy of France, and particularly men of learning and artiſts. Many of theſe perſons had free acceſs to his houſe, and were often admitted to his table. Towards ſtrangers, he was moſtly polite and hoſpitable. They were admitted to him without any troubleſome etiquette, and often invited by him. Hence people concluded that he was a friend to the ſciences, to information, liberal ſentiments, and poliſhed manners.

If, at times, he was ſeen cloſely ſurrounded by men, upon whoſe depravity, as well as political talents, there was only one opinion, he was alſo obſerved to promote to the greateſt offices of ſtate, the moſt honourable and uſeful men of all ranks and parties, the moſt diſtinguiſhed for their learning, and the beſt heads of France. Hence was inferred his genius for governing, which was able to derive ſupport from the moſt heterogeneous elements, and to place them in ſuch relations to each other, that even thoſe which in their nature were the moſt deſtructive, were, by a happy combination, rendered conducive to the general good. People hoped for the gradual conciliation and union of all parties to the final ſettlement and

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conſiſtency of a well-ordered government, when, perhaps, Bonaparté intended, by general counteraction, to enfeeble each individually. All the expreſſions of the public, which were full of his praiſe, left him no doubt of the attainment of his well-conceived aim; the aſſurances and flattery of thoſe neareſt his perſon certainly convinced him that there could be none.

A penetrating thinking obſerver has depicted, as an eye witneſs, the ſituation of Paris at that time, in reference to Bonaparté, in very juſt and ſtriking colours. After ſpeaking of ſome anecdotes, which the newſpapers and journals, in their general praiſe of the government, paſs over in ſilence, but which are not ſo much to the diſcredit of the head of the government, as of many of his neareſt aſſiſtants, he ſays, "He who would reproach him with giving his confidence to ſuch men, knows not the degree of immorality which prevails here; knows not how impoſſible it is to find even a ſmall number of men who unite diſtinguiſhed talents with an unblemiſhed moral character. This union is every where rare; and if one of the two qualifications muſt be wanting at the head of a great empire, talents ſurely are not the moſt eaſily to be diſpenſed with. What particularly diſtinguiſhes the ſpirit of the French government, is the endeavour to diffuſe information, and to gain the aſſiſtance of all men of talents. When the ſovereign of a ſtate has once ſucceeded in attaching to his intereſt all thoſe whoſe opinion has moſt weight with all claſſes of citizens, he may ſecurely reckon on the ſupport of public opinion; and if this ſovereign is an extraordinary man, who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by unparalleled actions in war and peace, and rules over a people beyond all others irritable and

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given to exaggeration, it is to be expected that their attachment to him, and the expreſſions of it, will bear the marks of the moſt lively enthuſiaſm. It is therefore no wonder that foreigners, on the credit of the French news-writers, believe in the univerſal enthuſiaſm for Bonaparté which is ſaid to prevail there. A ſhort reſidence in Paris muſt convince any one, who viſits public places and mixed companies, of his miſtake. Bonaparté is nothing leſs than popular. He ſeems cold and reſerved, and every where inſpires leſs attachment than reverence and deliberate eſteem. His conſequence is the more firmly founded on this account. He is not an idol, which the people have themſelves created, which they conſider as dependent on them, and which they generally tread under foot as unjuſtly as they had before undeſervedly raiſed up. Bonaparté owes his exaltation to himſelf alone, and appears to the crowd as a being of a ſuperior ſpecies. His dazzling greatneſs repreſſes the familiarity even of thoſe who are neareſt to him. He has few enemies, an immenſe number of adherents, and perhaps not a ſingle friend. There is now no ground whatever for popular enthuſiaſm. No party is prevalent—none is oppreſſed: they are ſo confounded together, that it would be hard to ſay which has moſt influence.

The moſt diſtinguiſhed leaders of the Jacobins have enliſted under the government. Their generals have fallen off. Of this, Jourdan, in Piedmont; Fouché, the miniſter of the police, in Paris; and Dubois, are remarkable examples. This party is indeed ſo broken that it is hardly probable it will coaleſce again. Among

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the royaliſts, many have *defiled* themſelves by accepting places. Moſt of theſe, indeed, at heart, deſpiſe the Corſican, who, without any pretenſions to nobility, owes to his merit what is due only to birth, and gives himſelf the airs of a ſovereign, in a place which can be worthily filled only by the deſcendants of a ſeries of royal anceſtors. But as obſtinate in their hopes, as rivetted to their prejudices, they regard all that paſſes as a neceſſary tranſition, as the gradual developement of a plan conceived by Bonaparté, which is to lead back the nation to its lawful ſovereign, and to place every thing, particularly the nobility, in its former ſituation. The ſmall number of republicans is at length recovered from the deluſion, of the poſſibility of exciting a republican ſpirit in this people. They abate more and more in their demands on the government, and judge it with indulgence, notwithſtanding the reintroduction of court etiquette, and the tolerated ſervility and inſolence of the new courtiers. The remaining citizens of all claſſes, to whom all forms of government are in theory indifferent, and who judge of them beſt by their reſults, find themſelves well off under the preſent, and enjoy a ſecurity to which they have long been ſtrangers. The eſtabliſhment of prefectures has been attended with the beſt effects; one ſpirit animates the executive power in all parts of the republic, becauſe there is every where that harmony in the component parts, without which there is no ſufficient activity, no true reſponſibility, no effectual motives of honour and ſhame. A noble emulation prevails between the prefects of different departments, and between the ſub-prefects of each. The taxes are paid regularly,

regularly, and many departments have even paid off the arrears of several years. Ridiculous as it would be to attempt to represent the finances of France as flourishing, it is, however, certain, that a stop is put to their farther decay; that, in this respect, the progress towards a better state is visible, and that all proper measures are gradually adopted, in order, after the restoration of peace, to establish a wiser system of taxation and government, so as to eradicate the evil entirely."

The finances were already in such good order, that all the ordinary expences of the state could be paid without delay, and a beginning was made to pay off the arrears of salaries, and the pay of the army. The armies, particularly Moreau's, were in the best condition; the profession of a soldier again respected; the desertions into the interior less and less frequent; and the levy of conscripts became continually more easy.

Bonaparté now felt himself secure as sovereign, and had no more need of the moderation and magnanimity, so contrary to his nature, which he had hitherto assumed. He now found it more conducive to his aim to have recourse to a measure which should impress all parties with astonishment and awe; by which the state would be freed at once from all the monsters who had notoriously suffered themselves to be used as the instruments of crimes at the various periods of the revolution, and whose existence was inconsistent with the peace of the citizens, and the security of the first magistrate. Notwithstanding the opposition which the proposal of a numerous deportation of suspicious persons met with in the senate (where fifteen votes out of

fifty-five were againſt it), the tranſportation of one hundred and thirty French citizens, deemed dangerous and ſuſpicious, was reſolved on and executed! The conſervatory ſenate itſelf, in which *Sieyes* ſpoke very zealouſly for this ſevere meaſure, declared it, in a particular *ſenatus conſulte, a meaſure conſervatory of the conſtitution!*

Beſides the four foreigners ſuſpected of the firſt aſſaſſination plot, two Frenchmen were alſo executed; who were found guilty of having invented and made a ſimilar murderous inſtrument, before the exploſion of the infernal machine.

A judicious and diſpaſſionate obſerver and judge of the French revolution, made, at the time, the following well-founded remark againſt the arbitrary mode of proceeding in this ſentence:—

"It is always a misfortune when the ſtate is obliged, in paſſing ſentence on the citizens, to depart from the protecting preſcriptions of the law. Theſe are, indeed, mere forms, which, when the ſupport of the ſubſtance itſelf is in queſtion, muſt be ſacrificed to it. But the maintenance of forms is ſo intimately connected with the true object of civil ſociety, the diſtribution of juſtice, that even in caſes where the ſafety of the ſtate evidently demands their infringement, reſpect for them muſt ſtill be ſhewn, by the anxious care which is taken to confine the arbitrary proceeding that takes place of the law, within the narroweſt bounds. In this view, the neceſſity of a deportation even taken for granted, many ſerious objections may be made to the manner in which, in the preſent proceeding, it has been applied to individuals. The proceeding does not decide

decide the crime which each of the condemned citizens may have committed. There are thousands of French, who in the times of mad enthusiasm, have been guilty of foolish excesses, none of whom, after such an indefinite declaration, can consider himself as safe from a sentence of deportation. It falls not only on notorious villains, but also on citizens to whom, perhaps, nothing can be reproached except exaggerated opinions. Who knows whether many have not been put upon the list by their enemies, or by men who, blinded by party zeal, are incapable of judging accurately of human actions? If no common jury, no common court could decide properly in this case; if no public trial, no formal process could safely precede the sentence, why could not a special jury (formed, for instance, of members of the Conservative Senate) be appointed, with the injunction of being responsible upon their consciences for the certainty of the crime of each, and of the danger arising to the safety of the republic from his farther residence in it? By the sentence of such judges all the objections of the friends of humanity would have been removed; all the uneasiness of the citizens calmed, and the government freed from all responsibility!"

Bonaparté took the strictest and most anxious measures for his personal safety. His Consular guard, which had been formed at the beginning, as well as his whole military suite, which for some time had always attended him on his appearance in public, and grew continually more numerous, was now augmented and multiplied. The method of keeping him every where so surrounded, that the most desperate contemner of his own life could not approach him, was brought to a

new complicated manœuvre, a perfect art! Since then he never appears without all the new measures of precaution and security.

From this horrible event, he also took occasion, as it seemed, to alter his hitherto liberal, but for him burdensome way of life, and to withdraw himself intirely into the circle of his family, and of those who were placed round him as a barrier of defence. He had, indeed, even before, lived more in a little insignificant, but quite insulated, and therefore more easily to be guarded country-house of his wife, at Malmaison, than in the Thuilleries, to which he removed with great pomp after his nomination as First Consul, and which he wholly filled and surrounded with his Consular guard. But now he resided almost entirely in the country, and introduced a more rigid court etiquette, which soon rendered him inaccessible for all those whom he did not know to be wholly devoted to his person and will. Even of the learned and artists, who till then had been freely admitted to him and his family, only a very few retained access to him, of whose sordid ambition, and perfect dependence to his will, he was thoroughly convinced; and even these were soon placed at the proper distance between the sovereign and the servant.

Foreign powers seemed to be better pleased with this than the Consul's former less reserved mode of living, honoured and beloved among his fellow-citizens; at least, foreign ministers, who are themselves declared enemies of the French republic, endeavoured to inspire him and his family, who strive after royal pomp, with this idea; as they afterwards exerted all their

their power to confirm him more and more in the notion, that the reſtoration of the old court eſtabliſhment, was a very powerful means towards the foundation of a friendly union between the Conſul and their maſters.

At that time, however, Moreau's glorious victories contributed moſt to the friendly approaches which ſo ſpeedily and unexpectedly took place with all the European powers. The negociations with Auſtria, which had been broken off, were renewed; and the treaty of peace ſo advantageous for France, at the expence of the German empire, was ſigned at Luneville, Feb. 9, 1801, by Count Cobenzel on the part of the Auſtrians, and Joſeph Bonaparté on that of the French.

The peace was proclaimed at Paris, in the principal parts of the city, without many brilliant preparations, but was received by the people with unexpected coldneſs and indifference. No *Vive la Republique!* No *Vive Bonaparté!* was heard.

The artful counſellor of ſtate, Roederer, in his panegyrical view of the ſecond year of Bonaparté's conſulate, expreſſes himſelf reſpecting this coldneſs of the people (which was, indeed, not very flattering for Bonaparté) in the following ingenious manner: "France, on receiving the news of the peace, teſtified its ſatisfaction with calmneſs, and thereby diſtinguiſhed itſelf more honourably than it would have done by the ebullitions of tumultuous joy. A noiſy and tumultuous joy, announces only debility or want of a certain decency of behaviour; it is the joy of ſavages; it is alſo the joy of the mob in civilized ſtates, when it obtains an unhoped for pleaſure, when it ſees a great

danger averted from it, or is delivered from severe sufferings. Now every impartial observer, who for these two years has witnessed in public places, at national festivals, all the numerous meetings of citizens, must confess that he has found every where burghers, and no where a mob; every where military men, no where mere brutal soldiers. This is one of the first operations of equality, which, while it gives all Frenchmen access to all public festivities, has taken from all the temptation of disturbing them; which, while it admits all to all offices, causes every one to honour in himself, if not what he is, yet what he may become. Besides, France did not think it had much to fear from the continuation of a war, carried on under the guidance of the first warrior of Europe, and it was too well convinced that he would conclude peace, as soon as it could be done consistently with the honour and security of the nation, to be much surprised at this peace. The news must necessarily be received by a people who had expected it with silent confidence, and who begin to feel their own dignity, rather with heart-felt than noisy joy; and in this manner it has been received."

Were this explanation sincere, the only objection to be made would be, that the question here is not concerning Dutchmen or Americans, but Frenchmen! who, six months before, on occasion of Bonaparté's return, had exhibited the noisy character of genuine Frenchmen. But it was already too apparent, that the explosion of the infernal machine, which had frightened the sovereign into the recesses of his palace, had also crippled the people; and that the unmasking

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of the one had put an end to the deluſion of the other.

The peace with Auſtria was ſoon followed by the treaties with Naples, Portugal, and ſeveral German princes, to whom the Emperor had left the care of their own welfare. With Portugal, Lucien Bonaparté negotiated in Spain. If he did not accompliſh in favour of France the entire wiſh of the Conſul, he ſhewed the more ability in providing for his own intereſt. He returned with the acquiſition of thirteen millions of livres! for which, however, he made a Spaniſh prince King of Etruria, to whom the Grand Duke of Tuſcany was obliged to give up his fine Florentine States. Joſeph Bonaparté alſo contrived, at the expence of ſome idols of the country, and by the liberality of his brother, to pay himſelf for his trouble at Luneville!

In the preceding year, Bonaparté had concluded a convention with the United American States, which might have proved to the other powers, if they had paid attention to it, that the firm, noble, and dignified conduct of a nation, conſcious of its independence, has more influence with ſuch a character as Bonaparté, than the pliant, ſervile behaviour of its miniſters.

The feſtival for the peace was celebrated on the 14th of July, on which for twelve years paſt the *fête* of the deſtruction of the Baſtille had been celebrated; not in the noble Champ de Mars, or field of the confederation, where, ſince the feſtival of the confederation, all republican popular feſtivities had been held; but in the more confined though extenſive Elyſian fields, where in the time of the monarchy many amuſements were given to

the people. The very arrangement of this *fête* resembled in many points the former court festivals. In place of the former lofty temple of liberty in the field of Mars, in which were united religious, judicial and military solemnities, in a manner calculated to inspire reverence, and to heighten them by all the magic of art, there was here a wooden, open, elegant temple, gaily adorned and magnificently illuminated, in which the conservatory of music gave a concert, as was formerly done at the Thuilleries for the feast of St. Lewis. Instead of the combats, the horse, chariot, and foot races, in which, in the preceding great popular festivals, all republicans of distinction and fortune took part, there were erected on the plain, as formerly, numerous little booths for conjurors, jugglers, buffoons, pantaloons and scaramouches; pantomimes, and Franconi's troop of horsemen with their feats, took up their places; Garnerin ascended with his balloon; a *mats de cocagne* was hung, for the greedy mob, with hams, saufages, &c.; places were prettily arranged for dancing, and in short every thing was provided to amuse an idle sport-loving people. The people, however, danced but little; were not in any degree loud or merry; they enjoyed the whole very modestly as an expensive, brilliant spectacle prepared for them. Bonaparté and his family took no part in the amusement, but he was in the grand consular costume, and with a splendid numerous military suite, in the theatre François, where, according to ancient custom, on the eve of the festival, free representations were given to the people, as also in all the other theatres of Paris. Not one of all the theatres

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which had been so zealous the year before to solemnize the victory at Marengo, by pieces appropriated to the occasion, thought this year of celebrating the peace, or its author, in a similar manner.

Mr. Roederer might have deduced from this also, a proof the discreet, delicate, genuine cosmopolitical character of the French.

How little Bonaparté was attached to the new cosmopolite principles, he soon shewed, by the treaties of peace with the piratical states of Algiers and Tunis.

Bonaparté also contrived, by a prudent conduct, to conciliate the emperor Paul of Russia, who was arming against him; he sent him back without ransom, and even new-clothed and new-armed, seven thousand prisoners, who were reconciled to their residence in France. Paul also concluded peace with France October 8th, 1801.

England, which in the armed neutrality of the Northern powers, had a very dangerous enemy for its monopolising views, was now too insulated not to think seriously of accommodation. The French engaged to leave Egypt, and England, influenced by internal disturbances, and still greater apprehensions, consented to a highly advantageous peace. With the Turks also a formal peace was concluded*.

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* These treaties are too well known to be inserted here: whoever wishes to possess them all together, may find them in a new French work, entitled "*Histoire du Consulat de Bonaparté.*" The whole value of which is in its containing all these documents, connected by a weak declamatory panegyric. To fill three large volumes,

While the newly inſtituted prefects and ſub-prefects, the newly appointed three thouſand juſtices of the peace, whoſe number hitherto double was reduced to half, with the help of the newly organiſed gens d' armes, who took the place of the old Maréchauſſée, and the newly authoriſed *Tribuneaux Speciaux*, were re-eſtabliſhing peace and order in the interior, ſome journaliſts and news-writers, particularly protected and ſupported by the government, were occupied, together with their adherents, in trepaning the minds of the people for the reſtoration of the Catholic religion. The very able but fanatic *Abbé Geoffroy* ſuperintended the *Journal des Debats*, which was printed in immenſe numbers, and ſoon ſpread over all France. With cunning wit, and the moſt deliberate malice, he endeavoured to render all the exertions of the beſt heads of France during the laſt half century, ſuſpicious and contemptible. All of them, he pretended, had purpoſely and uniformly laboured at the deſtruction and overthrow of all genuine morality and good manners, of all reverence for God, and reſpect for the magiſtrates, at the diſſolution of all ſocial ties. His attacks were directed above all at Voltaire and Rouſſeau; theſe two, throughout their whole lives the moſt declared antagoniſts, who perhaps never had a ſingle point of contact, were damned by him to one and the ſame hell, as two equally wicked traitors, who with uniform intentions had

volumes, the History of the French Islands, of the War in La Vendée, and many other things previous to the Consulate, are inserted from sources universally known.

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labured moſt ſtrenuouſly for the ruin and deſtruction of the French nation. This was a mode of publiſhing prematurely, that every thing was meant only for the advantage of the throne and the altar; to which, it is true, as they were then eſtabliſhed in France, theſe writers were not the beſt friends.

The prematurely old *Laharpe*, who was formerly, and even in the firſt year of the revolution, the moſt zealous adherent and enthuſiaſtic panegyriſt of his maſter and friend Voltaire, joined in the ſame royal Chriſtian-Catholic cry, condemned the old, wanton, laughing ſinner, to eternal hell fire; and if he did not thereby procure for him everlaſting death and damnation, he, however, gave his own *Mercure de France* new life and new readers.

Beurrier, and others like him, delivered and publiſhed lectures and epiſtles, for the Chriſtian edification, and warming of minds, cooled by what they called philoſophy: *the Lives of the Saints*, prepared by prieſts, now took place of the Memoirs of Heroes, ſtatesmen and philoſophers, who had deſerved well of their country, and which were written with patriotiſm and taſte. What thoſe fanatics and hypocrites call philoſophy, muſt excite in a German a ſmile of hearty compaſſion. It is not of *Deſcartes*, *Mallebranche*, *Bayle*, and ſuch men they ſpeak when they make war on the philoſophers; but of the wiſe and eloquent men of the world, and elegant claſſic writers, who had the courage to examine the nature of the leading ſtrings by which the people, blinded by a falſe ſpendor, were led over hollow ground, and

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of the *ignes fatui* by which they were led aſtray; who obtained the credit of courage and ability, by breaking the yoke of the people degraded to the rank of brutes, that they might again raiſe their heads towards heaven, as becomes the "human form divine." In a word, every ſtrong-minded, independent, active man, who expreſſes himſelf loudly againſt civil and ſpiritual tyranny, they call a philoſopher, and even think thereby to ſtamp him with infamy. What wretches!

The genius of *Chateaubriand* drew, from Indian nature, new dazzling colours for the animation of lifeleſs Chriſtianity; which, by a bold effort of fiction, was deſcribed as being ſuſceptible of the ornaments of art, and fraught with every mark of intrinſic beauty. It is lamentable to ſee what wretched writings, long deſpiſed and rejected, as they ſhould be by the whole of enlightened Europe, are now offered for ſale in all French papers and catalogues of books.

The economical-political counſellor of ſtate Roederer, honours the Chriſtian religion, and the holy ſee of Rome, in his own peculiar manner; repreſenting them as an indiſpenſable ſupplement to paternal authority, and the penal laws. He exhibits the influence which Rome, *the widow of the kings among nations, and ſtill the queen of the world*, can exert in Catholic ſtates with which ſhe is diſſatisfied, in favour of thoſe powers to which ſhe wiſhes well; and then leaves to the imagination the horror of foreign powers to a nation without prieſts and without altars. All, however unanimouſly they on other occaſions call

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the French the moſt civilized, the moſt enlightened, the amiable, mild and great nation—all who then publiſhed their opinions, treat them, as ſoon as the queſtion is the neceſſity of the only holy religion, like the vileſt mob, whom ſcourges, gibbets, and racks, are not ſufficient to keep in order! This they invariably aſſert; and add, that, for the laſt ten years, the French nation has longed for nothing ſo much as to have its prieſts again. Whom, however, when left at liberty, it had itſelf expelled; and, when they would not go, even murdered; they repeat this ſo often, that the nation itſelf muſt, in the end, believe it, at leaſt every individual muſt believe it of his neighbours. Impartial obſervers, and thoſe who will freely ſpeak the truth, ſee every where the contrary, and confeſs that this is perhaps the caſe with La Vendée alone, which includes provinces that were always of a peculiar caſt, and inferior to the reſt of France in intellect, opinions, and manners; and where the royaliſts, (that is, the proprietors or nobles, who were perfectly ſatisfied with the former government) very artfully denominated their war, againſt the hated, and to them prejudicial innovation, a war for religion. When thoſe fanatics and hypocrites, wiſh to prove the neceſſity of reſtoring the Catholic religion, and the longing of the people for it, they generally take their proofs from La Vendée, with which no peace or arrangement would have been poſſible on other terms. But had not the negociators of La Vendée, on the artfully extorted peace, been made to entertain equal hopes of the reſtoration of a king, as of the re-eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion,

ligion, it would moſt probably not have been brought to bear. Had not Bonaparté and his generals taken wiſer, ſtronger, and more conſiſtent meaſures, than had hitherto been adopted againſt the great part of La Vendée, which would take no part in the treaty of peace, the former alſo, notwithſtanding the fine promiſes, would as little have obſerved the peace as their predeceſſors had former treaties, which they always concluded ſeparately, to gain time and collect new ſtrength.

If it had been the honeſt intention of the government to wait, before it introduced the Catholic religion as the religion of the ſtate (for free toleration muſt naturally be granted to it as to every other religion which the citizen acknowledged and required as his own, in France as in Holland, America and every civilized ſtate); had the government been really in earneſt to wait till it ſhould be firſt convinced whether the majority of the people really wiſhed and required it as the dominant religion; they would have begun firſt with the improvement and extenſion of public education, and at leaſt have waited, for a time, to ſee how far the improved mode of inſtruction, with the 10,000 mayors, the 3,000 juſtices of the peace, the 100 prefects, the 400 ſub-prefects, with all their counſellors, and a well-organized gens d'armerie, beſides an arbitrary number of ſpecial tribunals, would have operated in producing obedience to the laws, and the civilization of the people.

But Bonaparté, who continued more and more to prove himſelf a true Italian, whoſe wiſdom is commonly no more than the pure reſult of ſelfiſh prudence,

dence, and whose character rests chiefly on a dark close disposition, full of secret plans; Bonaparté proceeded on the old despotic theory, which the Roman clerical gens d'armerie, of all-mournful colours, and the Christian Catholic spiritual special tribunals were ready to support; and thus this religious measure was artfully resolved on, and combined with other measures for the security of the new sovereign!

While a national council, under the protection of the government, was debating on the re-establishment of the Gallican church, which had caused so many vexations to the papal chair, Bonaparté negociated with the Pope, who was thus put in fear. The consequence of this negociation was the Concordat, which, when it was made known, gave complete satisfaction to the party. The Pope, however, in an assembly of the cardinals, in which, as a testimony of gratitude, he created four extra French cardinals, declared with much simplicity to the First Consul, that he considerd their creation as a very good means of promoting the progress of the Catholic religion in France.

The concordat, as far as it is yet known, contains enough to make the Catholic religion the dominant religion of state, though, in appearance, it is not so entirely. At least the dexterous Portalis, who in his ingeniously and artfully drawn up report, continually confounds morality with religion, and lets them pass as synonimous; and in the same manner confounds natural religion with revealed positive religion: and the subtle Roederer can still, without being forced publicly to blush, affirm the contrary, in

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well arranged phraſes. The Firſt Conſul, however, muſt be a Catholic, or a new concordat would become neceſſary. For Frenchmen this is nearly equal to the calamity of a civil war. The whole of the very numerous clergy are paid by the ſtate; whilſt, on the other hand, only the heads of the Proteſtant clergy are paid by the ſtate. The payment of the clergy did not take place in the firſt year; and already the Catholic prieſts in the departments have aſſumed their old high tone, and tyrannize over the people, particularly over the purchaſers of national property. They inſiſt that every marriage and baptiſm, ſolemnized by a conſtitutional prieſt, ſhall be of no force, and that ſuch muſt be renewed by them: they re-conſecrate the churches which have been profaned by the conſtitutional prieſts, &c. When they are once ſafe and proſperous, Bonaparté will ſoon find with whom he has to deal. Should the payment, rendered more difficult by the new war with England, run farther in arrears, he may eaſily experience that the ſame inſtruments which he prepared for himſelf againſt the people, are as eaſily to be employed against himſelf; and when the fanatic ſpiritual ruler at the temporal helm, who for fourteen years has reſerved much *in petto*, when he ſhall once have brought all his ſpiritual and temporal friends again into their promiſed country, there remains for him, perhaps, to make happy, *one unfortunate ſacred head*, for which all the ſaid ſpiritual and temporal friends might exert themſelves more willingly and faithfully than for the moſt fortunate ſtranger. The latter will then be convinced, when it is too late, that

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it was not only neceſſary for his eternal glory, but would have been more adviſeable for his own temporal ſecurity, to have proceeded with the nation, which, with confidence, threw itſelf into his arms, to the never yet attained height of a genuine free ſocial conſtitution. He who is audaciouſly advancing, ſeldom makes a retrograde ſtep with impunity. What then will be the fate of one, ſurrounded and at the head of thirty millions, advancing to that height in a wild impetuous career? As in the re-eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion, the principle was arbitrarily aſſumed, that the majority of the nation as much deſired it, as it was indiſpenſably neceſſary for the nation at large; ſo in the affair of public inſtruction, it was aſſumed as arbitrarily, but alſo deſignedly, that the nation deſired the reſtoration of the former ſchools, as in the time of the monarchy. The miniſter of the interior, *Chaptal*, who paſſed among foreigners for ſo enlightened and liberal a man, begins his circular of Germinal, in the ninth year of the republic, to the prefects of the departments, in which he requires them to collect and ſend information concerning the number and conſtitution of the old ſchools, with the following words: "*For theſe* TEN YEARS *a wiſh has prevailed in every quarter for the re-eſtabliſhment of thoſe flouriſhing academies in which a numerous youth received a cheap and competent education.*"

To this the enlightened *Ginguenet* replied, in his *Decade Philoſophique*, that he was quite ignorant that any one wiſhed for the reſtoration of the ancient ſchools; but that he knew very well that the inſtruction in them had been neither eaſy nor competent.

From eight to nine years had been dedicated to the Latin language alone, and during this time the youth had abſolutely learned nothing elſe in thoſe ſchools; neither hiſtory, nor geography; neither natural philoſophy, nor chemiſtry; neither drawing, nor any other fine art. Of two years dedicated to philoſophy, one had been ſpent on the moſt intricate metaphyſics, the other in a highly incompetent courſe of mathematics. Inſtruction and education were, in thoſe ſchools, almoſt excluſively in the hands of prieſts, who had laboured much more to make monks, abbés, and bigots, than citizens!

He might have added, that the ignorance produced by thoſe wretched ſchools, and deſignedly maintained among the whole of the French people, who had no notion either of the laws of the country, or the adminiſtration of juſtice, was wholly unacquainted with its duties, and had as little knowledge of the conſtitution of other countries, as of their nature and poſition; that this incredible ignorance, which went ſo far, that, except in the higher ranks and among the merchants, it was rare to find a Frenchman who could write and account well; that this ignorance had produced all the miſchief, all the deſtructive follies and extravagancies, which have ſtained and diſhonoured the revolution, ſo admirably begun by the enlightened part of the nation, for the foundation of a legally limited monarchy; that this total ignorance of a people, debaſed by a thouſand years of ill treatment, could alone have rendered it poſſible for all the extravagant fanatics to vent their fury for years together, without reſtraint, on the innocent as well as on the guilty. He might alſo have added,

added, that the ignorance, immorality, and arrogance of the prieſts themſelves, to whom the inſtruction of the nation was entruſted, was a chief cauſe of the revolution, and of the bad direction it took; that the recalling and replacing of ſuch prieſts was throwing the people back again, and ſowing the ſeeds of a future revolution.

The excellent philologiſt and citizen Brunk, of Straſburg, obſerved, at that time, on the diſtribution of prizes in the new central ſchools: "If parents recollected what was the object of public education when the ſchools were under the government of prieſts, and in what a narrow circle it was confined, they ought to bleſs the government which opens to youth the encyclopedic career of the ſciences, and gives them, as guides, able conductors, whoſe ſure hand leads every diſciple to his choſen goal. Who, in fact, could really regret the time when children, during more than eight years reſidence, learned, in the ſchools, nothing except Latin, and moſtly left them without having any thing in their heads, but fooliſh, injurious, or dangerous prejudices. Here the ſtudy of the mathematics, of natural philoſophy, hiſtory, modern literature; of drawing, which is the baſe of the fine arts, is united with that of the ancient languages; the minds of the young people are relieved by a change of objects in their ſtudy, and their labour becomes thereby a pleaſure."

The influence of the numerous returned prieſts on the minds of the ignorant inhabitants of Straſburg, was, however, even then, already ſo perceptible, that the worthy man was forced to add; "I content myſelf

with this ſlight ſketch; it will be ſufficient to communicate to you my aſtoniſhment and my regret, that there are ſtill parents who, blinded by lamentable prejudices, or led aſtray by treacherous repreſentations, are ſo obſtinate as to deprive their children of the inſtruction which the ſchools offer them."

Thoſe who were placed near the government, ſaw with their own eyes, and did not draw their knowledge of the Firſt Conſul and his miniſterial tools, from the lying, mercenary, or frightened newſpaper writers; theſe perſons no longer dared to publiſh their bitter views and advice. They were aware that the Firſt Conſul had been inſtructed by prieſts; and though the military ſchools were indeed rather better organized, had learned nothing more than Latin and the mathematics; that he diſliked, and determined to aboliſh, all the liberal plans of education introduced in the latter times of the republic, or at leaſt every where intended. They knew well, that all the exhortations of the government, and the committees appointed for the drawing up of a better and more perfect ſchool ſyſtem, were idle grimace to impoſe on the childiſh minds of the French, who ſo eaſily ſuffer themſelves to be dazzled and ſatisfied with brilliant words and phraſes, with fine promiſes, and preparations on a grand ſcale, and have entirely loſt ſight of the moſt important matter, when it has been thus held in ſuſpence for a time, long before it comes to deciſion and actual execution. The worthieſt men, with the excellent *Cuvier* at their head, had been long and earneſtly employed upon a plan of public inſtruction, worthy of a free nation, and of the nineteenth century; but

but this we ſhall ſoon ſee the Firſt Conſul annihilate by a ſingle ſtroke of his pen.

Diſtant northern nations, often regarded as barbarous by the ignorant French, profit, at preſent, more than they by the liberal way of thinking and pure views of thoſe men to whom the French nation owes its moſt durable glory, but of whom it appears to be no longer worthy. The luminaries in the firmament do not alone riſe in the Eaſt and ſet in the Weſt. Bonaparté, who, by true greatneſs of ſoul, might have exalted himſelf to the Heavens above the Alexander ſhining in Indian light, may very likely, in the impartial and ſevere judgment of hiſtory, when oppoſed to the new northern Alexander, ſtand veiled in ſhades of night, when the latter ſhall ſhine forth in pure orient glory.

The public deliberations upon the civil code afforded new occaſions of developing the ſentiments and proper aims of Bonaparté. The project of a new civil code had already been made public more than a year: eſtimable juriſts had filled up the plan. Their work was ſent to the Tribunal of Ceſſation and the courts of appeal of the republic, whoſe remarks were collected and publiſhed. Several juriſts publiſhed their remarks on it ſeparately. After all thoſe preliminary labours, the Legiſlative Section of the Council of State, drew up anew the different titles of the civil code, and ſubmitted them to the diſcuſſions of the Council of State. Theſe diſcuſſions were alſo made known by the preſs. The reſult of theſe diſcuſſions formed the projects of laws which were communicated to the Legiſlative Body, and ſubmitted to the judgment of the Tribunate. In the ſittings of theſe two bodies

ſeveral laws were, in the preſence of the Conſuls, conteſted as inconſiſtent or inadequate, and amended; others were rejected as detrimental to the ſafety of the citizens. Upon which the government, rendered impatient by this oppoſition, took back its propoſitions in terms of diſpleaſure that excited ſurpriſe. An official meſſage announced expreſsly to the two aſſemblies, that the government found itſelf obliged to defer the laws, ſo eagerly expected by the nation, becauſe it was convinced, that the moment was not yet come when they might reckon on the tranquillity and *unanimity* of views, neceſſary in ſuch important debates!

In order to ſecure, in the ſittings of the following year, leſs contradiction, or rather to prevent diſcuſſions, the Conſul took the very ſimple way of inducing the Senate, at the next nomination of a fifth part of the Legiſlators of the two bodies, arbitrarily to eject thoſe, who, on this and other occaſions, had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the freedom of their ſentiments. A liſt of the members diſagreeable to the government was made out, and the purification, as it was called, of the two bodies followed very ſhortly in conformity to the will of the Firſt Conſul. Twenty members of the Tribunate, and ſixty of the Legiſlative Body, were diſplaced, not by the legal method of drawing lots, but ejected according to this poſitive indication, and replaced by other men, wholly devoted to the Conſul's will!

Roederer, in his *Journal de Paris*, ſpoke at that time of an indecent, unreaſonable, inſincere, and ill-timed oppoſition; and would allow of no oppoſition but in favour of a majority who had firmly bound themſelves to ſupport the government. Thinking and

impartial

impartial men thus learned, to their no ſmall ſurpriſe, that there was an oppoſition in France. The awkward or diſingenuous manner in which the obſequious counſellor compared thoſe official diſcuſſions and objections of the Legiſlative Body and the Tribunate, with the Engliſh oppoſition in the Engliſh parliament, ſoon ſhewed that he attached, or wiſhed others to attach, his own notions to the high ſounding word.

