THE

LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS

OF

Victor Moreau.

COMPREHENDING

HIS TRIAL, JUSTIFICATION AND OTHER EVENTS, TILL THE PERIOD OF HIS EMBARKATION FOR THE UNITED STATES.

BY AN OFFICER OF THE STAFF.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

By John Davis

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED FOR DAVID BLISS,

NO. 56, MAIDEN-LANE.

Southwick & Hardcastle, Printers.

1806.

DISTRICT OF NEW-YORK, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the Tenth day of January, in the Thirtieth year of the Independence of the United States of America, L. S. DAVID BLISS, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the Title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Proprietor, in the words following, to wit...." The Life and Campaigns of Victor Moreau; " comprehending his Trial, Justification, and other events, till the period of his " Embarkation for the United States.....By an Officer of the Staff.—Translated " from the French."

IN CONFORMITY to the act of Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned"; and also, to an act, entitled "An Act, Supplementary to an act entitled "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned," and extending the benefits thereof to the Arts of Designing, Engraving, and Etching Historical and other Prints."

EDWARD DUNSCOMB,
Clerk of the District of New-York.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

IN proportion as facts are remote, their evidence is obscure, and the historian who relates events far removed from the age in which he writes, is not read with the interest of him who undertakes contemporary narration; because the truth of the one is doubtful, but what the other records is inscribed upon the hearts and memories of the existing generation.

I cannot but flatter myself that I undertake an acceptable service to the inhabitants of the United States, in submitting to them this volume, which exhibits the brilliant atchievements of a great general, who has embraced their soil, and now reposes here on his laurels.

But let me fairly state my claims. I will be frank in expressing what I have done, though it may be at the hazard of incurring the imputation of vanity. I am not the negative translator of the book that has been put into my hands; I have felt an ardor to supply a work that should gratify enquiry, and where I found the original wanting in information I have made up the deficiency by laborious, patient and persevering research..... Hence my volume will not suffer by a comparison.

with the original, whose characteristic is detail...He minutely describes each movement of the French army, and that is his highest praise. But if this narrative be something more than faithful, if an interest be created relative to the aggregate of the combined plans and operations, the connexion of them demonstrated, and their principal results successively deduced; if the moral character of the generals be developed, and the attractions of biography engrafted upon history, the reader is indebted to the zeal, diligence and enquiry of the Translator.

JOHN DAVIS.

New-York, Jan. 1, 1806.

PREFACE.

IT is shameful, says an ancient writer, to deceive our contemporaries, but it is yet more atrocious to transmit falsehood to posterity : faithful to this maxim, we have in the following history been only the interpreter of facts.

Disdaining the meretricious ornaments of style in a subject that recommends itself, we have narrated with simplicity the brilliant actions, profound combinations, and the successful projects of the French Xenophon ; who seems not only to have triumphed over the greatest physical obstacles, but even the caprices of fortune.

Posterity will be slow in giving credit to the events that have passed before our eyes, because they exceed the bounds of probability ; they will consider as sublime fictions what are positive facts ; but in studying the genius of the chief who conducted our phalanxes to victory, their doubts will vanish, and admiration will succeed them.

There are writers who have compared Moreau to Turenne. Without establishing a parallel between these two men, it may be justly asserted that the comparison is false. Turenne carried arms

against his country. Moreau is not involved in this reproach. The latter, disgraced by the government, lived several months in obscurity, and did not hesitate to resume his command when his country demanded his services.

The evidence of facts is superior to all declamation. In his first campaign we behold him passing the Rhine, in spite of every obstacle. Success crowned his progress. He marched from victory to victory; but the other armies of the republic being beaten that were destined to cooperate with him, he had to encounter a force thrice as formidable as his own.

Encompassed by stupendous mountains, there appeared to the eyes of the world no other alternative for Moreau than to surrender to the Imperialists; but he bore down every obstacle that opposed his progress; fought his way through the defiles of the black forest, and effected a retreat through a hostile country, three hundred miles in extent, making his assailants prisoners in great numbers, and taking from them the cannon they brought to oppose him, and the colours that promised them victory.

But it is needless to dwell in a preface on those subjects, or anticipate events, that are to appear in the narrative.

THE

LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS

OF

VICTOR MOREAU.

CHAPTER I.

Moreau's Birth and Education. Takes up Arms for the Parliament and States of Brittany. Singular delicacy and moderation of Conduct. Appointed to the rank of General of Brigade. Acts in Concert with Pichegrue. His Clemency at Nieuport. Besieges and takes Sluys. His Father is guillotined. Appointed to the command of the Army of the North.

VICTOR MOREAU is the son of an able advocate at Morlaix, in Lower Brittany, and was born in 1762. At a proper age he was sent by his father to study law at Rennes, where his attention was often diverted from Puffendorf and Vattel to Quintus Curtius, Plutarch's Lives and the Commentaries of Cæsar. Indeed he was as much in disguise in the robes of the forum, as Achilles in those of the female.

It was not however till the age of twenty-six that a combination of events called his latent talents into action, and gave him an opportunity of distinguishing himself. In May, 1788, when the min-

ister of Louis XVI. Cardinal de Brienne, intended a reform in the magistracy, the young men of Rennes rose to defend it. Moreau was at that time the most distinguished of the students in law; the insurgents wanted a leader, and they placed him at their head: He was called the General of the Parliament.

The Cardinal was desirous to seize Moreau, and entrusted Count Theard de Bissey with the execution of his plan. But Moreau was so much upon his guard, and displayed such great intrepidity, that the troops of the line could never arrest him.

In May, 1788, Moreau had been in arms for the Parliament, and for the states of Brittany, against the Minister. In October of the same year he commanded the troops of Nantes and Rennes armed against the Parliament, and the same states of Britanny, with the design of forcing them to execute the orders of the King's Ministers for a convocation of the States-General of the whole kingdom. This change of conduct in the subsequent eminence of Moreau has been severely reprobated and handled by his enemies in a manner most conducive to their purposes. But his conduct may be reconciled with the soundest principles of justice. The minister whom he opposed was the impolitic and obnoxious Cardinal de Brienne; whereas the minister whom he defended was the popular M. Neckar, the successor to de Brienne, who was obliged to resign in August, 1788.

Moreau was now conspicuous in his province for his military talents. When, therefore, through the timidity and irresolution of the parliament and the States of Brittany it had been agreed to admit three deputies from the insurgents to inspect the register of their deliberations, he was one of the three persons elected, and conducted himself on the occasion with singular moderation. When the registers were offered for inspection, Moreau thus expressed himself: "Persuaded I "have to do with gentlemen, I return you your "registers and trust to your word of honour, "which, I flatter myself, will convince our ene- "mies and calumniators that we are not rebels "but loyal men who are in arms; that we armed "in a good and just cause, and not against the "government of our country, or the privileges "of our countrymen; that we are friends to li- "berty, but lovers of order. Gentlemen of the "Parliament and States, having the assurance "now of being free, quiet and order shall be "immediately restored; we will disperse and re- "turn to our former occupations."

In 1789, when the national guards were formed, Moreau was appointed commander of one of the battalions from his department. His father was averse to the appointment—he wished his son to pursue the law rather than the profession of arms, and offered him a share in his business, which was highly lucrative and respectable. But the young soldier's love of a military life was perfectly in-

vincible. He had hitherto submitted to the dull and dry study of the law, more in obedience to paternal authority than from any will of his own; and when the constitution of his country sanctioned the place he occupied in the army, from the free choice and confidence of his fellow-citizens, neither the intreaties of his parents nor the allurements of pecuniary advantages could tempt him from employing his time in any other way than in improving himself in military tactics, and the science of war. He devoted himself exclusively to military works, treatises and memoirs. He consecrated that time appropriated for recreation to such studies as would prepare him for the field. He was found late and early at his table, surrounded by his books, his maps and plans. He read in four months more military treatises than had been written in four centuries; and possessing not only a strong appetite but strong powers of digestion, his improvement was proportionate to his application.

In July, 1793, he was promoted, by Robespierre's committee of public safety to the rank of general of brigade. His first engagement as a commander, was on the 14th of September, 1793. Having with a division of the army of the Moselle attacked the Prussian army under the Duke of Brunswick, he was completely routed; but if success did not crown his first attempts as a general, he had the consolation to know, that he deserved a victory when he met with a defeat. The

disposition for his attack was not less admirable than that of his retreat; and though the army under his command was repulsed, it was neither dispersed nor dishonoured.

In the winter of the same year, the army of the Moselle often acted and fought in concert with the army of the Rhine. The discernment of Pichegrue could not but remark the talents, judgment and courage of Moreau; he became his friend, and when in February, 1794, he was appointed to the command of the army of the north, caused Moreau to be nominated a general of division in that army. There is no doubt but that the happy fortune of serving with Pichegrue contributed greatly to make Moreau what he is—one of the ablest Generals in Europe.

Moreau eminently distinguished himself on the 26th and 30th of April 1794, when he blockaded and took Menin; in June, before Ypres, which he forced to surrender on the 17th; and before Bruges, which he entered on the 29th. On the 1st of July he took Ostend, and on the 18th Nieuport, which was garrisoned by Hanoverians and French emigrants.

At the taking of Nieuport he distinguished himself not only by his courage but humanity; this illustrious personage possessed in a great degree that amiable quality which has formed essentially the heroes of every age. In May of the same year the national convention had passed a decree, assimilating Englishmen and Hanoverians

with the proscribed French emigrants, to whom no quarter should be given; this decree was accompanied by an address to the armies, and death was menaced to all who disobeyed it. But Moreau's humane disposition would not sacrifice to present safety his future character. Like a manly and generous soldier he had virtue to risk his life, rather than tarnish his fame by putting into execution this illiberal, barbarous and savage decree. He spared the lives of the Hanoverians, at the risk of his own; for had not the ninth of Thermidor overthrown the committee who composed the authors of an act so infamous, it is probable he would have expiated his disobedience under the axe of the guillotine. The recording angel would willingly blot from her page what the accusing spirit has to impart respecting the fate of the French emigrants; some hundreds of these unfortunate wretches being found in the garrison, were unmercifully butchered by the soldiers.

On the 28th of July, General Moreau performed one of the noblest enterprizes that distinguished the campaign. Having resolved to besiege Sluys, it was necessary for the complete investment of that place that he should make himself master of the island of Cadsand. The apparent means by which it could be approached was by a narrow causeway inundated on both sides, and commanded by fourteen pieces of cannon; or by throwing a bridge over the strait of Coschische, which he

could not effect for want of pontoons. But obstacles vanished before the valor of his troops. Though he had no resource but in a few boats, a number of his soldiers were towed over in them, and others swam across. They made good their landing in the face of enormous and formidable batteries; and took the place with ninety pieces of cannon, a great quantity of ammunition and provisions, and two hundred prisoners.

This garrison had been summoned in July by General Almain, when the commander Van Dugh returned an answer alike remarkable for its brevity and spirit. "The honor of defending "Sluys," said he, "that of commanding a brave "garrison, and the confidence they repose in "me, are my answer." Sluys, however, after enduring a vigorous siege, was compelled to surrender the 26th of August to the arms of General Moreau. It should not escape notice that his tender care of his soldiers during this siege, and the wants, fatigues and privations he shared, greatly endeared him to them.

At this conjuncture, when Moreau, a republican general, was adding Sluys to his other conquests for the French Republic, the French republican Prieur, and the jacobins at Brest, sent his venerable father to the scaffold, with other members of the department of Finisterre, as an aristocrat, or friend of aristocrats: His untimely end was lamented by all who knew him,

and so bewailed by his son, that he even formed the project of abandoning his natal soil; but patriotism maintained her empire in his breast, and he sacrificed his private griefs at the shrine of public devotion.

When in October 1794, General Pichegrue was forced by illness to resign the command of the army for some time, he recommended Moreau to be his successor. This was Moreau's first command in the capacity of general in chief; and, although Pichegrue's absence was of short duration, the army of the North, under Moreau, captured Nimeguen and Arnheim, and made such preparations for future victories and progress, that Pichegrue, on resuming the command, paid Moreau, in his orders and in his report to the National Convention, the highest compliments.

During the famous winter campaign that followed, and which subjected Holland to France, Moreau commanded the right wing of Pichegrue's army, and contributed greatly to its rapid and astonishing success. He partook with Pichegrue the honour of victory and the glory of conquest; and with him declined the plunder of the vanquished, and the contributions of the conquered.

After the conquest of Holland had been completed, and a peace was concluded with the king of Prussia, Pichegru was appointed commander in chief of the armies on the Rhine and on the

Moselle, and Moreau was nominated his successor in the command of the army of the North.

In December, 1795, Moreau ordered the blockade of Luxemburgh; and, after consulting with Pichegrue, sent a plan of defence for Holland to the Dutch generals, Daendels and Dumonceaux, and to the Batavian committee, with orders to put it in execution within eight days. This is the same plan which, during the last seven years, was followed by all the French commanders in Holland, and to which General Brune owed the advantages which he gained in 1799.

CHAPTER II.

Moreau appointed General of the Army of the Rhine and Moselle. Passage of the Rhine, and capture of Kehl.

IN the 4th year of the Republic (1796) Pichegrue being disgraced by the Directory, Moreau was appointed to the command of the army of the Rhine and Moselle. After different marches and countermarches he opened his campaign in June; the undisputed foundation of his military reputation and greatness. Having concerted operations with the armies of Italy, of the North, the Sambre and Meuse, he forced General Wurmser in his camp before Franckenthal, and repulsed him under the cannon of Manheim.

But Moreau meditated his principal blow at another quarter; his object was to cross the Rhine; the garrisons of Mentz and Manheim supposed themselves to be holding his army in check, when he only kept up the semblance of hostilities; and he was drawing off his troops by secret and forced marches, and had actually arrived at Strasburg before the enemy knew that he had changed his position.

His object was to pass the Rhine at that city, and gain the strong fort of Khel on the German side of the river. He proposed an attack in several places, but the sudden increase of the river defeated this intention. The Rhine abounds with small islands at this place; they were occupied and defended by the Austrians. Finding it impossible, from the rapidity of the current, to effect a landing immediately on the opposite shore, he determined on gaining possession of the islands, a stepping stone to the completion of his enterprize.

Having arrived near Strasburg, Moreau made a halt with his army, shut the gates of the city, held a secret council, and ordered the passage of the Rhine. The troops now discovered that their route to Italy was terminated, and that they were destined for another operation. In three hours every thing was disposed for the passage of the army. The inhabitants of Strasburg seconded with ardor the plans of the General. By nine at night the troops filed out of the city, and at mid-

night they began to enter the boats. The moon shedding its lustre over the Rhine, was unfavorable to the enterprize. It was necessary to take great precaution, and observe a profound silence. The light boats of four divisions being filled, Moreau gave the signal of departure. The troops attacked the islands with great intrepidity, and, without firing a musket, carried them at the point of the bayonet. Consternation seized the Austrians. In the precipitation of their flight, they could not destroy the bridges that communicated with the main land; by the help of these, Moreau, leading on the advanced guard of his army, made good his landing, and marched towards Khel. The enemy were driven from the fort, the village and a redoubt; the place was abandoned to the victors, the imperial colours were struck, and the Republican flag displayed over them.

The three following days were employed in establishing a bridge of boats across the Rhine, and passing over the cavalry, artillery, and the remainder of the infantry. The corps of General Beaupuy, and Saint Cyr, were the last that crossed.

Thus was a passage effected across the Rhine by Moreau, which in ancient times would have been alone sufficient to confer immortality on his name. The importance which the historians of antiquity attached to this species of enterprize is evident from the wonderful relations they have

left us of the passages of rivers by great armies; such as that of the Indus by Alexander, and of the Rhone by Hannibal. The bridge thrown over the Rhine by Cæsar, in his expedition against the Suevi, was considered one of the most glorious of his military labors; and we know how historians and poets have extolled the passage of the Rhine at Tolhuis by Lewis XIV.

Being in possession of Kehl, Moreau with a part of the army began a march to attack the camp of Wilstett, by the route of Offembourgh, which was carried by storm: the brigade of General Saint Suzanne filed towards the Lower Rhine by the way of Rastadt; and the rest of the army, under the orders of General Dessaix, marched in three colums to scour the country. Moreau's object in these movements was to drive the Austrians from the various posts and camps which they occupied in this quarter; and by these means prevent the junction of the detachments sent by General Wurmser from Manheim with the army of emigrants under the Prince of Condé, who were stationed along the Upper Rhine.