A profound writer proved, in Remarks on Roederer's Obſervations upon this pretended oppoſition, that there was no oppoſition at all in France. After having examined the actual legal conſtitution of France, by which the propoſal of laws is the excluſive privilege of the government, where the Council of State, appointed by the Firſt Conſul, and anſwerable to him alone, preſides, under his direction, over all the buſineſs of government, and under the preſidency of him, or his colleagues, conſults on the means of execution, and decides on the projects of laws; but the Tribunate, free from all influence, is to watch over the rights of the people, to notice abuſes of every kind, and openly to decide on the defect of propoſed laws, while the laſt deciſive ſentence reſts, however, with the Legiſlative Body: he concludes in the following judicious and ſtriking manner:

"To what end were all theſe inſtitutions, if, as Mr. Roederer requires, the two bodies were never to refuſe their aſſent to the propoſitions of the government? To what purpoſe a Tribunate? He thinks, indeed, that the ſpeeches of the minority would contribute to declare the public opinion. He therefore takes it for granted, not only that many would undertake

the ungrateful taſk, to propoſe objections, to which nobody attends, becauſe nobody is obliged to reply to them; but alſo, that the public prints would inſert all theſe objections without mutilation. Were the latter, however, allowed ſuch a degree of liberty, I know not why they ſhould not be left to the care of providing ſuch paragraphs at their own expence, and the ſtate might very well be ſpared the 1,200,000 livres, which it pays annually to the tribunes! To what uſe the ſolemn appearance of the ſpeakers on both ſides before the Legiſlative Body, ſince always, in a good underſtanding together, and full of the praiſe of the Government, they could never be more than the echo of each other? To what end, finally, the Legiſlative Body itſelf? Unleſs one would, with time, make it an hoſpital for thoſe unfortunate perſons, whom Sicard's art has not enabled to gain their livelihood by uſeful labours. Deafneſs would be here in its place as well as dumbneſs, when nothing more was required than to meet on certain days, at an appointed hour, in order, on a ſign being given, to throw little balls, always of the ſame colour, into an urn!"

It will be difficult for any one who attends the meetings of the Legiſlative Body not to entertain this idea, particularly when he knows, that moſt of the members have much more obſequiouſneſs for the will of the government, than will and judgment of their own, in the execution of the ſacred office, of ſilently approving or diſapproving the propoſed law, by the caſting of a black or white ball.

The people take no intereſt in the ſittings of the Legiſlative Body, and if, at times, a few curious ſpectators

tators be obſerved there, they are ſtrangers who wiſh to ſee the handſome ſaloon in the old palace of Conti, which has been fitted up with taſte for the Legiſlative Body, but which, however, they can ſee more conveniently between the ſittings; or one may find there a few country people, or citizens from the provinces, who like to ſee their couſins who have ſeats in the Legiſlative Body, in their embroidered dreſs and broad tri-coloured ſcarf. Theſe make a ſtrange contraſt with the ſtars and ribbands of the foreign miniſters, who ſometimes are there in the ſeats appropriated for them.

The French citizens would feel more intereſted in the Tribunate, by which the laws are examined and debated; but the ſittings are held in a ſmall ſaloon of the former *Palais Royal*, a very confined place, which can contain only a ſmall number of ſpectators; and even theſe are ſeldom there.

The Prince of Parma, whom Bonaparté had made King of Etruria, was a much more intereſting object for the Pariſians. For ten years they had not ſeen a King; he who was now among them was a young handſome prince of one-and-twenty years of age, a *Louis* of the Houſe of Bourbon, in the ſplendid uniform of the Spaniſh guards. Bonaparté behaved to him with great politeneſs, and came from Malmaiſon to Paris oftener than he uſed to do; yet in his intercourſe with the youthful monarch, (who comported himſelf towards him with almoſt too much obſequiouſneſs and gratitude) the Conſul invariably aſſumed the tone and air of the man who makes and unmakes kings. The magnificent fêtes, bordering almoſt on enchantment,

chantment, which were prepared for the young king, were not given by Bonaparté. He caused them to be attended by his ministers, without appearing at them in person. Several millions were expended on them; and, since the time of Louis XIV. Paris had seen no such tasteful brilliant fêtes. At the theatres, flattering allusions were made to the exalted guest, and the public papers noticed the homages that were paid him. Many Parisians were simple enough to believe, that the kingdom of Etruria would be only a little prelude, an apprenticeship for the Bourbon Louis; and that Bonaparté, at the end of his Consular career, would instal him King of France! The official papers, however, announced the departure of the young monarch sooner than he, probably, had it in contemplation. He quitted Paris not long after, having made a considerable stay; and was the bearer of a letter, written by Bonaparté, to his father the Duke of Parma, in which the Chief Consul particularly recommended to the latter to receive his son as king, and to pay him all the honours due to a sovereign. Hardly would the duke have in this opposed his sister the Queen of Spain, who had contrived to procure for her nephew (or rather her daughter, who had gained her consent) so valuable a present, and not easy to be obtained by the hereditary prince of a little principality, as the beautiful and delightful Tuscany, which comprises the finest, pleasantest, and richest part of Italy; situated on the Mediterranean sea, containing near a million and a half of inhabitants, and yielding a revenue of above three million of dollars! For what reason it must be elevated to a kingdom, though the

ſovereigns had ever been highly honoured and eſteemed as Grand Dukes, ſeemed to many as unaccountable in the republican Conſul, as his having formerly overthrown the oldeſt republic of Europe, the proud Venice, and given it to the Emperor. As little as the latter probably aroſe from paſſionate revenge, ſo little did the former from haughty deſpotical ſentiments. Bonaparté knows the French, and the manner in which he muſt prepare them for many a plan yet *in petto*. The negociator, *Lucien*, had alſo his full ſhare in theſe arrangements.

For the preſent, no more was thought of the indemnification of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, who was forced to part with his delightful country, becauſe Bonaparté did not chooſe to have an Auſtrian prince as a neighbour to his Italian republic, and on the Mediterranean. Sometimes he was to be indemnified in Germany, at others in Italy; yet, of all European ſovereigns, he had been the firſt to acknowledge the French republic!

The King of Sardinia, who had been deprived of Savoy and Piedmont, was not more favourably treated. His ambaſſador was diſmiſſed from Paris becauſe he would not negociate the indemnification of his ſovereign without the concurrence of the Ruſſian and Pruſſian miniſters, nor put up with the unbecoming demand of the miniſter of police to legitimate himſelf before him *in perſon!*

The brilliant feſtivals and all the magnificent frolics exhibited before the new king, had given new life to the Pariſians; who, like children, ſoon forget misfortune; and, hence, in their rejoicings at the

peace

peace with England, they once more displayed the genuine character of Frenchmen. This they did, careless whether the wise counsellor Roederer might depict them as savages or as a mere mob. There was no end to their transports. The official congratulations in the Thuilleries followed for several days together, and the parts adjacent to the Thuilleries were continually crowded with idle rejoicing people. At the grand parade, which was held with much pomp, "*Vive Bonaparté!*" resounded in full chorus; and the people, in spite of the numerous guards, pressed so eagerly round the great peace maker, that he was forced to withdraw earlier and quicker than usual from the parade.

Bonaparté availed himself of this joyful disposition in the people, to celebrate the anniversary of his counter-revolution, and united with his 18th Brumaire, the solemnization of the general peace. Great and expensive preparations were made for this festival; but, in its whole plan, it was more a court fête, than a popular festivity. The scene of the last celebration of peace with Austria, was removed from the extensive field of the confederation, to the more confined Elysian fields, nearer the Thuilleries; and this was prepared and held within the city, in the very proximity of the Thuilleries, of the palace of the government. In the streets and squares, which were covered with mud from the incessant rain, the people took part in it merely as spectators. Enough, however, was given them to gaze at; balloons, fireworks, and a kind of warlike, military, and naval pantomime, in which all the nations figured with whom France had been at

war,

war. The fight-loving Parisians did not suffer themselves to be prevented by the storm and rain from enjoying these splendid and merry frolics; they met in endless crowds from morning till night; and, as about noon a favourable sun-beam broke through the thick cloud, and Bonaparté shewed himself at the window of his palace, the assembled crowd saluted him with loud and repeated "*Vive Bonapartés!*" In the interior of the palace, great joy prevailed on account of the costly Crown diamond, the Regent, which Bonaparté wore that day, on the hilt of his sword, for the first time!

Among the great multitude of foreigners present, the Russians alone considered as mean all the costly pomp and dazzling splendor displayed on the occasion. Their Catharine celebrated the victories and pacifications of her warriors and favourites with very different fire-works, illuminations, and military spectacles. She knew how to unite oriental pomp and profusion, with European art and tasteful dignity; whilst Petersburg, with its majestic river, exhibits a more ample and convenient theatre for such magnificent spectacles.

A tranquil observer, who did not merely gaze on the scenes before him, and who perhaps had taken refuge in France, as an asylum of freedom against the tyrannic caprices of his despot, observed, in the peace just concluded with Russia, a very humiliating point of comparison for humanity. The Consul of a merely nominal republic, despotic through the will, or at least the silent acquiescence of the people, unites, with an Emperor born to unlimited sway, in devising measures for

for the joint security of their persons and dominion. Thus, two potentates, (who, according to the pictures of their respective flatterers and slaves, are as opposite as the principle of good and evil); thus do they join hands, and mutually promise to ensure their safety by the measures of a despotic internal police, which deprives suspected persons of the protection of government *.

The unhappy *Paul* learnt but too soon, and by too severe a punishment, that it was not travelling Frenchmen that he had to fear. For the Northern Coalition, and the intended freedom of the seas, Paul died a few months too soon †. The compassionate friend

* The remarkable article in the treaty between Russia and France runs literally thus:

"The two contracting parties desiring, as much as it lies in their power, to contribute to the tranquillity of their respective governments, mutually engage not to permit any of their subjects to correspond, directly or indirectly, with the internal enemies of the actual government of the two states, in order to propagate principles contrary to their respective constitutions, or to foment disturbances in them; and, in consequence of this agreement, every subject of each of the two powers, who, residing in the states of the other powers, may attempt to injure its security, shall be immediately removed from the said country, and transported beyond the frontiers, without being able, in any case, to claim the protection of his own government."

† Without dwelling on the merits of the Northern Coalition, it does not appear that the object of it would have been better attained had Paul lived a few months longer. The Danes would have been equally beaten at Copenhagen, and the Swedes most probably have shared the same fate, before Paul's fleets, locked up by the ice, could have come to relieve them. Whether the Russian deal ships would have much availed against British oak,

no

friend of humanity could now only lament the blood of the brave Danes, who, with true patriotic heroiſm, alone oppoſed the ſuperior power of England. The glory, however, of the generous patriots remains ſecured to them; for nothing confers more durable glory, than reſolute, perſevering courage in the deciſive moment of general danger, without an anxious regard to perſonal ſafety. The noble action has alſo undoubtedly animated the nation with a ſenſe of its dignity and ſtrength, beſides procuring them new honour in the eyes of their neighbours, and of all Europe.

Bonaparté had now every reaſon to rejoice at his peace with England, which ſo very rapidly followed his connection with Paul, and was far more advantageous than he had reaſon to expect: for, though

no British seaman, I believe, will allow to be a question. An Englishman, therefore, instead of rejoicing at Paul's sudden death, as a circumstance that could be called advantageous, will rather think it prevented the possibility of future Northern Coalitions from being rendered highly problematical; and will only regret that, since he did die, he did not die a few months sooner, which would have prevented the blood of the brave Danes (to whom the English never were enemies either from inclination or interest) from being shed in an useless quarrel, to gratify the caprice of their despotic neighbour. A coalition of the Northern Powers against the commerce of England, while the whole balance of trade with England is in their own favour, and whilst, in case of war, their trade with all the world would be annihilated, by the simple measure of blockading the Sound, has always appeared to me one of the greatest solecisms in politics that history can produce.—*Note of the Translator.*

Alexander

Alexander remained faithful to the peace once concluded, it is not likely that he would have promoted a treaty so highly disadvantageous for England.

A convention between Alexander and Bonaparté would certainly not have contained the above-mentioned article. While Bonaparté is striving to undermine the civil and political liberty of the French, Alexander is preparing for his immense empire a degree of civil liberty, which is compatible with every form of government, and which is no less necessary to the secure and dignified existence of the regent, than to the welfare of the subject.

Bonaparté felt himself, in fact, too much confined by his own arbitrarily introduced constitution, and, in conjunction with his chief confidents, has resolved on a new order of things, which gives him full power to manage all things as he may please, and leaves the civil liberty of the French entirely at his discretion; every opposition hitherto justly made, will be rendered, for the future, legally impossible.

But before he developped this plan, he found it prudent to give his own work, the Cisalpine republic, a constitution which might, in many points, serve as a prelude to the new constitution of France. Proceeding on the well calculated principle of preparing the thoughtless French, by degrees, for every innovation to their prejudice, he seems to have planned and designed his Italian republic, and its new institutions, for this purpose. There he has in all things less resistance to apprehend; there every thing relating to civil liberty is so far behind hand, that much which would

would be retrogreſſive for the French, is there an advance towards ſomething better.

A national deputation of four hundred and fifty members of the Ciſalpine republic, choſen from among the clergy, the military, the civil and learned profeſſions, and notables of all claſſes, whom Bonaparté had ſummoned to Lyons, had been waiting for him there for ſeveral weeks. Even the miniſter for foreign affairs had gone thither ſome weeks earlier than Bonaparté, who was ſtill detained at Paris by apprehenſions for his own life and thoſe of his friends. Various reports of widely-extended and dangerous plots againſt him, came to his knowledge from ſeveral quarters. The moſt rigid meaſures were taken for his ſecurity; a number of perſons were arreſted, and the priſons in Paris were filled with ſuſpected perſons.

Still more numerous were the dangerous and ſuſpicious perſons among the generals, who were ordered to remove chiefly to their country ſeats, or to more or leſs diſtant departments. To theſe muſt be added many of the former diſtinguiſhed officers of ſtate, as *Barras*, *Reubel*, *Tallien*, and others of leſs note, who were all placed under the ſpecial ſuperintendence of the police in remote departments. Many returned emigrants, both men and women, were alſo baniſhed from Paris; even the old *Laharpe* was ſo far honoured as to be conſidered dangerous, and ſent into baniſhment.

Foreign powers were called upon to have the emigrants reſiding in their dominions arreſted and examined.

In the mean time, Bonaparté's family privately celebrated the marriage of *Louis Bonaparté*, the Conſul's third brother, with Mademoiſelle *de Beauharnois*, daughter to Madame Bonaparté. In the houſe which the Conſul formerly inhabited, and which was now fitted up with great taſte and expence for the young couple, a particular chapel was arranged, where cardinal Caprara performed the marriage ceremony. General *Murat*, the Firſt Conſul's brother-in-law, cauſed his marriage to be re-conſecrated by the holy man, and has thus paved the way for a thouſand pretenſions of prieſtly preſumption. Bonaparté ſaid to cardinal Caprara, on the private benediction of his beloved daughter-in-law, "That acts of religion in his family ſhould not always be thus ſecretly performed; he hoped ſoon to make him a witneſs of ſuch as would be much more brilliant." Bonaparté was at this time almoſt entirely inacceſſible and inviſible. The meaſures of ſafety were reſolved on in nightly meetings of the council of ſtate, to which only the moſt devoted members were ſummoned. Even the other Conſuls never were preſent at their ſittings. The police was ordered to put in execution all the meaſures commanded, with the greateſt ſecrecy, and not to permit the public prints to make the leaſt mention of them. Even Fouché, the miniſter of the police, was ſuſpected, and watched in the ſtricteſt manner.

Every meaſure of ſecurity having been taken at Lyons, and for the whole way thither, Bonaparté ventured at length to ſet out for that place in the night of the 9th of January, accompanied by his wife,

his

his moſt confidential generals, and his guard. On the whole way from Paris to Lyons, detachments of troops of the line, and gens d'armes, were poſted to receive the Firſt Conſul: they accompanied him from ſtation to ſtation, and paſſed him on from one to the other.

At Lyons, all precautions were taken; and this [illegible]ich a degree, that, before the Conſul's arrival, orders were proclaimed, that the people ſhould never crowd round him, nor previouſly line the ſtreets through which he was to paſs. The guard of honour appointed there, which conſiſted of the ſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families in Lyons, never did duty near the perſon of the Conſul, who was every where ſurrounded by his own guard.

Some Ligurian deputies, who wiſhed to be there preſented to the Firſt Conſul, were obliged, after ſome conferences with Talleyrand, to return to Genoa without ſpeaking to the Conſul. They were come uninvited, and without previous notice!

During a ſtay of a fortnight in Lyons, the Firſt Conſul had frequent conferences with a committee of the Ciſalpine deputies, concerning their future conſtitution; according to which they were to have a preſident and a vice-preſident. As this was at length made known in a general meeting of all the deputies, Bonaparté declared to them, without any ceremony, (they were 450 in number; and, according to the Moniteur itſelf, the moſt enlightened and reſpectable men of the Ciſalpine republic) "That he could not find one among them who had deſerved well enough of his country, or who had ſufficient claims on the

public opinion, to be worthy of the place of president; for which reason he would himself accept that situation, which had been offered him by the committee!" The meeting applauded these words as loudly and generally as it applauded every preceding passage of the speech, whenever Bonaparté took breath for a moment!

The constitution which Bonaparté gave to his [illegible] republic (which was endowed with the very ominous name of *Italian* republic) is neither founded on genuine national representation, nor has it the necessary separation of the legislative and executive power, or any degree of republican form and guarantee in the internal administration. All the numerous and expensive bodies which it appoints, are but so many servants, (imposing on others, or themselves imposed on) of the ruling president, who has all power in his hands, and is far more unlimited than all such European monarchs as have to pay attention to the will of well regulated assemblies of the states. Notwithstanding this, or rather for this very reason, it was soon cried up, by slavish French civil officers and writers, as a model of perfection.

In Roederer's *Journal de Paris*, there soon appeared a paragraph, in which even the 87th article of the new Italian constitution is extolled, by which the chamber of speakers chosen by the Legislative Body, upon the projects of laws proposed to them, are to confer in private with the council of the government; and a wish is expressed that this might be also introduced into France by a *loi organique*.

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Overloaded and ſatiated with fêtes, flatteries, and ſervility of every kind, from both ſubjects and ſtrangers, Bonaparté, at the end of the month, returned to Paris as a two-fold ſovereign (which the French conſtitution did not allow him to be), eſcorted in the ſame ſafe and ſplendid manner as when he went to Lyons. He had given the mayor of that town a ſcarf of honour, with the aſſurance that he was ſatisfied with the fidelity and attachment of his city and department.

The prohibition to all public prints againſt publiſhing any thing concerning the endleſs meaſures of precaution, or the intended innovations, had for ſome time brought into vogue a bulletin in MS., both in Paris and every where abroad. Fouché, the miniſter of police, had, however, cauſed the editor of this, one *Fouilhoux*, to be found out, arreſted, and tranſported; and thus was this alſo ſuppreſſed, as far as Paris was concerned! But the Conſul, on his return, had the vexation to learn, that this bulletin, which had been inſerted, from the beginning, in the French paper *Le Courier de Londres* publiſhed in London, was ſtill continued there. Inconceivably irritable and revengeful againſt all ſuch public cenſorious and inſulting ſtrictures, and in the very miſtaken notion, that abroad, as well as in the country he had ſubjugated, he could ſuppreſs or enfeeble them, he employed a French emigrant, M. de Monttoſier (who at the beginning of the revolution had publiſhed at Paris the ariſtocratic paper *Les Actes des Apotres*,) to give out a new *Courier des Londres*, in which there appeared formal miniſterial French bulletins. The editor himſelf, in this paper, frequently under-

takes the defence of the French government againſt the Engliſh newſpapers; whether in a manner always agreeable to Bonaparté, is much to be doubted. Mr. *Peltier*, the editor of the old *Courier de Londres*, became, from this time, only the more bold; and Bonaparté has frequently, but in vain, required of the Engliſh government to have him puniſhed. A ſuit which was inſtituted againſt him has turned out to his triumph. In Paris, however, his paper was moſt ſtrictly prohibited, with all Engliſh newſpapers; and the police enforces the prohibition with incredible and fully effectual rigor.

The Pariſian official and half-official papers, ſuch as the *Moniteur*, and *Le Defenſeur de la Patrie*, publiſhed at that time by the counſellor of ſtate *Bourienne*, Bonaparté's private ſecretary; *Le Bulletin de Paris*, by the counſellor of ſtate *Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely*; and the *Journal de Paris* of Roederer, were all replete with warm contradictions of whatever cenſures had been printed and diſperſed during Bonaparté's ſecluſion and abſence. Even the Engliſh parliament, notwithſtanding the negotiations then carrying on at Amiens, was not ſpared. The Moniteur repreſented the ſpeeches of the members of parliament as if pronounced by ſo many Tartars of Thibet; calling them childiſh diſcuſſions, &c. It frequently made mention of folly, ſtupidity, abſurdities, &c. All the Paris papers eagerly reprinted the articles of the Moniteur againſt the Engliſh, with additions of their own.

La Clef du Cabinet, which would ſo willingly have aſſumed the air of an oppoſition paper, ventured to touch

touch upon ſome inconſiſtencies, but was commanded ſilence under a ſevere penalty.

Even the *Decade Philoſophique*, which in its cautious, artful, ſhort, but never falſe article, *les affaires de l'interieur*, at the end of each number gave an account of the principal events, was obliged to omit that article from the beginning of the 10th year.

An opera long rehearſed, viz. *La Partie de Chaſſe de Henri IV.* was not allowed to be performed, becauſe it contained ſome couplets to the honour of the beloved Henry and his deſcendants. *Texier*, a public reader and declaimer, wiſhed to profit by this ſuppreſſion, and to include the piece in his theatrical readings; but he alſo was ordered to omit thoſe couplets.

A Mr. *Pancouk*, in a work called *Mentor à Corinthe*, ventured to propoſe, in a general way, ſalutary meaſures which were contrary to the views and ſecretly diffuſed projects of the Conſul's government; in conſequence of which, he, his editor, and printer, were arreſted. The printer's preſſes were taken from him, and formally confiſcated by the police; the proprietors had the whole edition of the harmleſs work taken from them, without any indemnification, and the author himſelf was ſent to Cayenne!

The ſame fate awaited the gay young poet *Dupaty*, who, in a little ſatirical drama, was ſuppoſed to have ridiculed the awkwardneſs and arrogance of the new rulers and their minions. By the expreſs order of the Conſul, the author (hated, perhaps, as the boon companion of his brother Lucien, who had juſt fallen into diſgrace, was conveyed to Breſt, in order to be put on board the firſt ſhip bound for St. Domingo,

there to vent his wit upon the negroes and mulattoes! Happily for Dupaty the two brothers were reconciled before any ſuch ſhip ſailed from Breſt; ſo that his great patron ſucceeded in procuring the Conſul's pardon for his gay companion, and after ſome months impriſonment he was ſet at liberty.

Thus all were awed with terror, and reduced to ſilence, except the journaliſts, who filled their papers with the endleſs rejoicings of the people in and about Lyons, and with Bonaparté's exultation at the attachment of his ſubjects.

Notwithſtanding the apprehenſions excited by the fleet equipped for St. Domingo, the new increaſe of power and influence in Italy, and the highly offenſive paper war between the French and Engliſh journals, the definitive peace with England was happily brought to bear in the month of March, but was received in Paris with incredible indifference. It had not even any favourable influence on the public funds. The offenſive public wrangling did not ceaſe; abuſe was changed on both ſides into bitter raillery.

The government now felt itſelf ſecure, and proceeded gradually to produce its new plans. The Tribunate, which ſince the purification had been almoſt wholly inactive, voted that, as a teſtimony of national gratitude to the Firſt Conſul, his conſulate ſhould be prolonged for ten years. In the Legiſlative Body, which approved of this motion, Sieyes alone maintained that none but the people had a right to confer ſuch a favour. The vote was, however, carried, and formally propoſed to the Firſt Conſul by the Tribunate. The latter took advantage of the objection, rejected the offer, and ſaid, he could accept

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such a mark of confidence from the people alone. Immediately the two other Consuls published a decree, ordering lists to be opened for all France, by means of which the votes of all the French, *yes* or *no*, should be collected for the *consulate for life*. The prefects of all the departments were ordered to open the registers, and collect the votes. All the registers were to be closed and returned in three weeks; and every Frenchman who had not voted, was to be considered as voting in the affirmative. The Tribunate, the Legislative Body, and the department of the Seine, voted for it immediately. By giving its assent in a numerous deputation, the Legislative Body concluded its last miserable session, in which every law (except one relating to a *meadow*) had been sanctioned, and almost all without any opposition.

The establishment of the Legion of Honour, and with it a new military nobility, alone met with so much opposition, that the will of the master was carried by only 56 against 38 votes. The re-establishment of slavery, on the contrary, had, among these lawgivers of a free nation, only 65 negative against 211 affirmative votes.

The books were now opened for the signatures of such as were favourable, and many a military and juridical manœuvre was employed to conciliate and urge on the voting citizens. It was, indeed, a most fortunate expedient to collect the will of a whole people by signatures in innumerable registers, while each might sign fictitious names, and as often as he pleased. The registers were closed without any one's being able to learn the *who*, the *where*, and the *how*; all

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that could be admired was, the incredible diſpatch with which the final reſult of ſuch innumerable books was aſcertained in all parts of France, while no one could *verify* that reſult in a ſingle municipality!

While the books remained open, all the public papers endeavoured ſtrenuouſly to influence the people in favour of the meaſure. Regnault de St. Jean D'Angely, in his *Bulletin de Paris*, came forward with a particular Eſſay on Uſurpers. Firſt he gave an extract from a production called the Central Lodge of true Freemaſons, in which it is ſaid to be proved that Arminius was no uſurper; and that though he did not deſcend from the Cheuiſkan monarchs, yet the greateſt princes are proud to call him their anceſtor. "For what remains," obſerves the author, "it would be unbecoming to attempt to prove that all governments have the original ſtain of uſurpation; we muſt, therefore, acquieſce in the humiliating truth, that nothing is to be found in nature of which the exiſtence muſt not be aſcribed to a previous diſſolution." Farther on, is ſhewn, that the men "to whom hiſtory, not always conſiſtent in its judgment, gives the name of Uſurpers, were moſtly ſuch extraordinary perſonages as nature gives riſe to at long intervals, in order to remedy great evils which have gained ground in civil ſociety." And what examples does the ſhameleſs counſellor produce, from the above eſſay, to be diſplayed before a pretended republican nation! Let us hear him.

"Who has ever ventured to impeach the memory of a *Dejoces*? His countrymen, the Medes, who lived under a *republican* government, had long ſeen themſelves

ſelves a prey to the murderous exceſſes of democratic rage. Dejoces, who had often led them to victory, ſubjected them to wiſe laws. Snatching them from *the dangerous illuſions of liberty*, which they had never enjoyed, he, with fortunate audacity, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed *firſt king* of the Medes: he aſſembled a *brilliant court*, and never ſhewed himſelf to his *new ſubjects*; but ſurrounded with the ſplendor of royalty, uniting with pomp the vigour neceſſary to a government, he became the founder of the greateſt empire in Aſia."

The wiſe king *Hiero*, *at whoſe feet the Syracuſans laid their tumultuous independence*, is alſo brought forward as a model worthy of recommendation!

At the concluſion, the writer expreſſes his own opinion in very clear terms. He ſays: "Never did *Paris* give ſo many affirmative votes upon any political queſtion, as upon the Conſulate for life. People require ſomething *permanent* in the political eſtabliſhment. A certain party begins to perceive that a dynaſty is *no divine right*; *that the family of Hugh Capet, which was placed by a revolution on the throne of the Carlovingian race, had no other right than that of poſſeſſion*. Rights of this kind ceaſe of themſelves as ſoon as a new revolution produces a new order of things. An oppoſite ſyſtem would cauſe perpetual confuſion in the political machine. The pretenſions of Staniſlaus Xavier are to be compared to thoſe which the Cardinal of York might now make to the Engliſh throne. The delivery of the Britiſh government, in 1688, into the hands of a *Dutch general* (how artful to mention prince William of Orange merely as a Dutch general!) is

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ſtill a real rebellion, if we apply to the Engliſh nation the conſequences of a certain principle, which ſome, as it ſeems, would apply excluſively to the *French empire.*"—(How ſneering towards England, with which a treaty of peace was at that moment concluding!)

The counſellor of ſtate concludes by announcing the definitive ſupplement which the French conſtitution is to obtain on this deſirable occaſion. He ſays: "Bonaparté's attainment of the Conſulate for life will be attended with important conſequences. As the beſt inſtitutions are thoſe which ariſe from circumſtances; as the moſt durable conſtitution is that which is ſlowly forged on the anvil of time; it is hoped that the conſtitution which the 18th of Brumaire merely ſketched in the rough, will receive *the ſupplement neceſſary to its final perfection*, and place France in a ſtate of permanent ſafety, which ſeems ſo deſirable to all true friends of peace in the interior."

The ſervants of government ſigned in Paris, of courſe, as every where elſe; but the people of Paris were indifferent, and even backward. Fouché and the governor of Paris publiſhed circular letters and general orders; and while the latter complains of ill-intentioned perſons, who by their intrigues ſpread miſtruſt among the people, and endeavoured to prevent them from giving their votes upon the preſent important queſtion of the Conſulate for life; while he calls on the commanders of battalions to aſſiſt him in preventing the ill-diſpoſed from troubling the public tranquillity; the miniſter of police, in a circular addreſs to the prefects, aſſures them, that Paris is tranquil, and cannot be excited to revolt; and that the

Conſul

Conſul is not threatened by any conſpiracy, though various reports were ſpread to the contrary. Numerous liſts of names had already come in from the departments, before a thouſand affirmative votes were ſubſcribed in Paris. There the prieſts zealouſly laboured to influence the people in favour of their protector; and it was not to be expected that the numerous liſts, which came in from all ſides, would contain many negative votes. What, indeed, would theſe have availed againſt all the non-voters who were to be conſidered as affirmative? The government, however, long delayed to publiſh the reſult. At length, the miniſter of the interior ſent the liſts to the Conſervatory Senate; and the Second Conſul wrote to that body at the ſame time, that the government had received from *almoſt all* the departments the expreſſions of the national will, and requeſted the ſenate to take ſuch meaſures for its publication as in its wiſdom it ſhould deem moſt proper.

What paſſed further in the ſenate on this occaſion was not made public. The Conſul's will was, however, fulfilled on the 3d of Auguſt, in the following ſtrange manner:—During a public audience which Bonaparté gave the foreign ambaſſadors, a numerous and noiſy proceſſion appeared in the court of the Thuilleries. The whole ſenate came in carriages, each ſenator in a coach apart, attended by two guards, and the whole proceſſion ſurrounded by a numerous eſcort of cavalry. The public audience was interrupted, the circle opened, and the ſenate, with its preſident, the good Barthelemy, at its head, approached the Conſul. In a very emphatic

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ſpeech the preſident extolled the immenſe ſervices which Bonaparté had rendered to France; and obſerved, that the people were deſirous of ſecuring to themſelves the ſervices of his whole life, and wiſhed to ſee the firſt magiſtracy of the ſtate invariably in his hands. The nation, by this ſolemn act of gratitude, gave him *the commiſſion of ſtrengthening its foundation; there were ſtill evils to be cured, and apprehenſions to be diſſipated.* After exalting the greatneſs of the Hero and Sovereign, both in war and peace, he expreſsly ſays: "*The Conſervatory Senate will ſanction all his noble plans,*" &c. Having finiſhed a long ſpeech, Barthelemy read the *ſenatus conſultum*, by which the French nation was ſaid to conſtitute Napoleon Bonaparté Firſt Conſul for life; the Senate proclaimed him ſo; and, at the ſame time, ordered the erection of a Statue to Peace.

Bonaparté, who, whatever flatterers relate of him, has by no means the talent of correct, elegant, or fluent oratary, drew the anſwer to this obſequious ſenatorial adulation out of his pocket, and read it. It began thus: "The life of a citizen belongs to his country. The French people requires that mine ſhould be wholly dedicated to their ſervice:—I obey their will. In giving me a new and durable pledge of their confidence, they impoſe on me the duty of eſtabliſhing the ſyſtem of their laws on well choſen foundations." He added, "Liberty, equality, the welfare of France, will be ſecured againſt the caprices of fortunes, and the uncertainty of the future." This aſſurance was followed up by a number of flattering aſſertions concerning the French people; thanks to the

the ſenate for ſuch a ſolemn meaſure; and, at laſt, a compliment to the very diſtinguiſhed preſident. The ſenate retired, and the audience, which had been interrupted, was continued with congratulations.

The very ſame evening a council of ſtate was held, at which the new power that Barthelemy had communicated to the Conſul, of curing remaining evils, or diſſipating ſtill-exiſting apprehenſions, and of adding good ſupporters to the ſtate, was exerciſed in its full extent. After another ſitting on the following day, the *ſenatus conſultum*, which entirely new organizes the French conſtitution, was tranſmitted to the Conſervatory Senate.

By this organizing *ſenatus conſultum*, the French conſtitution is entirely changed, and the Firſt Conſul made unlimited ſovereign, in a degree ſuperior to almoſt every ſovereign in Europe. With unheard of preſumption, in the very promulgation of this law, the unlimited power which it was to give the Firſt Conſul, was already exerciſed; for it was not, even for form's ſake, communicated either to the Tribunate for diſcuſſion, or to the Legiſlative Body for approbation or rejection; it had, therefore, according to the conſtitution ſtill exiſting at the moment, no degree of legal force. In the promulgation of this law, the Firſt Conſul already aſſumed a power which the people had in nowiſe conferred on him; and this glaring violation of the conſtitution ought to have excited the reſentment of the people, and of all the conſtituted authorities, ſo as to rouſe them to every poſſible reſiſtance; the more ſo, becauſe no legal complaint had occaſioned it, and as no legal oppoſition could take place,

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ſo lamed and crippled already was every thing that could have effectually oppoſed it in a legal way!

If the *form* of this innovation be wholly contrary to law, how much more are its *contents* at variance with every idea of genuine national repreſentation, and legally free government!

This *ſenatus conſultum* aboliſhes the liſts of the notables. The mode of drawing them up hitherto was indeed too artificial and complicated; moſt people could not comprehend the form. But now, the elections are made under the ſuperintendance of a preſident appointed by the government, who has even the care of the police in the Aſſembly; who has the public force at his command, and can appoint or break up the meeting when he will. Every meeting is ſub-divided into ſections, each of which has its preſidents, choſen by the firſt. The government can call together the meetings in the cantons when it pleaſes; and, when it apprehends too bold an oppoſition to its will, can forbear calling them at all. Beſides, the preſident is choſen anew by the government for every ſeſſion; but the members of the electoral aſſemblies retain their places for life, and are thus wholly independent of the people, whom they are ſuppoſed to repreſent. In caſe of need, the government has alſo the right of diſſolving the whole electoral college. In all the aſſemblies, numerous members of the Legion of Honour, chiefly military men, were appointed electors. The people's right of election is therefore, for the future, totally illuſory.

This organizing *ſenatus conſultum* alſo ſecures the Firſt Conſul, for the future, againſt all legal oppoſi-

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tion and contradiction, which he had now and then met with, but which these new laws render quite impossible. The criminal and civil courts are entirely subject to the will and power of the First Consul. What has hitherto every where passed, even under the most unlimited governments, for the most scandalous abuse of power, is sanctioned by this law as a constitutional right. Let any one read only the fifty-fifth article, which is as follows:

"By regulations which have the title of *senatus consultum*, the senate suspends, for five years, the functions of the juries, in the departments where it shall think this measure necessary: 2d, As circumstances require, it declares whole departments out of the constitution: 3d, It appoints the time when the individuals, arrested according to the 46th article of the constitution, shall be brought to trial, in case it cannot be done in the prescribed ten days reckoned from their arrest: 4th, It annuls the sentences of the criminal and civil courts, when they endanger the safety of the state: lastly, It dissolves the Legislative Body and the Tribunate, and appoints the Consuls."

These regulations are evidently occasioned by the numerous complaints against the minister of police, Fouché; who, in the numerous arrests and imprisonments, had long paid no attention to the above beneficent article of the constitution. And whose safety is provided for by the new law?—That of the government; that it may be no more troubled by the applications and complaints of imprisoned persons, and of their friends!

It has also secured itself against future reclamations concerning the influence of the government on the superior courts of justice; it appoints a Supreme Judge, who presides over the Tribunal of Cessation and the Tribunal of Appeal, as often as the government thinks proper!

The ratification of treaties with foreign powers the Consul has reserved wholly to himself; probably because, on the ratification of the treaty with Russia, the Tribunate had made some remarks on the very unbecoming expression *subjects!*

Hitherto the constitution had directed, that the Tribunate and the Legislative Body should, in conjunction with the First Consul, name a candidate to a vacant senator's place. Now, the First Consul has reserved to himself this threefold right of nomination; probably because hitherto his candidate had not always been preferred!

The wise law, that no one should be received into the Senate till the age of forty, and that no senator should fill any public employment, is also annulled, in order to leave room for the preference of the younger brothers of the First Consul, and for his other favourites!

In order to be able to rule the Tribunate more easily for the future, it is now reduced to half the constitutional number of members; and it may, like the Legislative Body, be dissolved, at the will of the senate.

The senate had long refused to consent to the arbitrary ejection, required by the First Consul, of the members

members disagreeable to him; it also would not accede to the proposal of the Consulate for life, but would agree only to a prolongation for ten years: upon which the two Sub-Consuls, who hitherto had never acted separately from their chief, were obliged to come forward, quite unexpectedly, with the proposal for the Consulate for life, a measure not at all mentioned in the *senatus consultum*, which occasioned their interference. For this, the grateful and prudent First Consul, by this arbitrary *senatus consultum*, appointed them, like himself, *Consuls for life*—a point on which no one had been consulted, not even for form's sake!

Thus was the senate transformed into a Council of State; which, for the future, is to have no president of its own chusing, but will always be presided over by one of the Consuls; and which can pass no *senatus consultum*, the proposal for which does not come from the government.

To the First Consul is also given the *right* of making War; but only so far as it shall be requisite for the defence and the *glory* of the nation; and, finally, even the *right of granting pardons!*

The profound remarks of a philosophical observer, upon this transformation of the Conservatory Senate into an obsequious Council of State, shall conclude this article—"After the form and component parts of this once independent branch of the administration had been modified in this manner, it was easy to give it another destination; and it seems as if all possible pains had been taken to give it a direction precisely the contrary of that which it was originally intended

to have. Instead of a power to support the constitution, it is become an instrument to destroy the principles of every constitution. It is not enough that the senate by mere *senatus consulta*, must give its sanction to the most arbitrary measures, but it may promulgate *senatus consulta*, purposely to give validity to every act of arbitrary power which the government may find it convenient to enact. And by this last attribute conferred on the senate, the title is explained which is prefixed to the *senatus consultum*. The constitution is to possess no longer a permanent form; changeable as the circumstances for which it is made, it must suit itself to these; and like the parts of an organized body, incessantly form and renew itself, according to the destination of the whole. This is to be done by organizing *senatus consulta*. But as these are here evidently nothing more than the will of the government, which announces itself through the senate, it appears that the French are now returned, by a long circumvolution, to the point whence they set out; but with this difference, that the royal '*Tel est nôtre bon plaisir*' could often be publicly contradicted by bodies more or less independent, and by meetings of the different *etats*; whereas all must now silently submit to the consular decrees."

This arbitrary act, by which not only the existing constitution was wholly annihilated, but every other good constitution, and even all impartial administration of justice was rendered impossible, the government was so shameless as to extol to the ignorant people, in the *Moniteur* of the 6th of August, in the following dissembling but plausible words;—"The new

senatus

ſenatus conſultum reſts upon four different principal points: 1ſt, To unite the ſuperior authorities of the ſtate to the maſs of the nation, from which all national power naturally proceeds; and to this end, in place of the ſyſtem of national and departmental liſts, which nowiſe anſwered the views of the conſtitution, to inſtitute aſſemblies of the cantons and diſtricts, as well as departmental electoral colleges: 2d, To organize the article of the conſtitution which gives to the ſenate the nomination of the Conſuls: 3d, To give the ſenate the neceſſary competency, that it may be really inveſted with the conſervatory power: Laſtly, the 4th point is attained by the ninth title, '*Of Juſtice and the Tribunals*,' ſince by this the hierarchy in the adminiſtration of juſtice is organized, on which the maintenance of property and the happineſs of the citizens ſo eſſentially depend."

The *Citoyen Français*, and the *Journal des Defenſeurs*, even triumph in the vaſt advantages which the new law affords the people. The editors find in it, *equality of rights ſolemnly proclaimed; the ſovereignty of the people acknowledged and brought into practice, &c.* He finds that this *ſenatus conſultum* unites the government, the ſenate, the legiſlative and the judicial power (which had been *inſulated*) in one compact body, and has left to each its *neceſſary independence*. He finds that Bonaparté thereby declares himſelf the firſt ſubject of the French people; that it contains the baſis of liberty; but as the French want equality more than liberty, more pains have been taken to remove the diſtinctions by which equality could be wounded,

than exactly to confine liberty to the bounds which insure the public tranquillity.

This nonsense is brought forward by a journal under the immediate direction of the minister of police. Is it possible more impudently to cheat, or more bitterly to sneer, at a thoughtless inattentive nation?

Fouché expresses himself more deceitfully and treacherously than all the rest, on the subject of the new *senatus consultum*, in a circular in which he sends it to the prefects of all the departments. He is not ashamed to assert directly, in defiance of truth, that "the *senatus consultum* re-establishes the primary assemblies, the elections, a national representation. It protects civil liberty—it founds the political edifice on the equality of the citizens—it insures the *independence* of the electors by the duration of their office, and the *dignity* of their conduct by a protecting superintendence." All these palpable falsehoods are mixed with a tissue of hypocritical expressions concerning "the charms of civil liberty, the surest token of a good government," &c.

All this readiness to come into the views of the government; all his zeal in discovering, arresting, and transporting those who, during the troublesome time when the lists were opened for the votes on the Consulate for life, had rendered themselves suspected, or had been active against the First Consul, could not maintain him in his office as minister of police. The innumerable denunciations, which the government had received since its new projects and usurpations, had affected even the minister of police, and rendered him

suspicious

ſuſpicious to the Conſul. The office was diſcontinued, and the police of Paris confided to *Regnier*, the prefect of police, under the inſpection of the Grand Judge, and the miniſter of the department of juſtice. Of all the miniſters, none is ſo hated and deſpiſed as Regnier! and hence, perhaps, Bonaparté thought he could depend moſt ſecurely on him for his ſafety. Fouché was placed by Bonaparté, with a few others, in the Council of State, where he ſits tied down under the eye of the ſovereign. If he gains nothing elſe by this change, he can, however, now enjoy more at eaſe the great eſtates which, during his adminiſtration of the police, he purchaſed for many millions in the neighbourhood of Paris!

The official papers, which ſince that time have made it their buſineſs, on all occaſions where the public voice became a little too audible, to ridicule the ignorance and *politicomania* of the cenſurers, and to diſſeminate ſuch opinions on the cenſured meaſures of government as accorded with its views, have alſo adopted the ſame venal line of conduct relative to the diſcontinuation of the office of miniſter of police. It appears clearly from this diſquiſition, that there are three kinds of police in France, which, if all united in the hands of one miniſter, might eaſily be converted by him to dangerous enterpriſes. The three different kinds of police are thus diſtinguiſhed: *Police local*, which has the care of the cleanlineſs, health, and ſecurity of the cities, objects which properly belong to the commiſſaries of police, and in future will be managed by them. The ſecond is called *Police judiciaire*, which traces out and watches over ſuſpicious perſons whom

the law cannot reach, and whom, together with those whom the law for want of proof acquits, but who remain suspicious to the police, it denounces to the government; and on its order deprives of that liberty which might become dangerous to the state. The Lieutenant *de Police* was always hitherto in France *president ne au chatelet*; this part will in future be wholly under the minister of justice. The third is the *Haute police* or *Police generale*, which extends over all parts of the republic, can trace out all the connections of the mal-contents, opposing them with a degree of strength and combination which they do not possess, so as at all times to control and suppress them. It has innumerable agents dispersed all over France, who have every where the armed force at their command; who have, with the privilege of secrecy, a common center, and the formidable power of seizing persons unprepared as unaccused, and of inflicting immediate punishment on bare suspicion. So enormous a power might become too dangerous in the hands of one man. This will in future be better provided for by the Grand Judge.

Under the new administration of the police, the arrests and deportations became more frequent and more secret. The Temple could no longer contain the great number of prisoners; the state prison of Vincennes was repaired and enlarged, and in August alone upwards of sixty persons of all ranks and ages were deported. The removals to distant departments, of all who were at all loud and bold in their opinions, had no end. These fell chiefly on returned emigrant nobles, who by the equivocal and inconsistent conduct of

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the government and miniſters, were often incenſed to the higheſt degree. It very frequently happened that emigrants who had obtained from the government ſolemn documents for the reſtoration of their former poſſeſſions, which ſtill remained as national property in the hands of the government, when they arrived to take actual poſſeſſion, were turned away becauſe the prefect of the department had received a ſecret order from the miniſter not to reſtore thoſe poſſeſſions! and had not the diſcontented money or wit ſufficient to procure the repeal of this prohibition, in the ſame way in which they, for the moſt part, procured the neceſſary documents, ordid they complain too loudly, nothing more than a hint to the police was wanting to apply the meaſure to them, by which all returned emigrants are, the firſt ten years, under the ſpecial ſuperintendence of the police, and muſt ſubmit, without any oppoſition or objection, to be ordered to any diſtance, and to any place that it ſhall point out, as a meaſure of ſafety!

Among the individuals arreſted and baniſhed, there was even an uncle of Talleyrand's, a Baron D'Archambeau, a returned emigrant, who fell under the ſuſpicion of carrying on a ſecret correſpondence with England.

Many alſo of the generals reſiding in Paris, as *Maſſena*, *Delmas*, *Augereau*, and ſeveral others, were, in the old royal faſhion, ſent to their eſtates; and thoſe who had none at a diſtance from Paris, to remote departments.

Even foreigners were not ſafe from ſuch exile, even if they ventured to complain about letters or parcels which

which they had dispatched by the post, but which had been stopped by the post-office as suspicious and confiscated! Several persons, obnoxious to the government from their connections, way of thinking, or merely for their talents, were forced to leave France. Among these was the celebrated Madame *de Stael*, daughter to Necker, who, as a woman of talents and property, as an independent free writer of activity and influence, had drawn on herself the attention of the government; as also the intelligent free judging Genevois Benjamin Constant, &c.

The last exile of Madame de Stael, was probably occasioned by a new work of her father's: *Dernieres Vues de Politique*, &c. which contends against that mixture of republican and monarchical forms of government which Bonaparté was at the very time so artfully employing to blind the people and cover his views. In other respects, the work is written with great temper: yet, if Necker had lived in Paris, he probably would not have written, and certainly would not have published, it; as little as Voltaire would have written in Paris every thing he sent into the world from Ferney. The powerful and the thinking man must not be placed too near each other: nay, the honest writer must have no daily intercourse with the parasites of fortune; must not draw his pleasures from the fountain round which the effeminate throng. In their company, every sentiment, every thought is sifted and pared down, till it is no longer too coarse for the most dainty stomach. Of what use can an author, thus restrained, be to his readers, or to

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the rising generation? To write as he has done, Necker must be alone: but an extensive acquaintance with the nations at large must be requisite to make Necker a politician. It is clear that he does not understand the age in which he lives, or he would have perceived the only good characteristic it presents—the propensity to compare its wants with the permanent wants of humanity. Necker has penetration sufficient to develope existing evils, to propose better regulations, but his eye fixes itself always on the present alone; and a young reader will ask in vain, why is civil liberty a want that ever returns? In vain does the more informed reader enquire, whence do the civil constitutions proposed by the author derive their support? For he who is not able to point out the fundamental establishments of civil society, on which the public offices, in their different relations to each other, may securely rest, will never build but upon paper. In this important respect, Necker has not proceeded a step farther than the wretchedly fabricated constitutions of the newly revolutionised states. Where civil liberty has long existed, where the enjoyment of it has made it known and beloved, it is easy to build. But France has not been in so good a condition; and, that it never might change for the better, the builders, instead of undertaking to strengthen the fundamental timbers, thought it better elegantly to fit up the rooms. We know very well how far the abode was convenient; but have we enquired whether the convenience of the apartments depend upon the buildings being old or new? and what ought to be done before we proceed to external embellishments?

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One can indeed evade this enquiry, by introducing a power capable of reſtraining every human paſſion. In this caſe, Necker ſays very juſtly: "The ſcience of legiſlation is uſeleſs in a country where it is required that all be ſubmitted to the will of one; all that can then be done, is to give counſels to the ſupreme head."

Yet unlimited ſovereigns themſelves have clearly felt before now, that ſuch an order of things was a mere ſhift. Does not Frederick, in his ſoliloquy, aſk*:

> Mais du pouvoir des rois connoissens l'origine:
> Pensez-vous qu' élèves par une main divine,
> Leur peuple, leur etat, leur ait été commis,
> Comme un troupeau stupide à leurs ordres soumis †?

And does not he ſolve the enigma, as if he had lived to the end of the century?

> Les crimes effrontés, l'artifice des traitres,
> Forcèrent les humains, à se donner des maitres.
> Themis arma leur bras de son glaive vengeur,
> Pour inspirer au vice une utile frayeur‡.

Nay, he does not forget to add:

> D'autres, en usurpant un bien illégitime,
> Devenrent souverains—en prodiguant le crime§.

* See *Epitre à son Esprit.*

† Let us enquire into the origin of kings: do you think that, elevated by a divine hand, their people, their country were delivered to them, like a ſtupid herd, ſubjected to their orders?

‡ The inſolence of vice, the artifice of traitors, obliged men to ſubmit to rulers. Themis armed their hand with her avenging ſword, in order to infuſe into vice a ſalutary terror.

§ Others, ſeizing on what was moſt their due, became ſovereigns by heaping crimes on crimes.

Whoever

Whoever would acquire a clear view of the government of nations, ſhould read, together with this new work of Necker's, *Condorcet's Progrès de l'Esprit humain*, with the ſuppoſition that both writers have derived their ideas from Germany. Both works have their merit; both authors have a penetrating eye, and certainly the beſt intentions. But would the moſt wretched hireling for a German fair have omitted, in the laſt work, the moral principle, without cenſure? Would he not have been obliged, in the firſt, to deduce liberty from human nature, as a right and a duty, ſo that no ſociety of civilized men ſhould unconditionally renounce it from mere motives of prudence? However ill the German performance might have been executed, the point of view was preſcribed; and the nation would not have ſuffered a lower one to be impoſed on it. This is not the caſe with our neighbours, who are in manifold reſpects ſo much more cultivated than we are; with them the point of view is never what is eſſential; frequently it is even an affront to them to attempt to determine it; and as long as it is undetermined, one of ten wavers where one is moſt in the right. Thus, for example, Necker refutes the well known ariſtocratical proverb, *Rien par et tout pour le peuple*, by the evident impoſſibility of the execution; but ſays of this maxim, as long as its execution is taken for granted, *c'eſt a merveille!* juſt as if fortune and right, accidental enjoyment and induſtrious gain, were preciſely the ſame. It is ſufficient therefore if the people be *well governed*; they need never to approach that better ſtate of things, in which they may aſſume their own

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always increasing share in the government. Mankind must have ease and comfort; but why give them political information? This may ever remain the privilege, indeed the very limited privilege, of some favourites of nature. The benevolent Necker scarcely *wished* to say this, yet he does say it.

A contemporary writer has contended, zealously enough, but with feeble weapons, for the free tuition of a nation for freedom, and for its establishment by a republican constitution, secured against all the inroads of despotism. Such is the object of *Camille Jordan* in his pamphlet *On the true sense in which the nation has given its vote for the Consulate for life.* The work has the merit of having appeared at a time when all France was silent, though a very large majority of the nation was against the Consulate for life. *Camille Jordan* published it soon after the lists were opened; not in order to impede the First Consul in the attainment of this great proof of the national gratitude, but to direct his attention to what he owed the nation on this account; and what the nation, or rather he himself, and those who thought like him, expected from the Consul for the future. He expected to find in the proud ruler the love of that honour which becomes prudent in the servant of the state: or his aim was "*de le piquer d'ambition.*" He was childish enough to fancy, that he would not be wasting words, whilst he reminded the First Consul of all that was still deficient in his constitution of the 18th of Brumaire, and of all the ground he had yet to go over, in order at least to give and insure to the nation that portion of true rational liberty which

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it had so long combated and suffered in vain. This liberty is to consist of perfect personal security to the citizens, which may put an end to all arbitrary arrests and deportations hitherto in practice; the full enjoyment of civil liberty; the responsibility of ministers and officers of government; the independence of judicial proceedings; well constituted municipalities chosen by the communes; genuine liberty of speaking, writing, and printing; regular free elections; at all events, two chambers, as in the English constitution, but chosen and regulated in the best manner; a limitation of the army, and repressing it within its due bounds; a true national militia, as a bulwark for the protection of property and the defence of liberty; legal regulations for filling up the place of first magistrate when vacant, but on no account an hereditary succession: and thus has the well meaning wisher and adviser named, by anticipation, almost every article which Bonaparté, since attaining the Consulate for life, has not only not done, but what, by his *senatus consultum*, he has wholly annihilated, so far as his first constitution promised and secured it to the nation! The good republican, by enumerating, in the simplicity of his heart, all the good that was wanting, has, perhaps, only guided the proud ruler to the way by which he might remove every obstacle to his views. The uniform respect and moderation observable in the style of the only republican who ventured to break silence, were indeed not much calculated to check the bold usurper in his impetuous career. The despot and his slaves only jeered at the contents. They caused the work to be prohibited, without confiscating

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it; and then, in the public prints, expreſſed a doubt, whether the prohibition proceeded from the government, or whether the author contrived it himſelf, to make his work ſell the better. In all official papers it was treated with ſtill greater malignity than had been already exerciſed on Necker's work. Both were attacked in particular by the *Journal des Defenſeurs de la Patrie*, which was at that time compiled under the immediate influence of the miniſter of police Fouché, by the infamous *Barrere*, with all the baſe arms of that deteſtable ſatellite. This contemptible ſpokeſman of all the tyrants and monſters that have diſgraced the French revolution, is now again in the ſervice of the government, the moſt active inſtrument of the *cenſure*. With the ſame cunning and impudence with which he ſerved all parties, and in deciſive moments always ſhuffled from one to the other, he has contrived to evade all the ſentences of deportation which have been iſſued againſt him. Probably he has again prepared, as in Robeſpiere's time, one pamphlet in defence, and another in condemnation, of Bonaparté's meaſures, ready for every event! The preſent chief, however, will hardly ever permit him to expreſs himſelf openly: whatever he may do or obtain, he will never feel himſelf ſo ſecure as to loſe ſight for a moment of the moſt anxious care for his perſonal ſafety.

This was fully ſhewn in the ſitting of the ſenate on the 21ſt of Auguſt, at which Bonaparté aſſiſted, for the firſt time, as preſident of the ſenate. It was not enough that the Firſt Conſul was ſurrounded by the governor of the palace, the commanding generals of the conſular guard, of the gen-d'armes, of the artillery

artilleries, and of the corps of engineers; and all these surrounded by whole corps of the cavalry of the consular guards and the Mamalukes; the foot guards, and all the troops of the line in Paris, were drawn out, and formed a thick phalanx the whole way to the senate. In his suite, for the sake of increasing the pomp, were the two other Consuls, the ministers, many counsellors of state, the secretary of state, and the prefects of the palace. Ten senators received him at the bottom of the steps leading to the palace, and conducted him into the hall of the assembly, which was also well-lined with guards. His two brothers, Lucien and Joseph, who, as members of the supreme council of the Legion of Honour, were also become members of the senate, first took the oath, at the hands of the First Consul; which example was followed by the other senators. In this oath, at least, those words of mockery on the people, *liberty* and *equality*, did not appear; it was not indeed necessary, as there was no populace present, who, perhaps, might be still imposed upon by such words. Some counsellors of state, as orators of the government, produced important projects for new *senatus consulta*, which, of course, were all approved. The first regulates the sittings of the senate, and the ceremonial thereby to be observed; the second, the order in which the five series are to be called to appoint deputies to the Legislative Body, and to mark the distribution of the present members in the departments, and the members of the Tribunate, who are to go out in the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 16th year; the third, the form to be observed in the dissolution of the Legislative

Body and the Tribunate; the fourth, the determining of the four-and-twenty cities whose mayors must be present at the taking of the oath, which the citizen appointed to be the successor of the First Consul, according to the regulations of the organizing *senatus consultum*, will have to take. In this oath, also, the words liberty and equality are omitted; it runs thus: "I swear to maintain the constitution; to respect freedom of conscience; to oppose the return of the feudal institutions; never to make war but for the defence and glory of the republic; and to apply the power with which I shall be invested solely to the happiness of the people, from and for whom I shall have received it."

In order to be something more than Bonaparté's acknowledged successor during his life, the poor successor should only be able to swear further, that to maintain Bonaparté's constitution, he would be Bonaparté himself. With this person, however, in the choice of whom Bonaparté's safety for life would surely be the first point in view, this might be as little the case, as Cromwell's son was Cromwell, and remained protector. Many think that Bonaparté has, *in petto*, destined no other than his brother Joseph to be his successor, but that he will not publish this in his life-time, but declare his will in a testament. Such a testament, however, might perhaps have no better fate than that of Louis XIV.

On returning from this grand procession, in which Bonaparté was accompanied by the ignorant gaping people with loud huzzas! Madame Bonaparte could welcome her consort more securely as an unlimited sovereign,

vereign, than ever her former unhappy Queen could have welcomed her good Louis. Both could now indulge the more safely in their propensity to royal pomp; and this was done with boundless profusion. Many millions had been already expended on the interior improvement of the Thuilleries, Malmaison, and St. Cloud; and now unlimited orders, and unbounded authority, were given for every expence, in order to make St. Cloud a much more brilliant royal residence than it had ever been before. To many of the former royal chateaus extensive parks were added; and a number of hounds and hunters were ordered from England, though Bonaparté is no particular friend of the chace. The domestics, already very numerous, and attendants of every kind usual in any court in Europe, were very much augmented; great expence was not spared to procure servants of the old court; besides the private theatre already existing at Malmaison, a court theatre was erected at St. Cloud, as formerly at Versailles. A number of musicians were engaged to be employed in the celebration of the mass at St. Cloud as in the Thuilleries, and at the French and Italian operas which were to be performed in the above theatres. Bonaparté appointed for himself four *prefects of the palace* (the number was afterwards increased) who, in some respects, take the place of the former *gentils hommes du roi*; and, besides their duty about the person of the Consul, have also the chief superintendence over the principal Paris theatres, a particular *censure* on the pieces to be played, which have already passed the commission of the censure and the police; and, besides, a special inspection over

the repreſentation itſelf, in which they take exact care, for example, that the actors, when they have to ſpeak any thing aſide, do not turn their backs to the Conſul's box, even if it ſhould be unoccupied! For Madame Bonaparté were appointed four maids of *honour*; each of whom, beſides free maintenance and attendance at court, has a ſalary of 8000 livres per annum!

As Bonaparté had poſſeſſed himſelf of the great diamond called the Regent, which ſparkles on his ſword of ſtate among the trophies over his bed, ſo did Madame Bonaparté alſo appropriate to herſelf the golden ſtate toilet of the unhappy Queen, which, till that time, means had been found to conceal from all the daring robbers whom the French revolution had produced. It is not likely that ſenſibility and tenderneſs of conſcience in Madame Bonaparté, as ſhe contemplates her face in the glaſs of the late beautiful Queen, occaſions her to appear every day leaner and uglier than heretofore!

One thing was ſtill wanting to a perfect court eſtabliſhment, which, with all their pains and all their gold, they were unable to procure—this was a numerous levee, graced by the attendance of the old nobility. Notwithſtanding all that Bonaparté had done, or thinks he has done for them, in permitting their return, and, ſubſequent to it, whatever pains Madame Bonaparté takes in paying her court to Madame de Monteſſan, (the *chèrie amie* of the laſt Duke of Orleans, and whoſe houſe is now the chief rendezvous of the genuine old nobility) all ſhe has hitherto obtained is the indulgence of introducing her family

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o little assemblies, held at the hotel of Madame Montesan by the ancient nobility, where Madame Bonaparte has the honour of being surrounded by dukes, marquisses, counts and barons, and of hearing all those alluring titles of the good old times sound continually in her ears; but to gain over any of the members, even the least of this select distinguished circle, for the service of her own court, has proved absolutely impossible. The ex-minister Segur, who is again in the service of the state, had allowed his son to solicit the place of vice-prefect of the palace, and immediately the whole of the ancient nobility rose in arms against a man whose family has had to boast of a marshal of France, and is classed amongst those of the first distinction. All the citizens with the old *de* before their names, who strut in the service of the new court, in the liveries of prefects and the like, are numbered by the rigorists among the little country nobleſſe of old times.

The returned nobles are thus the only persons who still form a kind of opposition against the First Consul. They live wholly among themselves and with foreigners; they have not even the slightest connexion with the new court; but wholly disregard all the festivities, the brilliant assemblies, and luxurious parties to which it gives rise. They are also the only persons who have not adopted the new court dress, nor any thing of all that distinguishes the *upstarts*. Even those who have preserved their ample fortunes, or so much as to be able to live at a considerable expence, make no public display of what they possess. In small circles, however, they form the polished society of Paris;

and as they are all people of a refined knowledge of the world, many of them well-informed, and of great celebrity; as many of the old French academicians and *savans* frequent their society, besides enlightened foreigners, who are disgusted at the voluptuous and tasteless manners of the upstarts, and had been accustomed to the good old French style of politeness; as all these court their company, of which they are by no means prodigal, one really finds among them, and among them only, the revival of what Paris formerly was, which had so many attractions for every man of taste, politeness, and refined sensuality. If Madame Bonaparté, who, as maid of honor, lived with the old French court, feels the want of these allurements, one cannot blame her for endeavouring to gain admission to the only good company now in Paris. But she will, probably, be obliged to give up the hope of getting them into the service of her court. Whatever pains may be taken for this end, they seem all to say: "We rejoice at seeing Bonaparté re-establish the old court, and all that appertains to it:"—That is as it should be; but not for *such wretches* as now compose it.—When once all is in order, the right master will easily be found.

According to the above supposition, that which attracts Madame Bonaparté to the company of the old nobility, must also (setting their pride out of the question) keep these away from Bonaparté's court. The manners there in vogue exhibit no trace of the old French amenity, ease, and vivacity. All are fixed in slavish adoration of the First Consul, who treats them all in the same dry, cold, and harsh manner; and

and who, even when he attempts to be affable and witty, displays nothing better than stiff or sarcastic raillery. His way of expressing himself retains always something harsh and vulgar; he frequently uses expressions that he has learned in the company of rough soldiers, and which were formerly avoided in good company. He can say the rudest and most insulting things directly to a man's face, with perfect phlegm; and almost every thing he says is accompanied with a deep, hoarse, disgusting laugh, which alone would be sufficient to repel all confidence, were he to utter even the most agreeable things. The first officers of state are frequently obliged to put up with expressions from him, which would not easily drop from the mouth of a mild sovereign: thus, when he thinks he has detected one of his ministers or counsellors in a contradiction, he frequently exclaims, "*Vous êtes un homme de mauvaise foi*;" or, "*Vous me trompez.*" *

To his own wife, as to other ladies, he often says the harshest things upon their dress or behaviour, when they appear to him too free, and this in full company. The handsome Madame Tallien, who belonged to the confidential circle of Madame Bonaparté, happened, during a prolonged absence of her husband, to enter the saloon of Madame Bonaparté, then full of company, in a state of pregnancy. The Consul asked her, in a loud voice, how she dared to visit his wife in such a situation? and ordered her to leave the room.

* You are a treacherous man; or, you deceive me.

The first time that the wife of the minister Talleyrand (who, like Madame *Grand*, is said to have lived rather freely) appeared in the circles of Madame Bonaparté, he said to her, "I hope that Madame Talleyrand will cause Madame Grand to be forgotten." Overwhelmed with confusion, she is said to have replied, "That she would always conduct herself according to the example of Madame Bonaparté." Were Madame Talleyrand a woman of wit, the answer might be considered as really witty.

When the first singers of the opera, the day after the shocking affair of the infernal machine, on the evening after which they had performed, in his presence, Haydn's Creation, came to congratulate him on his happy escape, he said to them, "Yesterday you sung like hogs!"

As the National Institute was to be dissolved, and to adopt the model of the four old academies (none of which, however, would admit of musicians and actors) Bonaparté said to one of the latter: "The mathematicians will throw the chamber-pot at your heads; they will have no more to say to you."

Even the foreign ministers, in whom the person of the master they represent is respected by the rulers of all civilized states, are not exempt from harsh and insulting expressions, either during an audience, or a visit to Madame Bonaparté. In the last winter, the English and Swedish ministers in particular frequently and severely experienced the harshness and ill humour of the Chief Consul. If, at times, he happens to say any thing agreeable in presence of an ambassador, it is generally

generally addreſſed to ſome other attendant, as if with the view of mortifying the ambaſſador.

For what remains, there is more dignity in his appearance than might be expected from his diminutive and very lean perſon, his inanimate yellow face, his narrow education, and unpoliſhed manners. His whole deportment diſplays more of that firmneſs of character which his phyſiognomy expreſſes, and of the conſciouſneſs of his greatneſs, than that benevolence of feeling which alone can impart to external forms the pleaſing charm which attracts and engages the affections of others. In this he has ſeldom the good fortune to ſucceed; though many weak perſons, who appear before him with fear and trembling, may be more or leſs prejudiced in his favour from the very nature of their apprehenſions. They leave him with ſatisfaction, becauſe they have eſcaped without inſult; or, perhaps, have obtained a nod of the head from him, generally, however, given with ſo ſtiff a neck, and ſo ſlightly, that he muſt look ſharp who wiſhes to obſerve it. He never is ſeen to bend any other part of his body, either to princes, the ladies, or any other perſons.

At the ſtated monthly audiences given by him and his wife, the etiquette is regulated and as formal as in the oldeſt European courts, except that genuflection is not yet introduced. Thoſe who appear at them are confined to the uſual coſtume of other courts. The Firſt Conſul does not appear at them in the military uniform in which on the ſame day he attends the grand parade, but even to the bag on his hair is in full

full court dreſs, only that he does not change the form and colour of his clothes. At theſe audiences he almoſt always appears in his richly embroidered Conſular uniform, in which the two other Conſuls alſo parade, as do the miniſters in their ſtate uniforms. Only once, in a grand audience of congratulation, he had on the uniform of the counſellors of ſtate. The attendance of military perſons, and the parade of court-ſervants, is extremely numerous and ſplendid on ſuch occaſions.

At theſe public audiences, every one belonging to the miniſtry, or to Bonaparté's ſuite, from the Second Conſul to the guard at the door, has his appointed place, which he never quits for a moment, and where he remains totally motionleſs, often without addreſſing a word to his equally ſtiff neighbours. Bonaparté alone goes round the interior of the circle made for him by foreign miniſters and other ſtrangers. On the introduction of a new ambaſſador, the miniſter for foreign affairs, now the celebrated Ex-Biſhop Talleyrand, ſteps alſo into the circle. As a foil to his own deportment, Bonaparté ſhould ever have this emaciated being at his ſide. It is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive a more inſignificant, a more inanimate form in a brilliant ſtate dreſs. Extreme relaxation of body, and a cadaverous phyſiognomy, denote, in Talleyrand, a man exhauſted and unnerved by every poſſible ſenſual enjoyment. Clump-footed by nature, and debilitated by debaucheries, he moves heavily along with tottering ſteps: his looks, his geſtures and expreſſions indicate the languor of ſatiety, and a contempt for every thing that ſurrounds him; ſo that he muſt be a very

very penetrating physiognomist who, in this disgusting covering, in these creeping motions, in these small remains of life, in these nearly extinguished light blue eyes, and the remaining insipid blond character of his whole countenance, can discover the artful intriguing bishop and diplomatist, by whom France and Europe have so long been deceived!

Since the time of Mirabeau, no man has had in France the settled and universal double reputation of moral corruption and distinguished talents. However great and consistent, both as a statesman and orator, Mirabeau shewed himself, during the short time in which he gave rise to the revolution, and, with popularity on his side, exerted his prodigious powers, with a view to the establishment of his invariable aim, a constitutional monarchy; yet his madly excessive debaucheries during his political career, which accelerated his death, and in the end caused him to accept bribes from the court, will survive the remembrance of his revolutionary greatness.

From the beginning of the revolution, the sensual supple Bishop of Autün was the friend and *compagnon de débauche* of Mirabeau. The Bishop Talleyrand Périgord descended from one of the oldest families of France, was the first who deserted the clergy and nobility to join the *tiers état*. This was when the latter, at the instigation of Sieyes and Mirabeau, fully confident in their strength, had constituted and proclaimed themselves a National Assembly, and claimed the powers of all the three estates. He was with Sieyes in the select committee of eight members of the Constituent Assembly, who formed the plan of the

the first constitution, and made the proposal, which they carried through in spite of all opposition, that the *declaration of the rights of man* should be prefixed to the constitution. Aided by Sieyes and Mirabeau, he founded the Jacobin club, and afterwards the new club of 1789. On the 2d of November 1789, he was the first who proposed the general alienation of the estates of the clergy, declaring that the clergy had no right of property, like other proprietors, as their estates were only entrusted to them for the expences of divine service, and might be applied to other purposes. He zealously contended against the opinion of the fanatic and imperious priests and nobles, who wished to declare the Catholic religion the dominant religion of the state. He contended also warmly against many other abuses; as, for example, against state-lotteries, on which he, at that time, published a forcible essay*! He zealously contended, that the honours of the pantheon should be decreed to Mirabeau, Voltaire, and Rousseau; and that the church of St. Geneviève should be appropriated to

* This well written essay opposes lotteries on the [illegible] ground as Mirabeau assumed in the Moniteur. It says, [illegible] when the National Convention shall turn its eyes on the lottery, it will perceive that this execrable invention, calculated to subvert all the principles of morality in the same degree that it violates all the proportions of fair arithmetic, ruins the people, whose morals and subsistence are continually in danger; destroys the love of labour; introduces fraud and deceit; ingenders thefts, assassinations, atrocities, and (horrible to say,) it presents the hideous spectacle of a government exercising the vilest art of swindling; and sacrificing the innocence and welfare of mankind to the miserable gain of a few millions!

this

this purpose! He celebrated mass on the altar of liberty, in the Field of Mars, on the great festival of the confederation; consecrated the standards of the departments, and called them the holy standards of liberty! As soon as the affairs of the constitutional party began to appear in a critical and dangerous situation, he contrived to procure from the ministry a secret mission to England; being sent away from thence, he thought he could go to no other than the land of liberty, and, with many French emigrants, embarked for America! As his name was found in the papers of the king which was produced from a secret drawer, and on which the chief accusations against the unfortunate Louis were founded, he was placed by the Convention on the list of emigrants. He availed himself, however, of a convenient opportunity to get himself erased from the list by the same Convention, and restored to the possession of his property. He then returned to France, and was appointed minister by the Directory who followed the Convention! On the entrance of Sieyes into the Directory, who knew the episcopal renegado too well to trust him, he retired, with the acquisition of considerable wealth, from the ministry, and contrived, during the disastrous epocha of a new violent directorial revolution, to shove an honest German into his place; whom with as little conscience he shoved aside again as soon as he could re-enter the ministry with safety!