CHAPTER III.

Operations of the Imperialists. The person and manners of the Archduke Charles described. Eulogium of Moreau. Defeat of Wurmser and capture of Renchen. Moreau dislodges the troops of the Prince of Wirtemburgh from the mountains. Advances to attack the Archduke Charles. Battle of Rastadt. Moreau encamps on the field of battle. Battle of Ettingen.

THE army under General Wurmser having been weakened by the detachments sent to reinforce that of Italy, found itself insufficient to withstand the impetuosity of this irruption from Moreau, for which no preparations had been made, as no attack from that quarter was expected. The Archduke Charles discontinued, therefore, his pursuit of the army of Jourdan whom he was following on the Lower Rhine, and leaving behind him General Wartensleben with sufficient forces to prevent Jourdan from passing hastily on his rear; marched with considerable reinforcements to the aid of Wurmser, in order to check the daring progress of Moreau in the Brisgaw.

The young Prince was an illustrious opponent for Moreau at the opening of his campaign. He was conspicuous for his talents, bravery and conduct; he was the idol of his soldiers, in great public estimation, and the expectation and rose of

the country, that gave him birth. He was of a middle stature, well proportioned, but thin; light hair, high forehead, large blue eyes, an aquiline nose, pale lips, round chin, and of a fresh and rosy complexion. His look was pleasing, his manners princely, his deportment majestic.

If Moreau was not adorned with the stars and garters of his princely adversary, he was as good a soldier and fine a gentleman. His stature was good, resembling in graceful manliness the Apollo Belvidere. To an open and pleasing countenance he united soft and insinuating manners, and to the frankness of the soldier, he joined the becoming ease of the gentleman. He possessed the liberal grace and ability of a Turenne, and the vigor and patriotism of Henry IV; in his attacks he was a Gustavus Adolphus and a Condé, and in his retreats a Xenophon and a Belleisle.

Moreau, apprized of the march of the young Archduke, determined to attack Wurmser before he was reinforced. The Austrian General had concentrated his force in an advantageous position before the little town of Poenchen, and the river of the same name. The brigade of Saint Susanne was already engaged with the enemy, when the corps of General Dessaix came up. The affair became general, and a brisk cannonade commenced on both sides. The Austrian cuirassiers endeavoured to penetrate the right wing of the

French, and charged it vigorously ; but two battalions, supported by the carabineers and light artillery repulsed them. These battalions manœuvered with so much *sang-froid* that the Austrians could make no impression on their ranks; but left the field of battle heaped with the bodies of men and horses. The enemy made an attempt on the left, but were again repulsed. Their defeat ensued : infantry, artillery, cavalry, all fled in manifest disorder, and Moreau found himself master of the river and town of Renchen. (June 28.)

After this affair Moreau re-organized the order of battle of his army, which had been necessarily broken in the passage of the Rhine. Ferino was given the command of the right wing: Saint Cyr was charged with the centre; Dessaix had the left wing.

Moreau finding that he could not advance between the black mountains and the Rhine, without dislodging the enemy from the posts which they occupied there; sent General La Roche on the enterprize with a division of the army. He ascended the valley of Renchen and succeeded in dislodging the troops of the Prince of Wirtemburg from Mount Kniebis, and the various fortresses on the immense and lofty ridge of mountains, which divide the circle of Suabia, under the name of the Swartzen Wald, or Black Forest.

On the 6th of July Moreau advanced with his whole army to the attack of the Archduke Charles, who had taken an excellent position with all his troops between Gersbatch and Rastadt. This battle was to be of momentous concern, in what related to its result; the Prince by defeating Moreau would compel him to repass the Rhine, and in sustaining a defeat himself remove the obstacle to his enemy's progress into the country.

The front of the Archduke presenting insurmountable obstacles to an attack, Moreau determined to charge his right wing. He led on his troops in person against Gersbatch; the post was carried after a lively, vigorous, and persevering resistance, as well as the valley of Murg. Adjutant General Decaen attacked the village of Kuppenheim; the conflict was spirited; but the Hungarian and Austrian grenadiers ceded at length to the bayonets of the French. They, however, returned three times to the charge, but were constantly repulsed and constrained to pass the Murg. A half brigade, under a brisk cannonade, forced the passage of Olbach, carried the village of Nider Bihel, and succeeded in becoming masters of the wood of Rastadt, which had been long and obstinately defended.

The left wing of the French beginning to acquire a superiority over the left of the enemy, whose right wing had been completely beaten;

they were compelled to retreat by the bridge of Rastadt, and the fords of the Murg, at the back of that river. As this movement was covered by a fort of artillery on the opposite bank, and sustained by the whole of the Austrian cavalry, that had not come into action, it was not possible to throw them into confusion; they made their retreat in good order.

A regiment of French chasseurs perceiving the enemy busied in cutting away the bridge of Rastadt, charged and pursued them into the streets of the city. The action had commenced soon after day break; it was disputed till noon, when the Archduke Charles threw off his forces, and Moreau encamped with his army on the field of battle.

The Archduke retreated in the night towards Ettingen, where he assembled his forces, and received great reinforcements from the Lower Rhine under General Hotze, and from Mayence under General Werneck. The main body of his army marched through the valley of the Rhine, the infantry filed along the foot of the mountains, and the cavalry kept the plain.

The Archduke disposed his troops in this order with the view of passing with a considerable force upon Moreau's rear, by the vallies of Murg, the Olbach and Cappel, and opposing in the plain a superior cavalry to his front. He flattered himself that a second conflict would terminate for him more favourably than the first; and indulged the

hope he should yet be able to constrain the French to cross again the Rhine.

The three days that succeeded the battle of Rastadt, were employed by Moreau in replacing his horses, artillery and ammunition, and making arrangements for a general attack. These preparations were executed with such activity, that when on the sixth of July the Archduke had taken his position and menaced the French with action, Moreau, far from declining, advanced with his whole army to give him battle.

Moreau's plan of operations was to reserve his left wing, and to make his principal effort with his right against the left of the enemy. His attack commenced by charging some advantageous posts which the Archduke had defended with the flower of his army, and it was not without a sanguinary combat, and considerable loss on the side of the French, that they succeeded in their enterprize.

The advanced guard of the enemy whom the French encountered at Hernalb were easily repulsed; but the platform of Rotensolhe, one of the highest and steepest of the black mountains, whose declivity is covered with tufted woods, was of such difficult access, that it was not carried without great enterprize, vigor and perseverance. General Saint Cyr, entrusted with this attack, having his troops fatigued with a laborious march, adopted the ingenious plan of harrassing the enemy with successive onsets from different points, and

to suffer one part of his men to repose while he led another to the charge; so that he might have them all fresh for an attack when a favourable opportunity offered, and the enemy should become less on their guard from the discomfiture of the first assailants.

The French were repulsed in four successive attacks; a fifth was resolved on, for which there had been reserved two half brigades. The soldiers formed in column, and marched with as much order as the nature of the ground would admit. The last assault succeeded; they gained the platform; the enemy were dispersed, put to flight, and pursued with the bayonet. Two hundred imperialists were made prisoners, of whom a dozen were subalterns, and one a superior officer.

On the left wing General Dessaix attacked the village of Malsch, at the moment the action began in the mountains. The village was taken and retaken three times successively; the conflict was prolonged till ten at night, and considerable loss was sustained on both sides.

The enemy brought into the field a numerous body of cavalry, backed by artillery, but the happy disposition of General Dessaix's troops rendered them inefficacious. Notwithstanding the manifest superiority of force in the enemy, the rest of the day passed without any offensive movement being made by the Archduke Charles.

The events of this day contributed greatly to discourage the enemy, who had flattered them-

selves the preceding evening that they would either destroy the French army, or constrain them to repass the Rhine. On the contrary they were compelled to relinquish the field of battle to Moreau, after a considerable loss in killed and wounded; and they took the resolution to retire towards the Danube, in order to rally and concentrate their forces. Fearful of having their retreat cut off from Neckar, they abandoned precipitately Etlingen, Durlach and Calsruhe, and retreated towards Pfortzhein.

CHAPTER IV.

March of the French Army towards the Neckar. Entrance into Stutgard. Battle of Eslingen and Constadt.

THE loss of the battle of Eslingen having determined the Imperialists to retreat into Germany, they abandoned the garrisons of Mayence, Manheim and Philisbourg. In the mean time Moreau pursued Prince Charles march for march.

The 18th of July, the centre of the French army approached Stutgard, the capital of the Duchy of Wirtembergh, while the left wing advanced towards the mouth of the Enz. General Saint Cyr encountered the advanced guard of the Austrians before Stutgard; he attacked them with vigor, and beat them back into the town.

The Neckar is a river of Germany, that rises in the Black Forest, crosses the Duchy of Wirtem-

burgh, and the Palatinate of the Rhine, and falls into the Rhine at Manheim. Prince Charles made a halt with his army before he reached this river, and took an excellent position upon the heights of Constadt and Feldbach.

Moreau's project was to attack the Imperialists in their position, between Constadt and Eslingen; but as their centre was of dangerous access, he determined to make a movement on his right to disorder his left wing: but first he was desirous to force his advanced posts in order that they should abandon the left bank of the Neckar.

In execution of this plan, Moreau on the 24th of July, attacked the enemy at Eslingen and Constadt. They made a lively resistance. They defended Eslingen with distinguished ardor, but were at length compelled to give ground, after losing eight hundred men in killed and wounded. In this affair, the French were not less regular in their movements than if they had been on parade; their firing resembled claps of thunder.

General Taponier attacked the Fauxbourg of Constadt, and the village of Berg; he defeated the enemy with such vivacity and decision, that they had not time to destroy the bridge of the village. The same day the corps of General Dessaix took a position at Ludwisbourg, and succeeded in sweeping the left bank of the Neckar of all the Imperialists.

The army of the enemy retreated in two bodies through the mountains of the Alb, pursuing the

roads of Gmund and Geppingen, whither they were followed in the same order by Moreau.

It is necessary in this place to recapitulate that immediately after the passage of the Rhine, the right wing of the French took a contrary direction to that of the left and the centre; that, while the former descended the river, the other ascended it, and that from the day the army took possession of Ofembourg, these divisions ceased to act conjointly.

The plan of operations adopted by Moreau was complicated but judicious. A body of the army was to gain the right bank of the Danube, and traverse the Black Mountains through the vallies of Kintzig and Saint Pierre. They were to force the passage of the frontier towns, in order that the right flank might be covered by the Lake of Constance, while the main body of the army should reach the Danube by the left bank of that river. And after having followed these opposite directions, the two bodies were to form a junction, and operate in concert at Ulm, that they might enter formidably into Bavaria. By these means the republican armies would form one immense chain across the whole of this part of Germany, of which the left extended almost to the frontiers of Bohemia, and the right to the Tyrolean mountains. For the army of the Sambre and Meuse, under Jourdan, had gained possession of the country lying on each side of the Mein, made themselves

masters of Franconia, and were advancing towards Ratisbon.*

The passes of the valley of Kintzig, and those of the forest towns being open, the corps of General Staray, finding themselves thrown in this valley upon the army of the Archduke, directed their right wing towards the Lake of Constance, and their left towards the Danube, without encountering much resistance; while Moreau still pursued the Prince through the defiles of the Mountains of the Alb.

---

* At this period Wurmser was put at the head of a new army to deliver Italy from the gallic yoke, but after a few partial successes, his troops were totally beaten by Bonaparte, at the battle of Castiglione, on the 15th of August. Twenty thousand Austrians were slain in the field of battle.

TRANSLATOR.

CHAPTER V.

Remarks upon Mountain War; it may be called the poetical part of the Art of War. Operations of Moreau in pursuing Archduke Charles through the Suabian Alps.

ON the east of the Black Forest rises the chain of Alb Mountains or Suabian Alps. They occupy a vast tract, and are covered with forests that possess a wild magnificence. The sun appearing above the summits of these mountains presents a scene worthy to be treasured among the grandest appearances of nature. Its radiance catching the tops of the trees, as they hang midway upon the shaggy steep, imperceptibly mixes its ruddy tint with the surrounding mists, setting on fire, as it were, their upper parts, while their lower skirts are lost in a dark mass of varied confusion; in which trees and ground, and radiance, and obscurity, are all blended. When the east just begins to brighten, a pleasing, progressive, and dubious light is thrown over the face of things. A single ray is able to assist the picturesque eye which at first creates a thousand imaginary forms, and as the light steals gradually on, is amused in correcting its vague ideas by the real objects. The soldier possessing an eye for the beauties of nature, has seen in traversing this country, with delightful effect the sun's disk just appear above the woody hill; or

— stand tip-toe on the misty mountain's top,

and dart his diverging rays through the foggy vapor.

Numerous reflections on the extraordinary exertions made in this mountainous war readily present themselves; it seems that in high mountains the military *coup d'œil** forms, extends, and proportions itself insensibly to a greater scale of objects and distances; combinations are enlarged, and multiply in the ratio of the masses of mountains and the variety of their situations. In level countries, the plans of generals are almost always subordinate to the rules of the art; marches are counted, manœuvres elucidated, resistance, time and resources appreciated, measured, weighed;.... the whole is an affair of calculation, and the data of the problem being almost always known, it is resolved before the fate of arms has decided it: but in a mountainous country the genius of the general is less shackled, and though he encounter more obstacles, he bounds over the common rules, makes new combinations, invents artificial aids, and creates for himself an untried system of war.

It is here above all that is felt that influence of the form of surrounding objects, more powerful

---

* One of the best essays extant on the military *coup d'œil* will be found among the writings of Major General Lee.

TRANSLATOR.

perhaps than that of climate—those inspirations of nature so eloquent, and so unjustly esteemed inanimate—in short, that disposition which places man every where in harmony with her works, the distinctive character which the creator has imprinted on his heart, innate traces of which elevated minds are delighted in feeling amidst the horrors even of the destruction of the human race. War among mountains is, if the expression may be allowed, the poetical part of the art of war. The physical forces are in continual exercise, and the moral flow is not less elevated. If the air which is in those lofty regions strengthens the nerves and gives the body more agility, the ideas are also more clear, the mind is more fertile in resources, courage is more daring, the movements are more impetuous, every thing is active, brilliant, and rapid as the torrent; and it has been observed, that those who have made war in mountainous countries are delighted with their trade, because they have found in it, alas! like the hunters of the chamois, exquisite enjoyments mingled with the greatest dangers.* We are now going to witness Moreau in a new scene of tri-

* Perhaps the perfumes of Asia, burning before the triumphal car of the conqueror of Darius, afforded him less real satisfaction, than when Moreau found himself engaged with Prince Charles upon the brinks of the precipices of the Alb Mountains.

TRANSLATOR.

umph, to behold him chain the god of the mountains to the car of his victories.

The march of the French army through this country was both difficult and dangerous; all communication between the divisions in the vallies was wholly cut off by the interposing mountains. The enemy seemed inclined to dispute the possession of their summits, by concentrating all their forces upon a vast platform, between Weissentein and Bœmenkirch; from whence they could have easily made a *sortie* to attack the advanced column of the French, which was separated from the rest, and fought in succession the other divisions as they came up; but they had not sufficient spirit of enterprise. Their design was only to check Moreau, that they might gain time to send forward their artillery and baggage. They abandoned their position, and continued their retreat.

The first conflict among the mountains was between General Dessaix and a division of the enemy. In the neighbourhood of Aalen they waited to receive his attack, but were defeated with the loss of three hundred prisoners. The same day the centre of the French army possessed themselves of Heydenheim, after a vigorous combat, and took a position upon the Brenz, a river which rises at the back of the Alb Mountains.

For several days only a few skirmishes took place of no importance. On July the 27th, the enemy, instead of prosecuting their retreat, made

a sudden halt. They seemed disposing their forces to sustain an action, but the position of their advanced guard behind Eghingen appearing disadvantageous, Moreau determined to attack them without procrastination. A battle ensued. The Austrians were defeated, and driven from their post with the loss of four hundred men; the French pursued them into the woods as far as Amerdingen, when night coming on, their pursuit was suspended. The following day the enemy seemed to catch new courage, and directed their efforts in five different points. The French army was posted before Neresheim. The principal attack of the Austrians was directed against its centre. Two of the French half brigades who had remained in the wood when night overtook them in their pursuit of the Austrians, were taken in flank and dispersed with the loss of four hundred, who were made prisoners of war.