In the mean time, in conjunction with Lucien Bonaparté, his confidential *compagnon de débauche*, as Mirabeau had been formerly, he had clandestinely prepared Napoleon's return from Egypt; and, now

united

united with the latter, directed the ſtroke which was aimed at once againſt Barras, the firſt patron of Bonaparté, and againſt Sieyes, the ancient rival of our ex-biſhop. The ſtroke fell juſt as it had been intended: Bonaparté ſoon ſtood alone at the head, as Firſt Conſul; and Talleyrand, as chief miniſter, at his ſide. What he has effected in this important poſt, during theſe three or four years, is univerſally known, but leſs generally abroad. By his example and authority, the moſt ſhameleſs bribery and official corruption has been introduced and carried in France to the very higheſt pitch. At all times the vice of bribery prevailed there more than any where elſe; but certain forms were obſerved; it was neceſſary to think of ſome indirect method, in order to apply to a miniſter and his bureau the heart-ſoftening preſcription: now, the miniſter and his clerk, like a general and his commiſſary in a hoſtile country, ſay *(Il me faut autant,)* "I muſt have ſo much," which if you do not give, you are ſure to obtain nothing, be your right and your claim what they may. Poſſibly, alſo, it is leſs known abroad than at Paris, that it was principally Talleyrand who effected the recal of the nobles and prieſts. He who formerly propoſed to deprive them of their eſtates, and thereby prepared their baniſhment; he who formerly contended againſt their declaration of a ſtate-religion, now helps them to their recal, and to make their religion predominant, he ſolicits a diſpenſation from the Pope in order to marry a woman with whom he had long cohabited, as many had done before him. Thus, this early proclaimer of the rights of the people, this zealous oppoſer

poſer of lotteries, is now the chief inſtrument of a government that tramples under foot even the beſt founded rights of the people; and of the endleſs multiplication of lotteries, and all public games of chance, has made a well-calculated branch of its revenues! Thus, this deifier of Mirabeau, Voltaire, and Rouſſeau, abets, with the greateſt obſequiouſneſs, all the plans of a government, which, in declaiming againſt thoſe men, condemns all freedom of ſentiment, and endeavours to overthrow all liberal information! He may indeed, again, as in his former apology, ſay, "I am miniſter for foreign affairs; what do I care for the interior?" But thoſe who have cloſely obſerved him, and the idol he has erected for his own purpoſes, know very well how little he cares for any thing that is good.

Leading the moſt voluptuous and debauched life, he heaps treaſures upon treaſures, and feels himſelf ſo ſecure in his plenitude of influence, that he treats all around him with the utmoſt arrogance and contempt. The moſt diſtinguiſhed foreigners, even ladies, muſt be preſented to him [illegible] to Bonaparté; and he receives them with even more laconic hauteur than the Conſul, often with a mere HE! or a nod of the head.

His influence on Bonaparté increaſes every day, and muſt continue to increaſe, as he poſſeſſes, in a thouſand things, the *ſavoir-faire*, of which Bonaparté and thoſe who immediately ſurround him, have ſo little notion.

Another ſly fox, however awkward his exterior may be, is Cardinal Caprara, who has more influence on Bonaparté and thoſe near him, than the former perhaps

perhaps imagines. This double influence has been very well expreſſed in a caricature drawing. Talleyrand, with his wretched figure and lame feet, leads Bonaparté by both hands, and makes him dance, while Cardinal Caprara, grinning, plays the fiddle! The following circumſtance occaſioned the drawing in queſtion, which, probably, no one in Paris will venture to engrave: At a private aſſembly, invited by Madame Bonaparté, the Conſul was induced to join Madame Louiſe, his daughter-in-law, in a dance, which he went through with ſo much awkwardneſs as to ſhew that he had never excelled in the art.

On this cheerful occaſion, he alſo found an opportunity of ſhewing the unfeelingneſs of his heart, as of his deſpotic pretenſions, which will hear of no diſtinctions but that of maſter and ſervant: when preparing for his dance, he unbuckled his ſabre, and offered it, without looking round, to the perſon next him. This happened unfortunately to be an officer of diſtinction, whoſe *point d'honneur* was hurt by it; he therefore retired a ſtep or two, in the expectation that ſome one of the ſervants would come forward and take the ſabre. Bonaparté gave him an angry look, and exclaimed, in his rough, terrible voice: "Indeed! I was quite miſtaken!" He then beckoned to a general, of whoſe obſequious readineſs he was certain, and gave him the ſabre, which he took with eagerneſs. When the too delicate officer returned home at night, he already found an order to depart next day for the army at St. Domingo! The ſame hard fate is ſaid to have fallen on a young officer who, at the ſame aſſembly, forgot himſelf ſo far as to cut ſome merry capers, and trod

trod on the foot of the Firſt Conſul, whom he did not imagine to be ſo near him.

Another caricature, pregnant with meaning, was occaſioned by the re-introduction of the Catholic religion, and repreſents Bonaparté falling out of the arms of victory, with his noſe into the holy water-pot!

It is ſurpriſing that at the time of the introduction of the Catholic religion of the new court, and the court eſtabliſhment, ſome Engliſh caricaturiſt did not profit by the then greater facility of approaching the new court, to note down all the awkwardneſs to which the upſtarts were every moment expoſed; he certainly would have made his fortune with them in London.

Many public occurrences would have preſented to ſuch a penetrating obſerver, and characteriſtic deſigner, to a Hogarth, admirable ſubjects. As for example, at the great ſolemnity of the re-eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion, on Eaſter Sunday, the care that was taken for Bonaparté's perſonal ſafety. In the ſuperb old church of Nôtre Dame, the maſter-piece of Gothic architecture, there had been erected, between the choir before the high altar and the reſt of the church, a little raiſed chapel, with wooden pillars painted like marble, in which Bonaparté, with his neareſt attendants, ſeparated from all the reſt of the congregation, and ſo ſnugly encloſed as to be ſecure from every attack: this ſhapeleſs ſtructure, not only ſhut up the acceſs to the choir and the high altar, but prevented all thoſe in the lower part of the church from having the high altar at all in view.

The more than royal pomp, the appearance of all the ſtate coſtumes, the richeſt military uniforms, and (cenſured as ſigns of feudaliſm, and then firſt diſplayed) the rich liveries of the Conſuls, of the miniſters of ſtate, and the foreign ambaſſadors (who to their infinite trouble received notice from the government to appear in its train with their coaches and four horſes); the dazzling ſplendor from the great crown diamond on the Firſt Conſul's ſword, and the immenſely extravagant lace trappings of his mother, wife, ſiſters, and ſiſters-in-law; every thing, on that day, was magnificent in the extreme. The republican hero, who, like the former moſt Chriſtian kings, was received at the church door by the dignified clergy, amidſt the diſcharge of cannon, firſt bent his knee at the maſs of the cardinal legate, and then received the oath from the biſhops; whilſt directly oppoſite to all theſe artful ſpiritual peace-makers, ſat the honeſt Mameluke at the ſide of the uneaſy Conſul!

All this, however, pleaſed the mob of Paris; it applauded and huzza'd this, as all other brilliant proceſſions: but thoſe who had witneſſed, at the early part of the revolution, the apotheoſis of Voltaire, or the indeſcribably grand feſtival of the confederation, clearly ſaw the difference between a genuine national feſtival of an enthuſiaſtic people, and mere courtly and prieſtly ceremony, accompanied and applauded by a gaping populace. A great part of the city was, however, by the order of the government, and the care of the police, illuminated in the evening.

The thirty days general indulgence, which the cardinal legate proclaimed for all ſins committed during

the

the ten heathenish years, to all who, during that time, should confess and take the sacrament, was, however, generally laughed at even by the common people, and is said to have met with very few customers.

The official papers, and the Moniteur in particular, exulted, "That the Roman and Augsburg Christians had given ear to the call of the ruler of France, so as to become brethren; and that sectaries embraced under the standard of patriotism." *Gregoire* and *Boisgelin* (who, at the grand festival, preached on the re-establishment of religion) were united in the belief, that "true philosophy had again found its natural allies; that false philosophy, deprived of all power and of the system of abstraction, vanished before the truth;" and lastly, that, "destructive animosities would now subside in the bosom of the church, as turbid water in the crystal of a pure fountain."

On the other side, an adversary of the Concordat published some letters of the senator (formerly bishop) *Gregoire*, and of the constitutional bishop of Angoulême *La Combe*, in order to shew "what degree of unanimity exists between the Gallican church and the Holy See; what degree of esteem the legate enjoys; and in what point of view the apostles of schism regarded the Concordat. In their insolence and presumption they remain ever the same. Far from thinking they stand in need of pardon themselves, they conceive themselves entitled to pardon others. The legate urges all to a recantation, which is obstinately refused; he offers a pardon, which is rejected with contempt; in the house of Mr. Portalis, (the new minister of the spiritual department) and in that

of the Conſul himſelf, he ſees himſelf expoſed to the ridicule of the philoſophers, and the accuſations of the moſt contemptible of the conſtitutional clergy," &c.

What treatment will the legate experience from the new philoſophers of nature, and the theophilanthropiſts, after prevailing on the Firſt Conſul wholly to prohibit their public meetings!

In his pompous general advertiſement of indulgence, the cardinal is, indeed, much too vulgar for refined Frenchmen. He begins: "The war is at length terminated, and peace is reſtored to France. At this the French rejoice; and ſtill more that the Catholic religion has regained its ancient liberty," &c. After much common place, in honour of the Firſt Conſul, and of the Pope, he calls upon the French, "to free themſelves from the ſlavery of the devil, by the healing waters of repentance;" and promiſes to all thoſe who, during the thirty days of indulgence, ſhall confeſs to any prieſt they chooſe, and take the ſacrament, the entire remiſſion of all their ſins!

For Frenchmen of the inferior claſſes, he complies too far with the economical political ideas of the Firſt Conſul; for, except from principal feſtivals, viz. Chriſtmas, the Aſcenſion, the Aſſumption of the Virgin, and All Saints, he has aboliſhed all other holidays, that the French people may not be kept too many days from their uſual work, and to relieve them from frequently going to maſs. The French Catholics have now fewer feſtivals than the Proteſtants; and this little circumſtance may perhaps in time increaſe the inclination of the people to go over to the Proteſtant religion. This inclination has already been

repeatedly

repeatedly expreſſed by pupils in the Prytaneums, and other Pariſian ſchools, and the parents have not unfrequently teſtified their readineſs to conſent; but as to children whom the government cauſes to be educated and inſtructed, the liberty has been conſtantly refuſed them. In the departments, it is ſaid, this inclination to deliver themſelves from the reſtraint of conſcience, has ſhewn itſelf frequently in whole families; and in ſeveral cities, particularly Amiens and Arles, there are far more Proteſtants than is generally ſuppoſed. The government is very watchful in this reſpect, and it has already been frequently reported, that it would procure a particular bull from the Pope, that no one may be allowed to change his religion without the expreſs permiſſion of the government. In the public declarations, ſuch men as now ſit at the helm, and whoſe opinions take the lead, it is diſguſting to an impartial reaſoner to hear the words Proteſtant, philoſopher*, encyclopediſt, economiſt, *principes idiologue* illuminate, democrat, jacobin, terroriſt, *homme de ſang*, &c. every where employed as ſynonimous terms. Does man, as a moral being, ſee and diſtinguiſh things rightly only while he looks from below upwards? and does he, when placed on an eminence, miſtake and confound

* One Mr. Fievée, who has lately published a particular work against the philosophers of the eighteenth century, and against the English, defines the philosophy of the eighteenth century, with much simplicity, as follows: "I mean by the philosophy of the eighteenth century all that is false in morals, legislation and politics." He afterwards names, as the philosophers whom he has in his mind, Voltaire, Rousseau, Mably, Raynal, and Helvetius.

every thing?—Or is it neceſſary, in the firſt inſtance, to ſtand on high, in order to ſee, in a true light, the littleneſs and deſpicability of the human ſwarm below? the incapacity and the vices of the aſpiring throng? Who then ſhall reproach the ſucceſsful hero, whom no affectionate participating feelings ever bound to humanity, ſurrounded as he is by baſe egotiſts, by ſhameleſs flatterers, by greedy ſlaves; applauded by the moſt corrupt mob; dreaded and cajoled by all as far as his eye extends over the inhabited world; if he deſpiſes all mankind, and conſiders them as neither capable nor deſerving of the liberal high cultivation, and genuine freedom, which, when united, conſtitute the pureſt bliſs of human exiſtence?—How muſt he be confirmed in his hateful opinions, when a whole loquacious nation, forgetting all the violences, cabals and intrigues, that have raiſed him and his aſſociates to their actual height, exhauſt on him all the forms and expreſſions of flattery! When his corrupt epiſcopal miniſter exalts him on a public feſtival to a *god*, and all with loud acclaim pay homage to the new divinity; and as he ſtands ſatiated and ſurfeited with immoderate fumes of incenſe, one paraſite ſtands before him, and ends his ſhameleſs adulatory ſpeech by lamenting, "That he dares not to praiſe him as he ought, becauſe his temper, ſo indulgent in other reſpects, is in this particular far too rigid! It is evident that heaven will never inſpire one man, not even Bonaparté, with every ſpecies of courage; and therefore it had refuſed him (who is the *flower of modeſty!*) the courage to endure even the ſlighteſt and moſt deſerved praiſe!"?

Such

Such were literally the expreſſions of *Dutheil*, who, in the name of the National Inſtitute, congratulated the Firſt Conſul on the concluſion of the peace! Dutheil, the well known tranſlator of Plutarch's work, "On the Means of diſtinguiſhing between a Flatterer and a Friend!"

In the midſt of this homage, laviſhed on him from all ſides, with which not a breath of cenſure, not a ſyllable of blame is mixed, the hero, intoxicated with vanity, muſt in the end forget that he has rendered every free expreſſion of ſentiment impoſſible; for where legal oppoſition, and the dagger of the aſſaſſin, bring down equal deſtruction on the head of the refractory, then all blame is mute. Even the moſt reſolute opponent will hypocritically bend his knee, watching, with eyes greedy of vengeance, for the moment when he may give with ſecurity the avenging blow. If the bold fortunate uſurper be not every where the moſt artful among the artful, the moſt alert among the watchful, the moſt rapid among the avenging, he is never ſecure from the Judas's kiſs, which is the watchward to his ruin; and granted that he be the moſt artful among the artful, the moſt alert among the watchful, the moſt rapid among the avenging, and that the kiſs of Judas ſhould prove no more than a prelude to the death of the traitor —O God! what an exiſtence!

Overloaded and ſatiated with the adulation of the Pariſians, Bonaparté (till the Engliſh ambaſſador ſhould arrive, whoſe coming was ſtill delayed, and even till the month of November), made a tour to Havre, Rouen, and the weſtern coaſts, in order to put

these in a better state of defence, and at the same time receive the homage of the provinces. All the servants of government, and of the municipalities were of course not wanting in the most exaggerated marks of homage and adulation, which were greedily received every where, even in the smallest towns, by the Consul and his wife; for on this occasion she accompanied him, and, as usual, he had a very numerous suite of general and civil officers, with many ladies, and servants of every description. The municipal officers, the clergy, citizens and citizens' daughters, always made separate speeches and presents to him, as to Madame Bonaparté. A priest, in his address to the Consul, called him, "*L'homme de la droite du Très Haut, qui commande le respect et l'étonnement a tout l'univers* *!" The innocent young women of Beauvais, who, with the author of their discourse, had probably figured to themselves the person of the hero, in all the warmth of their imaginations, called him, "*L'Hercule Français!*" to whom they brought their "*sacrifices and libations.*" How did they most likely wonder, at the unexpectedly small, lean, yellow figure of the hero! But venal orators are not so nice; they spoke also to Madame Bonaparté, of "*graces toutes puissantes,*" of "*vertus,*" and "*inépuisable bonté celeste dont vous êtes la plus séduisante image* †!" At Havre, as formerly to the good *Louis* and his beautiful consort, the air, "*Où peut-on être mieux, qu'au sein de sa famille,*"

* The man of the right hand of the Most High, who commands the respect and astonishment of the universe.

† All powerful graces, virtues, and the inexhaustible divine goodness of which you are the most seducing image!

famille," was played and ſung to them both at a public entertainment. As a ſecond proof how much the French have loſt the ſenſe of propriety, the Engliſh ambaſſador was received, almoſt at the ſame time, at Calais, with the ſame ſong.

It is often wondered at abroad, that Bonaparté, in all his journies into the interior, takes with him his wife and her ſuite, to the great burden of the inhabitants both of the country and the towns. The Firſt Conſul, in fact, never eats without her, and always ſleeps in the ſame bed with her; and this conſtant company of Madame Bonaparté is one of the well calculated meaſures for the Conſul's ſafety. A hundred little regulations, which in appearance are only for her convenience, and are carefully adhered to wherever they ſleep, would, in the light of meaſures for his perſonal ſecurity, appear far too little and mean in the eyes of the French. She too, as well as all the family, knows how to turn ſuch journies to her advantage. Never did a favourite, accompanying the ſovereign, more readily accept all that condeſcending people can offer; and when one conſiders this ever eager rapacity, together with the unparalleled prodigality in every other reſpect with which Bonaparté, at the expence of the ſtate, makes all the individuals of his family *millionnaires*, we muſt either impute the meaneſt and moſt inſatiable covetouſneſs to the French as well as in the Italian members of the family, or conclude that all this betrays a conſciouſneſs of inſecurity, which would willingly be prepared againſt the worſt that may happen in future.

On the journey in queſtion, the whole road was, as heretofore,

heretofore, lined by numerous military detachments, which attended the Conſul, furrounded by his own guard, from ſtation to ſtation: and during this progreſs, Bonaparté, perhaps, firſt perceived that he was no more the idol, the firſt hero of the army. The troops, which ſhortly before had taken ſeveral opportunities of teſtifying their zeal and enthuſiaſm towards the brave Moreau, whom the Conſul utterly neglects, remained cold and ſilent at his approach. In many places, alſo, numerous complaints of the army, on the neglect it ſuffered, reached his ears.

Though the price of proviſions is doubled and tripled, the common French ſoldier ſtill receives no more than the old pay of five ſous (two-pence half-penny) per diem, with a pound and a half of bread. The horſe and foot have the ſame trifling pay; only the grenadiers, who are choſen from each battalion, have ſix ſous. But the ſoldier receives every five days a very few ſous of his pay in money. His whole pay is received for him by his corporal, who provides for twelve or ſixteen in common, and pays the ſoldier what remains on the fifth day. The ſoldier is the worſt off with this ſmall pay, as all rough and public work without doors is forbidden him; a handicraft trade, ſhould he have learnt one, he may exerciſe at home, with the permiſſion of his ſuperior.

But it is not the trifling pay alone that makes the French foot ſoldier at preſent diſcontented, he is alſo ill cloathed; and the horſeman is ſtill worſe mounted. Since their return from war the infantry have repeated promiſes of new cloathing, and the cavalry being better mounted: the infantry, inſtead of the preſent

blue

blue coats, are to have white ones; and the different corps are to be diſtinguiſhed by different facings. Only a few regiments have as yet received the white cloth, but none have yet appeared with it. The cloaths which the ſoldiers have brought from their campaigns are moſtly in a very bad condition; and the ſoldier feels himſelf the more neglected, as he daily hears and reads of the increaſing ſplendour of the court and civil eſtabliſhment of the Firſt Conſul. He alſo ſees the generals, who commanded in the war, and who now live on their eſtates in the provinces, ſurrounded by a ſplendid retinue, and, in their love for the chace in particular, give into the moſt profuſe expences. This muſt doubly hurt the common ſoldier, as he is ſeldom able to judge what it requires to new cloath a whole army of half a million of men, and to mount the cavalry well. It has certainly required great exertions to pay all the arrears, which, in ſome regiments, amounted to ſeveral years pay; and this is ſaid to have been really done, except in the navy.

Univerſal alſo are the complaints of the ſoldiers reſpecting the bad ſtate of the military hoſpitals eſtabliſhed in all the conſiderable cities of France, where many of the ſick, and even dying, are often lying in one bed; and are ſaid to be ill attended, though two-thirds of their pay are deducted during the time they remain in the hoſpital. Of the hoſpitals in particular for venereal patients, of which there are ten or twelve in France, the complaints of the ſoldier are ſtill more frequent; though during his ſtay there his whole pay is withheld.

The remounting of the cavalry, which ſince the peace

peace is left to the regiments, is very ſlowly and ill provided for. The ſum which the government has appointed for this purpoſe every year, but which is even not regularly paid, but altered according to different circumſtances and regiments, is too inſignificant to remount them tolerably; and the more ſo, as there is in France a ſcarcity of ſtrong tall horſes; and thoſe regiments which cannot provide themſelves with horſes from Normandy, Limouſin, or Auvergne, muſt often fetch them from Holſtein. It may be ſaid without exaggeration, that one half of the French cavalry is not mounted at all; and the other half, for the moſt part, ill mounted *. The horſe ſoldier is, therefore, obliged to perform his duty and exerciſe chiefly on foot, and is not a little diſſatisfied at it.

But what moſt of all excites the murmurs and envy of the ſoldiers is, the Conſular guard, which poſſeſſes in abundance, and in high perfection, what the whole army is in want of. This Conſular guard, which conſiſts of 8,000 men, and is continually increaſing, is very well paid, perfectly well and richly dreſſed, and alſo well mounted. The private has 25 ſous per day; and the officers are proportionably better paid than thoſe in the regular army. They are alſo equipped and mounted at the expence of the government.

* The French cavalry horses are ill fed, and weak. They have plenty of hay and straw, but few oats. The daily *ration* consists of ten pounds weight of hay, ten pounds weight of straw, and scarcely five pounds weight of oats (one half *boisseau*). In winter, when they are less exercised, even this ration is diminished, particularly in straw, and the horses are then without litter.

At

At the beginning of the 11th year, the Conſular guard conſiſted of two battalions of grenadiers, and two battalions of chaſſeurs on foot; together 4,000 ſtrong: of ſix ſquadrons of horſe grenadiers, and ſix ſquadrons of mounted chaſſeurs; making together 2,600 ſtrong. All theſe are taken from the troops of the line, according to the certificates of their bravery and good conduct. They lie chiefly in barracks cloſe to the Thuilleries and Malmaiſon; the others in the *Ecole Militaire*, and its neighbourhood.

To the Conſular guard is attached alſo a company of flying artillery, with eight pieces of cannon. This company is alſo quartered in the *Ecole Militaire*; and, with its cannon and powder-waggons, and all its implements, ready to march at a moment's warning. At every great public parade, it alſo files off with all its apparatus before the Firſt Conſul, and moſtly in a quick trot, probably to ſtrike the more awe into the Pariſians!

Beſides the above, the Conſul is attended by a corps of Mamelukes, about 400 ſtrong. This corps is compoſed of Greeks, Copts, Turks, and French, who have lived long in the Levant. It is alſo clothed, armed, equipped and mounted in the Egyptian faſhion, and commanded by French officers, who ſerved in the Egyptian expedition. The privates in this corps receive 50 ſous each daily.

Finally, the Conſul has near his perſon *La gens-d'armerie d'elite.* This corps, 600 ſtrong, is choſen from all the brigades of the *gens-d'armerie de l'interieur*, and has with it a ſimilar corps of 600 men on foot.

foot. Both are in barracks near the arſenal, and ſerve to execute the commands of the *Haute Police*. The gens-d'armes on horſeback receive five livres, and thoſe on foot three livres per day; but they are obliged to clothe and ſupport themſelves, and the former alſo to furniſh and maintain their own horſes. The gens-d'armes, who are ſpread over all France, and ſupply the place of the ancient Maréchauſſée, and are the armed force of the police of the country and the courts of juſtice, muſt alſo be mounted; and, to fulfil all the above-mentioned duties, have only three livres per day. Theſe and the Conſular guard are univerſally deteſted and deſpiſed by the troops of the line, and frequently and eaſily get into quarrels with them. In caſe of new diſturbances, they would undoubtedly fight againſt each other like enemies.

The troops of the line conſiſted, at the beginning of the 11th year of the republic, of 110 half brigades of heavy infantry (*infanterie de bataille*), each conſiſting of three battalions, each a thouſand ſtrong; and 22 brigades of light infantry, compoſed in the ſame manner; of two regiments of carbineers on horſeback, and 20 regiments of heavy cavalry, of which eight are to wear cuiraſſes (at preſent only two are ſo armed), each of four ſquadrons of 160 men; 20 regiments of dragoons, 23 of chaſſeurs on horſeback, and 13 regiments of huſſars, each conſiſting of four ſquadrons of 200 men. The artillery conſiſts of eight regiments on foot, each 2,000 ſtrong; eight of flying artillery, each 600 ſtrong; four battalions of ſappers, four of miners, two of pontonneers; which together amount to 5,000 or 6,000 men. The

army,

army, therefore, at that time, amounted to above half a million; beſides the different corps of veterans, conſiſting of old warriors who have ſerved the legal time, who could do duty, not indeed in the field, but very well in garriſon. They are divided into ſeveral half-brigades, and are paid like the regular troops. We muſt not omit the corps of invalids, which in times of need, during the revolution, often rendered voluntary ſervice.

When the army returned from the field, it was very far from being completed to the above number; and very harſh meaſures were obliged to be taken for frequent levies of new conſcripts, which, in the departments, ſometimes met with reſiſtance, and occaſioned bloody ſcenes. The levies were neceſſarily the more numerous, as a great number of young men who had come into the army by the preceding conſcriptions, demanded their diſmiſſion on their return, which had been promiſed them at the peace. It was an eſtabliſhed regulation in the army, that an eighth part of every corps, according to the time they had ſerved, ſhould be diſmiſſed, and that in their room ſhould be levied a certain number of conſcripts of the ninth and tenth years; that is, of ſuch young men of all ranks as, during thoſe years, had attained the age of twenty. Thoſe ſoldiers whoſe turn it was to quit their corps, but who preferred remaining in them, might make an agreement with others who wiſhed to retire; an arrangement which, however, has been ſince reſtricted. This meaſure of diſmiſſing the army by parts at a time, it was then propoſed

poſed to continue annually; but nothing is as yet decided concerning it.

No fixed ſyſtem of recruiting is eſtabliſhed in France, ſo that particular and proviſionary meaſures are adopted in this buſineſs. The method principally followed, ſince the return of the army, is, that, according to a liſt of all young men in France capable of bearing arms, and another of all the ſoldiers wanting in different corps, theſe corps are ordered to the different departments, to levy a proportionate number of conſcripts. Thither the regiments ſend officers and ſubalterns, to procure their number of recruits. Of all the conſcripts aſſembled in the chief place of a canton, the cavalry are allowed the firſt choice. The reſt are for the infantry.

As the number of conſcripts is on the whole greater by much than that of the recruits required, repartitions have been made according to the population of each department. The conſcripts draw lots. Thoſe on whom the lot does not fall the firſt time, draw again for the army of reſerve, which, in fact, does not exiſt; but the young men who have drawn their lot for this imaginary army, are from that moment at the diſpoſal of the government, which can call them together in caſe of neceſſity. From time to time they are exerciſed. No time is yet fixed as the term of military ſervice.

In making the levies, and in ſupplying the places of thoſe diſmiſſed, many abuſes have hitherto prevailed. At every ſuch levy a number of conſcripts eſcape, and conceal themſelves. The recruiters, however,

ever, muſt have their number; others muſt therefore be taken who have already drawn for the army of reſerve. Notwithſtanding this the regiments purſue thoſe who have eſcaped with all the ſeverity of the law, and take them if they poſſibly can. In the garriſons they generally ſerve to ſupply the place of thoſe who wiſh to leave the regiment, and can afford to pay for a ſubſtitute. But this buſineſs is uſually turned to the profit of the commanders of the corps.

The national guards, who are already degenerated into mere patroles and watchmen in little towns, are wiſely ſuffered, by Bonaparté, to be aboliſhed gradually; yet an arrêté of the Conſul's for the ninth year, orders, that two regiments of foot, and two of horſe, ſhall be eſtabliſhed, to do the duty within the walls of Paris. It is, however, done in their ſtead by the veterans, ſome half-brigades of regular troops, and a regiment of dragoons. The Conſular guard is confined to the care of the Conſular palaces, and of its own barracks.

A later decree entirely aboliſhes the national guard of Paris, and orders the eſtabliſhment of a municipal guard, of 2150 foot, and 180 horſe; which, however, muſt conſiſt entirely of old ſoldiers, and may thus be regarded as a ſort of proviſion for aged regulars, who are to be better paid than in the army. Neither officer nor private is to be admitted who has not ſerved five campaigns. The age of the ſoldiers is fixed at between 30 and 45. The Firſt Conſul appoints all the officers and ſubalterns of this corps, which is under the command of the generals of the

first division, and the commandant of Paris. Every particular relating to their service, their dress, even to the mode of wearing the hair, is minutely prescribed.

The posts properly destined for the national guards, at the barriers, &c. are now occupied by the *Remplaçans*, as they are called, consisting of a miserable rabble, who act as substitutes, and have neither uniform nor discipline. What a wretched crew this is, was one day experienced, when an artizan, at work in a wooden booth, shot himself and his wife, and the guard of *Remplaçans* was first called: of five men, none had the courage to open the booth, because shot had been fired in it; and not one of all the five had so much as a charge of powder with him! They were obliged to send for some regular troops!

What a difference, when one recollects the fine national guards of the first year of the French revolution! who in appearance and discipline perhaps exceeded even the present Consular guard; who fought with the highest bravery and discipline against excellent old French regular troops, at Nancy, Lyons, and on other important occasions, till in the horrible times of the war, they were driven by myriads to all the frontiers, and particularly to La Vendée, to be sacrificed in the most barbarous manner!

The nation, which at that time was not only armed, but also admirably organized and disciplined as a genuine national militia, is now completely disarmed by a *game-law*, that prohibits every one, even the land-owners, from having a gun in his possession, without the express permission of the prefect! What would

would Mirabeau ſay to this degradation, this annihilation of the national guards? concerning whom, in his maſterly diſcourſe on the right of the king to make war or peace, he exclaims in his patriotic zeal: "And what are theſe troops, if they be not the troops of liberty? *To what end have we inſtituted them, if they are not deſtined eternally to preſerve what they have conquered?*"

The national guard, that chief baſis of a free conſtitution, has not met with worſe treatment than its other baſis, the trial by jury, which was never in France what it is in England, and is continually more and more reſtricted in its functions. The nomination of jurymen is already nothing leſs than popular. It is not a mere ſummons of citizens and proprietors, as in England and America; the liſts are made out by the juſtices of peace, who are the only magiſtrates ſtill choſen by the people, but whoſe number, authority, and juriſdiction, have for this very reaſon been very much abridged by the laſt regulation. The liſts are very numerous, paſs through the hands of the under-prefects and prefects, who all depend on the government, and alter the liſts at pleaſure. In the tribunals the judges take care that the jury ſhall have as little ſhare as poſſible in the examination. The French people poſſeſs none of that zeal which proceeds from true public ſpirit and genuine republicaniſm. The court ſlaves and journaliſts, taking advantage of this lukewarmneſs, ſpread abroad more and more, that the jury is a uſeleſs inſtitution, only burdenſome to the citizens, and

even detrimental to the courſe of juſtice; and hence it is near its total abolition!

In the departments, *Côtes du Nord*, *du Morbihan*, *de Vaucluſe*, *des Bouches du Rhône*, *du Var*, *des Alpes Maritimes*, *du Golo*, *du Lamone*, *du Po*, *de la Doire*, *de la Seſia*, *de la Stura*, *de Marengo*, and *du Tanaro*, the juries are already entirely ſuſpended for the eleventh and twelfth years; and all thoſe departments are wholly ſubjected for that period to the juriſdiction of the deteſted ſpecial tribunals. In this manner, what little real good France has acquired by the revolution is gradually deſtroyed, while the principal change is thereby concealed from the eyes of the thoughtleſs inattentive people.

Where the juries ſtill exiſt, their juriſdiction is curtailed by means of what is called the *Police correctionelle*, which is exerciſed by a ſingle judge, and ſome juſtices of the peace, as aſſeſſors, to whom a great many caſes are referred, as being of too little conſequence to go before a jury. It is further retrenched, by ſubmitting all caſes of forgery, aſſaſſination, arſon, &c. to the ſpecial tribunals, whoſe arbitrary mode of proceeding has been noticed above.

Thus has Bonaparté, by the abolition of the National Militia, by the weakening and annihilation of the genuine Trial by Jury, and by the deſtruction of the Freedom of the Preſs, undermined the three grand pillars of a republican conſtitution; and that without even introducing a well ordered legal monarchical eſtabliſhment, but a mere proviſory government, ſubject to every alteration he thinks proper, and expoſed to every inconvenience and diſadvantage that can reſult from

from the deteſtable corruption of the public officers inſeparable from ſuch a government, and without the poſſibility of any legal oppoſition. It is only by forcible reſiſtance that the people will be able in future to deliver themſelves from their new oppreſſions, which far exceed thoſe under the old corrupt monarchy. Thus does Bonaparté prepare new revolutions for the nation, already corrupted by every abuſe of government, as torn by all the horrors of anarchy; and he has, indeed, but too much reaſon to be upon his guard, and to protect himſelf by every deſpotic meaſure.

All theſe, however, will be found inſufficient to inſure his ſafety, if he continues to incenſe the nation by his boundleſs *nepotiſm* and ſpirit of patronage, in which he goes to work without the ſmalleſt precaution or decency. Who would think of being offended with him, powerful as he is, for making, with prudence and moderation, the fortune of his family? But to give to a family ſo numerous, who are beſides ſtrangers in the land, every thing without diſtinction that the moſt voluptuous and licentious avarice and vanity can covet, while his own legal income is ſtill very limited, and therefore affords no appearance of perſonal ſacrifices or generoſity! to beſtow on innumerable brothers, brothers-in-law, uncles, couſins, and their whole train, all the firſt places, without any regard to their talents and characters! to heap ſeveral offices upon every one of them! to make them every where preſide in the electoral meetings as in the conſtituted bodies! to have all brilliant lucrative affairs tranſacted by them alone! Such excluſive profuſion ſurpaſſes all papal, princely, and patrician *nepotiſm* hitherto known! Theſe muſt rank

in future hiſtory as inferior to Conſular *nepotiſm*, as the old Roman Imperial power and arrogance muſt yield the palm to our Conſular deſpotiſm!