This early success of the enemy caused an opening between the centre of Moreau and the left wing; but the body of reserve, advancing rapidly, repaired the defect. The Austrian army filed off. Moreau then commenced his grand attack in the quarter where the enemy had assembled their main force. The conflict was severe, and the carnage dreadful. Cannon were taken and retaken on both sides; till night suspended the battle. It was resumed at the next dawn of day with redoubled fury. The Austrians in the issue con-

sidered themselves the victors, as they kept possession of the field of battle. But, however flattering these appearances, the day was not inglorious to the army of the Rhine and Moselle. The firmness with which they withstood the violent shocks of the Austrians, added not inconsiderably to the reputation of their character. It evinced that if the French were irresistible in attack, they were also capable of fortitude in defence.

CHAPTER VI.

Battle of Kamlach. A corps of Conde's emigrants destroyed.

WHILE the main body of the army gained the back of the Alb mountains, the left wing marched forward in two columns; the former, which had taken a route through the forest towns, posted themselves at the confluence of the higher and lower Argen, which discharge themselves into the Lake of Constance. They took possession of Lindau and Bregenz, and captured some of the enemy's artillery.

The advanced guard of the second division encountered the corps of Condé; a conflict ensued which terminated in their defeat. They were briskly pursued as far as Kamlach.

The emigrants, held in contempt by the Austrians, panted to distinguish themselves in action. They placed themselves foremost in every danger.

They undertook to charge the advanced guard of the second division of Moreau's left wing. To insure their success they made the attack in the dark, hoping by an unexpected onset to throw his ranks into disorder.

About two in the morning they attacked with great vigor the advanced guard of the republicans, who gave ground to the fiery charge of their infantry, and fell back to Kamlach. There they were oppressed by the republican infantry, who gave the advanced posts time to rally, and renew the action; the fight was lively, and the victory uncertain. Some emigrants who had mixed with the republican troops, exclaimed in vain, "*Nous sommes tournés, il faut nous retirer, sauve qui peut;*"* the soldiers were not to be deceived; these perfidious emigrants were recognized and fell beneath the bayonet. Still the third half brigade of light infantry must have ceded to superior numbers, had not the eighty ninth marched with alacrity to their assistance. The action was then decided in favor of the republicans, and their victory complete.

The loss of the emigrants was immense. A regiment of light horse, composed entirely of young noblemen and gentlemen, was totally destroyed. Hundreds of youths, nursed in splendor and pomp,

---

* We are overcome, 'tis time to retreat, let those save themselves who are able.

breathed their spirits out on the cold ground by the side of their expiring steeds. Amidst the heap of corses, the looks of many still retained traces of a mounting spirit that bordered upon majesty. Forms that would have graced a court, and raised soft emotion in the bosom of beauty, lay disfigured with gore, a prey to the crows and vultures of the wilderness.

Five hundred and seventy emigrants, of whom fifty were chevaliers of Saint Louis, and eighteen officers of distinction, fell in this day's action; three generals died of their wounds at Mendelpeim, and the number of wounded amounted to upwards of twelve hundred.

CHAPTER VII.

Passage of the Danube by the army of the Rhine and Moselle. An unexpected movement of the Archduke. Jourdan's army retreats from him and Wartensleben.

AFTER the battle of Neresheim, the whole of the army of the Archduke retreated towards the right bank of the Danube, and took a position behind the Lech; a river which rises in Tyrol, divides Suabia from Bavaria, and falls into the Danube below Donawert.

On the 13th of August Moreau crossed the Danube with his army. This river is the largest in Europe, and was called Ister by the ancients. It has its source from the court-yard of the Prince

of Fustenburgh's palace at Doneschingen, a town of Suabia, where some small springs, bubbling from the ground, form a bason of clear water about thirty feet square; from this issues the Danube, which is there only a small brook. It flows North East by Ulm, takes an East direction through Bavaria and Austria, and runs South East after entering Hungary; after which it divides Bulgaria from Morlachia and Moldavia, discharging itself by several channels into the Black Sea.

The French army passed the Danube at Hæschstett, Dillingen and Lamngen, and took a position behind the little river of Zusam.*

The Archduke, after having assembled his forces behind the Lech, repassed the Danube at

---

* No part of the art of war has been brought to greater perfection by the moderns than that of passing rivers. Among the ancients rivers were considered as almost insurmountable barriers to an army. It was owing to the want of skill in mechanical means that they were behind us in this part of warfare. They knew nothing of our pontoons or copper boats; in all armies now there is a fixed establishment of a corps of pontooners, who learn to throw a bridge as a soldier learns to handle his arms. A modern general, in order to pass a river, has only to deceive the vigilance of his enemy for a few hours to a single point. A passage may even be effected in his sight, provided you have a superiority of fire. The pontoons are fitted to one another with admirable celerity; and it requires but a small number of volunteers to go and secure on the other side the *tete de pont*.

TRANSLATOR.

Ingolstadt, at the head of a great body of his army, with the design of attempting an effort against the army of the Sambre and Meuse, in concert with the army of Wartensleben. This movement augmented considerably the force directed against General Jourdan, and was not expected by Moreau. The army of Wartensleben, already equal in number to that under Jourdan, was now rendered doubly formidable by the accession of a vast force commanded in person by the Prince.

On the 22d of August their united forces attacked unexpectedly the right wing of Jourdan's army, commanded by General Bernadotte, who, to avoid being surrounded, fell back on the main body; and Jourdan finding himself in a country where he could expect no resources, but was exposed to imminent danger by having General Wartensleben in front, and the Archduke Charles on his flank, ordered the whole of his army to retreat. This was not effected without difficulty and loss. They had to fear less from the courage of the Austrian soldiers than the vengeance of the peasantry and other inhabitants of the countries they had to repass, who took advantage of the distress of the French, to retaliate for the injuries they had received. The Austrians also hung on the rear and flanks of Jourdan, that no respite was allowed him; nor did he think himself in safety, till having repassed Bamberg and Wurtzbourg with his army; he gained the

banks of the Lower Rhine by nearer marches through Wetzlar, and halted only at the posts from whence he had commenced his expedition.

By this retreat of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, the situation of that of the Rhine and Moselle, under Moreau, was rendered extremely critical; as his left flank was uncovered, and the Austrian forces, falling into his rear, had the means of cutting off his communications with France. This event was the more likely to happen since the army of the Sambre and Meuse had been repulsed to a distance so remote as to be incapable of making any effective diversion; and the garrisons of Mentz, Manheim and Philipsburg, which the French armies had left behind them, in the full confidence of being able to take them at leisure, lay between that army and the army of the Rhine and Moselle, now insulated in the centre of Germany.

While the Archduke was pursuing the army of the Sambre and Meuse, Moreau determined to pass the Lech, and attack General Latour; indulging the hope that, by pushing on his conquests into Bavaria, he would induce the Archduke to relinquish the pursuit of Jourdan and return to the defence of that province.

CHAPTER VIII.

Passage of the Lech. Affair of Friedberg. Moreau advances into Bavaria. Affair of Geisenfield. Critical position of Moreau. He concentrates his Army for a retreat.

MOREAU's army advanced towards Augsburgh the 5th of Fructidor, and defeated behind the Lech the advanced posts of the enemy that were on the left bank of the river. In their retreat they burnt the bridge of Rain, and those of Augsburgh. The following day was employed in re-constructing the bridges.

The next morning at early dawn, the divisions of the army were assembled in order to cross the Lech. The right wing passed over the first at Hanstetten. The infantry found a formidable obstacle in the rapidity of the current; the water reached up to their arm-pits, and they carried on their heads their cartouch-boxes and muskets.... It was the Generals Abattuci and Montrichard, the chief of brigade Cassagne, and Savary an aid-de-camp, who first plunged into the river, and braved its fury.

When two half brigades, a regiment of dragoons, a part of the eighth regiment of hussars, and two pieces of light artillery were formed, an attack was made upon Kussing and the heights of Maringen; they were both easily carried. In this

conflict our troops were opposed by eight Austrian divisions, supported by a company of light artillery.

While the infantry were engaged upon the heights of Kussing, the cavalry, which had just passed, reinforced with two regiments of reserve, advanced through the plain which extends between the Lech and the Paar, to join the left of the right wing together with the troops of the centre, in order to facilitate the deploying of the latter; a necessary movement to insure a vigorous attack upon the left flank of the enemy encamped upon the heights of Friedberg.

As soon as the right wing had passed the torrent, and gained the heights of Kussing, General Saint Cyr commenced his attack by a brisk fire of artillery, and musquetry, and succeeded in driving the Austrians from the borders of the Lech, and the two bridges that had been thrown over the river. This operation enabled Moreau to pass a considerable body of his troops across the stream, who, with the usual vivacity of Frenchmen in assault, chased the enemy from a neighbouring wood, and carried the village of Lechausen. The Austrians abandoned in their flight five pieces of cannon.

The other troops having passed the river in regular succession, together with the cavalry, Moreau prepared to attack the camp of Friedberg.

The right wing and centre of the French army led on the attack, and repulsed the Austrians:

they began to retreat by the roads of Munich and Ratisbon; but the advanced guard of Moreau's right wing had already gained that of Munich in order to cut off their retreat, while Saint Cyr pressed upon them in front. An obstinate conflict now took place, in which the Austrians suffered, particularly among their officers; a great part of their column was broken and dispersed, while the rest retreated in confusion. The youths Apraxin, Bielkski, Neuberin, Kaiserling and Sulzer, were numbered among the slain, subalterns in the flower of youth, and pride of expectation. That day rose on them panting for renown, whose night saw them motionless on the crimsoned plain. On what a slender thread hangs the destiny of man! Quenched in a moment were their glorious fires of intellect and valor; crushed was every hope they had fondly cherished of being pressed again to the heaving beauties of their mistresses at home, who breathed for them their deep prayers, and in whose sighs for their absence was mingled the murmur of love! Farewell to hope! Farewell to earthly bliss! No more were they to witness the endearing smile, no more to enjoy the fairy favors of beauty!

The first division of Moreau's centre possessed themselves of Friedberg and its heights; while the wings, pursuing the victory, made a hundred prisoners of the flying division under the command of General Latour.

Having thus passed the Lech, Moreau advanced into Bavaria without experiencing much resistance; the army of Latour finding it difficult to rally. He retreated behind the Iser.

The 15th Fructidor,* while every division of the French army was in motion, the advanced posts of the left wing were attacked near Geisenfeld, and the advanced guard was driven back.

---

* In dates of military operations, &c. it is necessary, in the prosecution of this work, to adopt the republican idiom. But every body is not acquainted with the new French calendar; chronology is an eye of history; and I subjoin the revolutionary distribution of the months. TRANSLATOR.

	AUTUMN.	
Vindemaire,	from	Sept. 22 to Oct, 21.
Brumaire,		Oct. 22 to Nov. 20.
Frumaire,		Nov. 21 to Dec. 20.
	WINTER.	
Nivose,		Dec. 21 to Jan. 19.
Pluviose,		Jan. 20 to Feb. 18.
Ventose,		Feb. 19 to Mar. 20.
	SPRING.	
Germinal,		Mar. 21 to April 19.
Floreal,		April 20 to May 19.
Prairal,		May 20 to June 18.
	SUMMER.	
Messidor,		June 19 to July 18.
Fervidor,		July 19 to Aug. 17.
Fructidor,		Aug. 18 to Sept. 16.
	COMPLIMENTARY DAYS.	
Les Vertus,	Sept. 17	Le Travail, Sept. 19.
Le Genie,	Sept. 18	L' Opinion, Sept. 20.
		Les Recompenses, Sept. 21.

This check was, however, soon repaired by the succour of troops, that came up in quick succession, and maintained the combat. The cavalry of the enemy, however superior to that of the French, were thrown into disorder, which determined the imperialists to retreat into the wood of Geisenfeld.

The most formidable divisions of the enemy being repulsed under Latour, Newendorff and Marcantin, the whole Austrian army was greatly disheartened: they retreated without further resistance. It is, however, problematical whether their object was not to induce Moreau to advance rashly between the Iser and Danube, and gain an advantage upon his flanks, either at the entrance of the Tyrol, or at the head of the bridge of Ingolstadt.

On the 17th, Moreau's advanced guard attacked a body of infantry and horse that covered Freysing. The enemy were repulsed so suddenly, that they had not time to destroy the bridge of the Iser, which rendered the French masters of the river.

The 18th, Moreau made preparations for crossing the Iser.

The 19th, the army made a movement, but it was not attended with success. Its right wing was turned by the enemy, who took several pieces of artillery.

While Moreau was making his dispositions to attack in form the bridge of Ingolstadt, the right wing and centre advanced. The advanced guard of the right wing attacked and carried Mosbourg; that of the centre dislodged the enemy from Mainbourg, while that of the left wing filed upon Neustadt, from whence they drove the forces of the imperialists.

But these successes, however brilliant, were soon followed with threatening circumstances, as clouds often succeed the splendor of the opening day. The position of Moreau's army became extremely critical. He had entertained hopes that the army of the Sambre and Meuse would resume the attack, or that his further advances towards Vienna would force the Archduke to return. The defeat of Jourdan was so complete, that the idea of any co-operation from him was relinquished, and Moreau was compelled to concentrate his forces in order to guard against new dangers, for which, as he had never calculated, he had never provided.

In order to make a more effectual diversion for the army of the Sambre and Meuse, he had dispatched a considerable body from his main forces towards Nuremberg, in order to fall on the rear of the Archduke's army, and cut off his communications and supplies. The main army was proposed to be stationed at Neuburg on the Danube, in order to prevent the advance of the imperialists, whom he left on the banks of the Ihm. The

Austrian general, however, aware of this movement, immediately sent off a considerable division across the Danube, while the forces which kept the passes of the Tyrol mountains advanced to annoy the rear of the French army. The attempt made by the detachment which had marched towards Nuremberg, therefore, did not succeed, as the Archduke had given orders that the line of communication should be kept further to the North, by the route of Egra and Bamberg. Moreau, therefore, convinced that no assistance was likely to be received from the army under Jourdan, but perceiving, on the contrary, that the Archduke had detached a part of the forces under his command, together with portions of the garrisons of Manheim and Philipsburg towards his own line of communication with the Rhine, found it indispensably necessary for the safety of his army to begin a retreat.

CHAPTER IX.

Moreau's operations from his crossing the Rhine to the concentration of his forces for a retreat, philosophically considered. His military character discriminated from other generals.

BEFORE we accompany the army of the Rhine and Moselle in its retreat, let us consider its operations in a military point of view, from the passage of the Rhine until the present critical pos-

ture of the commander in chief; it will be also necessary to notice the troops detached from the main army that were left in the forts on the river.

The understanding starves on the trifling, minute and insipid details of the mere narrator. It is true that no ravin, no hillock escapes him; that every little rencontre, every petty skirmish is faithfully, prodigally and solemnly recorded by him. But the genius which sets the army in motion, and conducts it with so sure a hand; the sagacity which so nicely foresees the meditated blow of the enemy, and knows so well how to parry it; those striking traits which mark the comprehensive mind and discriminate the character of the commander in chief; these things are not even dreamed of in the philosophy of the scrupulous narrator of plain matter of fact.*

In the opening of the campaign of 1796, General Moreau displayed great genius and invention as well as courage. He began his operations with a kind of wit, or dexterous management of the mind. Nothing could be more natural than for the Austrians to suppose that attacks would be made first on what were, in reality, frontier towns of the empire, Mentz and Manheim. But Gene-

---

* The intelligent reader will perceive that, wherever a disquisition appears, or reflection is exercised (whether in a whole chapter or detached passages) it does not emanate from the French. Verbum sapienti.