In the public enjoyment of all theſe advantages, the individual members of the family go to work with equal want of prudence and precaution.

Lucien Bonaparté, who, firſt as miniſter of the interior, and afterwards as ambaſſador to conclude peace with Spain and Portugal, has amaſſed a fortune which is univerſally eſtimated at above thirty millions of livres! and who ſtill contrives to uſe his credit with his brother, who owes to him ſo many obligations, to be employed in negociations and mediations in important money matters, and conſequently in enriching himſelf daily, leads, in his magnificent chateau *Pleſſis*, and in his princely hotel at Paris, ſuch a ſplendid life as, ſince the time of the Regent, only thoſe licentious princes and their aſſociates have led, who ſince that extravagant period have been diſtinguiſhed in France by the name of *roués*. His whole character and way of living bear alſo the greateſt reſemblance to that of the Regent who took poſſeſſion of the government after the death of Louis the Fourteenth. He indulges in the higheſt magnificence the moſt refined voluptuouſneſs; abandons himſelf to all ſenſual pleaſures; is hoſpitable and liberal, like the former; like him loves and protects the fine arts, by which he reconciles numbers to many of his faults. In his whole character and way of living, he may be conſidered as a true ſample of modern Pariſian extravagance and ſenſuality.

Joſeph Bonaparté, of a reſerved political character, ſuch as is only found in Italians, lives indeed more

retired

retired with *his* family; yet he alſo diſplays great ſplendor and profuſion, both at his chateau *Monfontaine*, and at his hotel in Paris. He has particularly contrived, at the concluſion of treaties of peace, to profit by his brother's profuſeneſs of the public money, and his hatred againſt ſuch as have grown rich by the revolution. The envoyſhip to England, which required more prudence, ability, and labour, than it promiſed or afforded advantage, was ſolicited by one of the Conſular brothers, but wiſely conferred on a worthy German.

Louis Bonaparté, hitherto more allured by the gay, heedleſs life of a ſoldier, than by the care of amaſſing riches, poſſeſſes, however, the ſplendidly furniſhed hotel inhabited by the Conſul before he removed to the Thuilleries; and what does not yet appear to be done for him is provided for the future, and ſecured with the greater care, on his wife, the favourite daughter-in-law of Bonaparté. To her, probably, her huſband will one day be indebted for the Duchy of Parma.

The ſiſters of Bonaparté are all in poſſeſſion of very great property. The richeſt of all is the widow of General *Leclerc*, to whom was intruſted the highly important expedition to St. Domingo, though there was not, perhaps, in all France, a more improper perſon for the purpoſe. There, where all depended on a knowledge of the ſituation of affairs, and of the character and influence of the leading chiefs, as on conſequent prudence and addreſs, he has, with his uſual brutality, enraged every body againſt him; united all

parties in oppoſition to France; and, in all probability, loſt that moſt important colony for ever. He has, however, provided ſo much the better for his own family. In the ſhort time that he lived there, he remitted immenſe ſums to France, and cauſed very great eſtates to be purchaſed; ſo that his widow is now conſidered as the richeſt perſon in the whole wealthy family! On her return from St. Domingo, ſhe purchaſed a magnificent hotel, and furniſhed it in a princely ſtyle; but will probably remove with all her property to Italy, and there marry a Prince *Borgheſe**.

General Murat, alſo married to one of Bonaparté's ſiſters, has amaſſed a very large fortune in Italy; which, as Governor of Milan, he knows how to increaſe. To Madame Murat belongs the ſplendid hotel in which ſhe reſides at Paris!

The ſame is the caſe with Madame Bacciochi, whoſe Corſican huſband is in the *etat major* of the Firſt Conſul. For her Bonaparté has purchaſed an hotel in Paris at the price of above half a million of livres, and furniſhed it magnificently!

The Conſular mother, in her turn, lets ſlip no opportunity of gaining wealth; and her children and ſons-in-law ſeem to vie with each other which ſhall enrich her moſt. From General Murat, ſhe lately received a preſent of a diamond ornament for her hair, worth 50,000 livres, and a table ſervice of not much leſs value. She has alſo contrived to make her brother *Fecce* (now called Feſch) a cardinal, who has rendered Bonaparté's uncle of ſo much conſequence in Italy,

* The event has taken place during the printing of this work.

that

that he is said to be immenſely rich. He is actually ſent on an important and lucrative embaſſy to Rome!

Napoleon Bonaparté, at his firſt return from Italy, already poſſeſſed a fortune of twenty millions; and, after his return from Egypt, in the firſt year of the Conſulate, was ſuppoſed to enjoy twice that ſum. Since the new law of finance, which, inſtead of the annual revenue of half a million, at firſt appointed for the Conſul, gives him an income of ſix millions, he diſpoſes at pleaſure of the national treaſury for his own benefit and that of his family. Before that law there was ſome reſtriction to ſuch rapacity.

Bonaparté ſhews himſelf deciſively partial towards all thoſe who ſerved under him in Italy, entirely overlooking the moſt diſtinguiſhed men, who under Moreau, whom he more than neglects, ſhared the moſt glorious campaigns in Germany; and he is ſtill more partial to thoſe who ſerved with him in Egypt. Not ſatisfied with appointing a young man like Duroc, governor-general of his chateaux (which may be accounted for by perſonal attraction on the one ſide, and perſonal regard on the other), he makes him alſo actual cabinet miniſter, through whoſe hands every thing relating to the whole army muſt paſs, and whoſe will and opinion have ſuch weight, that the miniſter at war never makes the ſmalleſt propoſal till he has firſt ſecured Duroc's approbation, convinced that all depends on his repreſentations; and that, without his protection, it is not eaſy to obtain the conſent of the Firſt Conſul, nor even an anſwer.

The miniſter at war, *Berthier*, has nothing to recommend him but an agreeable perſon, and the circumſtance

cumſtance of having been in Egypt. He is ſo little qualified for a war miniſter, that it was immediately neceſſary to unite with him M. *Dejean*, as *miniſtre directeur de l'adminiſtration de la guerre*. This ſecond miniſter at war tranſacts in reality all the important buſineſs of that department; while Berthier only does the external honours, and reaps the manifold advantages of the employment.

Nay, even a *Menou*, of whom every one thought that when he returned from Egypt Bonaparté would not ſee him, but puniſh him with ſeverity, has been promoted by him to the important poſt of adminiſtrator general of the very conſiderable government of Piedmont.

Overlooking all the greateſt and oldeſt artiſts and men of learning, and aboliſhing the collegiate eſtabliſhments of all the ſuperb inſtitutions of the arts in France, he appoints *Denon*, an agreeable writer and pleaſant traveller, who has deſcribed the wonders of the Egyptian expedition, to be dictator-general! that is, in fact, dictator over all the former. Whoever has any conception of the extent and importance of the muſeums, cabinets of antiques and medals, and of the mint itſelf, which is comprehended in it, will, perhaps, be as much aſtoniſhed at the courage of a Denon in accepting ſuch a place, in preference to *Viſconti* and others, as at the blind patronage of the donor. Denon has under his direction the great muſeum in the Louvre; the *muſée des monumens Français*, and *le muſée ſpecial de l'ecole Françaiſe à Verſailles*. Add to the above, the galleries in the palaces of the government, the mint for medals, the chalcographic inſtitutions of the cabinets,

binets, and the workſhops in moſaic and engravings; finally, he has to direct the purchaſe and removal of all works of art, and many other things of leſs conſequence.

Iran, a young ſurgeon, was appointed by Bonaparté to the firſt place of the kind in France, *chirurgien en chef de l'hôtel des invalides*, which had been promiſed to the chief ſurgeon of Moreau's army, who had made the laſt campaign only on that condition. "He can learn all that is neceſſary for this ſituation," ſaid Bonaparté, of Iran, "he is ſtill young."

Marcel, who ſet up in Egypt a little printing-office, but who had never been in the poſſeſſion or direction of a great eſtabliſhment, was named by him to the important place of *directeur de l'Imprimerie de la Republique*, which brings in 60,000 livres annually; though all the experienced maſters in the arts and proprietors of ſuch eſtabliſhments, to the number of three hundred, had applied for it, and *Pierre* had already the votes of the two other Conſuls, and the whole Council of State in his favour. "If Marcel had not applied to me, I would have given the place to Pierre," ſaid the Conſul; and, to the aſtoniſhment of every one, he ſet down Marcel's name!

A partiality to, and confidence in men, who voluntarily followed him through hazardous enterpriſes to different parts of the world, is very natural; and it is prudent in Bonaparté by all means to ſecure the attachment of ſuch men, conſidering how neceſſary it is for him to inſure his own perſonal ſafety. But cannot this be done without the moſt mortifying neglect of others? Is it wiſe to render the latter inveterate adverſaries

ſaries of the former, and thus to foſter animoſities in all the claſſes of a nation, which to a certain degree will bear with any thing, but when it once breaks out, knows no bounds? Such baneful partialities may and muſt neceſſarily become univerſally deſtructive!

Amidſt ſuch reflections one is inclined to doubt of the genuine, all-penetrating and conſidering wiſdom of the Conſul, as of his moderation; or one muſt be convinced how impoſſible it is for the moſt able and the moſt watchful ruler to ſee and judge of every thing when he ſtands alone in power among a crowd of greedy and artful ſlaves. But he who can endure no contradiction ſtands alone, and worſe than alone. Submiſſion and hypocriſy ſoon become mute in his preſence; and even generous pride, which does not like to approach him, diſdains to undeceive him. Happy were it for him, could he impartially be guided by his own view of things! But malignant as intereſted flatterers continually delude him from his own opinion; and by aſcribing all things, right or wrong, to his ſuppoſed wiſdom and activity, give that bias to his judgment which flatters his pride, and promotes their ever mercenary ends.

Bonaparté has been much extolled for his ſuppoſed knowledge of the liberal arts, manufactures, and other objects of general induſtry; in delivering opinions concerning which he is ſaid to be guided ſolely by his own judgment and obſervations.

The truth ſeems to be, that, whenever he viſits exhibitions of any kind, he is attended by confidential prompters, whilſt all other perſons are kept at a diſtance. The exhibitors are taught before hand what

objects

objects to produce, what obſervations to make, and what queſtions to propoſe; and thus the Conſul, whoſe real judgment is confined to military affairs, delivers opinions which he has conned by wrote, and thus appears as a man of univerſal ſcience. The ſecret has hitherto been tolerably kept by thoſe who have received rewards for imputed excellence, and real ſervility.

For theſe two years, the above farce has been acted in Paris with moderate ſucceſs; and the impoſition was leſs liable to be detected on his journey through the provinces, where there was more ſcope for action, and where the dramatis perſonæ were leſs known. On ſuch journies, Bonaparté never takes the way that has been previouſly announced; and the guards who are diſpatched to wait for him in various directions, always leave his route undetermined. He never ſtays in a place ſo long as was at firſt given out, and always takes his departure haſtily and unobſerved, and thus generally arrives unperceived in the night at Malmaiſon or St. Cloud. The next morning, the thunder of cannon firſt announces to the city of Paris that he is in the neighbourhood; when the court meſſengers, riding and driving on all ſides, announce to the conſtituted authorities and the foreign miniſters, the congratulatory audiences which he is ready to give.

If Bonaparté thinks, by all theſe various meaſures of continually increaſing pomp and ſplendor, to counterbalance in reſpect and awe what he wants, and moſt aſſuredly ever will want, in the love of the people; if he thinks by this means to make them more and more forget the foreigner who has contrived to turn the weak-

weakneſſes and inconſiſtencies of the nation, with great wiſdom and conſiſtency, to his own advantage, he is very much miſtaken. He only throws thereby a clearer light on his uſurpation, increaſes envy, embitters diſcontent, and excites the national pride more ſtrongly to that revenge and fury which, from the very character of the nation, after being repreſſed for a time in ſilent indignation, breaks out with the more violence at the moment when each individual thinks he can ſhake off the whole yoke with full ſecurity. Bold undertakings, and extraordinary brilliant good fortune, whoſe dazzling beams and vociferous triumph may elevate and adorn the ambitious and vain-glorious nation itſelf, as they alone could procure him ſuch conſideration, will alone be able to maintain him in it.

All who witneſſed Bonaparté's behaviour to the Engliſh ambaſſador, Lord Whitworth, whom he found at Paris, when he returned from the ſea coaſt; all who knew that the chief purpoſe of his journey had been to fortify the northern and weſtern coaſts of France, and that every meaſure taken had reference to a plan of invaſion; all were convinced that he was by no means diſpoſed to keep peace with England for any length of time! After he had made the Engliſh ambaſſador wait three weeks for his firſt audience, he not only received him with marked coldneſs, but in the public audiences, and in the circles of Madame Bonaparté, he often ſaid the harſheſt things to him. If at times the contents of his diſcourſe were not affronting, yet the imperious tone in which he ſpoke to him was always ſo. He was heard to pronounce his abrupt "*Je le veux*," (to which he has accuſtomed himſelf

himſelf with his miniſters and Sub-Conſuls), in a commanding voice: and this to the ambaſſador of a nation, which has been rather in the habit of giving the law, than of receiving it from others.

Unleſs we ſuppoſe in Bonaparté a total ignorance of England, and of the character of the nation, or a total forgetfulneſs of himſelf, it is impoſſible not to believe that, even during the negociations for peace, he was projecting great undertakings to the prejudice of England, and that his own pride only cauſed him to neglect the precautions neceſſary for their concealment. For the moment, he certainly did not wiſh a breach with England, as was ſeen afterwards by all his endeavours for a mediation, when England loſt its patience, and of itſelf broke with him ſooner than he wiſhed. He probably fancied the internal ſituation of England far more diſordered than it now ſhews itſelf to be; the danger in Ireland much greater; nay, he thought, perhaps, the national ſpirit of the proud iſlanders ſo humbled by the diſadvantageous and diſgraceful peace, which, favoured by ſo many fortunate circumſtances, he had contrived with ſuch unexpected rapidity to make with them, that he might with impunity ſhew them his contempt as well as his hatred. He preſumed that he might, without reſerve, exert the moſt extraordinary activity under their very eyes, in re-eſtabliſhing the French navy, in fortifying the coaſts, and even preparing a formidable expedition for an invaſion, which might make amends for the weakneſs of his marine in the open ſea. It was alſo natural for the hero's ſpirit of conqueſt, forcibly to open the long-ſtopped reſources of the Netherlands,

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by means of which a ſure gain would flow to that part of the new republic, as detrimental to their ever-jealous neighbours.

But the irritated Iſlanders who had been taken by ſurprize, and who heſitate at no ſacrifice when their country, their national ſecurity and profits are at ſtake, were rouſed from their ſtupor, and reaſoned thus:—"We muſt have war with this arrogant Corſican; the diſadvantageous peace into which we have ſuffered ourſelves to be hurried muſt be retrieved; better therefore now than ten years hence, when the enemy has brought to perfection all the meaſures which he without any reſerve takes againſt us; and when our nation may once more be off its gaurd, and again deceived by Conſular artifice. We are ſtill in poſſeſſion of the rock on which, with an eye to Africa and Aſia, he ſo eagerly founds the great projects he is contriving againſt us and all Europe: let him again try whether ſtratagem or force will favor him as much as they did during his former career."

The Antigallican miniſterial orators in the parliament, and the Engliſh papers that were inclined to war, continued to irritate the pride and vanity of the hoſtile hero. He ſhewed himſelf but too peeviſh on this account; required the trial and puniſhment of his cenſurers; and even pretended that members of parliament ſhould be forbidden to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of him. The French official papers, notwithſtanding the preſence of the Engliſh ambaſſador, were likewiſe inceſſantly filled with the groſſeſt and moſt malicious attacks againſt the Engliſh nation and government; all the other papers and journals repeated theſe inſults,

ſults, often ſeaſoned with gall and malice of their own. Never perhaps was ſeen more indecent behaviour between two great nations at peace with each other. The numerous Engliſhmen who came daily in crowds to Paris, could procure there no other Engliſh paper than one publiſhed at Paris, and in the pay of the French government, called *The Argus*, the editor of which was a Jew * baniſhed from England, who vented continual inſults and accuſationsagainſt the Engliſh government and nation. All the French newſpapers, even ſuch as are official, tranſlated theſe articles into French. From England only a very inſignificant paper was ſuffered to be introduced, *The Weekly Meſſenger* †, which was evidently in the pay of the French government, and on that account was generally at variance with all the other Engliſh papers, particularly in what related to France. From this, and moſtly from this only, the Paris news writers tranſlated their articles, which chiefly conſiſted of horrible murders, ſhameful robberies, adulteries, brutal boxing matches, and other actions diſcreditable to the Engliſh character.

* One Goldsmith, who has since left Paris, on account of a dispute, as he gave out at Hamburg (whether real or pretended is not certain) with Talleyrand Perigord. As it was however whispered at the time that he had interest enough to procure for his successor an exemption from the arrest to which the English were subjected, it is not likely that the dispute was very serious.

† Having never seen the Weekly Messenger, the translator cannot judge what ground it may have given for this imputation, he can therefore only regret that a foreigner should be led by the style of any paper to form an opinion, perhaps unfounded, so little to the credit of an English journal.

On ſome occaſions the Pariſian official papers impoſe on their French readers an apparent detail of what the *inſolent* Iſlanders expreſs, in their ſpeeches and writings, againſt the great Conſul; but this in ſo mutilated and artful a ſtyle, as either to ſuppreſs whatever might render Bonaparté odious, to ſoften ſuch matters down by milder expreſſions, or even ſubſtitute others of a wholly different import. Perhaps the Conſul's own official interpreters tranſlated the Engliſh papers in this curious manner chiefly with the view of deceiving him, it being hardly worth while to employ ſo mean an artifice in order to delude the people.

This mode of tranſlating was exemplified in a ſpeech of Sheridan's, printed in the Morning Chronicle and in the Moniteur. Where the Engliſh orator cannot refrain from expreſſing the higheſt indignation at Bonaparté's treachery and tyranny towards Switzerland, and the Engliſh journaliſt faithfully communicates all his ſtrong and ſevere expreſſions, the Moniteur makes the orator merely ſay, "I allude particularly to the conduct of this power towards Switzerland."

When the Engliſh orator ſpeaks of the workings of humbled pride in the breaſt of ſuch a man as *Bonaparté*; of his endeavours at revenge for humiliations ſuffered; and of *his* increaſed power to gratify that revenge; the unfaithful French reporter applies the whole to *France*, which has already experienced what Engliſh arms can effect. He makes the orator take a view of the map of Europe, and obſerve that nearly the whole is over-ruled by France. He deſcribes the Firſt Conſul as one whoſe ambition aims

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at governing the whole world; of which the Engliſh orator in this place ſays not one word; and in this way does Bonaparte's able tranſlator and *faithful* reporter make the enemy of Bonaparté ſay the very things which the French hear of him with moſt pleaſure.

When the Engliſh orator afterwards ſhews that Bonaparté has more urgent reaſons than the Bourbons for attempting daring enterprizes, and conſtantly aiming at the government of the whole world, becauſe the latter had the prejudice of a long train of celebrated anceſtors in their favour, and could ſecurely depend on the ſentiments which affection and loyalty inſpired towards the hereditary ſucceſſor of a powerful throne, the Moniteur merely obſerves, "France is not now what it was under the Bourbons. That family had a reſpect for hereditary ſucceſſion, and for the other branches that had ſprung from the ſame ſtem;" not a word of which is in Sheridan's ſpeech.—When the energetic Engliſhman thus proceeds: "In Bonaparté's ſituation there is a phyſical neceſſity for his proceeding continually in his plans of conqueſt, for he muſt inceſſantly hold up to the French the proſpect of making them the maſters of the world, if they will only continue to bow before him as his ſlaves;" the ſubtle Conſular ſlave only ſays; "Bonaparté is under a moral neceſſity of aſſuring the French people, that he will make them maſters of the world, if they will only conſent to obey him."

Equally perverted and maimed is that paſſage of the ſpeech wherein it is ſhewn, that Bonaparté does not think ſo much of improving the trade of France, as

of ruining that of England; of crippling and deſtroying the Engliſh marine; and that, except England, he has nothing worthy of his ambition, as the reſt of Europe lies like a vaſſal at his feet.

The Engliſh orator, with great ſtrength of reaſoning, and in the moſt ſtriking colours of truth, deſcribes the education of Bonaparté to have been "of that kind which renders him incapable of purſuing commercial plans that require a ſpirit of moderation, and have in them nothing dazzling:" he adds, that "bred in a camp, he purſues all his aims with the ambition of a conqueror, and the heedleſs precipitation of a deſpot." He aſks, "What is the nature of that philanthropy and philoſophy on which the Conſul expatiated to *Fox* with ſo much energy?" Sheridan at length concludes in the following words:—"The proud preſumption of Bonaparté gives us an important leſſon. He calls himſelf an inſtrument in the hand of Providence; one ſent from God, who is to reſtore to the Swiſs their loſt happineſs, and to place Italy on the ſummit of power and ſplendour. I however believe that Bonaparté is an inſtrument employed by Providence to attach the Engliſh more and more to their Conſtitution and Liberty: whoever treads on Britiſh ground, after leaving France, feels as if he had eſcaped from a dungeon, and were reſtored to light and to freedom." On this head, the Conſular reporter, omitting almoſt all the preceding obſervations, confines himſelf to the following words: "Bonaparté is an inſtrument in the hands of Providence, not merely to puniſh the people of England and Ireland, but to confirm them in the love of their conſtitution."

Is

Is it poſſible to conceive a more mean or jeſuitical mode of deceiving the people in an official paper? Such deception is more atrocious than even the language of the Moniteur, when it dwells on "diſorderly imaginations; delirious crimes; infernal policy; Tuniſians and Algerines; hateful paſſions, and perfidious inſtigations:" or, like the Publiciſte, complains of "atrocious individuals who have bribed men to every crime, who are devoted to the contempt of Europe;" as alſo "of the vapours of port-wine, which inſpire Engliſhmen with their enthuſiaſm for the cauſe of liberty; of patch-work cabinets," &c. When the blunt Engliſh inveigh againſt "impoſtors, and thieves," they may be excuſed, as Barthelemy in his Anarchaſis excuſes the railing heroes in Homer*: but the ſtudied deceptions of the French editors admit of no apology. At the Thuilleries and St. Cloud, the Engliſh ambaſſador did not obſerve much that could inſpire reſpect. The family of Bonaparté was wholly taken up with its titular aggrandiſement; the only diſpute was whether Bonaparté ſhould aſſume the title of *Imperial*, or *Conſular Majeſty*. When the propoſal, however, was made in the ſenate, a bold orator was ſo loudly vociferous in

* "I have ſeen the poet blamed for the inſulting language which he puts into the mouths of his heroes, whether in their ſocial meetings, or in the midſt of battle; I have then caſt my eyes upon children, who are nearer to nature than we; upon the vulgar, who are always children; upon ſavages, who always reſemble the vulgar; and I have perceived that among them all, anger, before it ſhews itſelf in action, always declares itſelf by boaſting inſolence and abuſe." (Introduction to the Travels. Vol. I.)

popular objections, that, for the moment at leaſt, the vanity of the Chief Conſul had to ſhrink back in diſmay. The miniſterial papers had the meanneſs to point many malicious jeſts at the clamorous ſenator; and thus awkwardly betrayed the vexation of Bonaparté at the failure of a propoſal which had been conſidered as more eaſy of attainment than many that had been hitherto planned with ſucceſs. The French miniſters, however, aſſumed the title of Excellency, which had been previouſly ordered in the new ſtate calendar.

A more real and very anxious concern in the family of Bonaparté was, the bad ſtate of affairs at St. Domingo, and the embarraſſing neceſſity of recalling the Conſul's unſkilful, avaricious brother-in-law, and conferring the important as lucrative poſt on one who did not belong to the family. The death of General Leclerc, in ſome meaſure, leſſened the difficulty; and things began to go on a little better at that place, as ſoon as the helm was out of in ſuch inexperienced hands. How much the family of Bonaparté reſerves every thing, even the moſt important concerns of the ſtate, wholly to itſelf, was ſeen from this circumſtance, that, after the death of Leclerc, as much pains was taken to conceal the good news from St. Domingo, as before had been employed to ſuppreſs the bad. That the family patronage had loſt the moſt important of the iſlands, was to be concealed from the people as long as poſſible.

To amuſe them, patterns were exhibited of ſtars and ribbands for the new order, projected in the place of the former order of the *Saint Eſprit*, the

decorations

decorations of which were very closely imitated. The blue ribband, of the former breadth, had only a very narrow edge of red, and the same of white. This distribution of the national colours exhibits the shew of republican forms, which the government still condescends to retain. The star represents the sun, and the Holy Ghost is changed into an eagle, which hovers in the beams of the sun. The title of *majesty* being laid aside, the introduction of the new order is also deferred; probably till the time when the *Senatories* and the Legion of Honour may be introduced.

These *Senatories* are also the offspring of that epoch of vanity, and will in future prove an additional means in the hands of the First Consul, of silencing all opposition in the senate, as of heaping new honours, and considerable revenues, on brothers, brothers-in-law, and other creatures. To these *Senatories* are appropriated a considerable number of the still remaining confiscated national estates, which had been so often, and under such various forms, promised to the victorious army. This new invention of *nepotism* and patronage must irritate the army the more, as the execution of the earlier project of a Legion of Honour is still delayed, after it has been determined to extend this idea from the army to the civil orders. According to the First Consular decree, it was to consist entirely of invalid officers and soldiers, incapable of serving in the army, and of such military persons as by distinguished actions had acquired *weapons of honour*. The legion was to be divided into cohorts, each of which was to receive, as its chief seat, an old castle, an abbey, or some other building belonging to

the nation; all the members who had no reſidence of their own, were to be allowed to live there upon their penſions; the others might ſpend theirs where they pleaſed. Many of the chief officers of ſtate have been already named officers and directors of this legion, of which they are to compoſe the great council: and means have alſo been found to favour, in this eſtabliſhment, the reigning family, with other perſons of diſtinguiſhed obſequiouſneſs. That no mention has been made in this buſineſs of Moreau, the admirable and moſt diſtinguiſhed hero of new-modelled France, is perhaps the cauſe of indignation even in Germany, where this excellent man, though an enemy, acquired more reſpect and admiration than he meets with from the partial rulers of France.

In the above regulations, nearly copied from thoſe of the order of Cincinnatus, eſtabliſhed in America after the war, all mention of the latter has been ſedulouſly avoided. It might have recalled to mind a very forcibly written pamphlet, which appeared in Philadelphia immediately on the publication of the ſtatutes of that order, and of which a tranſlation from the Engliſh into French, by Mirabeau, animated with his powerful and ardent eloquence, was publiſhed in London. Reflections on this work (which at that time really occaſioned an alteration of the ſtatutes, and the annulling of the hereditary ſucceſſion of American military nobles) has probably hitherto prevented the introduction of hereditary ſucceſſion in the twofold military and civil inſtitution of new French nobility.

Mirabeau's

Mirabeau's writings are yet freſh in the remembrance of the French people; and, in the ſpirit of his original author, he contends againſt the obnoxious innovation with the whole force of his eloquence. He ſays, "The inſtitution of the order of the Cincinnati, in the creation of a real patrician order, and a military nobility, which will not fail to become a civil nobility, and an ariſtocracy the more dangerous as being hereditary, it will increaſe with time, and ſtrengthen itſelf by the very prejudices to which it will give birth; as its origin is diſtinct from the conſtitution and the laws, the laws have not provided the means of repreſſing it, and it will inceſſantly encroach on the conſtitution, of which it does not make a part; till by attacks, ſometimes ſecret, ſometimes open, it will become incorporated with it; or, having long undermined, at length ſhake and overthrow it."

Then he reminds them, that the ariſtocracy and patriciate of the Romans, after the expulſion of the kings, was of no advantage to the people, who alone occaſioned their eſtabliſhment. "For the patrician families having united in their hands the power of the monarch, and the influence of the nobility, each patrician became a Tarquin, and Rome had as little political freedom as before; with this difference, that the tyranny reſided for the future in a body; and a thouſand tyrants are a ſcourge a thouſand times more horrible than a ſingle one."

He then paints, in very lively colours, the origin of modern European nobility: "What was the mo-

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" dern nobility of Europe in its origin? It conſiſted " of leaders, of ferocious warriors; who united the " barbariſm of victory to that of manners; whoſe " firſt titles were uſurpation and robbery; and who " founded their pre-eminence over their nation, only " on the right of commanding in battle. Hence has " proceeded that crowd of counts, dukes, and mar- " quiſſes, who have over-run and ravaged Europe. " All theſe titles of human vanity were, at firſt, no " more than military titles, which indicated different " ranks; but theſe ſame titles ſoon became diſtinc- " tions, and brilliant privileges in the civil eſtabliſh- " ment. Soon they founded that barbarous feudal " ſyſtem which degraded the human race for whole " ages!"

Of orders, and their diſtinctions, he then ſhews, that they had at leaſt a ridiculous, low, or ſuperſtitious origin. He continues: " Even the contempt which " muſt be attached to their origin has not been able " to hinder the pride and wretched vanity of man " from ſeizing them with avidity. They have be- " come a new ſign of inequality; a new mark which, " as caprice dictates, eſtabliſhes new diſtinctions and " barriers in ſtates; in which the common claſs of " citizens is already overloaded and diſgraced by ſo " many civil diſtinctions: they have even created " ranks in the nobility itſelf, have founded a new pa- " triciate in the patriciate; extracted pride from pride; " and derived from oppreſſion new means of oppreſ- " ſion. A part of theſe proud patricians, of theſe de- " ſcendants of warriors, and ancient tyrants of the " people,

" people, are themſelves become a kind of mob, in " compariſon with others of their order, whom the " favour of the prince, chance, the art of pleaſing, or " a ſervile obedience to court caprices, have adorned " with thoſe dazzling inſignia."

He then particularly warns republics againſt the incautious introduction of nobility and orders: " Every " ſign which may ſerve for the ſudden rallying point " of a number of men, which may ſeparate a certain " number of citizens from the body of citizens in " general, is, in its effects, much more formidable in " a republic than in a monarchy, &c. In a monarchy, " all tends towards elevation; in a republic, all ſhould " tend to equality. In the firſt there muſt be ranks; " in the ſecond, virtues, &c. External ſigns and diſ- " tinctions are natural in a monarchy, and their in- " fluence is therefore leſs dangerous, &c.; but all " marks of diſtinction are foreign to the republican " government and ſpirit. And if the peculiar body " which dares thus to diſtinguiſh itſelf is a body of " ſoldiers, all is loſt; liberty will not long exiſt in " countries that are oppreſſed by ſuch diſtinctions."

This important work was written and tranſlated four years before the French revolution, for the inſtruction of a free people, whom France had aſſiſted in their conteſt for liberty, and who ſuffered themſelves to be inſtructed by it: for moſt of the American States declared againſt the order, which counted at that time 10,000 members; and compelled it to reſtrictions which made it leſs dangerous and alluring. The French (on whom all ſuch inſtructions and examples are thrown away; who live only to enjoy the preſent

preſent moment; who have had, ſince that time, a far greater revolution, and who propoſed to make a much better conſtitution than that of America) reckon almoſt as many conſtitutions as their revolution has laſted years; and continually repeat thoſe errors againſt which one ſhould think the powerful inſtruction of time, adverſity, and their moſt eloquent writers, ought to preſerve them.

The hope of obtaining the Imperial title being baffled, the plan of a new coinage, with Bonaparté's head, was alſo laid aſide, eſpecially as the ſagacious parties could not agree about the inſcription. At length a day in March was appointed, when Bonaparté was to viſit the Mint, in order to decide the great point of difficulty. The miniſter of finance announced the Conſular intentions to the officers of the mint two days before; and inſiſted that, in order to ſurpriſe the Conſul, an impreſſion of his countenance ſhould be ſtruck off without any delay. The chief medal engraver of the mint, a real artiſt, inſiſted on the impoſſibility of executing any thing tolerable in ſo ſhort a time; he ſaid that Bonaparté muſt ſit to him for his portrait, that the coins might do credit to the conſular viſage, as to himſelf and to the nation. The miniſter being determined not to give up his point of flattery, a ſubordinate officer of the mint (who had already tried his hand on a portrait of Bonaparté) offered to ſurpriſe Bonaparté in the way deſired. All circumſtances conſidered, he ſucceeded well enough; the reſemblance was tolerable. Bonaparté was much ſatisfied with the portrait, had the artiſt preſented to him, and, without enquiring farther,

ther, whether he were the medal engraver to the Mint, he arranged with him the ſpeedieſt completion poſſible of the new crown pieces bearing his portrait. He ſhewed, on this occaſion, with much *naïveté*, how accuſtomed he was to have the decrees of the Senate and votes of the Legiſlative Body always follow his will. He aſked the young man, how much time he would require to get ready the die for the crown pieces in queſtion. The young artiſt required ten days. Bonaparté fixed the date accordingly; and ſaid, "In ten days the law will paſs, and be made public: very well, that will do." And with theſe words (no oppoſition or remonſtrance being offered by any of the miniſters or directors preſent) the commiſſion for the new coinage was given to the young unexperienced man, ſo as not only to injure the artiſt to whom the work properly belonged, in his honour and rank, but to deprive him of the gain of ſeveral hundred thouſand livres!

Experience, however, has proved to the Conſul, that though it is eaſy by ſuch, deciſions to reward the ſhort-ſighted ready flatterer for the agreeable moment, it is not ſo to give him the talents and judgment which can ſupply the place of the proud artiſt, who reſpected himſelf, his art, and perhaps alſo the Conſul, too much to conſent to an act of compelled flattery. The crown pieces were ready at the appointed time; but when they were put into circulation, it appeared that they were not only without merit, as works of art, but alſo that they were uſeleſs. The unexperienced workman had forgotten that they were to be current money, and had made the impreſ-

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ſion in the ſtyle of a medal, very much raiſed, ſo that the crowns could not be laid one upon another, and could not therefore be employed by the merchants, nor in extenſive buſineſs. They were therefore returned to the mint, and coined anew. The new impreſſion is indeed ſomewhat better; Bonaparté's portrait is not without reſemblance, but much too ſtrong and full, and wants all thoſe minute peculiar features that particularly characterize him.

Many abſurdities, which betrayed but too clearly the novice at the helm, occurred very frequently both in and out of the Thuilleries, and muſt have been forcibly ſtriking to the lady of the Engliſh ambaſſador, who, with her firſt huſband the duke of Dorſet, formerly ambaſſador at the French court, had frequented the moſt confidential circles of the unfortunate queen. Many claims and pretenſions of the new court alſo offended the proud Engliſhman more than any other ambaſſador. To him, as to all the others, the audience of condolence in full mourning for the death of General Leclerc was announced, and he was obliged to viſit, in rotation, the whole Conſular family!

In all ſuch Conſular audiences, he was forced, with all the other ambaſſadors, to put up with waiting hours together in ſmall *entreſol* rooms *. A hundred circumſtances, which only extreme inexperience or inattention could occaſion (unleſs, indeed, wanton arrogance had a ſhare in them), often made this waiting

* Low rooms between two ſtories, ſometimes called lumber-rooms.

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very irkſome, if not even dangerous to him. Thus, on the 3d of April, the common great parade which uſually precedes the audience of the foreign ambaſſadors, was made a kind of ſpecial review of all the troops then in Paris. Even the conſcripts, who were not yet clothed, were obliged to appear in their linen frocks. All the ſoldiers appeared with their knapſacks, and their field-equipage, as if ready to march. All the chief entrances to the Thuilleries were ſhut; and Bonaparté, who on other occaſions rode through the ranks on horſeback, now went through them on foot; examined many of the ſoldiers' knapſacks; had ſhoes which he found too bad thrown aſide; ordered a ſoldier of the regulars to pull off his coat; and then tore it in two, as a warning to the contractors; enquired of the ſoldiers into many little particulars, uttered reproofs and threats to ſeveral commanding officers; aſked the conſcripts, as they got nothing elſe, if their ſoup was made good, &c. &c. In this manner he probably hoped to convince the ſoldiers (who for ſome time have thought themſelves neglected, and are diſſatisfied with him) that he really takes an intereſt in their welfare, and at the ſame time to ſhew the Engliſh ambaſſador that he was prepared to march, if terms more conformable to his wiſhes ſhould not ſoon be offered than thoſe which the ambaſſador had latterly propoſed!

The uſual parade laſts generally an hour, or at moſt an hour and a half; whereas this review laſted five hours. As the ambaſſadors had received no notice of this, they attended, at the time when the parade is generally over, with thoſe foreigners whom they

they had to introduce, and found the gates of the Thuilleries ſhut. After they had waited a long time in the outer ſquare, before the railing of what is properly the ſquare of the Thuilleries, in which the review took place, they were informed they might drive to a ſide-door, which ſhould be open for them. This was done, they alighted and went in all their ſtate through a part of the garden to reach the palace. But here again they found the inner doors cloſed, and were forced to remain a long time in the midſt of a throng of the loweſt of the people, who had been permitted to pour in through the grand entry, at the oppoſite ſide. For the Engliſh ambaſſador this was a peculiarly painful ſituation; as the people conſidered the unuſual ſpecial review as a preparation for war with England. He had, however, to ſupport the troubleſome curioſity of the people more than all the reſt; his lofty noble figure, his richly embroidered dreſs, with his ribbon and ſtar, always attracting freſh crowds around him. After long waiting and knocking, the inner gate was at length opened to the ambaſſadors, and they found in the little *entreſol* rooms, for the firſt time, a deſirable aſylum. But there they had ſtill to ſtay ſeveral hours till the duſk of the evening, before they were admitted to the Conſul!

If the European powers do not expreſsly inſtruct their ambaſſadors to reſent ſuch arrogance, as would be intolerable even to the deputies of tributary nations, it will become every year more inſolent, and in proportion as Bonaparté gains thereby in the eyes of the mob, they will loſe the reſpect of the nation. Every man of generous ſentiments, belonging to countries whoſe

whoſe ſovereigns are repreſented by ambaſſadors at Paris, has daily occaſion to be offended at the pride and arrogance of the new Conſular court. I am convinced that the Conſul has no ſhare in many of theſe affronts; nor may a man of his auſtere temper and unpoliſhed manners be aware of them. But thoſe who ſurround him evidently take pleaſure in them, and will not therefore make any alteration if loud complaints do not rouſe his attention.

Out of the Thuilleries the attentive Engliſhman could obſerve nothing much calculated to inſpire reſpect; and every degradation of the people, every inſtance of moral or political tyranny exerciſed upon them, and ſlaviſhly endured, muſt be of double importance in his eyes. At that time there appeared reſolutions of the Conſuls reſpecting public inſtruction and the adminiſtration of juſtice, which ſeemed to hold out the idea that the French nation was to be raiſed from the deepeſt barbariſm to the higheſt pitch of cultivation. For the watchful miniſter of the eternal hereditary enemy of the French nation, they conveyed the particularly important information, that every thing proceeding from the Firſt Conſul for the inſtruction and direction of the nation, was founded on a ſtrictly military character in the people, and a ſyſtematically deſpotic one in the government.

All this time the ſhort-ſighted people were deceived and blinded by official reports of the great and liberal meaſures of government, for the promotion of the higheſt cultivation and general inſtruction; for the foundation of a truly free conſtitution, and a perfectly wiſe legiſlation. This ſhort-ſighted people, who had

formerly ſuffered themſelves to be led aſtray by the hollow ſpeculations of their conſtitution-makers, by the deſignedly-falſe repreſentations of univerſal abſolute equality, are again ſo dazzled by the deluſions of heroic glory and Imperial greatneſs, that they do not perceive how all that is greateſt and beſt in man thereby goes to ruin. None but Frenchmen are liable to ſuch extremes, or to ſuch frantic blindneſs.

From the very beginning of the revolution, it was the darling pride of the French that they were to make their's a great, enlightened, highly-cultivated nation; in which attempt they ſcorned to be guided by any model, but were vain enough to ſuppoſe that their new conſtitution would be a model for all future times and nations. The Engliſh conſtitution retained too many traces for them of the old barbarous times, when the feudal ſyſtem prevailed over all Europe. The American conſtitution ſeemed to them good only for a limited, new-ſettled, diſperſed population, to whom the federal ſyſtem alone could give ſtrength and conſiſtency. They were determined to aim at the very ſummit of human perfection; and then, in the plenitude of ſtrength and ſplendour, ſtand as a moral, political pharos for the whole inhabited globe, whoſe all-illuminating beams ſhould extend from pole to pole!

But the nation which began in this pompous manner has, for ten years, wholly neglected public inſtruction, which, more than all the reſt, required a total reform. In the moſt furious times of the revolution, while the whole nation drove about, without guide or compaſs, on the raging, all-devouring ocean,

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men of ſtrong minds turned their thoughts to this great object; and, in the midſt of univerſal confuſion, found tranquillity and protection enough, in ſome degree, to organize it.

But, as in preceding times the rulers of the French nation had always been more ready to encourage great and brilliant enterpriſes, than to promote leſs ſplendid inſtitutions for the foundation of the real happineſs of the people, ſo in the preſent inſtance more was done for the completion of great eſtabliſhments already exiſting, than for the improvement of inſtruction in the public ſchools. The Botanic Garden, already unique in its kind, was brought to a ſtate of unparalleled perfection and beauty; as were the Muſeums and Academies of Natural Hiſtory, Chemiſtry, and all the Sciences connected with them, in a manner ſuperior to every thing of the kind in any part of the world. In the place of the old academies, a National Inſtitute was eſtabliſhed, which embraced all arts and ſciences, and by its conſtitution, its objects, and the talents of its members, exceeded all learned inſtitutions of the kind hitherto exiſting.

In the room of the ancient royal colleges, deſigned for the higher branches of ſcientific education, ſucceeded the *Ecole Polytechnique*, which was alſo unique in its kind, and comprehended all the higher ſciences, of which it taught both the practice and theory. Little attention was paid to the ſchools in town and country, which had to provide for the inſtruction of the people in general; yet for their improvement ſomething was done. During the laſt four or five years much was introduced in the central ſchools,

which waited only the tranquillity of a time of peace to become more efficacious and extended.

To a German school-man, like *Campe**, all this must indeed appear extremely insignificant, nay, even mean; and the heart of the zealous friend of youth must bleed when he learns that all his hopes have been so little realised, and that every thing is now so organized as to be worse than heretofore! The *General School Regulations for the Lyceums* (which take place of the central schools) lately published by the Consuls, form a model for despotic military states.

The very first regulation declares that the old wretched French schools are taken as a pattern: "The "instruction in the lyceums shall *essentially* consist of "Latin and the Mathematics;" and the last, that "as in "the former schools care was taken for the salvation "of Christian Catholic souls, there shall be a confessor "in each lyceum!"

The masters of the Latin language and of the mathematics are also to teach arithmetic, geography, mythology, and ancient history. But of ancient and modern languages, morality, philosophy, poetry, &c. not a syllable is said, a silence which of course leaves ample room for military exercises. The nineteenth article runs thus: "A military instructor shall be em- "ployed to teach the exercise to all pupils above "twelve years of age; he shall teach those who have "attained that age to handle their arms and the pla- "toon exercise: he shall be obliged to be present at "all times to direct the *march* of the pupils in their "different movements during the day."

* Vid. New Travels in England and France.

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The whole internal regulation is alſo military, and French ſchools in future will be no better than ſchools for mere ſoldiers! The ſcholars are divided into companies; have their corporals, ſerjeants, and ſerjeant-majors; they are led abroad *en corps*, and in all their walks they are headed by a *cenſeur*, a *maitre de quartier*, an *officier inſtructeur*, and a *maitre d'exerciſe*.

The 23d article is remarkable enough to be inſerted entire: "All that relates to the meals, the recreations, the walks, or the ſleep of the ſcholars, is to be "done by companies!" The puniſhments of the ſcholars are exactly the ſame as in the French army, *la priſon et les arrêts*; the *table de penitence* remains to be added. In the ſchools already eſtabliſhed in Paris, the ſcholars are moſt inhumanly beaten, and the inconceivable naſtineſs in them makes it difficult for even the moſt zealous enquirer to remain there for any time. In their arrangement they reſemble the moſt common barracks, only that thoſe are uſually cleaner.

The moſt remarkable, or rather the moſt deplorable, articles, are the 11th and 27th, which appoint the ſchool books and libraries. They deſerve to be here inſerted at length.

Art. 11. "Two committees ſhall be appointed, "one for the Latin, the other for the mathematics; "theſe are to draw up a plan which is to fix preciſely the parts that are to be taught in each claſs, "and the order that is to be obſerved. They ſhall "carefully point out the courſes which are to go forward together, and the duration of each claſs; they "ſhall provide a new edition of the claſſics, which

" they ſhall arrange in ſuch a manner that there " may be as many volumes as claſſes, by uniting " in each volume all that is to be taught by the " profeſſor of one claſs of Latin, and the ſame in " the mathematics. The volumes may be divided " according to the ſubjects of inſtruction. The pro- " feſſor is not, upon any pretence whatever, to make " uſe of other works."

Art. 27. " In each lyceum there ſhall be a library " of 1500 volumes ; all the libraries ſhall conſiſt of " the ſame works ; no other work can be placed in " them without expreſs permiſſion from the Miniſter " of the Interior. The books ſhall be lent to the " ſcholars on days of recreation."

In future, therefore, there will be for the French ſchools and their pupils no more printing-offices in the world ; and the treaſures which we poſſeſs from the ancients, in many hundred volumes, are reduced, according to the judgment of the committee appointed by the Firſt Conſul, to ſix volumes ! for there are but ſix Latin claſſes, and every claſs is only to have one volume for the whole year, and another for each ſucceeding year. The library of 1500 volumes will be filled up by the voluminous mathematical and hiſtorical works of the Jeſuits ; and thus may the youth of the new century become as well informed as their Conſul, who in his firſt military ſchool was no better off ! If in theſe ſix volumes the intentions of the Firſt Conſul be fully executed, poſterity will have in them a good ſtandard of the mental improvement of the French nation in the nineteenth century.

The hatred of the Conſul againſt all republican forms

forms extends itſelf to all inſtitutions, both for the ſciences and arts, that owe their origin or form to the revolution. From the great National Inſtitute, which already filled all Europe with its renown, to the Trumpeters' ſchool at Verſailles, all muſt be ſet again on the old footing. In the Inſtitute there were claſſes for philoſophy, morals, politics, and legiſlation. Richelieu, who underſtood the matter better, allowed nothing of the kind in his old academies. In order therefore gradually to get rid of this public ſcandal, the National Inſtitute was diſſolved, and diſſected into the four old royal academies, in which, for the future, all things dangerous to deſpotiſm will be leſs diſcuſſed than formerly under Louis the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth. The diſobedient ſon of the Revolution ſtands now as high or higher than all thoſe Louiſes; and hence the ſame light which they hated, is alſo hateful and dangerous to him. In ſome of the public central ſchools, which in ſome degree fulfilled the end of their inſtitution, moral philoſophy, hiſtory, and even ſtatiſtics (of which the French hitherto ſcarcely knew any thing), had been already introduced; and though it was but imperfectly and by piece-meal, the way was opened to more enlightened teachers and ſcholars. But all this has been put aſide. The conqueror's will is, to form a mere warlike nation; and all that does not conſtitute the blindly-obedient ſoldier, is ſuperfluous in his inſtruction. Latin and the mathematics were formerly taught by the Jeſuits in the French ſchools; theſe ſhall again be taught there, and that is all. "*Three maſters for the mathematics, and three for Latin; no more are required!*" wrote the

First Conful under the great plan of education of a *Cavier* and *Fourcroy*, and ſtruck it out from the beginning to the end. That theſe worthy men, and thoſe who reſemble them, had no ſhare in drawing up the Conſular ordinance, is ſeen by the outline, the regulations, and almoſt every expr[illegible]

What a mean, what a contemptible opinion muſt Bonaparté have of the French nation, to dare, by ſuch regulations, to throw it back a whole century! How ſhamefully does the nation juſtify this contemptible opinion by bearing all this in ſilence! A nation that has produced a Deſcartes, Malebranche, Bayle, Paſcal, Monteſquieu, Hopital, D'Agueſſeau, Colbert, Mably, D'Alembert, Voltaire, Rouſſeau, Diderot, Raynal, Helvetius, Thomas, and Mirabeau! A nation that, under the moſt unlimited monarchy, heard with enthuſiaſm and loud applauſe the boldeſt language of freedom in the works of its Corneille, Voltaire, and others; that had long conſidered Monteſquieu as a too cautious and timid politician; though, in the firſt page of his great work, which ſo zealouſly contends for the rights and happineſs of mankind, he declares, that by *virtue*, the cauſe of which is every where defended, he means *l'amour de la patrie, et de l'égalité!*

A nation likewiſe, among whom a genuine philoſopher, a teacher of virtue and juſtice, had for forty years indefatigably contended for the rights of the people, for their permanent ſecurity and true happineſs, founded on laws and morals, and who ſealed his doctrine by the example of his whole life. Such a man was

Mably.

*Mably**. Such a man alſo was *Thomas*, who, with all the powers of eloquence, with the pureſt fire of genius and virtue, endeavoured to impreſs on the hearts of his tranſported hearers, in the ſimpleſt language of enquiry and truth, what the other wrote for their inſtruction.

"Liberty is the firſt right of man; the right of "obeying and fearing the laws alone. Woe be to "the ſlave who ſhould fear to pronounce its name! "Woe to the country where to pronounce it would be "a crime!—Man, born free, but with the neceſſity of "being governed, had ſubmitted himſelf to laws, "never to the caprices of a maſter! No man has the "right arbitrarily to command another; he who "uſurps this power, deſtroys his power itſelf. The "law is every thing. The conſtitution of ſtates may

* Brizzard, in his *Eloge Hiſtorique*, describes this excellent man in a very ſtriking manner. He ſays, "A man has appeared, whoſe taſte, formed by the ſtudy of the ancients, points out in their writings thoſe traces of the ſublime and beautiful for which we have loſt all reliſh. He ſtudied its elements, and, one of the firſt among the moderns, he developed the intimate alliance between morals and politics; and demonſtrated that morals are the ſource and the baſe of public felicity. He inculcated on all men, on all ſocieties, this ſublimely ſimple idea. All his life, all his writings for the ſpace of forty years were employed in unfolding this uſeful truth. The example of all ages and all nations was ſummoned by his pen to ſupport his maxims. He never was ſeen to vary or wave according to vulgar opinions. He tells ſevere truths; he tells them with force, with energy, and ſometimes with a certain harſhneſs, which is but the indignation of virtue irritated at the ſight of vice and injuſtice in an age highly frivolous and corrupted."

"change,

"change, but the rights of the citizens remain ever "the same: they are independent both of the ambi- "tious man who usurps, and of the wretch who sells "them: founded upon nature, they are, like nature, "unalterable*."

Vid. *Thomas Eloge de Marc. Aurele.*

But though this generous, zealous academic orator was unable during his whole life to rouse the people with his oratory and writings, yet soon after the powerful voice of Mirabeau was heard to thunder out from the tribunes of the national and popular assemblies, the same calls to support the rights of men which for twenty years Thomas had so unavailingly maintained. This zealous advocate for genuine constitutional monarchy, in which the civil liberty of a great state can be best secured by laws and morals, and protected by a well-regulated power, at that time lost his popularity as often as he contended, with equal zeal, for the rights of Kings, the inviolability of which is equally necessary to the foundation of a truly constitutional monarchy.

And yet this nation, for which, ten or twelve years ago, no freedom was free enough, no degree of instruction, no scientific institution, could be great enough, suffers itself now to be robbed of liberty, instruction, and every thing valuable to man, by a *Foreigner*, who, for all the liberty and instruction which he ever had, and all that he now receives and enjoys, is indebted to it alone!!!

* In the same generous spirit, the excellent old minister Bernstorff, when the Danish vassals, in some of the king's demesnes, would not accept their freedom, said "That is an important reason more for obliging them to be free."

Unhappily,

Unhappily the French continue to be the ſame people that their own and all foreign hiſtorians and moraliſts have painted in ſuch uniform colours. Gregory of Tours repreſents the Franks, under their firſt kings, as a ferocious and barbarous nation, whoſe kings were murderers, unjuſt and cruel, only becauſe the whole nation was ſo, and which was only reſtrained a little at times by the *terrors* of Chriſtianity: as a people who were not at all ſhocked at the injuſtice, robberies and murders of their kings, becauſe they conſiſted of robbers and unjuſt men; a people who, though they had eſtabliſhed laws, yet ſuffered their kings, by arbitrary written orders to the judges, to infringe the laws, ſo as to make them uſeleſs; to overturn exiſting laws: and in this manner to ſentence accuſed perſons to death without any trial; to command marriages forbidden by the laws; to allow marriage to nuns; to take inheritances from the lawful heirs, and, contrary to the exiſting law, give them to others; and, becauſe they had not the power to make laws, tyrannically to exerciſe their will by ſuſpending or weakening the laws which exiſted.

Mably ſays of the French, that they continued, in the ſequel, to give themſelves up to their paſſions, and to accidental circumſtances; always confounded licentiouſneſs, the power of the laws with tyrranny, and ſo formed a ſociety without ſtandard or principles. In this ſtate of anarchy they accuſtomed themſelves to the diſorders which they underſtood not how to remedy; the intereſt of the ſtrongeſt ſeemed always to prevail over that of the public, &c.*

* Mably Œuvres completes. Ed. de Lyon, I. 123.

For

For the ſpace of a thouſand years this ſteady enquirer and truly patriotic hiſtorian finds his countrymen always diſunited, brutal, ferocious and impetuous, treating each other like enemies, without regard to their common origin[1]; confounding the moſt exceſſive licentiouſneſs with liberty[2]; of inſatiable rapacity[3]; of incurable thoughtleſſneſs; inconſtancy; imprudence, combined with extreme ignorance[4], and want of knowledge of their hiſtory[5]; more vain than ambitious[6]; of a very falſe vanity[7], which places its higheſt honour in conducting itſelf arbitrarily[8]; independent, proud, rebellious[9]; eaſily impoſed on from their unparalleled levity[10]; given to the wildeſt rapacity[11]; corrupt, venal[12]; inconſtant without character, and in perpetual contradiction with themſelves[13]. From the oldeſt times, full of the follies and abſurdities which diſtinguiſh them at preſent; the moſt inſignificant nobleman, aping the greateſt lord; the latter ſtriving only for arbitrary power; the clergy immerſed in vile court ſervility; the people in ſlavery[14]. Expecting every thing from chance, from circumſtances; abandoning themſelves with the raſheſt courage to every hope; and as quickly ſinking again into extreme deſpondency; ſlaviſhly ſubmitting to every court cabal, to every courtly authority, even of the vileſt favourite[15]. Finally, ſo degraded by voluptuouſneſs,

[1] Mably Œuvres completes. Ed. de Lyon. I. 152.
[2] Ib. I. 157. [3] Ib. I. 143.
[4] Ib. I. 171. II. 43. [5] Ib. I. 318. II. 112. 162. 261. III. 34.
[6] Ib. II. 166. [7] Ib. II. 46. [8] II. 13. [9] Ib. II. 14.
[10] Ib. III. 11. [11] Ib. II. 53. [12] Ib. II. 275. 202.
[13] Ib. II. 115. [14] Ib. III. 21. [15] Ib. III. 246.

effeminacy,

effeminacy, and all the vices of luxury, that their unnerved ſouls are become incapable of any genuine love of liberty*. At the end, he exclaims, "Examine now the character of the French nation, and judge of the reſiſtance which it is capable of making to the government. The vices with which effeminacy, luxury, avarice, and ſlaviſh ambition, have filled the French, have ſo relaxed their ſouls, that if they have ſtill ſenſe enough to fear deſpotiſm, they no longer have courage enough to love liberty."

Who would ever imagine that, between this portrait and the French of the preſent day (whom it ſo ſtrikingly repreſents) the whole French revolution had intervened? That all the immenſe convulſions which the impetuous torrent of circumſtances brought with it; all the ſenſe and zeal of the firſt National Aſſembly; the audacity and cunning of the ſecond; the madneſs and inhumanity of the Convention; the ſchoolmaſter-wiſdom, and loquacious, feeble humanity of the Directory; nay, more than all this, that a ten years victorious war againſt all Europe, has had no effect on the radically corrupt character of the unprincipled nation? That, after ſuch revolutions, ſuch wars, and victories, a Foreigner, who has only conquered with and through the nation, as others with him, would be able to ſubjugate it again, as Charles Martel did a thouſand, and Richelieu above a hundred years ago? This apparently prodigious enigma has alſo been ſolved, long before the revolution, by Mably; the ſolution is, "*a total want of reſpect for the*

* Mably Œuvres completes. Ed. de Lyon, III. 273.

laws.

*laws** ! What avail a thousand and a thousand laws ; —at one time planned with zeal and judgment by the best heads ; at another altered with presumption and vanity by ignorant legislators ; acknowledged, and rejected ; proclaimed and repealed by all National Assemblies ;—when the great all-devouring tyranny of sensuality and egotism, in the heart of every individual, enfeebles and annihilates all laws ? Mirabeau, at the close of his short but great political career, exclaims from the tribune, " *Good morals, above all, are requisite ; without which the best laws would be but a powerless restraint. There is a despotism in vice ; can that be the only despotism which the city of Paris cannot overturn ?*" Mirabeau well knew how difficult this tyranny is to be exterminated, even in men of his ability ; what then must it be in a giddy unnerved people ? for such,

* The whole passage deserves serious consideration : Mably says, " Is it possible to study our history, and not to perceive that our forefathers were scarcely settled in Gaul, when they neglected all the precautions necessary to hinder one part of the nation from increasing its riches and power at the expence of the rest ? Tormented by their avarice and ambition, the different orders of the state never enquired what was the object of society ; and if we except the too-short reign of Charlemagne, the French have never examined what are the laws on which nature directs men to found their happiness. Never could one order of men acquire habits of consistency, even while striving to oppress the others ; hence, those ever unavailing efforts ; a policy always unsteady ; no constant interest ; no fixed character, or manners ; hence, continual revolutions, of which however our history never speaks ; and hence always governed by the chance of events and the impulse of the passions, we have accustomed ourselves to have no respect for the laws." Ib. III. 268. Conclusion.

it is more eaſy to overthrow baſtiles and thrones. To this it is alſo much ſooner led and encouraged, than to combat its own voluptuouſneſs and ſenſuality. Of the latter, thoſe who under the cloak of the public good ſeek only their own advantage, know but too well how to profit; and Bonaparté better perhaps than Charles Martel and Richelieu, who practiſed it before him.

Of what follows, the principal features in the characters of theſe two old uſurpers, as drawn by Mably, have a moſt ſtriking reſemblance with that of the Uſurper of the preſent day. Of Charles Martel, he ſays, "He was a man who poſſeſſed all the powers of the mind in the moſt eminent degree; his ſplendid, daring, and boundleſs ambition feared no danger; as inflexible to his enemies, as generous and prodigal to his friends, he obliged every body to court his protection. Charles Martel deſired only the attachment of his ſoldiers, and made himſelf feared by all the reſt. He treated the French with extreme ſeverity; he did more, he deſpiſed them. Finding every where only violated or forgotten laws, he put his will in their place. Sure of being maſter as long as the army was devoted to his ſervice, he made no ſcruple of enriching it with the ſpoils of the clergy. Always victorious, and ſure of the fidelity of his troops, he conſidered the leaders who followed him as the body of the nation*."

Still more ſtriking is the reſemblance in the chief

* Mably Œuvres completes. Ed. de Lyon. III. 203. 204.

features

features of the picture of Richelieu. "At the moment when the weakneſs of the government rendered the moment favourable for opposition, there appeared in the King's council a man who had opened himſelf a way into it by cunning, artifice, and fraud, but who was formed to govern by other means, where once his credit was eſtabliſhed. Richelieu, born with an immoderate thirſt of power, had none of the virtues, nor even of the enlarged views, which are expected in thoſe who are at the head of the affairs of a great kingdom; he had that haughtineſs and inflexibility of character which ſubjugate common minds, and aſtoniſh and weary thoſe who have only ordinary prudence and courage. He employed the ſame means which the kings had uſed, to divert the attention of the nation from its domeſtic concerns, and to render it paſſive under monarchical ſway; he degraded the minds of the people by amuſing them with all that is moſt uſeleſs and yet attractive in the ſciences, the arts, and in commerce. His contagious luxury made them acquainted with new wants, which ruined the Great; who, forced to beg favours, to diſplay a vain pomp, prepared themſelves for ſlavery. The contagion extended itſelf to all orders in the ſtate; obſcure men made ſcandalous fortunes at the expence of the people; they were envied, and the love of money deſtroyed all elevation of ſoul. Yet Richelieu, while degrading the nation at home, made it reſpected abroad. The greater and more difficult the miniſter's undertakings were, the more were his pretexts to emancipate himſelf from all reſtraints, and to govern with a rod of iron.

iron. The plea of ſtate-neceſſity was the conſtant excuſe for his oppreſſions. To be ſuſpected of being capable of diſobeying this imperious miniſter, was to be guilty. Whilſt he ſcattered favours with one hand, and puniſhments with the other, it appeared more tolerable to be his ſlave than his enemy. By the introduction of appeals, the Kings had become maſters of the adminiſtration of juſtice, and made themſelves legiſlators. Richelieu judged, that by making an arbitrary uſe of the adminiſtration of juſtice, he ſhould render himſelf deſpotic. What Machiavel adviſes the tyrant whom he inſtructs, Richelieu executed. The court, full of ſpies and informers, by whoſe means Richelieu was informed of every thing, ſo as to ſeem preſent every where, appeared plunged into ſtupid conſternation; they felt the danger of forming cabals; and ſo great was the degredation of mind, ſo heavy the weight of ſervitude, that an aſſaſſination became the only means left of deliverance from oppreſſion*."

This picture repreſents alſo the preſent ſtate of the French nation under Bonaparté in ſuch ſtriking colours, that I have felt the leſs ſcruple in citing it entire. I could add innumerable features from the beſt French writers, which would ſerve to confirm the ſketch of Mably. All their writers of the laſt century, from *Monteſquieu* to *Mirabeau*, nay even to the very lateſt, *Neckar*, *Riouffe*, *Mounier*, and *Chenier*, repreſent their own nation as ſo morally and politically debaſed, that neither a good conſtitution, with obedience to it, nor a durable, conſiſtent oppoſition to a

* Mably Œuvres Completes. Ed. Lyon, III. 255, 260.

bad one, nor even an enlightened judgment concerning it, is to be expected from them. With this want of solid judgment, consistency, character, and active patriotism, it is to be wondered that, during a revolution of fifteen years, a man did not sooner arise who united in himself the talents of the warrior and statesman, courage and audacity, will and power, successfully to seize on the whole government of the state. Even he who at length attempts it with success, was not to be a Frenchman; as if the old national vices had so poisoned and weakened every seed, that no man of a fixed manly character, not a perfect egotist, who aims only at what is highest, and only for himself, not even a genuine tyrant, could be produced in the nation itself! It was necessary, that such a man should spring from an inconsiderable island, the national character of whose inhabitants is in almost every particular diametrically opposite to that of the French: it was decreed that, for his guidance towards despotism, he should, in the course of his short life, see the French pass through almost every state to which a great nation can be subject; and that in all these states he should find it the same vain, uninformed, unsteady, faithless, cruel, thoughtless nation, with which its earlier history had already made him acquainted! His Cæsar and Machiavel had already told him that this nation has, indeed, courage enough for a furious attack, but has neither patience nor strength for persevering opposition, for the manly support of unavoidable evil which leads to good. He had both; together with that audacious courage which

blinds

blinds such a nation: he placed himself boldly at their head; led them incessantly to attack and victory; and, at the same time, furnished their appetites and passions with so much food and support at home, that in the rage of devouring they did not perceive how he, when once certain of the military power, was possessing himself of all other civil power. Did they look round, or listen, he flattered their vanity with soothing hypocritical words; promised them all that he did not intend to grant; shewed them all that did not exist. This satisfied the vain-glorious, rapacious nation, who grasp and strive at every thing, but know not how to profit by, or hold fast any thing. What they gained by their rapacity, they must give up again for the support of his power and safety; and this, too, he knows how to represent to them as necessary and advantageous for their own national honour and safety. In this manner he leads them in a perpetual circle towards a throne, which many scarcely perceive; keeps up the vertigo of their ostentation; and, as the wise dancing-master did to his hungry children, often bids them dance when they cry for bread.

How well he knows how to profit by every opportunity of satisfying, for the moment, their ever-hungry rapacity, or of feeding it with mere hopes, his behaviour to England will shew; to which, after this too-long digression, I now return.

First, however, I have a few words to say on his conduct towards Switzerland.

During the indecent squabbling and sneering with England, Bonaparté settled the affairs of Switzerland.

He had already suffered fifty-six deputies from the Helvetic Senate, the Towns and Cantons, to wait several months in Paris, without an audience. The four senators, Barthelemy, Roederer, Fouché, and Demeunier, were commissioned by Bonaparté to hear plans and propofals, and to unite them in one decisive opinion. As the difference of opinions however continued too great, and many of the worthy deputies were not so easily moved to compliance, either by the artifices of Roederer and Fouché, or by the arguments of the two other good Consular senators, it was found necessary, out of these fifty-six deputies, to select ten, with whom the interests of Switzerland was to be discussed in the presence of the Consul himself. He expressly desired that five aristocratic and five democratic deputies should be chosen for this purpose. This placed the deputies in no small embarrassment. No one was willing, either from his own choice, or his instructions, to pass absolutely for one or the other. Deputies from several democratical Cantons were disposed to admit of many aristocratical regulations; others from aristocratical Cantons were disposed to democratic innovations. Bonaparté, however, in the military style, insisted on his will as a *sine quâ non*, and a choice must be made. Many of the most courageous and eloquent deputies, who did not easily suffer themselves to be worked upon, and would not give way, even in matters of form, were, by that alone, excluded from the committee.

After such a conference had taken place, according to the results drawn from it by Bonaparté, and the active senators, the constitutions for all the Swiss Cantons

tons were formed, and at length, on the nineteenth of February, delivered, as an act of mediation, to the ten deputies, in a formal audience, at which the other two Conſuls, the ſenate, the council of ſtate, and the miniſters were preſent. This act conſiſted of three chief diviſions. The firſt contained the particular conſtitutions which Bonaparté gave to the different Swiſs Cantons, and the act of federation, which unites them into one whole; the ſecond diviſion contains the neceſſary meaſures and regulations for putting the general and particular acts in force; and the third regulates the liquidation of the debts contracted by Switzerland during the revolution, and the application of the national eſtates. The nineteen different conſtitutions are partly democratical, partly ariſtocratical, partly mixed in the neweſt mode. They have rendered Switzerland the dependent frontier bulwark of France!

In the introduction to the great act of mediation, Bonaparté ſays to them—(Bonaparté, who has done more than any other towards the deſtruction of their country; who has brought it to the very brink of perdition, almoſt to its entire political diſſolution; who has crippled all its powers of ſelf-ſubſiſtence and ſelf-defence, for centuries to come; this ſame Bonaparté ſays to the Swiſs) "Switzerland, a prey to diſſentions, was menaced with its diſſolution; it could not find within itſelf the means of re-organization. The ancient affection of the French nation for this reſpectable people, whom it has conſtantly defended by its arms, and cauſed to be reſpected by its treaties; the intereſt of France, and of the Italian Republic, whoſe frontiers Switzerland covers; the requeſt of the ſe-

nate, that of the democratic Cantons, the wiſh of the whole Helvetic people, impoſe it on us as a duty to interpoſe our mediation between the parties that divide it," &c. &c.

In this act, Bonaparté names Frieburg, *Canton directeur* for 1803, and the former count d'Affrey, Landammann. This is the Count d'Affrey who has grown gray in the ſervice of France; who, at the time of the unhappy cataſtrophe of the laſt king of France, commanded the royal Swiſs guard; but who, on the deciſive 10th of Auguſt, when the poor Swiſs fell victims to their ill-timed zeal in defence of the royal palace, was not with his corps; and who afterwards ſaved his life by declaring to the furious National Aſſembly that he had not commanded on that day, though the queen had ſupplicated him the day before to defend the king and his family from the rage of the Pariſian mob. Thoſe monſters were rejoiced at being able to ground on this depoſition a heavy accuſation againſt the queen, whoſe death they had ſworn, but which atrocity they were willing to cover with all the pretexts of juſtice, and hence they allowed the old ſoldier to live. He now ſeems very actively employed for the ſalvation of his pious countrymen. He has lately requeſted the Pope, in a very edifying letter, to enter into relations of grace and ſpiritual protection with Switzerland. His holineſs, as the image of Jeſus Chriſt on earth, will certainly not ſhut his ear to the wiſhes of the faithful:—"In expectation of the happy influence of the care of his holineſs, the humble Landammann of the humbled Switzerland, throws himſelf at the feet of the holy father, and ſupplicates his paternal

nal bleſſing." In the bleſſed year of his Landammann-ſhip, poor regenerated Switzerland has had a moſt plentiful harveſt of monks and nuns, of edicts reſpecting the *cenſure*, continency, &c.

The good Swiſs would have had far other cauſes for rejoicing if they had liſtened twenty years ago to the elevated inſtructions and exhortations of one of their nobleſt and wiſeſt fellow-citizens:

"By the many varying modifications of great political ſtruggles, every nation, however juſt and peaceable, may, in moments when it leaſt expects it, be called upon to prove its weight in the ſcale of Europe. How then if it ſleep? In a long peace, what is great in politics is gradually loſt ſight of; the wiſdom of the forefathers degenerates, through miſunderſtanding, into prejudices, and at length all great movements are concerning private intereſts and internal trifles; the eye is turned unfraternally to the imaginary views of *this* or *that* Canton, not nobly directed upon foreign relations. Great monarchies have gone thus to ruin. Dares a great ſtate, which would never have become a ſtate at all without extraordinary virtue, to be unmindful of ſuch virtue? It is inconceivable what man can do when he will; how high he raiſes himſelf when he feels himſelf free. The ſpirit of your forefathers, on whoſe chairs you ſit, requires, expects from your wiſdom and perſevering magnanimity, for the confirmation of your Confederacy, an implacable enmity to ſelfiſhneſs, and to political apathy. It is evident that nothing great and good is poſſible without this implacable enmity; in order to preſerve which, care muſt be taken not to check the courſe of popular information (which is

hateful), nor to suppress it (as indeed it is not in your power), but (which requires peculiar wisdom) to guide it to proper objects of information.