TRANSLATOR.

ral Moreau, who had served and learned military lessons under Pichegrue, was not afraid to advance, leaving those towns behind him. By the possession of provinces beyond them, he would cut them off from supplies and reinforcements from that quarter, and draw off the Austrians from the vicinity of the towns he left in his rear, for the protection of the parts threatened by a progressive movement. This mode of advancing into an enemy's country, without the previous reduction of fortified places in the way, the example of which was first set by Pichegrue, was considered a novelty in the theory and practice of war. It was certainly in a very different style from the war of sieges in the times of Villeroy, Villars and Marlborough; yet the movements of Moreau were not desultory, but well combined. In fact the military character of Moreau was different from that of the other French generals. There was less boldness and fire, but more talent, method and science in it.*

* If we reflect on the operations of the French, we discover no military science except in the campaigns of Pichegrue and Moreau. All their skill consists in attacking the Austrians on certain points, and, above all, in hanging on their flanks, and marching forward. They know how ticklish the Austrians are on the score of their flanks. This never fails to succeed; the Austrians are ever the dupes of these apparent designs on the side of the French to cut off their retreat.

The Archduke Charles, who was at the head of the imperial army, having crossed to the right of the Rhine, left a strong division of his forces in the Hunsdruck, the country lying on the left of the river, between Mentz on the north, and Manheim on the south. This division, together with the garrisons of those two places, was thought sufficient to watch and repel the motions of General Moreau.

But this active general was intent on a very different plan from that of annoying the Austrian division, or of forming the siege of either of those places. In order, however, to deceive them by such appearances as might facilitate his designs, he made a variety of motions, indicating an attack on several of their posts; and, while they were making arrangements to oppose him, he drew off, unperceived, almost the whole of his army, and, by an expeditious march, reached Strasburgh before the Austrians had discovered his real motions.

He had now attained the spot from whence he was to enter upon the execution of his project, which was to cross the Rhine, opposite this city, into Suabia, and to take the fort of Kehl; by being master of which, he would gain the command of a large extent of country in its proximity, and secure an entrance to the French into that circle.

He had contemplated to attempt a passage in different places, and, in order the more easily to effect his design, to take possession of some of the islands in that river: but most of these happened

to be overflowed, and the others were possessed by the Austrians, who were to be dislodged before he could make good his landing. To conceal his motions, he attacked them in the night of the 24th of June, in such force, and with so much resolution, that the Austrians were soon compelled to retire across the bridges communicating with the German side, without having time to destroy them. Over these the French passed to that side, but they had neither sufficient artillery nor cavalry to assist the infantry in case of an attack, which was every moment expected. In this critical situation General Moreau determined to march forward with the few pieces of cannon which he had seized upon the islands. With these he resolutely assaulted the fortress of Kehl, and carried it. This sudden and unexpected success greatly alarmed the Austrian army under the Archduke, the rear of which was thereby put into danger, while the front was exposed to the force under Jourdan; who, collecting the divisions that had retreated, was preparing to join Kleber, again advancing against the Austrians.

If, however, the genius of victory, which appeared in the dawn of this beautiful morning, suddenly vanished from the sight and left only clouds gathering over the horizon of Moreau's prospects, it was owing to the ascendancy of the fortune of war. The retreat of Jourdan was both totally unexpected, and happened at the very moment when Moreau was justified in the presumption that

he would co-operate with him. But the disorderly conduct of the army of the Sambre and Meuse placed that of the Rhine and Moselle in a very critical position; for all the conquests of Moreau were now become useless in consequence of the defection of Jourdan.

In this critical posture was General Moreau left without any other resources than what he could draw from his own courage and skill. And his comprehensive genius fraught with various ideas and stratagems of war, found means to repair this sudden reverse of fortune, and even to convert into a subject of immortal triumph what wore the aspect of an irremediable calamity. After having conducted his victorious troops from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Danube and Iser, and beaten his enemy in no less than five pitched battles, he was now constrained to commence a retreat; but which, so far from reflecting on him disgrace, has been justly the object of universal admiration, and will claim every regard from the remotest posterity.

CHAPTER X.

The obstinate defence of the French garrisons left upon the Rhine. Gallant resistance of the fort of Kehl.

THE Imperial troops which had defeated the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, over-ran also the Palatinate, advancing almost to the banks of

the Moselle on the one side, and spreading along the frontier of the French territory, on the other. General Bournonville had been ordered from Holland to replace Jourdan, and re-inforce the army of the Sambre and the Meuse with the divisions under his command. In addition to the post opposite Huningue, and the village of Kehl, the French kept possession on the right side of the Rhine, of the town of Neuwied, a few miles below the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein.

The Austrians were eager to possess themselves of this important place, which was the only point of communication the French held with the right side between Kehl and Dusseldorf. An increase of the river, from heavy falls of rain, had broken the bridge of communication, and all intercourse between the garrisons and the main army was cut off by the swell of the waters. The Austrians disposed themselves to take advantage of this accident. To divert the attention of the French from the attack which they meditated on Neuwied from the island, they crossed the Rhine in several places; for one side of the island still communicated with the fort, as the bridge was unbroken in that part; and from the main land, where their regular batteries were already established.

This expedition was planned for the capture of the whole garrison; but the French general, aware of the design of the Austrians, made his dispositions to receive them at the true point of attack,

and, after an obstinate conflict, repelled them with considerable loss.

On the second complementary day, at early dawn, the fort of Kehl was attacked by the Austrian troops, divided into three columns. The place was not prepared for an attack from the enemy; the works which had been begun after the passage of the Rhine, were not half finished. The assault from the Austrians was irresistible; they made themselves masters of the works, and drove the French into the town.

It was in the market place that General Sircé, having rallied the sixty eighth half brigade, disputed his ground with the besiegers. He was repulsed three times by superiority of numbers, and the galling fire of four pieces of cannon loaded with grape shot, which were turned against him from the fort. He, however, maintained with incredible gallantry the unequal conflict, and was the fourth time in the act of renewing the fight, when General Schawembourgh came up to his assistance from Strasburg; his men burning with impatience, and advancing to the sound of the *pas de charge*. The troops of both generals formed into close column, and marched up to the fort. The Austrians are repulsed, the cannon retaken, the fort is cleared, and the wounded, dying and dead are trodden under foot.

CHAPTER XI.

The retreat of the army of the Rhine and Moselle.

MILITARY men almost universally admit the difficulty of retreats, and acknowledge that the ill fortune of arms puts to the strongest test the character and talents of the general; but it seldom happens that to this tribute of praise and admiration they add that interest, which leads to an inquiry into the details of such an operation. The instruction which they might obtain from that source is always too much neglected; they wish to be informed of the smallest circumstances of the offensive operations that have been crowned with success; they follow with the crowd the car of the conqueror; they attach themselves more to the exertions and fortune of Hannibal, and to his bold genius, than to the slow and profoundly skilful manœuvres of the Dictator Fabius. In all ages the poet, the orator and historian have preferred celebrating those successes which by their brilliancy could irradiate their works, and taken care to fix them in the memory of mankind. There is scarcely any victory in ancient or modern wars whose details have not been so well preserved that they might serve as a test to commentaries and polemical discussions; but, if we except the immortal monument which Xenophon has left us of his retreat, at the head of ten thou-

sand Greeks, through Armenia and Paphlagonia, after the defeat and death of Cyrus at the battle of Cunaxa, there remains no other fragment of history solely consecrated to recal the remembrance of this branch of military tactics. In modern history we have no copy of this admirable model; and yet there have been even in our days celebrated retreats, the details of which deserve to be better known.

The present war, more than any of the preceding ones, affords such lessons, because the different results of the general attacks of the French, combined and executed at the same epoch, upon the various theatres, produce events more considerable and more extraordinary, successes unhoped for, and reverses unexpected. We have accordingly seen armies at one time rapidly invading countries into which it was not probable they would attempt to penetrate; and at another losing suddenly their supports and the strength which they derived from the general position, and finding themselves isolated at great distances.

Of modern retreats, however, there is none that will bear comparison with that of Moreau from the frontiers of Bavaria, and the states of the house of Austria upon the Rhine. It affords a subject of study worthy of those officers who cultivate their art, and who, by their reflections, as much as by their experience in war, labor to extend and fix its theory.

It is our object, therefore, to display fully the positions and principal actions, and note the directions of the columns, and the situation of the rallying points, in this part of the campaign of 1796. We will furnish an exact journal, in which the reader may follow all the movements of the different corps of troops, judge of the plans of the Austrian generals, and the skilful manœuvres of Moreau, whose forces, consisting only of 45,000 men, had to sustain the attack of an army much more numerous, and had also to fight their way through the defiles of the Black Forest, which was already occupied by the imperialists.

It has been the fashion among the German and French writers to compare Moreau's retreat to that of Xenophon among the ancients, and of Belleisle among the moderns; but it undoubtedly surpassed the latter, and more than equalled the former. Belleisle owed the lustre of his retreat to some marches which he stole upon the enemy, and Xenophon retreated with his Greeks through the territories of a slothful, effeminate and pusillanimous people; while Moreau traversed a country inhabited by one of the most warlike nations in the universe, and had to encounter also the physical obstacles of an inauspicious soil, rugged with rocks, and formidable with defiles; while neither Xenophon nor Belleisle, like him, *blended the laurels of victory with the cypress of retreat.*

Neither is the genius of the gallic nation made for retreating. A French general finds it more difficult to keep his army in spirits and order in a retreat than to lead them on with alacrity into the very mouth of the cannon. On the offensive, the French always act with courage, promptitude and vigor; but on the defensive, oftentimes with suspicion, inquietude and irresolution. It, therefore, demands more talents in a general to make an orderly retreat with a French army than to lead them to the storm of the strongest position.

The retreat it is now my lot to record, which has been equally the theme of admiration where the Seine glides its stream, and the Ohio rolls its floods. It comprehends a long and memorable series of marches and conflicts achieved by an army of forty-five thousand men under the conduct of one of the most accomplished generals of the age, who now enjoys the privacy of retirement on these shores, and has bidden a temporary farewell to all "the pride, pomp and glorious circumstance of war!" *

* In consulting the historic page we find an equal providence dispensed in the fates of every condition of humanity, and that prosperity and adversity happen to all. The truth of this observation, confirmed by the experience of every age, powerfully admonishes us not to covet the vain evanescent glory of this transitory scene, but centre our hopes in an everlasting life. What an insignificant creature is comparatively the most elevated of human beings. Greatness is a relative term. From

It is sincerely to be wished that General Moreau, who, while he transcends Xenophon in a military capacity, rivals him as a scholar, would transmit his prominent achievements to posterity with his own pen. But it is probable he may also resemble the eloquent Grecian in the time of developing his operations to the world; for Xenophon did not write his attic history till twenty years after the event it commemorates; posterior to the battle of Chæronea, and when he had retired to Scillus.*

When every disposition was made for a retrogade movement, Moreau addressed his men: "Soldiers," said he, "I perceive with satisfac- "tion that the lively confidence you repose in "your general makes you cheerful at an impend- "ing movement which a young army crowned "with laurels would willingly avert. The mea- "sures I am constrained to pursue ought not to "depress you. They will not deprive you of op-

---

a rational point of view, a monarch on his throne and a general on his charger, are objects of pity; a bare bodkin, the prick of a pin, would quell the mounting spirit of either. Nor would their loss interrupt the least physical law, or be f lt by mankind; the flowers would still bloom, and the fruits ripen, and instead of creating mourners, they would serve to point a moral, or adorn a tale.

* Bibl. lib. vi. Burnetti Dissert. Spelman, vol. 1. page 215.

" portunities to display that energy and valor, " which are your distinguishing qualities. Our " conflicts will yet be frequent, and my know- " ledge of you warrants the assurance that they " will recoil on the assailants. With the cypress " of retreat shall be entwined the laurels of vic- " tory; for I persuade myself, that when I give " the signal for battle, I shall also give the signal " for conquest."

Before, however, we commence a retreat, it will be proper to exhibit the respective positions of the two armies at this grand æra in the military annals of our general. The least fact relative to their order of battle is of importance; it may be read with advantage by all commanders.

The first division of the right wing was divided into two brigades, of which one was before Bregeuz, and the other at Kempten; having opposed to it the corps of General Wolff and Saint Julien: that of General Frœlich was at the foot of the mountains of Tyrol, towards the sources of the Iser.

The advanced guard of the second division of the right wing was at Munich, opposed to the corps of Condé, which was on the other side of the Iser.

The remainder of the right wing was at Freysingen and Mosbourg.

The line of battle, composed of the centre; the left wing and the body of reserve, occupied the position of Grisenfield and that before the Tete

De Pont at Ingolstadt; the advanced guards were at Mainsbourg and Neustadt.

The Austrian line of battle, under General Latour, was divided between him, General Mercantin and Deway, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Landshut, which the Iser passes in its course.

The division of Neuendorf, arrived from before the Sambre and Meuse, covered Ratisbon. It was posted at Abensberg.

Such was the position of the two armies. We proceed now to detail their operations.

The 24th of Fructidor, General Dessaix advanced towards Nuremburg, in order to annoy the flanks of Prince Charles.

In the night of the 25th, he marched to Neubourg, where he passed the Danube and directed his march by the route of Aichstett.

The same night the army quitted its position at Geinsenfield to return to Neubourg.

The corps of Ferino quitted at the same time the borders of the Iser, and took a position before Friedberg, in order to cover the bridges of the Lech.

The 26th, the corps of General Dessaix passed by Aichstett, and sent forward a detachment. This day, and that of the 27th, were employed in taking a new position with the army beind Unterstadt; a corps was left before Neubourg, and the advanced posts were stationed at Pættmés.

The 28th, the enemy began a march in a thick fog, and unexpectedly attacked the troops that were left to cover Neubourg, before they were in a state to maintain their position. Notwithstanding the lively resistance of the French, they were giving ground to superior numbers, when the arrival of the infantry from the division of Duhesme, made them return to the combat. They were, however, constrained at length to take a retrogade movement; but they retreated without loss.

The Austrian cavalry, in retiring along the wood of Weshering, which is bounded by a morass, were attacked by a body of French light dragoons, who, though repulsed at first, returned to the charge, and succeeded in defeating their enemy with great slaughter.*

A half battalion of light infantry, and two incomplete squadrons of hussars, stationed at Pættmés as an advanced guard, were attacked by Condé's corps. Compelled to cede to this nume-

* It was once observed in conversation, without reserve, by General Angereau, that "French troops were the *best* in "Europe for *attack* and the *worst* for *defence*. That there "was no enterprize, however hazardous, that they would "not readily attempt as assailants, returning again and again "to the charge when repulsed; and yet, that nothing could "induce them to remain firm, like Austrian and British sol"diers when attacked."

TRANSLATOR.

rous body which had received new reinforcements, they abandoned Pættmés, and retired to Pruck.

General Dessaix, whose expedition had been undertaken too late to intercept the convoys of Prince Charles, and who was also in danger of being cut off, was ordered to take a retrogade movement, and regain the army.

The 29th, the centre and a part of the left wing repassed the Danube, and took a position between Bornfield and Neubourg. They attacked the enemy in the woods of Zell and Pruck, and pushed on towards Weihering.

The 30th, the corps of Dessaix* having repassed the Danube, the whole of the army found itself on the right bank of the river.

The first complimentary day, the enemy were driven from Pættmes, and compelled to retire to Portenau, behind the morasses.

The 10th, Moreau directed his left wing towards the Paar; his advanced guards pushed those of the Austrian army to Schrobenhausen; they were much discomfited in the conflict, having a hun-

* Buonaparte at an early period of his campaigns, entertained a high opinion of Dessaix, and behaved to him with great distinction. When he reached the army of Italy, Buonaparte affixed to the orders of the day: "The general in "chief informs the army of Italy, that General Dessaix is ar- "rived from the army of the Rhine, and is going to visit "the places where the French have gained such immortal "glory."

dred rank and file made prisoners. Moreau advanced his right wing towards Munich.

Without any auxiliary support, and having all his communications cut off, Moreau continued his retreat, thus taking a closer and more compact position from whence he could detach troops to cover his rear, and profit by every opportunity to advance. His army made a movement to take the position of the Iller, having his right towards the Lake of Constance, and his left at Ulm. With this design, Moreau detached four battalions and two regiments of cavalry towards Ulm, in order to cover that place, as well as the bridges of the Danube. The situation of this detachment was critical. Notwithstanding a forced march, it gained but a short distance when the formidable division of Nauendorff appeared; who had marched along the left bank of the Danube, and could he have passed the river before, would have come upon the rear of the French.

Moreau having made his dispositions for crossing the Lech, succeeded in getting over his army the third complimentary day*. Every precaution was taken, that no corps should be forgotten. Some feints made upon different positions had deceived General Latour, who prepared to receive an attack by taking a retrogade movement, which,

* September 19, (1796.)

by enabling Moreau to gain a march upon him, facilitated his projected operation.

Moreau's right wing and centre repassed the Lech, by the two bridges at Ausbourg; the left wing crossed the Rain, and the advanced guards took a position the same day before the river.

The 4th complimentary day, the army retired behind Schmutter, and the left wing posted itself behind Zusam, at Wertengen. The division of general Nauendorf pursued along the left bank of the Danube; his advanced guards arrived at Nordlingin and Donawert.

The 5th, the army took a position behind Mindelheim, the right at Kemlat, the left at Burgau, the advanced guards towards Zusam.

The first of Vendemaire* (year 5) it took a position behind Guntzberg, the right at Watenweiller, and the left at Bubesheim, before Laipheim.

The 3d, the army arrived on the Iller.

The corps of General Ferino remained at Memmingen.

The corps of Saint Cyr passed the Iller on the bridge of Illerdissen and Kerchberg.

The left wing, commanded by Dessaix, arrived at Ulm, and passed the Danube at that place. It took a position upon the heights at the back of Blau; the right covered by the river, the left by Klingenstem.

---

* Sept. 22 (1796.)

Moreau's object was to regain the Rhine with all possible expedition. There was no time to be lost. The Archduke Charles was manœuvring in the rear of his army; and the division of Nauendorf was advancing with forced marches to effect a junction with a corps commanded by General Petrasch. It was while the army kept its position at Ulm, that Moreau, riding along the front of his line, harangued a second time his troops. "You are now, soldiers," said he, "at the Danube, and have filled the enemy with awe in "the act of retreating. However multiplied your "manœuvres, rapid your movements, and toilsome your marches, you have discovered no "symptoms of weariness or disgust. Persevere in "this spirit, and I will soon bring you back within the lines of general defence. But I need not "desire, conjure or exhort you to the performance of a duty, which, I persuade myself, will "be voluntary. Fatigues are converted into "pleasures by the talisman of patriotism. The "eyes of all France and of all Europe are turned "towards your present operation, and all are interested in its *denouement*, as its success, or "failure, will irrevocably decide your fame. "But, for my part, I am under no solicitude about "the result. I know you to be soldiers, and you "have still left, your arms and your valor."

The 8th, the army was again in motion, and arrived behind Federsée. The corps of Ferino

and two brigades that had re-joined him at Zeil, extended to the heights of Schuzzen.

The centre halted near Steinhausen.

The left wing drew off, by the left bank of the Danube, towards Elingen, where it re-passed the river; it was the last body that abandoned Ulm, which was vigorously cannonaded by the enemy in the night: this wing took a position between Lake Federsée and the Danube.

Moreau's line of battle, however well disposed in all parts, however condensed and consolidated, was very formidably opposed. His centre had to sustain Latour; his right wing was menaced by Condé; Nauendorff, marching along the left bank of the Danube, directed all his energies against his left wing, in order to turn it. Petrasch, with ten thousand men, occupied the defiles of the Black Mountains, and the Archduke was advancing with rapid marches, at the head of a strong column which he had collected on the Lower Rhine, to possess himself of Kehl, and the *tete de pont* at Huningue.

The 9th, General Latour pushed his advanced guard, by Steinhausen, to Schussenried, where he made a vigorous attack, and was obstinately resisted. Saint Cyr sustained his advanced guard with the corps under his command, and the action became general on both sides through the whole line. Dessaix on the right wing, and Ferino on the left, performed prodigies of valor;

the enemy were repulsed in every point of their line, their slaughter was great, and a hundred were made prisoners.*

However Moreau had hitherto found it necessary to preserve the moderation of his troops, he now found an occasion to indulge them in their impetuosity at attack. Hung upon in every direction, he could not hope to force the passages of the defiles of the Black Forest, without extricating himself from General Latour, by giving him a partial defeat. His sole dependence on the

---

* It is laughable to hear the retreats of Moreau and Xenophon compared. They bear no resemblance for skilful manœuvres, rapid marches, and vigorous conflicts. Xenophon is eternally haranguing his drivelling ten thousand, and seems equally as ambitious of the reputation of a rhetorician, as that of a general. Moreau, disdaining the unsoldierly arts of a declaimer, delights in action. Xenophon is everlastingly holding a council, how to proceed, with Cheirisophus, Timasion and Philysius; Moreau, possessing sufficient resources in his own knowledge, only issues his orders to Saint Cyr, Ferino and Dessaix. What were the centrites compared to the defiles of the Black Forest? In the name of drums, and guns, and wounds! let not Xenophon and his boy-bawlers of *thalatta! thalatta!* be named again in the same breath with Moreau and his invincible troops. Let the Greek be the manual of professors, who admire sweetness of diction; but Moreau the idol of tacticians, who know how to appreciate a retreat, maintained amidst an uninterrupted succession of engagements; where the marches were continual manœuvres, and the manœuvres simultaneous shocks and charges.

TRANSLATOR.

success of an attack was built upon the consolidated posture of his army; he contemplated to beat the whole of the enemy in succession, and detail.

The first division of the enemy, whom he determined on attacking, was that of Nauendorff, who having made forced marches in advance to cut off the passes of the vallies of Kintzig and Renchen, had detached himself too far from Latour to receive any succour from that general. This attack on Nauendorff was to be the prelude of a general action; he resolved to engage the whole army of Latour in every point of his line.

The 11th of Vendemaire* was the day that witnessed the battle of Biberach; it began with the rising splendor of the sun. Moreau's principal attack was made against an Austrian division on the road from Reichenbach to Biberach; a column directed its energies at the enemy on the right of Schoussenvied, and another charge was made upon Oggeltshausen. The action became general through the whole of the lines of both armies, and was contested with mutual courage, vigor and perseverance. Moreau was to be seen in the hottest of the fight, animating his men by his presence and his speech; "Remember soldiers," said he, "the signal for combat is the signal for victory!"

---

* October 3, (1796).

A troop falling back, he rallied them himself, leading the men on in person. A little afterwards his horse was shot under him, when Savary, his *aid-de-camp*, immediately dismounting, presented him his, and mixed with the infantry. Dessaix, Saint Cyr, Ferino, Abattuci, Montrichard, &c. seemed to catch new enthusiasm from the signal exertions of their chief; they fought with the firmness of veterans, and the vivacity of youths. At length victory, which had been for some time doubtful, declared in favor of the French, when the *armes blanches* were called into action.* The Austrian line, when it came to the charge, could not sustain the fixed bayonets of the French; Latour's ranks were broken, and the retreat was sounded. His confusion was apparent, and a detachment from Moreau, following up the victory, the whole of his army would have been probably destroyed, had not Condé and his corps of emigrants covered their retreat. Five thousand prisoners, eighteen pieces of cannon, and two stand of colors were the fruits of this brilliant affair.

The victory of Biberach, however advantageous, was not sufficient to relieve Moreau from so-

---

* At the *arme blanche* (I use the French language which has appropriated to itself the privilege of dictating military terms) or the sword, or bayonet, the imperialists have always found the French irresistible.

TRANSLATOR.

licitude for the fate of his gallant army. Nauendorff had succeeded in reaching Rotweil, where he was rejoined by Petrasch; their divisions united, formed an army of twenty-five thousand men, occupying Rotweil, Villingen, Doneschingen and Neustadt; while the *villes forestières* were defended by Austrian troops, and an armed peasantry.

Notwithstanding the defeat of Latour, as all communication between the army of the Rhine was intercepted, it was necessary to give battle more than once again, in order to open the roads through the *villes forestières*,* and force the defiles of the Black Forest.

After the battle of Riberach, Moreau left no more of his army before Latour than what was necessary to keep him in check. He passed over the Danube, at Riedlingen, a great part of his force, who were destined to march against the division of Nauendorff, near Rotweil and Villingen.

The 14th of Vendemaire, the advanced guard of this portion of the army encountered the advanced posts of the enemy, whom they repulsed; they

* The *villes forestieres*, or forest towns, are four towns of Suabia, lying along the Rhine, and the confines of Switzerland, at the entrance of the Black Forest. Their names are Waldschut, Lauffenburg, Sockingen, and Rheinfelden; they are subject to the house of Austria.

TRANSLATOR.

arrived the eighteenth at Rothenmunster. An obstinate conflict took place between the detachments of the two armies, which terminated in the defeat of Nautendorff, who was driven beyond Rotweil, with the loss of many of his infantry and cavalry, and obliged to abandon the strong position he had taken.

During this affair, another corps of Moreau's army ascended the valley of Bregue, turned the post of Petrasch at Villingen, took two pieces of cannon, and made a hundred prisoners from a squadron of horse.*

Moreau finding he could not regain Kehl by the vallies of Renchen and Kintzig, which were strongly occupied by the numerous forces of the imperialists, had no alternative left but to retreat through the narrow vallies that bound Fribourg, and the passes of the villes forestieres.

He accordingly pursued his march, by Moskirch and Pfullendorff, towards Stockach and Friedingen, where he took a position with his army.

While Moreau occupied this post, he detached a half brigade to open the roads of the forest towns, and escort to Huningue his grand convoy

---

* *Escadron* was first used by Froissard, to express a body of cavalry in order of battle. At present it means a body of horse, from one hundred to two hundred, drawn up always three deep.

TRANSLATOR.

of ammunition and baggage. The detachment succeeded in their object, surmounting all obstacles that opposed them; while Moreau continued his retreat with the main body, taking the route by Doneschingen.

Having opened a communication with the forest towns, Moreau next directed his energies to force the Valley of Hell; the most formidable defile of the Black Forest between Neustadt and Fribourg. In the tract of country now before his army, nature exhibited some of her boldest and most august features. The *coup d'œil* of the general and the intelligent of his forces, could not but be sensibly awakened by the grand scene presented to them; where every river and cataract, every rock, mountain and precipice, were respectively distinguished from each other by an infinite diversity of modifications, and by all the possible forms of grandeur or magnificence, of sublimity, or horror.

Through the Valley of Hell, for many leagues, the mountains rise so boldly, that scarcely a space is left between them for fifty men to march in front. It was through this defile that the audacious Villars refused to pass, when urged by the Elector of Bavaria to come to his assistance. Villars returned answer to his letter, "*Cette Vallée de Neustadt, que vous me proposez, c'est ce chemin qu'on appelle le Val-d'enfer; hé bien, que votre Altesse me pardonne l'expression, je ne suis pas diable pour y passer.*" "*This valley*

" of Neustadt which you propose to me is the road " that is called the Valley of Hell; I hope your " Highness will pardon me when I observe that " I am not devil enough to attempt to pass it."

To force this defile, Moreau destined the centre of his army. He advanced his centre from the line, and joined the right and left wing of his army in the order of battle, to hold in check the detachments led on by Latour, Nauendorff and Petrasch.

The 20th of Vendemaire was the memorable day in the military annals of his country, when Moreau led on in person his centre against the immense regular Austrian forces, and vast bodies of armed peasantry, that guarded the pass of the Valley of Hell. No attack could be more resolute than that of Moreau; he was sensible that his glory depended on the success of this day: he, therefore, stimulated the natural impetuosity of his troops by his example, determined to force the pass, or perish with his troops in the attempt. His men, who, under their general, were willing to attempt any thing, gallantly followed him to the defile, galled by an incessant fire from the Austrian regulars, and annoyed by the ferocious pesantry, who rolled down huge stones on the assailants from the summits of almost perpendicular rocks. Moreau's troops, formed into close columns, advanced on a *pas de charge* to the assault, amidst the shouts of *Vive la Republique!* of the first rush of assailants great numbers were

About two years before, one of the regiments of artillery revolted in battle. Buonaparte in anger deprived them of their colors, and suspended them, covered with crape, among the captive banners of the enemy in the Hall of Victory.—The regiment had recovered the lost esteem of their General, and covered their shame with laurels, by desperate acts of valor, and this day was fixed upon for the restoration of their ensigns.

They were marched up under a guard of honor and presented to the First Consul, who took the black drapery from their staves, tore it in pieces, threw it on the ground, and drove his charger indignantly over it. He then restored the regenereted banners to the regiment, with a short and suitable address.

After this ceremony, the several regiments, preceded by their bands of music, marched before him, in open order, and dropped their colors as they passed. The flying artillery and cavalry left the parade in full gallop, and made a terrific noise upon the pavement of the Place de Carousel.

Upon his return to the court-yard, he was several times stopped by females, who approached extremely close, spoke to him, and presented petitions. These he gave to his Adjutant.

On coming back, the Turkish Ambassador presented him with two horses, in the name of the Grand Seignior, superbly caparisoned from head to foot, and almost entirely covered with gold and

pearls. They were very spirited animals, for two Turks having mounted them to ride about, one was immediately thrown; but he seemed to be used to it, for he instantly got up, and at one leap was again in the saddle.

Buonaparte, who meanwhile, with an air of *nonchalance*, frequently took snuff out of a very plain tortoise-shell box, did not deign to notice the present. He only now and then cast an indifferent look towards them. He seemed to be totally occupied with some fresh troops, whom he caused to perform successive manœuvres.

At this period the people of the two empires, whose shores almost touch, and, if ancient tales be true, were once unsevered again meditated war, before they had taken time to recline at length under the shade of their respective vines.

The First Consul received and treated the English Ambassador, after having delayed his first audience for three weeks, with the most striking coolness. At a public audience he said to him: *Les Anglais ne respectent pas les traités; il faut les couvrir de crepe noir:* "*The English do not respect treaties; they should be covered with black drapery.*" Buonaparte wanted Malta delivered up; the English would not relinquish its possession till it was guaranteed by some other power.

He may have believed the proud islanders sufficiently humbled by the disadvantageous and

dishonorable terms of the peace he had compelled them to embrace; and, favored as he had been by so many unexpected circumstances, he imagined that he might shew to their Ambassador and to them his contempt and hatred.

But these *humbled* islanders, to whom nothing under heaven is so sacred as English laws and English liberty, put their wooden walls well manned in motion, and declared themselves again his foe.

"A war with this haughty chief," said they, "is unavoidable; we must indemnify ourselves for the disadvantageous peace which we have made: and we had better decide on it now, than ten years hence, when, perhaps, the enemy may have accomplished all his hostile preparations, so openly carried on: better now, than when the nation is betrayed into false security, and dangerous slumber, by deceitful promises, and treacherous allurements. We are still possessed of that rock, on which he in future might rest, with his face towards Asia and Africa, musing on his grand projects against us, and all Europe. Let the proud boaster try whether we are not able to cope with him."*

* If in this volume I have reduced a variety of events into a portable system, and collected a number of scattered rays into one focus; I have procured my materials chiefly through the medium of the French and English Circulating Library in Pearl-street, which I congratulate the city of New-York upon as an inexhaustible source of rational instruction, and elegant delight. J. D.

CHAPTER XXII.

GENERAL Moreau retires to his estate at Gros Bois. Pichegrue escapes from Cayenne to England. The Abbe David effects an accommodation between the two generals. The necessitous state of the ex-general Lajolais. His intrigues and plots. He procures a letter of introduction from Pichegrue to Moreau. He goes to England. Character of Georges. By misrepresentation of the internal state of France Lajolais prevails on Pichegrue and the Royalists to go to Paris and attempt to restore the Bourbons to the throne. Pichegrue, Georges, and other Royalists, arrested, and General Moreau implicated in their conspiracy. Pichegrue is found dead in his prison. Buonaparte is declared Emperor. Trial of the Conspirators. Dignified speech of General Moreau to the judges. Lajolais and others pardoned. Georges and eleven more executed. General Moreau retreats into honorable exile.

GENERAL Moreau, after having defeated the numerous armies of the enemy, and dictated the terms of peace for his country at the gates of their capital, withdrew to the shades of domestic obscurity.

When in 1801 Barras* was sent into exile at

---

* Those who took an active part in the horrors of the Revolution, are not persecuted but forgotten; nay, nobody even bears them any animosity. Barras is living at Brussels among many persons whom he has injured, and yet they live with him in amicable intercourse.

narrator of matter of fact, and even embraced his superfluity of detail. There cannot be a more instructive lesson than the examination and impartial discussion of retreats, whether successful or unsuccessful. We, for instance, should read with profit and interest a critical history of the retreat of Prague, from the epoch in which the defection of the King of Prussia (the price of the cession of Silesia) occasioned the French army to be overpowered, and surrounded by forces more than triple their number, in the intrenched camp at Prague, in the month of June, 1742, and down to the second of January in the following year. This latter date was that of the junction which was effected at Egra, between Chevert's rear guard and the army which the two Marshals Belleisle and Broglio had conducted thither from Prague, by the most toilsome marches and the most judicious manœuvres.