"The great republics of antiquity withheld no information which their people might derive from the experience of other republics: without such knowledge, and without a proper national spirit, the world will say of your people, There is no reliance to be placed on them; they desire the end, but not the means.*"

Good Swiss! have ye still the courage, the freedom, to consider attentively in what a different situation ye would be now, if a man of Muller's high patriotic spirit might be able and willing to be your self-elected Landammann? Alas! you have got, instead of Muller, the great French Consul for your *protector!*

In order to spare the poor Swiss, who know not how to help themselves, all embarrassment and trouble, the Consul was so good as to appoint the nineteen presidents to all the nineteen committees, which he ordains for the introduction of the constitution into the different Cantons, and for carrying on the temporary government. That among them there is not one zealous defender of the ancient Swiss constitutions, will surprize no one; but some, perhaps, may wonder that the name of *Ochs* should have been omitted.

The Consular regulation of the debts of Switzerland, begins with ordering, that all the estates formerly belonging to the convents shall be restored to them.

* Muller's History of the Swiss confederacy. Vol. I. p. 17, 25, 26.

Finally,

Finally, it is promiſed, that all the French troops ſhall leave Switzerland as ſoon as the conſtitution is introduced. A year has elapſed ſince the conſtitution was introduced, but the French troops have not yet left Switzerland. It is ſtill a queſtion whether it were deſirable for moſt of the Swiſs Cantons, that the French troops ſhould entirely evacuate the country. Since the introduction of the new conſtitution, which it was hoped would ſatisfy all the Cantons in ſome degree, becauſe none had reaſon to be wholly ſatisfied with it, the internal diſcontent and fermentation are as great as ever; and the poor, honeſt, hot-headed Swiſs, who moſt likely do not comprehend Bonaparté's final aim, are every inſtant in danger, through their own imprudence, of falling into the ſnare laid for them, ſooner than he, perhaps, wiſhes to catch them.

This encroachment on Switzerland did not eſcape the watchful eye of the Engliſh ambaſſador. It was a very ſtrong proof of Bonaparté's inceſſant pretenſions to aggrandizement; and, as ſuch, had its influence on the pending negociation.

In the vain hope of reconciling the ambaſſador, Bonaparté frequently converſed with him in a jocular manner, aſſuming an air of unuſual confidence and familiarity. The ambaſſador was not to be deceived by ſuch appearances; he continued to hold cloſe conferences with the Ruſſian and Pruſſian miniſters. Finding the ſteady Engliſhman equally proof againſt artifice and menaces, the Conſul could not but perceive that he had rendered war with England inevitable.

As England had abundant cauſe for hoſtilities, not only in order to retrieve its diſadvantageous peace, but

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to check Bonaparté in his plans of aggrandizement and defence, which he carried on with far too much audacity, no mediations could be of any farther avail. He, however, with perfect duplicity, made the most pressing applications for them to the Russian and Prussian courts; and sent his favourite Duroc to Berlin, with instructions, the final object of which went to nothing less than the annihilation of England, as the arch-enemy of all Europe. Had he succeeded in bringing the Prussian court into the views of Bonaparté against England (so far as it was thought proper to let the Prussian cabinet into those views) Duroc was then to go to St. Petersburg, to complete the object of his mission. General Duroc, however, soon returned from Berlin. There, where the affair was regarded as a quarrel between France and England only, the court of England had already complained of France; of its ill-observance of some points of the Peace, and of its plans of incessant aggrandizement. None of these complaints were concealed from the ambassador, though he was dismissed with the most obliging assurances of friendship towards his Consul, and treated in the most polite manner.

Bonaparté, compelled sooner than he wished to a breach with England, was much too eager in endeavours to make his cause the cause of Europe. The wise, moderate declarations of the two Northern Courts, must have soon convinced him that his foreign influence was not yet so extensive as he perhaps imagined. He could not but perceive also, that the other Powers were far from entertaining so mean an opinion of the power and situation of England as he affected, since the

the advantageous peace which he had so easily obtained, and but too clearly betrayed by his contemptuous conduct. He had also cause to be convinced that his opinion of England's being excluded from all future concern in the affairs of the Continent, was very far from being the opinion of those courts.

On the other hand, Bonaparté's proceedings against England, and the extravagant tendency of his proposals, rendered the powers in question more attentive to his inordinate pretensions and arrogance, however flattering his language might be to the two sovereigns. Such arrogance, whilst it most imprudently roused and irritated the national pride of the English, could by no means be agreeable to potentates who felt themselves very differently related and connected with the English Court than with the French Consul, however brilliant might be the star of his fortune.

As soon as Bonaparté saw that he had provoked the English to an inevitable rupture, he left no pretexts untried to detain the English ambassador in Paris; and this not succeeding, he continued to solicit the mediation of the Courts which had endeavoured to avert the renewal of war. The Russian ambassador incurred the suspicion of not having been sufficiently active in mediation, before the departure of the English ambassador, and received proofs of Bonaparté's insolence and arrogance, on which, as was becoming, this ambassador was recalled. On taking his audience of leave, he displayed his noble pride by speaking to the Consul only of the approbation of his emperor, which alone he had endeavoured to merit, and which he had obtained: not a word did he say of the Consul's anger, nor

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expreſs the leaſt wiſh for a reconciliation. There are ambaſſadors there who neither would have the inclination nor the courage of teſtifying the ſame generous pride.

Whilſt Bonaparté was ſtill ſoliciting the mediation of Ruſſia, he took advantage of the promiſe of the Pruſſian court not to protect Hanover, aſſuring that court of the perfect ſecurity of its own territories; an aſſurance, however, which a power that had an army of 200,000 excellent troops on foot did not ſeem much to want!—Bonaparté availed himſelf of theſe peaceable ſentiments to the advantage of his army, and of his military cheſt. He ſent 20,000 ſcarcely half-cloathed or half-mounted troops into the Electorate of Hanover, where the commanding general muſt have been very ſure he ſhould meet no reſiſtance, for the firſt troops entered the country almoſt wholly without artillery, and deſtitute of ammunition; notwithſtanding this, to the aſtoniſhment of all Germany, and to the equal aſtoniſhment of the French troops themſelves, who knew the bravery of the Hanoverian ſoldiers, and witneſſed their good appearance, the whole Hanoverian army, all the artillery, rich magazines, warlike ſtores, and other royal property in Hanover, were given up to them without a blow. The French troops were clothed with Hanoverian manufactures, and mounted with Hanoverian horſes. A multitude of the fineſt horſes from the royal ſtables, and from the country, were ſent to France for Bonaparté, his Conſular guard, and family; and, as if the poor Hanoverian people, totally innocent of all the diſorder, and unconcerned in the

diſputes

disputes with England, were not burthened enough with the French men and beasts, they were also obliged to catch a number of stags, and to convey them in eight waggons with six horses to Paris, for Madame Bonaparté's park.

The Hanoverian cannon were transported to France with such rapacity, that pieces too heavy for conveyance were sawed asunder, and sent piece-meal to France, to be there recast.

While public proclamations and the Parisian official papers assured the world that Hanover and its army were only secured in order to cut off reinforcements of troops and money from the enemy; the electorate, whose states had peaceably yielded in order to be secured from hostile treatment, was, however, plundered with every hostility. While the country is obliged to raise a high pay for the hostile army, the soldier receives only the third part of it, and the officer nothing. The ready money is sent to the military chest in France, so that the officers and soldiers must receive their support from the citizens and peasants. All that the French nation can put to any use whatever, is taken from the country and sent away.

The troops are continually changed; the well-cloathed and mounted are recalled home, and others sent to be cloathed and mounted. This will continue as long as Hanover has cloth, leather, horses, or money to give! As it can no longer supply the sums of money demanded, Hanoverian domains are offered as a security for foreign loans, with which the neighbouring free imperial cities are alarmed and threatened.

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In the royal palaces, and in thoſe left by the fugitive magiſtrates of the country, the French generals lead a voluptuous life at the expence of the people; celebrate their republican and deſpotic feſtivals alternately, in mockery of the poor wretches, and at their coſt: with the moſt wanton oſtentation they ſend for their wives, miſtreſſes, children, and whole tribe of relations from France, that theſe may alſo fatten and enrich themſelves at the expence of the poor invaded people!

This happy diſpoſal of a part of the French army, was the ſignal for hope and confidence to all the reſt, ſo wretchedly fed in their garriſons, that except where the officers procured for the ſoldiers ground for the cultivation of a few potatoes or turnips, they muſt often have been half ſtarved. All ſee in this little prelude on the dominions of the king of England, the promiſe and the opening of the grand political ſcenes—*the plunder of Great Britain*; and content themſelves, in the mean time, with the property of the poor Dutch and Flemings, who already ſink under the burden; and while they are obliged to ſupport foreign armaments, and to feed foreign armies, ſee their own people periſh with hunger on their own ſhores!

That part of the army which is ſtationed near Aſia and Egypt, is ſatisfied at the preſent with Neapolitan proviſions, in expectation of improving its condition by *the expulſion of the Turks from Europe and Egypt!*

What the people of Hanover loſe in property, health, and long life, by their merry gueſts, they may gain in inſtructive knowledge of the French nation,

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and its despotic chief! The Frenchman is a thoughtless, lively, and, at bottom, good-tempered orator; and it is a relief to him, after three years silence, to give a loose to his tongue. What the soldiers on German ground universally and loudly declare concerning their situation, even of the apprehension with which they, in their ill-provided condition, marched against the respectable well-fed Hanoverian troops; of the neglect of their support and equipage; of the rapacity of their leaders and commissaries, and their numerous clerks; of the despotism of their Consul, guarded as he is like the Turkish Emperor, and the arrogance and insolence of his ministers and counsellors, and of their clerks and secretaries; all this may make the inhabitants of the country better acquainted with the true nature of the present French government and army, than they probably were when displeased at individual instances of oppression in the constitution and government. Many of them were not entirely dissatisfied at the approach of the French troops; assuredly it would now be difficult to find an Hanoverian who would not regard the departure of the French, and the re-establishment of the old Hanoverian government, if not exactly of the same persons, as the greatest blessing! scarcely one who now would not rather have hazarded his life, than see his country totally ruined. It is probable that they would have received speedy assistance from more than one side, if they had followed their first impulse in making a valiant defence. Neighbouring divisions of troops were surely not drawn together for the mere amusement of sovereigns and generals; and though those sovereigns

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and generals might be offended at the conduct of the Hanoverian government, it is not to be presumed that they meant tamely to see their inoffensive neighbours a prey to the superiority of a rapacious enemy. With indignation must the governors of Hanover now see their weakness in trusting to perfidious promises from the worst of invaders!

It will be well if the latter do not give them occasion to be still more dissatisfied! The rapacity of the French Consul knows no bounds; his usurping character drives him to unlimited exactions. He will hardly tread in the footsteps of Charles the Great, who, in all his undertakings at home, not only remained within the pale of the constitution, but even voluntarily limited his own power, in order to found a good constitution; and who was inclined to respect the rights of other kingdoms.

Bonaparté proceeds much more in the steps of Charles the Fifth, and Louis the Fourteenth. He particularly resembles the former in every thing that is unconnected with the soldier; for, Charles the Fifth was no hero. The character which our greatest historian drew of Charles the Fifth, sixteen years ago, suits Bonaparté in almost every point. Compare the following features: "The emperor, watchful over all, was more active, both in body and mind, than could be expected from his feeble constitution; the more cautious, therefore, as long as affairs were doubtful, as he had more of the statesman than of the hero, and trusted others the less as he was himself practised in the arts of dissimulation; admirable in combining plans, as long as he remained cool; in his

way

way of living, ſimple; and not without popularity in his manners. He pretended to ſupport the intereſts of the Catholic church, in order to execute his own plans againſt the Proteſtants," &c.

Again, "Charles, under whom America was plundered, was often obſtructed by want of money; his army was often obliged to obtain its pay from the enemy, or to plunder his friends," &c. Finally, he ſays, "His principal quality was cunning; in his countenance, only the tongue ſpoke, and this as low as poſſible."

When now this new Charles, this adept in all the arts of diſſimulation, this favourer of the Catholics, this active, cautious, miſtruſtful, deſpotically inclined diſtributer of fine phraſes; this diſdainful, proud, inſolent ſovereign, who alſo likes to let his troops be paid and fed by friends and enemies, though Europe and Africa have been plundered under him; whoſe principal quality is cunning; in whoſe countenance nothing ſpeaks but the tongue, and this as low as poſſible; when this new Charles, ſurrounded with the ſplendor of heroiſm, which the other Charles wanted, ſhall advance with his univerſal monarchy againſt Germany, will another *Maurice* be found to oppoſe and to overthrow his ſupremacy? Superior force generally avails little againſt minds exerted to the utmoſt ſtretch, and againſt the actions of animating patriotiſm. The League of Smalkald was formed at the right time, and was carried through with patriotic zeal.

If Bonaparté, like Louis the Fourteenth, ſhould conceive the idea of becoming a member of the Germanic empire, and of domineering in it as he does in

Italy, can we hope that a wife prince of the empire will ſtep forward, like *John Philip* of *Mayence*, to form an effectual union againſt the uſurper?—No ſingle Power will be able to ſtop his career: and may we not dread, that the uncontroled deſpot will become a lawgiver to Kings, as he is to Republics?

The work, "Darſtellung des Fürſtenbundes," from which ſome of the above paſſages are cited, is very applicable to the preſent times. Often as Germany has been ſaved by wiſe and powerful coalitions of its princes, againſt Spain, Auſtria, and France, there perhaps never was an epoch in which it ſtood more in need of ſuch an union, than the approaching epocha will prove, unleſs France ſhould weaken itſelf by its attempts againſt England, or by its projects of conqueſt in Aſia and Africa.

In this point of view, the evacuation of the dominions of Hanover (the occupation of which by the French ſhould never have been permitted by the other members of the empire), ought to be promoted by all, and in particular by the Proteſtant ſtates of the North. Should the Emperor Alexander ſucceed in effecting this, Germany, and particularly the Proteſtant part of it, will owe more obligations to him, than the king of England himſelf; and the former may then, for the firſt time, rejoice at having drawn Ruſſia into its intereſts.

What weight could the magnanimous Alexander give to ſuch an union of princes of the North of Germany! an union which Bonaparté, by unwiſely deſtroying the little ſpiritual ſtates, and aggrandiſing moſt of the Proteſtant electors, has ſo greatly favoured.

Surely

Surely German princes will not think in a manner so unprincely and unbecoming sovereigns, as to believe themselves under such personal obligations to the self-constituted giver and taker of states, as to neglect, on his account, the true interests, not only of their subjects, but also those of the collective Roman Empire, and of all their Northern allies. They are used, on other occasions, to have their own princely moral code, and to regard themselves as in a state of natural union, in respect to each other. Their highest model and archetype, besides, instructs them on this head in his royal writings *. His great example in producing the last, too soon enfeebled union of princes, is before their eyes. That magnanimous sovereign would never have suffered a Consul of France to encroach upon the empire. With well-directed patriotic activity, he would avert from Germany every threatened danger—again exclaiming to the Germans, in his noble zeal:

Malheureux! vous creusez des gouffres sous vos pas;
Vous leur payerez cher leur funeste ajustance,
Ces superbes tyrans, intrus dans vos états,
Vous comptent asservis sous leur obéissance.

Que leur dangereux essains
Vous feront verser des larmes!
Vos mains aiguisent les armes
De vos perfides voisins †.

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* Avant-propos à l'Histoire de mon Tems.

† Wretches! ye dig an abyss under your feet; ye will pay dear for their fatal assistance; these proud tyrants, intruded into your

May we not hope, that the example of the Great Frederic, in the defence of German liberty, will ſoon be followed by his illuſtrious ſucceſſor?—It is not poſſible that he can behold with indifference the attempts of a Chief Conſul to check the progreſs of improvement in Germany, as in the reſt of Europe! He who paternally attends even to the better method of teaching children to ſpell, cannot allow the enemy of enlightened knowledge (who, for each ſchool of his great kingdom, allows only one ſchool-book; and, for all the ſchools, only a very limitted number of books expreſsly choſen) to have any influence on a happy country, where there is more real information than France has ever been known to poſſeſs. However he loves and honours peace, he will ſurely reflect that foreign war is better than civil war; and that the German nation would feel more indignant at encroachments on its nobleſt rights, the freedom of conſcience, of thought, and of the preſs, than at any other reſtraints which even a Conſular uſurper might impoſe.

The aſſertion, that the French nation is far behind Germany in true penetration, reſpecting the moſt important concerns of mankind, will perhaps appear unfounded to many a reader who knows the French only by diſtinguiſhed individuals of the nation,

ſtates conſider you as their ſlaves. How many tears will their dangerous hordes cauſe you to ſhed: with your own hands you ſharpen the weapons of your perfidious neighbour!—See *Odeaux Germains*, in the 7th vol. of Frederic's Œuvres Poſthumes. Berlin 1788. In this patriotic ode Frederic adduces the examples of Charles V. and his ſucceſſor, as a warning.

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but will surprise no one who has lived a considerable time in France. The latter cannot but have perceived that even the cultivated part of the nation have for the most only a very superficial kind of knowledge, with but few pretensions to right reason and understanding. We may very well apply to them what our worthy *Möfu* said thirty or forty years ago of the information which the German youth at that time sought from French women, and in the polite literature and sentimental novels of that nation:

"What is called polite education, is at most the *friſure* of sound reason; and it is a ridiculous folly to think more of curls for the head, than of linen for the shirt. When luxury is founded on superfluity, it is becoming, and may be useful to the state; but when it is sought at the expence of what is necessary, where the soul has still a dearth of the most needful truths, and yet vainly aspires to the feast of exalted wisdom, then is this luxury a splendid misery; and the consequences of it are as fatal to the soul, as immoderate indulgence is to the body. It effeminates the mind, and weans it from the old respectable virtue of our mothers; it excites disgust against daily domestic duties; it seduces the imagination of good hearted credulous children to hopes, which the romance writer, with all his enchantment, can hardly realize; and as the palate, weakened by luxurious indulgence, requires in time strong liquors and high-seasoned food, so is the soul at length reduced to the necessity of pampering itself on all kinds of moral folly and visionary writings, in order to avoid disgust and tediousness."

From such writings, which indicate the tendency of the Belles Lettres and even philosophy of the French in the last century, the cultivated part of the natives derived their principal information; the spirit of such productions being the more easily imbibed by all ranks, as it was quite national. It was not uncommon to hear valets de chambre and chamber maids converse on the most important topics, with as much wit and irony as Voltaire and Rousseau, though they had not the smallest conception of the proper nature of things. Nay, how false and imperfect were often the first principles of the above writers. On the partial, philosophical, political speculations of Rousseau, all the egg-shell buildings of the latest French statesmen are founded; and how ill qualified was he to judge of these things, only because he did not view them from actual circumstances and history, but from metaphysical theories and his own imagination! *

Of the natives, all who have not long resided in great cities, or their neighbourhood, are ignorant of every thing that constitutes the useful, enlightened citizen and fit for no other than mere mechanical employments.

How else could it have happened, that a revolution, so greatly and judiciously begun for the foundation of a genuine constitutional monarchy, should have wholly failed? Such a revolution Charles the Great designed; but it was so neglected and disfigured by

* See Müller's Geschichte Schweizerischer Eidgenossenschaft, I. B. S. XXVI.

his

his ſucceſſors, that the monarchy, degenerated into the moſt arbitrary deſpotiſm. And now, after a variety of attempts and ſtruggles, what is the reſult? The worſt of deſpotiſms is again introduced, and ſo completely organized by a Foreign Uſurper, that all former abuſes are rendered legal, and the introduction of better inſtitutions abſolutely impoſſible! Such are the conſequences of treacherous uſurpation in one man, and of ignorance or depravity in nearly all the reſt.

The firſt National Aſſembly was compoſed of men of great talents and reſpectability, who began well, but were unable to complete their great undertaking. From their want of firmneſs, the buſineſs was tranſferred to a ſecond aſſembly; and no ſooner were two fatal laws paſſed, by which all the members of the former were excluded from ſeats, as from the miniſtry, than the way was open for the introduction of mere pretenders to legiſlation; when all was folly, ignorance, and venality.

The very firſt ſittings of the ſecond aſſembly form ſuch a diſguſting contraſt with moſt of the deliberations of the firſt, (which, though at times unruly and outrageous, were never irrational, nor vulgarly ignorant) that one would hardly ſuppoſe the members to have been of the ſame nation. Even the beſt among thoſe who formed the Gironde party, were moſtly partial and unſucceſsful copies of the leading men in the firſt National Aſſembly. Of Mirabeau, Sieyes, La Roche, Foucault, Cazales, Rabant, the Lameths, and others, the little eloquence or wiſdom which they laboured to diſplay always favoured of the hot bed on which they had lately been forced. Their feeble preſumption

ſoon made them ſink under the fury of their rough, but more energetic colleagues; when the wildeſt egotiſm, and the groſſeſt ignorance, enliſted under the ſame ſtandard, forming as genuine a repreſentation of the maſs of the people, as the firſt aſſembly had been of the intelligent orders of the ſtate. In the place of honour for ſcience and art, of pure zeal for the freedom of opinion and the preſs, of the moſt ſacred reſpect for property and univerſal rights, ſucceeded a contempt and hatred for the arts and ſciences, the perſecution and oppreſſion of all freedom of opinion, and of the preſs, with an all-deſolating rapacity, and mockery of juſtice. In the univerſal deſolation of this government, the nation, and ſtill more its neighbours, bluſhed for the great ignorance and infamy of ſuch an aſſemblage. In the armies, as in the adminiſtration, a kind of reſponſibility was required: for though the accounts and liſts were not much to be depended on, they were however neceſſary. Many more perſons, therefore, who had ſome knowledge of arithmetic, and could write intelligibly, were now required, than under the old deſpotic government. And now there appeared ſuch an incredible dearth of men who poſſeſſed even the above very limited abilities, that it was often neceſſary to place the moſt notorious rogues and ſwindlers in the commiſſariat offices, &c.; becauſe in them were found the little knowledge and practice of which moſt honeſt people of the middling and lower claſſes were quite deſtitute. Many foreigners, and particularly many worthy natives of Mayence, made their fortunes in a ſhort time by their talents in theſe reſpects; and

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had the German youth been a little more verſed in the French ſyſtems of finance, they might have been placed by thouſands in the military and civil bureaus. The enlightened members of the firſt National Aſſembly were marked objects of perſecution to thoſe of the laſt; but the preſent government, which has need of men of information to execute its plans, ſeeks out all the members of the firſt Aſſembly who eſcaped death on the guillotine, in priſon, or by flight, and places them in diſtinguiſhed offices of the ſtate; ſuch as Talleyrand, Sieyes, Roederer, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, Lameth, and many others.

The morality of all theſe Aſſemblies is here out of the queſtion; otherwiſe we might ſeverely reprove in the firſt as well as the following, the total neglect of public inſtruction, and the mean deſire of popular applauſe, by which I mean the applauſe of a mere mob. In theſe two unworthy traits lie the chief ſource of all the evils by which the revolution took ſo bad a turn, that the nation, after fifteen as bloody years as ever a corrupt and ignorant nation experienced, is reduced to a worſe ſituation than ever. Very few Frenchmen have ſufficient reflection to inquire into the cauſes of their paſt ſufferings; and ſtill fewer have any preſage of what yet remains for them and their children to do and to ſuffer, before they acquire, if ever, a ſecure, free, well-ordered conſtitution.

From this want of reflection, a two-fold evil ariſes. The people find themſelves miſerable, and manifeſt their diſcontent: the deſpot, for his own ſecurity, endeavours to deceive them as to the cauſes of their miſfortunes;

fortunes: the people have just sense enough to perceive that they are duped; and the ruler has the plea of state necessity for his oppressions. He evidently despises those whom he enslaves, and is despised by them. They being as vain and unruly as he is proud and ambitious, mutual diffidence and hatred may probably soon rise to such a height as to dissolve all ties between the oppressor and the oppressed.

This is, in fact, the present disposition of the nation and the government. Bonaparté despises the French nation in as high a degree as it hates him. This hatred goes so far, that it is rare to find persons of any class who do their Consul justice, even in a military point of view; or have for him the respect as a hero, which Europe, at one period, so enthusiastically [illegible]. Even in the army, he is far from enjoying esteem, and, still less, the attachment, which Moreau possesses without a rival. Bonaparté has lost the esteem of a great part of the army by his mean, jealous, ungrateful behaviour towards Moreau; who, calm and secure in his virtues as a hero and citizen, leaves the Consul to pursue that system of injustice into which envy, jealousy and apprehension plunge him, deeper and deeper, every hour. Bonaparté is not contented with neglecting that brave man, who has declined taking any part in every thing that was not his business, but his injustice extends itself to all who have served their country under that excellent general. Many of the bravest officers have not yet received from the government the patents for places to which Moreau appointed them in his last glorious campaigns. Ministers and bureaus conform far too

readily

readily in these projects of base partiality; and it is a well-known fact, that it is so far from being a recommendation to an officer to have served under Moreau, that it is even a prejudice to him, and at least occasions him to remain unrewarded. On the other hand, the mere circumstance of having served under Bonaparté in Italy or Egypt, is a sure means of realizing every claim. By far the greater part of the returned warriors have served under Moreau; and, besides the feeling of discontent at their own ill-treatment after splendid victories, take to heart the neglect of their general as a point of honour of their own. Were Moreau, like Massena, an enterprising ambitious man, he might easily become dangerous to the Consul. But he is too good a citizen, and too happy in his family connections, to disturb or embitter the life of himself and his friends, by hateful passions or rash enterprises! Bonaparté, who knows and feels nothing of this, probably dreads Moreau as another *Monk*. But then the total neglect of the hero, and of his friends, except in as much as they are rigidly watched, betrays as little command of Bonaparté's prudence over his hateful passions, as the contrary disposition shews true heroic pride in a great many of Bonaparté's most favoured officers. One never hears them say a word to Moreau's prejudice. Bonaparté, on the contrary (seldom praised, even by his favourites, except to his face), by his arrogance, or his quite arbitrary distribution of favours, frequently provokes his adherents to severe censure; which, when it once dares to break out, overflows with the more violence, from having been so long

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forced to conſtrain itſelf within the fiery, impetuous breaſt.

This conſtraint in the expreſſion of their ſentiments, impoſed on them by Bonaparté's boundleſs irritability at all oppoſition, is perhaps the circumſtance in their preſent oppreſſion which the French endure with the moſt impatience. But it is highly deſerving of attention, that a nation, which was formerly allowed to talk and to criticiſe, provided it paid and obeyed! a nation, to which prating and arguing was become a ſecond nature; that treated every thing with a laugh, a witticiſm, or a vaudeville; ſhould now be able ſo to bridle its wit, that no epigram or vaudeville on Bonaparté, or upon his Conſular government, ſhould become public and generally known, however numerous thoſe are which circulate in ſecret. By Bonaparté all ſuch attempts are puniſhed and ſuppreſſed. On the one ſide, it is a proof what ſuch a quick-feeling and energetic nation might have become, if good morals and government had led it towards the true goal, from which for a thouſand years tyranny had conſtantly led it away. But then, on the other ſide, it proves, what power fear has over a nation ſo ſenſual and irritable; and how entirely it yields to the ſelfiſh, ſenſual ſyſtem of ſacrificing every thing to the ſafety and eaſe of the preſent moment. This important feature shews itſelf through the whole French Revolution. To bring a ſtriking example;—of all thoſe who formed plans for the eſcape of the royal family, on which the ſalvation of the nobility and army ſeemed to depend, has a ſingle one ventured, and voluntarily ſacrificed, his life

for

for the unhappy family? From *La Fayette* and *Bouille*, to the lieutenant who commanded the troop of dragoons at the inn where the royal family were ſtopped near the frontiers, nay, even down to Santerre, who once preſſed forward as their deliverer, all turned aſide as ſoon as the deciſive moment came when they muſt hazard their lives in order to overpower the people, or to animate them in favour of the king. By far the greateſt part of the National Aſſembly were averſe to the death of Louis; yet ſome threatening indications from part of the aſſembly, and the ſurrounding mob, juſt before the *appeal nominal*, produced a majority of five votes for his death. A million of inhabitants in the capital, who lamented the death of the unfortunate king, ſuffered *themſelves*, though armed, to be shut up in their houſes by a handful of cannibals and hirelings, and the poor king to be executed, without making the ſmalleſt attempt to ſave him!

The general corruption of ſentiments and morals has not been able to deſtroy or to weaken the ancient, inherent, warlike ſpirit, in the nation. One of their moſt eloquent modern writers* obſerves, that many thouſands quietly ſuffered themſelves to be guillotined, for fear of breaking their arms or legs if they reſiſted! or even leaſt they ſhould be ſuſpected of fearing death. Yet, as ſoon as they had to do with the enemy, on the firſt ſignal from a leader, who knows how to touch their *point d'honneur*, they would climb batteries regardleſs of danger, and indure with incredible patience the greateſt diſtreſſes without a murmur. This proves clearly enough

* Riouffe Mémoire d'un Détenu.

that

that the nation was capable of becoming any thing, if they had continued to build on the foundation of Charles the Great. If found inſtruction and perception of the value of a genuine free conſtitution had made the citizens cheriſh thoſe employments, the faithful attention to which can alone maintain and perfect every conſtitution; if ſimple, civil manners (of which that great man gave the nation a perfect but unhappily too ſhort and diſregarded example) had inſpired them with taſte and reſpect for civil virtue and happineſs; and if, at the revival of the arts and ſciences, they had cultivated them with their peculiar ſuſceptibility and energy, they might then have been rather indebted to lowly ſons *Petrarchs*, and *Taſſos*, *Raphaels*, and *Buonarottis*, than of a *Mary de Medicis*, a *Mazarin*, and a *Bonaparté*; and then they might have been diſpoſed to cultivate the arts in the moſt elevated and genuine ſenſe, and the ſciences with diligence and attention, and neither would have ever been degraded at the ſhrine of vanity or of avarice; the Muſes, now mere proſtitutes, would never have become the ſyrens of vice; as all arts and ſciences have combined to amuſe, adorn and inſtruct mankind.

The truth of this is proved by the fate of men diſtinguiſhed by real talents, who have ſurvived the wild ſtorms of the revolution, and even during that time knew how to turn their ſcience to account: while all that was vain, empty, and merely Frenchified, was deſtroyed. In the laſt luſtrum, the French had ſtudied chymiſtry and natural philoſophy in general, in a more profound and extenſive manner than they had ever done

done any thing before *. And in the fine arts, some of diſtinguiſhed talents had raiſed themſelves far above the low childiſh career in which their countrymen had ſo long tottered. They are ſtill at the head of affairs, to the higheſt honour of the nation. The new government has found itſelf compelled, from more than one cauſe, to promote theſe men, who, by prudence and perſeverance, have brought themſelves and their ſcience ſafe into port, and have thus doubly acquired the eſteem and reſpect of the nation.

May theſe excellent men, who owe their promotion as much to their own merit as to the policy of the Conſul, not think merely of ſerving his views; nor regard their abilities only as they may be important to the conqueror and ruler of a purely military ſtate; but always keep in their eye, what France has the higheſt need of, the exerting themſelves with activity and genuine civiſm for the public inſtruction of their country!

That this is not the Conſul's intention, they have unhappily already ſeen by the rejection of the plan for the Public Schools, which the beſt among them had drawn up with ſo much pains. We cannot however

* That some of the most distinguished men in this respect, as *Bailly* and *Lavoiser*, were murdered by the furious demagogues, arose from their political circumstances. Bailly, when first mayor, had caused the bloody flag to be displayed against the people, then excited to revolt by Robespierre and others, and was hated as a genuine constitutional monarchist. Lavoiser was a farmer-general, and obliged to suffer death, sworn against the whole detested body, however generally he was acknowledged to be, in other respects, an excellent man.

but

but lament that *Cuvier* ſhould in conſequence have reſigned his place in the Committee of Public Inſtruction, as that can only injure the good cauſe, inſtead of promoting it. The way in which Bonaparté has filled up that moſt important but very lucrative place (of which, however *Cuvier* holds ſeveral), does but ſerve to ſhew that he knows how to convert every circumſtance to the attainment of his political views. He has given it to the poet Chenier, who was employed in thoſe functions, from which the policy of the Firſt Conſul has driven him, being jealous of his authority, and incapable of bearing contradiction. There he conſidered the free and open expreſſion of his republican ſentiments as an indiſpenſable duty. Situated as he now is, he acts his whole part in ſilence, and preciſely conforming to the Monkiſh military ſchool plan as drawn up by the Conſul, already mentioned, is paid for this inactivity two or three times as much as he formerly received for all his eloquence and ſatire on the Tribune, and elſewhere.

The incredible indifference with which the French nation ſuffers all this to paſs, is not to be deſcribed: and hence a ſtranger, who does not make it his ſole buſineſs to enquire into ſuch important objects, very often learns nothing at all of them. All the opulent parts of the nation are ſeen running with inſatiable greedineſs after ſenſual enjoyments. The luxury of the table is brought to the higheſt pitch; and all that relates to the great article of eating and drinking is treated as an affair of the higheſt importance. Abundance, variety, and the moſt coſtly refinement, in meat, drink, and confectionary, are diſplayed at each repaſt of ſuperfluous

perfluous luxury. France is now rich in the fineſt and moſt exquiſite wines, but formerly the greateſt princes gratified their propenſity to enjoyment in this reſpect almoſt excluſively with native wines. Foreign wines were ſeldom and ſparingly drank. Now, at all ſplendid tables one often finds more foreign wines, as Portugueſe, Spaniſh, Hungarian, and German, than French. Formerly, there was no country where wine was drank more temperately, moſtly mixed with water; now it is drank by bottles, and by many to the moſt exceſſive intemperance. The table employs, with moſt, a conſiderable part of the day, and with many a part of the night alſo. The theatres, and other more refined amuſements, ſuffer by entertainments prolonged to a late hour, in which the rich place their greateſt honour and gratification. People no more aſſemble, as formerly, without much previous preparation, at a time that did not interfere with the theatres and ſimilar amuſements, to paſs a cheerful hour at table, and over the glaſs, in chat, mirth, and the enjoyment of good-humoured gaiety. The greateſt poſſible number of perſons that the largeſt apartment of the houſe can anywiſe contain, are huddled together with no other view in the world than to be crammed in the moſt coſtly manner; and the richly prepared objects of the groſſer ſenſes are commonly the ſole ſubject of the converſation.

This prodigious voluptuouſneſs and prodigality is purſued the more groſsly and offenſively, becauſe moſt of thoſe who have of late acquired property are without that refined education and agreeable poliſh, which elegance of taſte, or greatneſs of conception,

alone can give to luxury a pleasing and becoming air. Where, however, this profusion does not exist, one sees again in the great cities, the extremest misery, the most disgusting beggary, and, between both, the most eager and indefatigable hunting and driving after gain, which scarcely allows itself any time for moderate, decent enjoyment, in order to be able, as soon as possible, to enter into the class of the happy rioters in luxury. Every extraordinary enjoyment that these hunters after gain strive to procure, is sought only in the train and stream of luxury.

Nothing is seen more seldom than one of the happiest of all classes of men, he who enjoys a competent honourably acquired or inherited fortune; one with a decent moderate occupation, who has with his leisure, taste and refinement in comfortable tranquillity. All hurry themselves from morning to night, as if some decisive moment, an important æra of life, were to take place the following evening, and for which every thing, however important, should be sacrificed. But as yesterday presses on to-day, so does to-day on to-morrow, and that on the following day, to the highest point of the breakers, in which at last many are shipwrecked and sink. He who is even able to save himself from bodily or economical ruin, is sure of being in a moral sense at least, finally undone.