In contrast to this, may be brought the event of a celebrated reverse, which, almost upon the same theatre was so fatal to Frederick II. the greatest general of his age; namely, the retreat of the prince of Prussia, the king's brother, after the loss of the battle of Kollin, and the raising of the siege of Prague.

Let it be repeated that the tradition of misfortunes, although the most profitable of all others, is too easily forgotten. The particulars of this disastrous retreat of the Prussians in 1757, are but little known, although some writers have not fail-

ed to disclose the faults which the king committed after the battle. It is asserted, that nobody durst even mention it in his life-time; so much did he take this check to heart. He never forgave his brother for it, who, overwhelmed by this disgrace, died of grief the following year.

Although the armies of the first coalition were not placed in the critical situations of their successors, their retrograde movements on this side of and beyond the Rhine, in the campaigns of 1792 and 1794, would occasion very instructive observations.

After having drawn the picture of the two campaigns, we might compare the retreats of the Austrian army by which they were terminated, the first before Dumourier, after his victory of Jemappe, and the second before Pichegrue and Jourdan, after the affair of Fleurus.

Both of these were the consequence of battles lost in a flat country; but there was this difference, that, in the first retreat, the fortress of Mæstricht having been preserved, the Austrians had time to reinforce themselves behind the Roer, and to seize the favourable moment of re-entering Belgium. In the second retreat, on the contrary, the separation of the English and Dutch army from the imperial army, the forsaken situation of the places conquered, and the reduction of Mæstricht, irrevocably determined the evacuation of the Low Countries, together with all the terri-

tory comprehended between the Meuse and the Rhine, and opened Holland to the French.

In these retrograde marches the imperialists disputed the ground inch by inch, always fighting and manœuvring, without the capital faults committed by some of their generals (faults always known and criticised by the soldier) without the ill success, or the rapidity of the movements, producing either disgust or confusion among those excellent troops.

Macdonald, in his retreat from Naples to Genoa, was critically situated; he was under the necessity of proceeding along the coast of Italy, and thereby exposed his flank to a superior enemy. But no retreat, whether modern or ancient, will bear comparison with that of Moreau, which even contemporary jealousy, envy and malignity are obliged to admire; and let the reader bear in mind what I am now going to observe, and what will constitute his apotheosis in the moral feelings of the honourable that, *Moreau, who might have opened for himself an outlet through Switzerland, was not less restricted by respect for the alliance and neutrality of the Helvetic cantons, than if the right bank of the Rhine, from Constance to Basle, had been the shore of the Mediterranean!*

CHAPTER XIII.

Siege of Kehl. Signal gallantry of Dessaix. Moreau's Billet to the Minister of War announcing the surrender of the fort. Reflections on the Campaign.

AFTER the eager but ineffectual efforts of Latour, Dauendorff, and Petrasch, together with the formidable reinforcement of the Archduke at the head of a large army, to cut off the retreat of Moreau, they turned their attention to the fortress of Kehl, and the redoubt on the bank of the river opposite Huninguen: this redoubt, against which the whole of the imperial army directed their attack, had been thrown up by Moreau after he had effected his passage across the Rhine, on the retreat of Prince Charles before his army into Germany.

When Moreau had made his retreat back to Huninguen, the French still kept possession of this redoubt on the German side; and a mutual cannonade had been kept up, at long intervals, between this fort and the Austrian batteries, without effect. At length the Austrians succeeded in breaking the bridge of boats, so that an island in the Rhine, where a battery traced formerly by Vauban had been lately compleated, was the only point of communication. The defence of these works were entrusted to General Abattucci, who

refused the repeated summons made by the Prince of Furstenberg to surrender.

The Austrians having opened all their batteries on these works for several hours, but without effect, attempted, under favor of a dark night, to take the island by surprize. The commander of this expedition, having selected eighteen hundred men, succeeded at first in gaining possession of the island; but the French, recovering from their disorder, made such a spirited resistance, that the imperialists were repulsed with considerable loss. The Austrian commander was killed on the spot.

In the mean time Prince Charles having assembled his forces against the fort of Kehl, and having found means, from the construction of the advanced works, and other local advantages, to establish mortar batteries within a favourable distance, began to bombard it.

Finding that General Dessaix was resolved to defend it with vigor, he determined to make a regular siege, and, after having drawn a line of circumvallation, opened his trenches, and began a cannonade, which lasted without intermission fifteen days, during which time the Austrians were repulsed with considerable loss, in the various attempts which they made on the fortress, and the islands that commanded the bridge of communi cation.

The obstinate resistance of Dessaix, and the severity of the weather, had relaxed the operations of the Archduke for some time. On Christmas day he renewed the attack, and in order to make the defence of the place a task of greater danger and difficulty, he destroyed again the communication with Strasburg, by breaking the bridge, and rendering the boats useless.

Having finished the second parallel, the Austrians attacked and carried the French camp, together with the battery called the Wolf-hole, which protected it.

The French, driven into the fort, were rallied by General Lacombe, who led them on against the Austrians, having first made the retreat of his troops impossible by destroying the bridges which they passed in rallying from the fort: he repulsed the assailants with great slaughter.

A few days after the imperialists returned to the charge with redoubled fury, and again carried the camp, together with a redoubt. This redoubt was attacked by Dessaix, leading his men on in person; the Austrians defended it with valor, but, after a bloody contest, it was retaken by the French General.

The cannonade now redoubled on each side; the fort of Kehl, in a few days, was reduced nearly to a heap of ruins, and the Austrians, in another attack upon the camp, carried and retained possession of it.

Dessaix was now overwhelmed by the artillery of Prince Charles, who had planted his cannon in their very batteries; all communications with the opposite bank were totally cut off, and no reinforcements could be thrown in; the pallisades were battered down, and the ditches filled up by the falling in of the parapets; to hold out any longer was wantonly to expose the troops and artillery, whose retreat was impossible. Thus situated, after fifty days from the opening of the trenches, and a hundred and fifteen days siege, a capitulation was proposed by General Dessaix, who waited in person on Prince Charles.

The conditions demanded by Dessaix were not agreeable to the Archduke. "I cannot," said he, "consent to your terms." "I can agree to no "alteration," said Dessaix. "If your highness "persist in your refusal, I shall make use of my "last resource." "What resource have you "left," said the Prince—"My powder," replied Dessaix. "Rather than submit to a dishonorable capitulation, I will blow up the camp, "and both armies shall perish together in the explosion!"

The Archduke, however valiant in fight, was not of a temper to relish the idea of being torn piece-meal by powder, and having his limbs scattered in the air. He signed the capitulation, than which nothing could be more honorable to the French arms.

" 1. The French troops shall be allowed 24 " hours for the evacuation of the fortress of Kehl.

" 2. They shall transport to the other side of " the Rhine the remainder of the stores and ar- " tillery which have been employed by them in " the resistance the fortress has made.

" 3. They shall march out with drums beating, " and colors flying."

A busy scene ensued; every soldier went to work. The cannoniers were to be seen transporting their heavy pieces across the river, some carried off the bombs, some the howitzers, others the powder and shot. " We will not leave you " a single shot," said a republican grenadier to the Austrian soldiers. " No," exclaimed another, " Not a single nail." " Brave!" cried the Austrian soldiers. " *Let there be honorable men-* " *tion made of this in the Bulletin !*"

In the morning of the 21st of Nivose, the French troops marched out under arms, headed by the brave Dessaix, evacuating Kehl to the Austrians, covered with the ruins of their fort. They passed the Rhine under arms, drums beating, matches lighted, and colors flying; while echo from the banks of the river multiplied the sounds of *Vive la Republique!*

Thus terminated the siege of Kehl, whose glorious resistance claims one of the proudest pages in the military history of France. What Moreau thought of the evacuation may be learned from

the following notice; he announced the event as if it had been a victory rather than a defeat.

General Moreau to the Minister at War. "*Citizen Minister*, 21*st Nivose*,* 1797.

"*I have only time to say, that Kehl will be evacuated this day at four o'clock. We carry away every thing, even the palisades and the enemy's bullets.*

MOREAU."

The siege of Kehl cost the Emperor 15000 men, killed within the lines of circumvallation; and I hope I shall not violate the dignity of the historic page in observing, that the Archduke, while he sat down before the fortress, expended 9500 shot of every calibre, 3000 boxes of canister, and 30000 bombs!

The advantages gained by the Austrians in the capture of this fort, were greatly counterbalanced by the delay it occasioned, and the losses they sustained. The French at that advanced season could have made no hostile incursion into Germany, not having the means of accomplishing any important object; and a slight army of observation would have been sufficient to have kept them within the lines of their fortress.

The resistance, on the contrary, which they made, was attended with benefits equal to almost

* January 10.

any of their most brilliant victories. By the defence of this fort and that of Huninguen, the imperial army on the Upper Rhine had been kept in a state of continual motion; their troops had been harassed, their regiments thinned, and the stores of Mentz, Manheim and Phillipsburg, totally exhausted. But of still greater importance was the protracted employment of the Austrian troops in that quarter. It counteracted the plan formed by the Archduke of pushing his conquests on the left side of the Rhine, which, on his victorious return from the centre of Germany, he might have found an operation of no difficult achievement. Yet what is still an object of greater consideration, the resistance made by the French prevented him from sending off the necessary reinforcements to General Alvinzi, who commanded the Austrian army in the Tyrol, and who was now collecting forces from every quarter, with redoubled activity, to attempt once more the deliverance of General Wurmser, still shut up in Mantua by Buonaparte, and effect the expulsion of the French from Italy.*

By the surrender of Kehl, the campaign of 1796 was concluded on the Rhine, as the fate of the *tete de pont* of Huninguen was determined by

---

* See Buonaparte's Campaigns in Italy, translated from the French by the Translator of this Volume, and published at New-York in 1798.

that of this fortress; a campaign which had effected, in the space of a few months, more than has been before achieved during the continuance of the longest war; which had shaken Europe to its foundations, had made it one vast theatre of carnage, and stained with blood every river, from the frontiers of Holland to the Adriatic gulph.

CHAPTER XIV.

An illustration of the *coup d'œil* of war, possessed by Moreau, to a great and consummate degree.

ON closing this account of the campaign of the army of the Rhine and Moselle, it will, I think, occur to every reader capable of exercising military reflection, that Moreau extricated himself from his trying embarrassments not more by his skill in tactics, than his felicity of *coup d'œil*. As it is our object in this volume to combine instruction with amusement, it will not be foreign to our purpose to define the *coup d'œil* of war. In discussing, however, this talent, we make no pretensions of our own; but have recourse to the writings of an accomplished general, whose essay on this subject may be considered a *chef d'œuvre*.

"The military *coup d'œil* is the art of knowing the nature and different situations of the country

squadrons are obliged to take in consequence of rivulets, ravines, and defiles, which force them to close or extend themselves. In general, it appears, that Philopœmen had a very strong passion for arms; that he embraced war as a profession that gave greater play to his virtues; in a word, he despised all those as idle and useless members of the community, who did not apply themselves to it."

"These, in abridgement, are the most excellent precepts that can be given to a prince, the general of an army, and every officer who wishes to arrive at the highest degrees of military rank. This is the only method; and, as the translator has very judiciously observed, renders the putting the precepts into practice, on occasion, more easy than by studying the plans on paper. Plutarch accuses, and even severely censures Philopœmen for having carried his passion for arms beyond the bounds of moderation. Mons. Dacier does not fail to chime in with him; but, both the one and the other, without well knowing what they say, have, passed an unfair judgment on this great captain; as if the science of war was not immense, and did not comprehend all others in its vortex; and as if, to acquire a perfect knowledge of it, a long and laborious application was not necessary. Plutarch was no soldier; his translator less so: it escaped both the one and the other, that Philopœmen was as learned as the greatest part of the Grecian Generals, and that he applied himself to

the study of philosophy and history, so necessary for military men. Why, then, be offended that a man should apply and give himself entirely up to the study of the sciences which have a relation to his profession?—That of arms is not only most noble, but the most extensive and profound; consequently it demands the greatest application. What this great Captain did to acquire the *coup d'œil*, is extremely necessary and important for the command of armies, on which depend the glory and safety of the state.

"There is no doubt but that tactics, or the art of ranging armies in the order of battle, of encamping and fighting them, is a most royal attainment. What could be the reason that Hannibal ranked Pyrrhus king of the Epirots, before Scipio, and immediately after Alexander, although the latter was certainly the ablest man? It was, doubtless, because the first excelled all mankind in this great part of war, although Scipio did not yield to him in this point, as he made appear at the battle of Láma. Hannibal was less practised in this branch than the two others. Philopœmen saw that the study of tactics, and the treatises of Evangelus, were of no use to him, unles he joined to them the *coup d'œil*, so necessary to the general of an army.

"To attain this science, many things are necessary. Severe application to our profession is the basis; then a certain method is to be adopted:

Although that of this Grecian captain is good, I think I have improved upon it, or at least discovered that which the Greek author has omitted to teach us more particularly. We are not always at war, nor is it to be supposed that we can render ourselves able by experience alone, on which indeed the capacity of the greater part of military men in these ages is founded: it serves to perfect us, but is scarcely of any use unless the study of the principles accompany it; because, war being a science, it is impossible to make any progress without beginning with the study of the principles. Two ages of perpetual war would scarcely suffice to furnish lights for our conduct: from the experience of facts, this ought to be left to souls of an ordinary stamp, and more compendious methods be provided for great captains to mount to the summit of glory, without being indebted for it to the capacity of others, which is not always to be met with It is, then, necessary to study war before we engage in it, and to apply ourselves incessantly after we are engaged in it. I have before said, that we are not always at war; and I may add, that armies are not always drawn together in a body, or in motion. They are for six months at least quiet in winter quarters; and six months are not sufficient to form the *coup d'œil* of war. It is true, that a great deal more is to be learned in marches, in forages, and in the different camps and posts

which armies occupy: the ideas become more clear and capable to judge of, and reflect on the country we see; but this does not prevent us from making use of it, by the assistance of good sense, on other occasions than when in armies; or from refining our judgment and eye, either by hunting, or on our journeys.

" Nothing contributes more to form the *coup d'œil*, than the exercise of hunting; for, besides giving us a thorough knowledge of the country, and of the different situations, which are infinite, and never the same, it teaches us a thousand stratagems and other things relative to war. But the principle is the knowledge of the objects that form the *coup d'œil*, without our being sensible of it; and if we practice it with this intention, we may, with the addition of a very few reflections, acquire the greatest and most important qualification of a general of an army.

" The great Cyrus, in giving himself entirely up to hunting, in his younger years, had the pleasure of it less in view than the design of qualifying himself for war and the command of armies. Xenophon, who wrote his life, does not leave us in the least doubt on this head. He says, that this great man, on his preparing for war with the king of Armenia, reasoned upon this expedition as if the question had been of a party of hunting in a mountainous country. He explained himself thus to Chrysantes, one of his general officers, whom he had detached into the roughest

parts, and the most difficult vallies, in order to gain the entrances and issues, and to cut off all retreat to the enemy. " Imagine," says he, " that it is a chace we are engaged in, and that it is allotted to thee to watch at the toils, whilst I beat the country. Above all, remember not to begin the chace before all the passages are occupied, and that those who are placed in ambuscade be not seen, lest they should frighten the game. Take care not to engage thyself too far in the woods, from whence thou mightest find it difficult to extricate thyself; and command your guides, unless they could in deed shorten the distances, to conduct you by the best roads, which, with respect to armies, are always the shortest."

" Whether or not Xenophon, in his history of Cyrus, has run into romance in order to give us an abridgement of the military science treated historically, is a matter of no great importance, provided that all it contains relative to this science be just and solid. His intention is to convince us that hunting leads us to the knowledge of many things necessary to be known—that it is a becoming amusement, and extremely necessary to those who are either born to command or to obey; because it enures us to bear the fatigues of war, strengthens the constitution, and forms the *coup d'œil;* for an exact knowledge of a certain extent of country, facilitates that of others, if he but sees it in the slightest manner. It is impossible, although they are widely different, that there

should not be some conformity betwixt them; and the perfect knowledge of one (says Machiavel in his political discourses) leads to that of another. On the contrary, those who are not trained in this practice, have the greatest difficulty to acquire it; whilst the others, by a single glance of the eye, can ascertain the extent of a plain, the height of a mountain, the depth, breadth and termination of a valley, and all the circumstances of the nature of the different grounds to which they are accustomed by habit and experience. I do not believe that any other author, than this I have quoted, has treated of this matter. The remainder is excellent: I beg leave to transcribe it.

" Nothing is more true" continues he, " than what I here advance, if we may give credit to Titus Livius, and the example he presents to our eyes in the person of Publius Decius, who was Tribune in the Roman army, commanded by the Consul Cornelius, against the Samnites. It happened that this general suffered himself to be pushed into a valley, where the enemy might have pent him up. In this extremity, Decius says to the Consul, " Don't you perceive yonder eminence, which commands the enemy? This is the post that alone can extricate us, if we do not lose a single moment in making ourselves master of it, as the Samnites have been so blind as to abandon it." But before Decius addressed himself in this manner to the Consul, he had discovered, through the wood, a hill which commanded

the camp of the enemy; that it was steep, and of pretty difficult access for heavy armed troops, but practicable enough to the light infantry. That the Consul ordered the Tribune to take possession of it with three thousand men that he had consigned to him; which having happily executed, the whole army retreated in order to put themselves in a place of safety. That he ordered some few of his people to follow, whilst there was yet some remains of day-light, in order to discover the passes guarded by the enemy, and those by which a retreat might be made; and he went to reconnoitre, disguised in the habit of a common soldier, that the Samnites might not perceive that it was a general officer who was on the scout."

"If we reflect," continues Machiavel, "upon what Titus Livius here says, we shall see how necessary it is for a good General to be able to judge of the nature of a country; for if Decius had not possessed this talent, he would not have known how advantageous the possession of this hill must have been to the Romans; and he would have been incapable of discovering at a distance, whether it was of easy or difficult access. When, afterwards, he had made himself master of it, and when the point was to rejoin the consul, he would not have been able, at a distance, to discover which posts were guarded by the enemy, and those by which a retreat was practicable. Decius, therefore, must certainly have been very intelligent in these sort of matters; for otherwise he

could not have saved the Roman army by possessing himself of this hill, and afterwards extricated himself from the enemy, who had surrounded him."

The steadiness and method with which Moreau effected his retreat, was owing in no small degree to his happiness of *coup d'œil*. He judged rightly that by concentrating his army, he would be enabled to attack with superior force and to break through some point or other of the circle which was forming round him. Surrounded by a multitude of small corps, scattered over a great number of points, he saw that instead of facing them all at once, his situation demanded the adoption of a contrary disposition, and that he ought to retreat in a mass, and in very close order.

It cannot escape notice how he profited by the affair of Biberach. His victory having given him more facility of movement, he took advantage of it by leaving only his centre before the discomfited army of Latour, while with one division he opened the entrance of the *villes forestieres*, and with the rest of his forces passed over the Danube: by this last movement he covered his main body from Nauendorf and Petrasch, and was also enabled to force the passage of the Black Forest.*

* The Black Forest stretches from South to North, from the four forest towns, as far as Neuenburg, in the Duchy of Wurtemberg. It was anciently still more extensive. Cæsar

By these dispositions of Moreau, the centre of the French army, to which the artillery and all the baggage was entrusted, was covered on its right by the corps which was marching towards the forest towns; and on its left by the two divisions which had passed the Danube.* Thus did Moreau's army retreat, at this period, in three parts, in parallel lines; the right and left opening the march, and protecting that of the centre, which on its side kept Latour in check, and prevented him from reinforcing Nauendorf and Petrasch. It was in this regular and well arranged

---

has given a description of it in his Commentaries. It constituted, according to the most general opinion, a part of that tract of country called by the Romans *Sylva Hircinia.* Its mountains separate the Dutchy of Wurtemberg from the Margraviate of Baden. Its most terrible defile (as has been shewn) is the *Valley of Hell,* six miles long, and in many places not more than ten paces wide. There is, however, a good tavern in it called the *Kingdon of Heaven.* And hence a proverb of the country says that, *In this pass one meets with Hell and Paradise.*

TRANSLATOR.

* The reader has, without doubt, remarked that from the time Moreau began his retreat, his right was of course become his left, and his left his right. The two first denominations have, nevertheless, been preserved; because in his encampments, and frequently even on his march, he was obliged to face the different corps of Latour's army, by which he was pursued.

order of retreat, that Moreau directed his course towards the mountains of Suabia, and prepared to force the defiles.

The centre of Moreau's army, which its two wings had hitherto preceded, and which had marched in a parallel line behind them, in its turn advanced to force the passage of the Valley of Hell. Having driven the enemy from post to post, and succeeded in forcing this defile, Moreau arrived at Fribourg, and advanced beyond the city, the possession of which compleated and secured his retreat.

In the mean time his two wings, which had formed a junction in order to check Nauendorf and Petrasch, passed in their turn the defile; while the army equipage and ammunition waggons defiled by the forest towns under the protection of the right wing.

Moreau having escaped all the dangers that attended his retreat through Suabia, and conducted the whole of his army over its mountains; having, by the possession of the whole valley of the Rhine, as well as of the two bridges of Huninguen and Brisach, a safe and perfect communication with France, might have thought that he had done enough in saving his army, and retired with it beyond the Rhine. But instead of continuing his retreat into Alsace, he waited for the attack of his enemy, and gave battle to the Archduke Charles at Kendrigen, who had march-

ed towards him at the head of a formidable army. In this action, as well as the affair of Fribourg, Moreau gained no apparent advantages, but his object was, perhaps, to divert the imperialists from attempting any other enterprize before the end of the campaign. He abandoned the Brisgau, and the position he afterwards took at Schliengen redounds to his *coup d'œil;* his line extending along a chain of hills that terminated the valley of the Rhine; his left posted above a village, beneath which ran the Rhine; his centre occupying high grounds; and the approach of his line defended by a small river that ran into the Rhine. It was owing to this admirable position that he was enabled to repulse the combined forces of the Archduke, Condé, Duke d'Enghien,* Furstenberg, Latour, Nauendorf, Frælich and Meerfield, in an attack which lasted from an early hour of the morning to an advanced period of the night. This contest secured effectu-

* The Duke d'Enghien belonged to Prince Condé's corps, and commanded his advanced guard. He eminently distinguished himself in the battle Moreau gave Latour; and, in junction with Condé, saved the centre of the Austrian General's army (more than eight battalions) from falling into the hands of Moreau: this Latour confessed. In the post of advanced guard he was constantly engaged, and always behaved with a bravery worthy a descendant of the great Conde. He lately suffered in France. Peace to the spirit of this gallant soldier: his fame is immortal.

ally the retreat of the army of the Rhine and Moselle; Moreau passed the Rhine in the face of the Archduke, who made no effort to disturb the last moments of his retreat.

If in this retreat, Moreau conducted his army with infinite skill in the midst of the Austrian corps which surrounded him, and chose well his opportunities to attack and defeat them one after another; if the movement which he made against Latour was remarkably well combined, the enemy's posts that he anticipated indicative of peculiar *coup d'œil*, and conducive to the judicious and methodical order of his movements; on the other hand, Latour and his generals committed many faults. To the following causes Moreau owed much of the safety of his retreat.

1. The great distance there was between the corps of Condé, Latour, Nauendorf and Petrasch, prevented them from having a quick and easy communication, and deprived the different generals of the power of combining their motions or attacks, with precision and security.

2. By forming an immense circle round Moreau, they enabled him to bear with his whole force against any point of the circumference, which he found it necessary to break through.

3. The diversion made by Hotze in Alsace, proved of the utmost utility to Moreau.* This

* If this diversion was not mentioned before, it was because we were unwilling to interrupt the progress of the retreat.

TRANSLATOR.

incursion had two objects: first, to induce the French to draw off a part of the troops stationed in Strasburg and Kehl; and secondly, to hinder them from making any attempt on the Lower Rhine, by compelling them to detach a part of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, for the protection of Alsace, and the duchy of Deux Ponts. The first of these objects was not attained, and the second was but imperfectly executed.

This error is glaring! If Hotze, instead of being sent with 9000 men into Alsace, had been ordered to join Petrasch without delay, it would have enabled that general to act more effectually against Moreau, instead of being obliged to confine himself to slight attacks, on account of the small number of his troops. Having every advantage which the nature of the country could afford, and being moreover seconded by the inhabitants, Petrasch would have been a redoubtable opponent in the defiles of Suabia; these 9000 men posted in the Valley of Hell would have given it new terror.

CHAPTER XV.

Campaign of Year V. Recommencement of Hostilities on the Rhine. Hoche's Army passes the Rhine at Neuwied. Moreau's Army forces the Passage of the Rhine. Kehl taken. Arrival of the news of the preliminaries of peace signed at Leoben to the armies on the Rhine.

AFTER the evacuation of Kehl, and the *tete de pont* at Huninguen, the army of the Rhine and Moselle had been but a few months in winter quarters, when it opened under Moreau a second campaign. The return of Laudohn into the Tyrol, the march of Alvinzi by Fiuma and Trieste, and the hostile preparations making by the Venetians, each of which movements menaced with danger the army of Buonaparte, then entangled in the mountains of Stiria, led the Directory to order Hoche with the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and Moreau with that of the Rhine and Moselle, to make the most rapid movements, and pass with their respective forces, into the circles of Franconia and Suabia, to cause a diversion of the Austrian armies, or form a junction with Buonaparte.

The right and centre of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, under General Hoche, extended from Kreutznuch in the Palatinate, along the Rhine to Dusseldorf. The left wing was cantoned in the Duchy of Berg, on the right of that river. The Austrian army had taken their positions be-

tween the Sieg and the Lahn; but finding themselves too weak to hazard the event of a battle on those plains, they withdrew, and resumed their former position behind the formidable intrenchments of the Lahn.

The retreat of the Austrians beyond the Lahn enabled the various divisions of the French army to pass the Rhine at Neuwied. Here they found the Austrians strongly entrenched and fortified on both banks of the Lahn. The battle of Neuwied began with a brisk cannonade. The whole of the French line was soon in motion; the infantry, supported by the fire of the *artillerie volante**,

---

* The horse artillery, which was seldom seen in former times, in the lines of march, constitutes a part of the divisions and columns of the advanced guard. It differs from the field artillery in being provided with better horses, and the artillerymen riding on horseback, instead of being mounted on stuffed caissons, or covered waggons. It is the surest method of protecting the evolutions of a corps, by supporting its attack with the bayonet. Without excluding pieces of any calibre, it appears most advantageous to make use of eight and twelve pounders, and howitzers.

The flying artillery is now become indispensable in all armies. It can follow the cavalry almost every where; it crosses rivers and morasses, the passage of which is impracticable by foot artillery; it rapidly proceeds in a body upon an unforeseen point of attack, turns an enemy's corps, cannonades it in flank or in the rear, can do the duty of advanced posts, that of stationary artillery, that of the rear guard, and lastly, that of the corps of reserve, from which it may be attached accord-

and by the hussars and light dragoons, poured down, with their usual velocity, on the Austrian entrenchments. The centre of the line of redoubts was carried by the commander in chief. Lefevre, who led on the right wing of the French, broke through the left of the imperialists, whilst the right fled before Championet, who commanded the left wing of the French army.

The Austrian general, during the night, retreated beyond the Lahn, leaving behind him the artillery of his redoubts, and 4000 prisoners. The French continued the pursuit, and came up with the Austrians at Ukerath and Altenkirchen, where they had taken strong positions. The Austrians were again routed with considerable loss, by the division under General Lefevre; whilst General Ney marched rapidly to Dierdorff, where he found the reserve of the Austrian army, consisting of 6000 men, whose attack he sustained

---

ing to circumstances. It has not the inconvenience which has been generally imputed to foot artillery, of retarding and clogging the manœuvres of the troops; accordingly the French have restricted the use of the latter almost to the sole service of sieges, with the exception of four pounders, which remain attached to battalions.

. The horse artillery did not a little contribute to the gaining of the battle of Eslingen, in which Moreau, although inferior in cavalry, supported his left wing against all the cavalry of the Archduke.

TRANSLATOR.

with a division of 500 hussars till the infantry came up, when he drove them from their positions. The left of the army crossed the Upper Lahn, and took possession of Wetzlaar; they forced the Austrians to cross the Nidda, and pursued them to the gates of Frankfort.

In the account given by General Hoche to the Directory of the battle of Neuwied, he did not mention the number of Austrians killed and wounded, but said he had taken 4000 prisoners and captured 12 pieces of cannon, together with a great number of caissons, waggons and horses. It is matter of notoriety that the French Generals are given to exaggeration in their accounts; their computations are always to be suspected. But what shall we think of the account General de Belle (one of Hoche's officers) gives of this action. He had the impudence to write the following letter to a friend at Paris, who, in the warmth of admiration, published it in a newspaper.

"*My dear friend,*

"*We fought the good fight at the battle of Neuwied; the republicans, as usual, covered themselves with glory. We took* 9000 *men,* 25 *pieces of cannon, and* 2000 *horses.*

"*I am, &c.*"

It is not known whether Citizen General de Belle, who commanded Hoche's artillery, was skilful in that line; but he is indisputably so in another. He found the means to take 9000 men where there were only 7000.

While Hoche in five days acquired so many advantages, his colleague Moreau, whose army was cantoned along the Rhine from Huninguen to Landau, marched towards the Rhine, the 30th of Germinal,* which he proposed to pass the following night. But there was no bridge over the river, he possessed only one set of pontoons, and as a bridge could not be established with promptitude and safety, unless he had a footing on the opposite bank, it was necessary that he should obtain it either by stratagem or force. He flattered himself he should succeed by combining these two means.

In order to embarrass the Austrians, by harrassing them on several points at the same time, and to prevent them from directing their force to that which was actually in danger, he prepared several false attacks, calculated to conceal the real one, which was to take place a little below Strasburg, and opposite to Kilstett.

He had intended to effect the passage of the river before break of day, but the difficulty of assembling a sufficient number of boats having retarded the embarkation of his troops, it did not take place till six o'clock; and, for more than two hours before, a heavy fire of cannon and musquetry had commenced, all the way from

* 19th April, (1797).

Brisach to Fort Louis, either from the opposite banks of the river, or from the little islands possessed by the hostile parties.

The advanced posts of the Austrians, along the Rhine, being put on their guard by these attacks, Moreau could no longer hope to surprize them; nothing, therefore, was left for him but to postpone the passage, or attempt it by open force: he determined on the latter.

The attack was to be made by nearly 15000 men, divided into three bodies, and commanded by the Generals Jordis, Davoust and Dahem.

Dahem first set out from the confluence of the little river Ill and the Rhine, and advanced towards the opposite bank.

The Austrians, perceiving their approach, fired briskly upon the boats, both with cannon and small arms; but the French, being partly covered by the islands, did not suffer much; they made good their landing on the island which lies nearest the right bank.

Having driven out the Austrian posts which occupied it, they forded a narrow branch of the river, and without much difficulty established themselves on the German side. It was only defended by the ordinary advanced piquets, who seeing such a superior force coming against them, fell back to their reserve. Before several corps could be got together in sufficient numbers to attack the French, their boats had time to return to the left bank, and to bring over fresh troops.

The republicans, as soon as they were sufficiently in force, foreseeing that they would soon be attacked, and feeling the necessity of possessing themselves of some post where they might be sheltered from the fire of artillery, and from the attacks of the Austrian cavalry, till they could oppose them with a proportionate force, attacked the village of Deirsheim: they were repulsed several times, but at length succeeded in making themselves masters of it. The French defended this village much better than the Austrians had done, who several times attempted in vain to retake it.

During these first combats the Austrians flocked in on all sides, and collected the forces which they had in the neighbourhood. On the other hand the French received continual reinforcements, either by means of their boats, or by a flying-bridge which they had established: it was by means of this that some pieces of cannon, and several hundred horse came to join them from Strasburg.