Innumerable are the great and rich houses who, by leading this life, go to ruin, and in two years far more are fallen than now remain standing; more have vanished than have arisen.

How can it be otherwise, when every one expends more than his income; and that being the case, none

can

can be rich; for he who has a crown certain over his expenditure, muſt be certainly richer than thoſe who, without any order or regulation of their expences, follow on the heels of every folly, every caprice, every extravagance, every example, however ridiculous, only becauſe they would not be behind hand, but remain in the firſt rank of thoſe, whom ſuch mad and extravagant fools name with honour, when they diſtinguiſh *les gens comme il faut*. What is more, the greateſt part of theſe rioters in luxury conſiſts of merchants, who, together with the money that they laviſh by millions, throw away alſo the millions which, by a prudent employment, might ſtill have gained more; they are alſo manufacturers, and great *entrepreneurs*, whoſe chief ſecurity depends on a conſtant ſupply of ready money for great purchaſes, for important advances; or, at leaſt, on a ſure credit, to be able to procure money at a reaſonable intereſt; but by their extravagant life, they not only ſtrip themſelves of their caſh, but diminiſh their credit. Nay, their boundleſs luxury at length makes every thing dearer, and they are forced to increaſe the pay of the thouſand inſtruments whom they want, for their often immenſe and hazardous enterpriſes, in order that theſe may be able to bear the dearneſs of the neceſſaries of life, cauſed by the extravagance of their ſuperiors. And what a ſeducing example is ſuch an irregular life in maſters, to all thoſe under them, to whom they frequently confide their whole ſecurity, in order to indulge themſelves in their pleaſures without interruption.

All this indeſcribable profuſion of the men, is, however, far exceeded by the boundleſs luxury of the

women. The daily variation of the moſt expenſive faſhions in dreſs and furniture, ſurpaſſes all conception. The deareſt Indian and Engliſh ſtuffs, in the greateſt diverſity, are as neceſſary to their daily dreſs as the moſt expenſive manufactures of the country itſelf. A profuſion of jewels, to a degree that even offends the eye, is made, by the manifold variations and modiſh changes in the moſt curious ſetting and enchaſement in the moſt expenſive work; an article that conſumes a capital of itſelf, whereas formerly, when once in poſſeſſion, it ſunk only the intereſt. All that ancient and modern art have produced in gems and cameos; and all that modern Italian, Engliſh and French artiſts endeavour to produce as imitations and counterfeits, belong to the adornment of modiſh French ladies. In furniture the luxury is ſo great, that the ſtate-bed of a woman of faſhion now often coſts more than formerly the expenſively-furniſhing of a whole ſuit of apartments.

With all this boundleſs profuſion, the rich have let ſlip the moſt favourable moment for procuring, on eaſy terms, the admirable works of art of Italy and the Netherlands, and have now ſeldom money enough left to pay for the works of their own good artiſts. Scarcely any thing is amply paid for by the rich of the country, except portraits of inſignificant individuals, either paintings or buſts. Nothing proves more than this circumſtance, that property in France is at preſent in wrong hands.

Bonaparte himſelf employs the artiſts only on his own portrait. David has been obliged to copy for him ſeveral times his ſtrange picture, a true Capriccio,

as the hero on his pied horſe ſprings up St. Bernard, while his admirable Horatii, his Junius Brutus, and his Sabines, ſtill remain in his gallery. The fineſt picture of Gerard, his maſterly Beliſarius, is ſold into Holland, and this excellent artiſt is chiefly employed on portraits. The ſame is the caſe with all the other good artiſts.

With all Bonaparte's love of building, and that of ſome *millionnaires* in his family, and all other *millionnaires* in Paris, there has not been executed a ſingle building that can be termed a fine work of art. All the immenſe ſums that are expended in this way are moſtly employed only on heightening the internal ſplendour of the dwelling, or upon a thouſand little caprices and conveniencies, to ſatisfy the neweſt faſhion, which changes every month, nay every week, and ſupports only ſome manufactures ſubſervient to luxury.

This falſe taſte, which ſtrives only after ſhew, and a ſtriking diverſity of ſtrange faſhionable caprices, extends itſelf alſo to the theatre. In the new decorations of the great theatres, much more pains are taken to ſurpriſe by ſplendour and variety, and to gratify the multitude by gay and ſtrange things, than to a noble ſtyle, and by a well-ſtudied perfect *enſemble*, to encourage genuine art, and the juſt taſte of the connoiſſeur.

A pure grand taſte in the antique coſtume of the dreſſes is preſerved chiefly in the great theatres: the caprices of faſhion could not ſo eaſily influence theſe; yet one already perceives the propenſity to ſhew and glitter, in the too great profuſion of gold on the

dreſſes of the French heroes and heroines. A moſt ſtrange contraſt is found in the little theatres; even the once ſo agreeable theatre Des Vaudevilles, where the moſt common and perverted taſte has taken place of true nature, the moſt diſagreeable characters, gaolers, catchpoles, fugitives in miſery ſtript of every thing, are brought forward with the moſt ſhocking and diſguſting appearance both in dreſs and manners.

The dancers of both ſexes have renounced dreſs and coſtume altogether; and their veſtments ſeem to be only elegant variations of the paradiſiacal fig-leaf. Accompanied by ſo many fine and noble figures, particularly among the women, one would willingly put up with this theatrical ſtate of nature, if their performance itſelf did not appear deprived of all that conſtitutes the genuine great pantomimic art. Even in leaping, which has taken the place of that higher art, they are not various and bold enough; all their feats appear often to be only variations of the old ſubject *la roue* and *l'entre-chat*. In the women indeed, grace is cultivated in a high and incredible degree; not the lofty, noble, mild grace, which moves the heart, and leaves the ſenſes in repoſe, but the ſubtle, light, amiable enchanting grace, enticing, and exciting all the ſenſes. Were it not for the dignified divine *pas* of the heavenly-formed *Clotilde* and *Saunier*, one would be obliged to ſay of the grand ballet of the Pariſian opera, that *Terpſichore* was become the moſt attractive, enchanting *petite maitreſſe* that ever delighted and bleſſed the merry-intoxicated gods of the earth; and, in fact, all run eagerly after her; and the Government, which readily ſupports every thing that employs the multitude,

multitude, gives itself, in this way, half a million yearly.

The high tragic action for which the First Consul has so great a prepossession, is neither wholly one thing nor another, neither cold nor warm. The quite peculiar French manner, which bears no mixture either of nature or of foreign art, is here quite forsaken; and by this means the present French tragic stage is inferior to both the English and German; though they possess in *Talma* a highly-accomplished tragic actor, and in some young actresses very promising talents.

In the high comic, they are not much better. As the English theatre has had a bad effect in the former case, so has the Italian here. The perfectly original national French comic actor, is degenerated nearly to the Italian buffoon. But in the refined comic and *naïf*, they are still unrivalled. In this alone one sees not only individual models that are perfect, but entire representations well-finished throughout, which affords the lovers of the art the highest enjoyment.

The numerous little theatres, the number of which has incredibly increased since the Revolution, have brought the low comic and grotesque to a surprising degree of cultivation. One often sees talents which combine the truest representation of corrupt nature, with a grace which is seen only in France. They prove beyond contradiction, that what they represent is a true national spectacle, and that it is at these places where the gay licentious world assemble and riot: in whatever part of the city or boulevards they are situ-

ated, they are always crowded, and the vulgar, high and low, are never ſatiated with them.

The ſubſcriptions to the principal theatres form alſo a conſiderable branch of the expences of the rich and great world; yet a very conſiderable proportion of this is ſunk in eating, drinking, and gallantry, and but little intereſt is taken in the theatres, or at moſt only in reference to the laſt article.

But the point in which they almoſt all hurry to their ruin is high play. As the French, by their lively, impetuous greedy character, are powerfully drawn into this moſt ſlaviſh of all dependencies, the preſent Government has favoured public games of chance in a manner probably never before practiſed in any poliſhed ſtate. A ſociety of gamblers pays to the Government, for Paris alone, an annual farm of ſix millions of livres, for the excluſive privilege of eſtabliſhing as many gaming houſes as it ſhall chooſe. Already in the firſt year it has opened gaming rooms in ten great hotels, and leaves no art untried to attract the lovers of play, who accordingly repair thither in crowds, of *both ſexes*, by night and by day! At the ſame time the Government has ſpread the lottery, which was formerly confined to Paris alone, over all France; ſo that lotteries are now eſtabliſhed in all conſiderable towns, and people can gamble in them every day in the year. The Government, for the farming of theſe, is ſaid to receive thirty millions annually.

Theſe farmed revenues the family of Bonaparté know well how to employ in the old French Court manner, to the advantage of themſelves and their creatures. The company of gamblers before-mentioned,

tioned, alone has been obliged, besides paying the above-named sum, to fill up a large list of favoured pensioners, whom the Government has saddled on them. At the head of this list stands Madame Bonaparté herself, with 50 louis card-money per day! Courtiers, actors, and opera girls, fill up the list with decreasing sums, and the last name is that of a singer with 50 louis-d'or per annum.

Thus is the nation accustomed to abuses and excesses of every description, and encouraged and gratified in them in every way. The Government leaves herewith no means untried by which it can increase the public revenues, or, as they usually express it, improve the finances and save money. Whether it proceeds the best way to place the finances on a sure footing, and to give a durable internal administration to a great state, every one will be enabled easily to judge when we have adduced some instances of the domestic management. Systematic administration, founded on the genuine principles of political economy, is wholly out of the question. All the independent financial operations, tend only to exact as much as possible from the people in every possible way, and to collect it with the greatest severity; and then, by all kinds of tricks and manœuvres, to conceal the burden and amount of the whole.

Those incomparable registers, which were opened to receive the votes for Bonaparté's Consulate for life, are also already applied in part to the levying of the land tax. None of the persons taxed can calculate how much the municipality in which he resides contributes, nor consequently whether the sum be exceeded

ceeded, which, according to the diviſion into departments, and the ſubdiviſion into cantons and municipalities, is aſſigned to his. Beſides this, there are methods of ſurcharging which far exceed all German financial inventions. Thoſe perſons who lay on, receive, and violently exact taxes, do not heed any remonſtrance whatever. Quite different perſons are appointed for this purpoſe, who, however, never liſten to a remonſtrance without being ſhewn a receipt for the firſt three months, and have, beſides, the right to preſerve a total ſilence, while the petitioner has no power of making a complaint any where on that account. But whatever deficit may ariſe in the amount of the taxes, either from inability or any other cauſe in ſome of the contributors, it muſt be immediately levied on the other contributors of the ſame diſtrict. Hence every citizen and land-owner, who at the commencement of the year receives legal notice of the taxes which he has to pay monthly through the year, is never ſure that they will not be raiſed in ſeveral points, without any public notice being given, or any reaſon for the raiſing of his contribution being aſſigned him!

It is the duty of every perſon to prevent his being ſurcharged, but it will be ſeen how impoſſible it is to prevent this, by the arbitrary and unjuſt conduct of the Government; and it is the intereſt of the tax-gatherer, who receives a thirtieth of the taxes, to increaſe the general receipt as much as poſſible by ſurcharges. Here then a very unuſual caſe in the levying of taxes occurs: generally the actual receipt is inferior to the ſum eſtimated; whereas in the new republican

lican manner, the net amount greatly exceeds the sum fixed by the law, and thus both those who have assented to the law for levying the tax, and the contributors to it, are spared the pain of learning the amount of their contributions!

Now, as the philosopher Mercier has proved in his way that the lottery makes the people happy, because men are to be made happy only by hopes, it may certainly be also proved, that to ask little, and take much, is a means just as well calculated for the happiness of the subject, as promising them much, and giving them nothing.

But the system of perfectibility which the returned emigrants still have faith in, shews itself undeniably in the art of Government at least. It is not enough that the citizen counsellors of state know exactly beforehand what the people can and must *will*, and that the imposed taxes continually multiply by division; they also know how to satisfy the creditors of the state without its costing any thing, and to make debts without giving the representatives of the people the trouble of dropping a white ball; both are in fact equally easy for the *Directeur-General du grand livre, et de la liquidation de la dette publique.* He who liquidates his claims under the protection of the Court Divinities, is paid either by compensation with national claims at home and abroad, or by the acquisition and exchange of national estates, or by insertion in the *grand livre*; of which insertion, no legislative body ever hears any thing. Nay the debtor to the state has the fairest opportunity to enrich himself, for he is permitted to produce per contra so many claims from others, that he

at

at length becomes a creditor. These claims he purchases for almost nothing; in doing which he has no occasion to go secretly to work, as such antiquated claims can be fought and negociated publicly on change.

Pretences are made of liquidating the capitals of former public creditors to the full amount, yet they are not ashamed to place the mortgages of Liege (solemnly granted by the states, and which the French Republic took upon itself by the treaty of Luneville) on a par with the public debts reduced by the Convention; nor to offer for them one-third consolidated, and two-thirds not consolidated; which, according to the course of exchange at the time the offer was made, might amount to 19 per cent.

But woe be to the public creditor without Court favour; how shall he ever pass through the numberless forms necessary for the verification of his accounts and receipts? And when, after the sacrifice of years, after inconceivable trouble and expence, he has attained this point, he is not a bit nearer the port, but in danger of splitting on the rock of a pretended forged receipt; on which account the whole liquidation is suspended, and the poor creditor threatened with the State Inquisition, or Special Tribunal.

It would be difficult to conceive that new candidates should always apply for the great contracts, if it were not in these transactions as in gambling in the lottery, and among all great bands of thieves. The thirst of gain, and the self-confidence of being able to exceed all others in cunning, operate more forcibly than the most dreadful examples of those who perish.

Two

Two features particularly mark the Crœsus grown ſuddenly great by boldneſs and intrigues—a total ignorance of the true uſe of money, and the neceſſity of hazarding ſtill more. This, at leaſt, is the caſe on all great theatres where the Government does not too much limit the boundaries; for in a narrow circle, hereditary timidity, and political cowardice, act too ſtrongly not to make one carefully button up his coat pocket when he feels it heavier with coin than becomes him in his country. It is with nations as with individuals, as ſoon as one only image, or one only impulſe overpowers all others. But what makes an individual merely ridiculous, preſents a mournful ſpectacle in a whole nation; for what can be expected when public employments conſtitute the chief branch of national induſtry?

However liberally a great public office be paid, the poſſeſſor of it regards his legal ſalary as the ſmalleſt part of his gain. *Mais les Affaires!* By this they mean the patronage which procures the powerful patron a conſiderable part of the profit in matters brought about by his credit; and in ſuch tranſactions, every one, from thoſe neareſt to the Conſul down to the loweſt clerk, who has any influence with the *Chef du Bureau*, or his miſtreſs, or valet de chambre, willingly and zealouſly engage. Thus, a claim for a military debt, from the department of the Rhine, amounting to ſeveral millions, and which, during ſeveral years, has been proſecuted in all forms, was at length brought to Lucien Bonaparté. He was requeſted to give his opinion whether the affair could be got through without further loſs of time? in which

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case no objection would be made to a considerable sacrifice. He had the claim fully explained, found it good, and said to the petitioner: *I undertake it for 50 per. cent.*; *in three months you shall have the money.* The moment that Lucien arranged the matter with his brother and his ministers, he became some millions richer. Such profits, no places in the Legislative Body, no senatories can give.

What immense embezzlements must be made by contractors, who are obliged to lavish incredible sums on their high patrons, before they can obtain their contracts, and commissions, by which they gain millions! who are obliged afterwards to put up with immense deductions, in order to obtain payment of their claims, and yet in the end remain possessed of 20 or 30 millions! So high is the wealth of Collot, for instance, estimated, who was contractor for Italy, and for the navy; and whom the Government, on the renewal of hostilities, almost compelled to take on him again the contracts for the navy, though he himself pleaded an embarrassment in his circumstances, which for a time gave ground to fear he must fall. The avaricious Government, which in general has an eye on all those who have suddenly grown rich in the war, and live in luxury, intends perhaps to pluck him a little by these contracts.

In this manner he is said to have been fleeced by Joseph Bonaparté, when he was negociating the Peace at Luneville. The day before it was formally concluded, when he was quite sure of the event, Joseph sent a messenger to Collot with the news, and commissioned him to purchase for him state paper to the value

value of eighteen hundred thouſand livres, which muſt naturally riſe after the peace. As ſoon as peace was actually ſigned, he ſent him a ſecond note with the news, putting him in mind not to delay the execution of his order. Collot had already executed it. Soon after the return of the noble peace-maker, Collot ſent him the papers of 1,800,000 livres in value, and at the ſame time generouſly returned him his own two notes, on which his whole ſecurity was founded, with the gallant remark, that it was not proper the ſignature of the great peace-maker between the greateſt nations in the world, ſhould remain on his books of accompts. He requeſted him to be ſo good as to ſend him in return an aſſignment for the ſum laid out. He received no anſwer. After a week, Collot called in perſon, and was not admitted. He now underſtood the nature of his commiſſion. His noble patron was to receive the amount for the confidential information he had given. Collot was to turn it to the beſt account. Nothing farther has been ſaid of the 1,800,000 livres.—In this manner are contracts rendered valuable.

Haller, who was unlimited financier in Italy, is eſtimated to be richer than even Collot, and much more ſafe. He is the man of the Firſt Conſul.

Hengerloo, *Cerf. Baehr*, Gobert and Co. (who began by contracts for oxen for Paris and the army, and gained thereby incredible ſums,) Ouvrard Carier, and Bezar, are all *millionnaires*, and ſuppoſed to be not much inferior in wealth; but live with ſuch boundleſs profuſion, that they are obliged to be continually on the hunt after new gains, in order to

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maintain themſelves. Hengerloo, in fact, made a compromiſe with his creditors laſt year. Many however thought it was only to eſcape ſuch forced contracts for government as Collot was obliged to ſubmit to.

Among the Generals who commanded in the laſt war, and who almoſt all were in league with the contractors and commiſſaries, beſides having at their diſpoſal the military contributions in the enemy's country, *Leclerc*, *Maſſena*, and *Murat*, were laſt year regarded as the moſt opulent; *Moreau* the leaſt ſo of all. Among the miniſters, Talleyrand paſſes for the richeſt. How eagerly the miniſters ſeize on all opportunities of patronage, appears from the following example, taken from the tenth year of the republic:

The great water-machine of Marli, the repairs of which had coſt, during the laſt century, many a good million, was ſo far decayed, that a further repair ſeemed totally unadviſable. Bonaparté's ever eager wiſh to inhabit the former royal reſidence at Verſailles, rendered the repair of the machine more neceſſary and preſſing, as Verſailles is without water, and perſons were publicly invited to ſupply the want. A ſolid company of capitaliſts, of which the good mechanic and philoſopher Montgolfier, now in office, was a member, offered, within a ſtipulated moderate time, to erect a new machine, which ſhould furniſh Verſailles with far more water than the old one had ever done. They required no money, and only deſired, when the new machine ſhould have been minutely examined by proper judges, and completely finiſhed and delivered, to take for payment the materials

terials of the old machine. This very ſimple propoſal, which they did not think it neceſſary to introduce and ſupport by particular protection, was however rejected. A thorough repair of the old machine was reſolved on, and given to ſome favourites in commiſſion.—What is continually extolled in the public prints, as a promotion of the national induſtry by various encouragements of the government, conſiſts moſtly in actions of mere ſhow and parade. The diſſolution of all the inferior banks to the advantage of one only State Bank, which now monopolizes every thing, does more harm to induſtry than all ſingle regulations and encouragements can repair. The monopoly of bank notes is a freſh hinderance to many branches of induſtry, which can ſubſiſt only by the moſt diverſified *escompte*. What kind of ſpirit it is that animates thoſe regulations for the protection of the national induſtry, may be perceived from the following, which is quite new, and has been thought neceſſary to prevent the introduction of foreign, particularly Engliſh, goods. The manufactories eſtabliſhed in the frontier departments, if they are ſuſpected of favouring the introduction of contraband goods, are to be removed farther into the interior; as if well eſtabliſhed manufactories did not depend on the ſituation which cauſed their eſtabliſhment.

The new mode of profiting by and diſpoſing of the national timber, ruins many manufactories, and makes it difficult to engage in new undertakings. Formerly a manufacturer, or ſeveral in partnerſhip, beſpoke a quantity of timber, making a contract for ſix, eight, or ten years, in which time the wood,

as the manufacturer wanted it, was gradually felled, then measured out to him, delivered according to the contract, and so paid for in parcels as it was had; and the forest-office undertook to convey the wood at a reasonable price, as stipulated in the contract. In this manner, the manufacturer was sure of a supply for several years, and had no occasion to lay out great sums at once. Now, the Government thinks only how to turn the timber into ready-money as quick as possible. All the timber belonging to the state is sold to the best bidder for ready-money, and must be immediately conveyed away by the purchaser. By this the opulent manufacturer, who is able to advance large sums, has the inferior manufacturer, and particularly the young beginner, in his power. The advantage he thus enjoys is equal to a monopoly.

Money is besides at far too high an interest to admit of general industry. Considerable loans are hardly to be made under 12, 15, and even more per cent. Too much is still to be gained by contracts and bank operations to suffer interest to be lowered for the promotion of industry. Too profitable speculations are also still to be made in the purchase of estates, particularly by those who are in possession of patrimonial estates, *biens de premiere origine*, and are able to speculate skilfully on the purchase and sale of the estates of emigrants. The first are brought to 4 or 5, the second to 7, 8, or even to 10 per cent.

Farmers have in general been the chief gainers by the revolution; from a greater facility in bequeathing

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by will; from the abolition of feudal reſtraints; of *mains-mortes*; by the undiſturbed poſſeſſion and free alienation of all landed property; and laſtly, by the diviſion of land into ſmaller eſtates. Hence alſo the change in reſpect to money; formerly it flowed through the country to the cities; now it remains in free circulation in the country. This is attended with two very happy conſequences. More land is actually cultivated than before, and in a better manner; and the ſtock of cattle is much more conſiderable. All the means for far greater augmentation and improvement are at hand. At the ſame time many other channels for induſtry have been opened which were formerly much obſtructed in France; ſuch as ſhip-building, manufactories, and commerce.

The latter have been particularly enlarged, as the high nobility can engage in them without diſgrace, and actually do ſo. Madame de Turenne has placed one of her ſons in a great commercial concern; and in ſeveral other houſes in Paris many noble youths are engaged in mercantile buſineſs.

Others of the nobility employ their capitals in manufactories. But this branch of induſtry is proſecuted with the leaſt profit of any, the national character and the courſe of buſineſs hitherto being too much at variance with it. An incredible want of a ſpirit of order prevails in the whole nation; as much, perhaps more, than the want of ſolid knowledge and genuine experience. He who undertakes a great manufactory muſt abſolutely have theoretical, ſcientific knowledge, he muſt have real experience

of his own, not mere routine, and be poſſeſſed of a ſolid capital, or credit. Now all theſe are ſeldom found together in France, where manufactories are generally conducted on a ſmall ſcale compared with thoſe of the Engliſh, and where all is rather hindered than promoted by an arbitrary mode of proceeding. Moſt of the manufacturers are forced to engage in companies, which are attended with great diſadvantages. Capitaliſts who form ſuch ſocieties are moſtly inexperienced; they confound ſpeculation and commerce with the arts of manufactory, which preſuppoſes theory founded on experience. Such capitaliſts are beſides vain; they begin with great buildings, with elegant dwelling-houſes. The Engliſhman, on the contrary, begins with ſmall hired or ſlight buildings. The ſpirit of gambling prevalent in the nation, produces alſo in theſe undertakers the rage of making a ſpeedy fortune. Their prodigal way of living, which extends to the ſubalterns and workmen, conſumes a great part of the capital, and corrupts the morals of their ſervants. Hence ariſes the complaint, univerſal in all ſuch undertakings, "*l'adminiſtration mange tout.*" Hence, in general, the fourth company are the firſt gainers by ſuch great undertakings. The firſt conſume their money in building and parade; the ſecond, in experiments; the third continues to commit blunders in buſineſs and management. Theſe cauſes deter many from great undertakings which would raiſe the national induſtry.

Beſides, they have inceſſantly to contend with th rivalſhip of the Engliſh, who poſſeſs all the advantag

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that can reſult from the induſtry of a century, and that public ſpirit which places every thing on a large ſcale. They are thwarted by the corruption of the cuſtom-houſe officers; for it ſeldom happens that any officer ſeeks for a place on account of the ſalary, which is indeed not conſiderable, but for the opportunity it affords of peculation. Hence one ſhall hardly ſee a Frenchman, or a lady in a faſhionable dreſs, without ſome article of Engliſh manufacture. The ladies, from Madame Bonaparté, to the rich citizen's daughter, wear none but Engliſh muſlins. Favoured perſons receive, under the protection of Madame Bonaparté, even formal permiſſion for the partial introduction of ſuch contraband goods. By the prohibition of eſtabliſhing manufactories on the frontiers, and the threatened puniſhment of removing thoſe already there farther into the country, if they are detected in making an improper uſe of their ſtamps, the Government has, in fact, only laid a kind of ſtepping-ſtone for ingenious fraud. What a want of public ſpirit does it indicate in the nation, when the Government has to apprehend frauds in its own ſtamps for the introduction of foreign manufactures to the ruin of its own induſtry! But it is unhappily too true, that an incredible want of public ſpirit manifeſts itſelf every where in France.

The arbitrary nature of the laws and proceedings, is alſo a capital obſtacle to the ſure and rapid progreſs of induſtry. On the ſmalleſt occaſion *mandats de dépôt* are iſſued, upon which the perſon pointed out is immediately arreſted; thoſe do not indeed

make the perſon a priſoner in the proper legal ſenſe, but too much ſo in fact, and in regard to his perſon. He is confined in the *depots de la police*, where he is worſe off than in moſt of the ſtate priſons. While he is confined there, the judge, without the aid of counſel, examines the witneſſes, whom they even threaten as accomplices. The great art of the judges of ſuch a *tribunal ſpecial* conſiſts in detecting *falſa*, and they are incredibly dexterous in diſcovering ſuch, which they diſtinguiſh by the new technical term of *faux rationals*. The more ignorant and fearful the witneſſes ſummoned are, the more eaſy is this art. When the judge, who has to report on the caſe, has finiſhed his buſineſs, the priſoner thus proviſionally confined receives his *mandat d'arrêt*, which thoſe who are confined with him generally conſider as a condemnation. In this manner the courts of juſtice have hitherto eluded the law, which orders that no one ſhall remain in priſon more than forty-eight hours, without being heard. For though he may have remained months together without a hearing upon the *mandat de depôt*, they reckoned his impriſonment only from the time of his receiving the legal *mandat d'arrêt*, which confines him to a ſtate priſon. Now, they no longer need the form of this proceeding, ſince the Conſul, by his laſt *ſenatus conſultum*, has taken on himſelf the right of deciding on all ſuch things arbitrarily; as we have particularly related above.

When the priſoner has got his *mandat d'arrêt*, he appears, and has a counſel. On the latter the judge

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impoſes ſilence as often as he will, by telling him that his diſcourſe affects politics, and *interêt d'etat.* If, notwithſtanding this he ſtill ſpeaks too boldly, he lays him under an *interdiction* for three or even ſix months, during which he dares not appear before any tribunal.

For obſtinate priſoners, who will not confeſs or depoſe according to the wiſh of the judge, a new kind of torture has been introduced; it conſiſts of an inſtrument worthy of Nero. Dubois, who executes the will of Bonaparté ſtill better than Fouché before him, has cauſed priſons of a peculiar conſtruction to be erected, which are ſo narrow and low, that the priſoner who is thrown into them can neither ſtand upright, nor even ſit or lie comfortably. Thus confined, the priſoner is aſked through an opening, every quarter of an hour, whether he will confeſs or depoſe more. Can any one imagine that, in ſuch a ſituation, unprincipled Frenchmen will heſitate in declarations to the prejudice of others? Yet a member of the Tribunate, who is a juriſt, and philoſophical writer, once defended this Nero-like invention againſt theſe and other objections, as a neceſſary violence for the cure of contumacious ſilence!

As they are inconſiderate and unjuſt in arreſts and proceedings before their deteſtable ſpecial tribunals, ſo are they in releaſing priſoners, even in the midſt of a trial, without a ſentence or deciſion, when the accuſed is able to procure himſelf the patronage of powerful men. Thus conſiſtency in inconſiſtency repairs many evils. In this manner the potter Fourmy,

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Rue de la Pépinière at Paris, was not long ſince arreſted, and releaſed. He bought the houſe in which he lives, and on which one of the judges of the ſpecial tribunal at Paris had lent a ſum by way of mortgage; the latter had alſo already ſhewn an inclination to purchaſe the houſe. A great many perſons were named in the contract who might have an intereſt in the ſale, and to whom, therefore, attested copies muſt be ſent. Theſe had not, however, been ſent to all. Under theſe circumſtances, the above judge ſought and found a *falſum*, and had the ſeller taken up; when, after many months, the depoſitions of the witneſſes and the acts of the proceedings were ſhewn to this judge, he was very angry that the buyer had not been arreſted likewiſe, and had him immediately taken up. Happily for them both, the buyer, as a good chemiſt, was known and eſteemed by the miniſter Chaptal, and the counſellor of ſtate Fourcroy. Madame Fourmy exerted her intereſt with them; and the buyer was at laſt diſmiſſed without further ſentence, and the ſeller with him; and thus the whole affair was at an end.

A young German merchant, whoſe name is here withheld for the ſake of his family, thoughtleſsly connected himſelf with one of the many thouſand gangs of ſwindlers, gamblers, and uſurers in Paris, that ſpread their ſnares for foreigners and inexperienced perſons, and got as much money as he could collect from friends and relations, ſent to Paris for a great ſpeculation, with which thoſe people allured him. As ſoon as they had all this in their power,

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and saw that his credit went no farther, they contrived to entangle him in a slight act of evident injustice. On this, they accused him of an intention to rob them. They, and the officers of justice, immediately seized on the little property he had still left in the common dwelling with those wretches, even to his last shirt and outward apparel; and, after a confinement of many years in one of the prisons for capital offences had reduced him to the deepest misery, he was, in a very irregular manner, condemned to an infamous imprisonment for life. After he had passed a year among the most reprobate criminals, his scandalous accusers, who had been outwitted by knaves more discerning than themselves, were banished as forgers, robbers, and thieves, and partly transported to the islands. At this juncture, an old compassionate man among the judges recollected the young German, who had so often strongly asserted his innocence both verbally and in writing, and, without farther proceeding, had him set at liberty. Since that time, he has in vain moved heaven and earth to have the affair re-examined, to obtain reparation and indemnity; all has been to no purpose; for he had in his favour only his words and his innocence, and it was not so easy for him once more to obtain clothes, money and character, as it had been for those villains to rob him of them. He is required to deposit a considerable sum for costs of suit before they either can or will attend to his complaint.

Nay, even in respect to foreigners, who are not subject

ſubject to their ju iſdiction, theſe judges are uncommonly expeditious in their irregular proceedings. Thus, laſt year, Mr. *Acerbi*, Secretary of the Ciſalpine Miniſter Mareſcalchi, was arreſted and confined in a *depot de la police*, becauſe he had made diſreſpectful mention of the King of Sweden. This highly ridiculous mode of proceeding has been very ſeverely ridiculed and condemned by Voltaire, in the Hiſtory of Servetus, in his *Eſſai ſur les Mœurs*. "Calvin," ſays he, "obtained by treachery the ſheets of a work which Servetus was having printed ſecretly. He ſent them to Lyons, with the letters he had received from him. Calvin cauſed him to be accuſed by an emiſſary. Servetus, who knew that in France every innovator was burnt without mercy, fled as ſoon as a proceſs was inſtituted againſt him. Calvin knew this, denounced him, and had him arreſted at the ſign of the Roſe, juſt as he was about to depart from it. It was certainly contrary to the law of nations to impriſon a foreigner who had committed no crime in the city. This barbarity, which was ſanctioned by the name of juſtice, might be regarded as an inſult on the law of nations. Was a Spaniard, paſſing through a foreign city, amenable to that city for having publiſhed his ſentiments, without having dogmatiſed either there, or within its juriſdiction?"

Such are the traits which characterize Frenchmen at all times; and when one ſees with what incredible ſecurity they live for the day that is paſſing over them, without perceiving or caring for ſuch horrors, one eaſily conceives how all their deſpotic rulers of all colours

lours and denominations, whether they were called Lewis, or Robespierre, or Bonaparté, could calculate with security on the moral and civil baseness and corruption of the nation.

The French nation, its whole Revolution, and continually lawless and confused state, may be very well and strikingly represented under the image and adventures of an highly thoughtless and uninformed young man, who, endowed with nature's best gifts, is yet continually overpowered by the intrigues and snares of selfish and ambitious calculators. The more valiantly and impetuously he labours against them while his strength lasts, the more quiet and powerless they have him at length in the snare; and when he once lies there bound, he must be happy, if one who calculates more coolly than the rest takes his part against the most savage, who would rather strangle him at once, or sell him into foreign slavery. If this latter, who spares the remains of his bodily strength, knows also how to take advantage of his moral weakness, it will be easy for him to excite in him a boundless gratitude. Thus is the dupe held more closely than even by bodily chains. The fear of the return of his savage adversaries, who had made him feel that all his wild courage availed nothing against their artful fury, attaches him more and more to the one who wisely spares him, who lets him enjoy all the advantages of slavery, and, even teaches him to compare them with the disadvantages of irregular, outrageous freedom. Thus our thoughtless, short-sighted young man, like all who resemble him, is quite contented with

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the ſecure, peaceful, ſenſual enjoyment of the paſſing day.

It is inconteſtable that the French nation is indebted to Bonaparté alone for the continuation of its political exiſtence: without his reſolute energetic character, which collected all that was ſcattered and torn in fragments, and forcibly held it together, which animated the fearful with new life and ſtrength, all would have fallen to ruin. The French empire was, under the laſt Directory, ſo near its diſſolution, that if there had been at that time as reſolute and energetic a character among the ſovereigns of Europe, Bonaparté would have returned too late from Egypt. It was to be expected that the re-animated enthuſiaſtic nation would not eſcape the dangers of boundleſs gratitude. In the young hero who began his career in a manner ſo great and unparalleled, many expected to find the noble pride, and elevated ſpirit, which would induce him to be a wiſe legiſlator, and the founder of genuine civil liberty, for a great, long-oppreſſed nation, which he had ſaved by his heroic courage from a foreign yoke. Is he devoid of this generous diſpoſition, or is he deficient in penetration? Is he ſo confined in his views, or ſo inordinately vain, as to conſider himſelf alone capable of guiding a great nation, and ruling it with honour? Or does he deem the French nation ſo wholly unworthy and incapable of true civil and political liberty, that it does not even deſerve to be fitted for it by ſolid, liberal inſtruction, and good civil manners? On theſe points his farther progreſs will enable us to judge more juſtly. We ſhall faithfully

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follow him in his career, and make it our duty to delineate that career with accurate impartiality *.

* It seems from this last sentence, that the author intended to have published further information on this subject, which could not but have been highly interesting. It is, however, to be apprehended, that the prohibition of this first part, which is very strongly inforced in a great part of Germany, will induce the author to withhold, at least for a time, the continuation.

FINIS.

R. Wilks, Printer, Chancery-Lane.