The French were now able to make a more orderly arrangement of their force, by forming into a semicircle; their centre at Deirsheim, and their right and left on the Rhine; so that they could not be forced on their flanks, and could protect and keep open their communication with the left bank.

The Austrians saw that every hour increased the number and strength of the enemy, and pro-

portionally diminished the possibility of forcing them to repass the river. They, therefore, after having received some reinforcements, and silenced the fire of the French, attacked the village of Diersheim with such intrepidity, that they penetrated into it, and almost wholly expelled the French.

Conscious, however, that all hope of victory depended upon the possession of the village, the French brought up all their force, and an engagement of infantry ensued, the most obstinate and most bloody, perhaps, of any fought during this war.

The hope of conquest on the one side, and the shame of defeat on the other, animated the courage of the troops, and made them redouble their efforts. Though one side did not yield to the other in obstinate valor, yet the French gained ground, and the Austrians yielded; they gave up the attack of the village, and lost also that of Honau, where the French lodged themselves.

The Austrians had prepared themselves, during the night, for fresh and greater exertions, having been joined by the troops stationed in the vallies of Kintzing, of Renchen, of Acheren, and of Murg, to the number of about 18,000 men. The commander in chief, Latour, not being yet arrived, General Stzarray headed them, who perceiving that every movement augmented the force of the French, hastened to attack them. There was no means of preventing them from spreading them-

selves over Germany, but an immediate and desperate effort.

A little after break of day, the Austrians commenced so terrible a cannonade upon the villages Diersheim and Honau, that the French batteries were dismounted. This cannonade was soon followed by an attack so vigorous, that its commencement was attended with success. The right of the French gave way, and they would probably have been driven from their position, if, at the most critical moment, two half brigades had not come to their relief, and given them a decisive superiorty.

The same thing happened in the centre, and on the left, where a column of Austrian infantry, in vain, performed prodigies of valor. It was on the point of getting possession of the village of Diersheim, when Moreau sent two battalions to attack it in flank: these battalions, advancing into the plain, were immediately charged by the Austrian cavalry, to oppose which, and to disengage their own infantry, the French cavalry soon came into the field.

These reciprocal and precipitated attacks produced one of the most furious and confused combats of cavalry that ever was witnessed. Horse met horse, and sword was opposed to sword. But the continual reinforcements which arrived over the bridge of boats, terminated the affair; the Austrians were constrained to return to their posi-

tion, without being able to impair that of the French.

The time was now come when defence instead of attack was the object of the Austrians; for the French had passed all their army and artillery over the Rhine, and every opportunity to drive them back was irrecoverably lost.

Moreau did not lose a moment in beginning in his turn offensive operations. He divided his army into three columns; the centre column was the strongest, and marched towards the villages of Linz and Hobin, while the right advanced towards the Kintzing, and the left to the Renchen.

The Austrians fatigued, weakened, and discouraged by two days of bloody and fruitless fighting, could not resist such fresh and numerous troops. Moreau easily got possession of the causeway which leads from Kehl to Stalhoffen, and overran the plain, where his cavalry compleated the defeat of the enemy, and put them totally to the rout. A great part of the artillery and baggage became a prey to the conquerors, who took also 4000 prisoners.*

* According to Moreau's account, the killed and wounded amounted to the same number. As is usual with the French Generals, he took no notice of his own loss: it must undoubtedly have exceeded that of the Austrians both in killed and wounded, as the latter for two days had the advantage of position, and a superiority of fire.

On the same day Moreau pushed on his left to Freystadt, his centre to Renchen and Oberkirck, and his right to Offenburg and Gengembach; and in the evening, without firing a shot, he took possession of the fort of Kehl, which a few months before, under the command of Dessaix, had made such a glorious resistance against the combined forces of the Archduke. The Austrian commander dreading the consequence of the assault with which he was threatened by Moreau, delivered up the garrison.

Moreau's army continued the pursuit of the imperialists, who were retreating towards the Danube, and were again beginning their march into Germany, when news arrived of the signing of the preliminaries of peace at Leoben by the Archduke and Buonaparte.

Thus was terminated in Germany, almost as soon as it was opened, a campaign remarkable for the bloody combats which marked its short duration, and in which the bravery of the Austrian soldiers was much more conspicuous than the ability of their generals. The passage of the Rhine was infinitely more difficult and honorable to Moreau than to Hoche. It was a very bold action, and added another distinguished laurel to those which he had gathered from his retreat through Suabia, the preceding summer.

The news of peace reached also the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, while they were engaged

before the gates of Frankfort, which General Wernecht was defending in vain. The grateful sound was proclaimed in the midst of the scene of carnage: *the roar of the cannon was interrupted by cries of tumultuous joy; and the contending armies casting aside the blood-stained weapons, threw themselves into each other's arms, and forgot the ferocity of the soldier in the embrace of friendship and of peace.*

CHAPTER XVI.

A view of the political situation of Europe at the epoch of signing the preliminaries of peace at Leoben.

THE treaty of Leoben was the preliminary of the peace which was concluded at Campo Formio, the 17th of October 1797. Carnot affirms that Le Tourneur and he were the only members of the Directory who rejoiced at the restoration of peace. "The triumvirate," says he, "were furious at it. Reveillere was like a tyger; Rewbell heaved heavy sighs; and Barras was unable to repress his fury."

As it is our desire to supply the public with full and accurate information on every topic connected with this history, we propose to take a view of the political situation of Europe at this epocha. It is the business of the historian to reflect as well as narrate; he ought to be able to

throw a light upon the most important events that he records.

After five years of a bloody war, after great reverses, followed by still greater victories, the armies of France had almost annihilated, at the gates of Vienna, the last remains of the continental coalition of 1792. The French republic, fortified by surrounding affiliated republics, covered on its weak side by Switzerland, which war had respected for three centuries, seemed to present on all sides an impenetrable bulwark, and commanded all the west of Europe, from the Adriatic sea to the ocean. Its armies at first driven in disorder to the plains of Champagne, within forty leagues of Paris, had ended in carrying terror to the walls of Madrid, of Turin, of Munich, and at last of Vienna, after having taken advantage of the ice of a rigorous winter for the conquest of Holland, where, in the seventeenth century, the fortune of Louis the fourteenth, and the abilities of his generals, had miscarried. This was what might be called the empire of the west.

To the east, Russia extending itself from Tartary and the western coast of America, to the gulph of Finland, and from the Caspian sea to the Polar circle, without commerce and industry, strong in immense territory, and in its numbers of people half civilized, seemed formed to be made use of as a counterpoise to the French Republic. Europe thus compressed on its two ex-

tremities by two preponderant powers, contained two others which seemed placed on purpose to maintain equilibrium, and to prevent them from being opposed to each other.

Prussia aggrandized by the dismemberment of Poland, enriched by the acquisition of Dantzick, and by an intelligent and œconomical administration, having scarcely taken a part in the war, with its finances in good condition, a numerous army and able generals, untouched in its population and resources, might by the acquisition of Hamburgh, and the probable secularisation of some ecclesiastical fiefs in Westphalia, consolidate its influence in the north of Germany, and as a secondary power might become a respectable ally, or a dangerous enemy.

If Austria was reduced by the exhausted state of its finances, by the loss of 200,000 soldiers, and by the enormous aggrandizement of Russia and of France, to the rank of a secondary power; the extent of her territory, the resources of a considerable and warlike population, which might in a short time fill up the voids in her armies, occasioned by six bloody campaigns,—the excellence of her soldiers, perhaps the best in Europe, her influence on the South of Germany—that which she was to preserve in Italy, by the recovery of Mantua, and by the renunciation of Brabant and the Milanese—every thing would conspire to make her still a formidable power, who

might, at her pleasure, maintain the balance of Europe, or make it incline in favor of that of the two preponderant powers to which she would unite her forces.

The French Repnblic had now no enemies but Portugal and England. The Directory, intoxicated with its successes, had just been guilty of the error of refusing peace to Portugal, in putting too high a price upon it; and by dismissing her plenipotentiaries in a manner no less rude than humiliating, it had forced this power to strengthen her connection with England, and to give up her ports to her, whioh enabled the latter to block up those of Spain.

Great Britain, no less triumphant at sea than France was on land, having no allies but the waves and the winds, which preserved her from a menacing invasion, flourished in the midst of the war which had been fed by her treasures for five years, saw her commerce renew every year the wealth which she had expended in support of this memorable struggle, of which she had been the soul, and which she now found herself, without alarm, called upon to carry on alone.

Meanwhile the hydra of revolt, incessantly stifled, renewed itself as incessantly in Ireland, and threatened a general convulsion. A spirit of languor and of discouragement shewed itself even in England with alarming symptoms. Its public credit decreased; the state could no longer borrow but at a heavy interest, owing to the rapid and

unprecedented fall of the public funds; the bank, till then most flourishing, suspended its payments, and instead of lending its credit to, required credit of government: finally, an insurrection, regularly organized, broke out at once through the whole fleet.

Happily for England and for the world, she had a minister whose genius seemed to be that of his country, a genius, which, roused by obstacles, finished by surmounting them; and which, constant in its projects, knew how to draw resources even from difficulties themselves: for whom in short Livy seemed to have written *Impedimentum pro occasione arripiebat.*

He soon found means to dissipate the alarms with which the situation of affairs had inspired the friends of Great-Britain and of social order. Raising his own courage in proportion as that of others diminished, and discovering the means of safety where others saw only causes of destruction, in a few days he contrived to revive the spirit, to awaken the energy, and to re-animate the confidence of the nation; to restore credit to the bank, to raise the public funds, to appease the insurrection of the fleet, and to prepare the immediate suppression of that in Ireland; an event on which still drawing good from evil he afterwards founded the union.

This transient storm had cleared the horizon of England. Every one saw more distinctly his situation, his duties and his interests. The most

undoubted patriotism burst forth from every quarter, and the most generous proofs of it were given by every class of the people, who, in common with their sovereign, voluntarily made large contributions for the defence of the state. The political body, following the laws of elasticity, had again risen in proportion as it had been depressed. At the moment when it displayed a new vigor, the minister, who had been successful in restoring it, unwilling to leave a pretext for any complaint, or a subject for any regret, dispatched that able negociator, Lord Malmesbury to Paris, solemnly to treat for peace. While he in vain endeavoured to bring back the Directory to reasonable views, England evinced that her moderation was not the result of weakness. Numerous fleets sailed, in all directions, to seek the remains of the French, Spanish and Dutch marine. The sailors that manned them, restored to their character and to their accustomed obedience, burnt with a desire to obliterate their past misconduct, and to wash away in their blood and that of their enemies, the injury they had done their country. They proved it gloriously a short time afterwards in a great battle against the Dutch, whom Admiral Duncan punished, by a compleat defeat, for having associated their fortune with that of the French Republic.

Such was the state of Europe after the conclusion of the preliminary treaty of Leoben. It was received with transports of joy in France as well

as Germany. People flattered themselves that it was at length about to give peace to Europe, worn out by so many convulsions; but it did not excite the same sentiments in the respective cabinets which had just concluded it.

CHAPTER XVII.

Moreau is implicated in a pretended conspiracy against the Directory, and suspended from the command of the army of the Rhine and Moselle. The illustrious character of Pichegrue; he retired poor from his command, but with all his glory. The council of five hundred rise when he takes his seat. Events of the Revolution of the 18th of Fructidor. Augereau sent from Buonaparte's army to execute the measures of the Directory. He rushes into the hall of the council at the head of his troops. Pichegru, Willot, and eleven others sent to the Temple. Elections annulled and deportations made. Date of the decline and fall of the French Republic. Moreau's letter denouncing Pichegrue It is unavailing. He is dismissed from his command.

THE instability of fortune is not confined to any particular rank of life, but extends through every diversity of condition; but the higher its victim, the more conspicuous its infliction. We are now going to see Moreau, who was lately at the head of a numerous army, arrested by an order of the government, and dismissed from his command.

On the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, year

5th*, Pichegrue was arrested as a principal conspirator in a pretended plot to overthrow the Directory, and decreed with sixty-four others to be transported from France.

He was accused of having been bribed by the Prince de Condé to place Louis XVIII. on the throne; for the performance of which service he was to have been appointed a Marshal of France, and Governor of Alsace; to have received a large feudal territory and park; a million of livres in ready money; a pension of 200,000 livres a year, and the *Terre d'Arbois*, which was to be called *La Terre de Pichegru*.

Having commanded the most numerous armies, conquered one of the richest countries in Europe, and had immense sums of money at his disposal, Pichegru returned to his native country in such narrow circumstances that he was obliged to sell his horses and camp equipage for his support.†

---

* 4th September, 1797.

† This great general may be considered the father of the new system of tactics. Guibert, in his treatises, had pointed out some modifications necessary to be made in the modern military system, but Pichegrue realized one much more comprehensive in its object and its means. It consisted in acting incessantly on the offensive; in pressing the enemy, and planning movements to compel them to fight; in never sitting down before a strong place, but acquiring fortified places by making himself master of the surrounding countries, as for

Pichegrue was at Paris on the 12th of Germinal (April 1) the day when the anarchist faction projected a repetition of former scenes of horror. His presence, and the positions he caused the armed force to take, destroyed the projects of this desperate faction. The zeal he shewed that day was never forgiven by them. They seized upon a moment of credulity; they deceived the acting government, and obliged Pichegrue to give in his resignation from the command of the army of the Rhine and Moselle.

It was to rid themselves of a character so virtuous that the jealous directory offered him an embassy to Sweden: but Pichegrue penetrating their motives, declined accepting it. Aristides was condemned to the ostracism; Pichgrue was nominated Ambassador to Sweden.

But, however he may have refused to be employed by the Directory, he thought it a duty he owed his country not to refuse his services on being chosen by his fellow citizens to represent his na-

---

merly these countries were secured by getting possession of the fortified places. The king of Prussia understood the value of Pichegrue's plans. "It will be impossible," said he to the Emperor, "to cover your territories from invasion. It is not "to be denied that the French Generals pursue an incompara-" "ble plan of operations, which disconcerts and defeats all our "projects."

tive department of Jura in the council of Five Hundred. When he took his seat, the whole Assembly rose as a mark of respect and unanimously appointed him their first President; and his name being signed to two resolutions, the council of ancients hailed his nomination with expressions of homage for his military talents and virtue; but he was secretly hated by the Directory, who contemplated sooner or later to make him feel the effect of their hatred.

The animosity between the council and the Directory had risen to a considerable height, when the march of troops towards Paris beyond the limits which the constitution had pointed out, carried it to its utmost bound.

The Council of Five Hundred sent a message to the Directory, to enquire by what authority this infraction of the constitution had taken place. The Directory made an ambiguous reply. As a security, therefore, against the suspected attacks of the Directory, a law was passed, marking out the precise limits of the constitutional radius around Paris, and ordering pillars to be erected, beyond which no troops were to pass without the permission of the legislative body.

This contest between the chief powers of the state was every day growing warmer, and the political horizon of affairs more dark and portentous. The news of the dissention had reached the armies, and had been echoed back in addres-

ses to the Directory, promising them support in their conflict with their enemies. On the anniversary of the 14th of July, Buonaparte made a proclamation to his army, in which he informed them, that their country was menaced with new dangers from the enemies of government within. "*Let us swear,*" *said he,* "*by the manes of those who have fallen by our side in the cause of liberty; let us swear on the colors we have newly gained, implacable war to the enemies of the Republic and of the constitution.*"*

The addresses from the armies were subjects of fresh alarm; and messages were sent to the Directory from the councils, to inquire into this infraction of the constitution, in permitting the deliberations of an armed body, and in receiving addresses from them. The explanation given by the Directory to this message was as unsatisfactory as their preceding one.

The contest was now drawing to its crisis, and could end only in the overthrow either of the three members of the executive power, Barras, Rewbel, and La Reveillere-Lepaux; or in the defeat of Pichegrue, Barthelemy, Carnot and others of the anti-directorial party. As it was, however, a dispute that was to be decided by other wea-

* The Directory little dreamt that Buonaparte would in a few years afterwards deprive them ignominiously of the directorial purple.

pons than arguments, both parties had called in the aid of guards; General Ramel commanding those of the legislative body, and Angereau, from the army of Italy, putting himself at the head of those who had been collected to espouse the measures of the Directory. It is an anecdote which should not be lost, that *one division of the Directory's troops, in order to manifest their respect for the laws and for the constitution of their country, before they began their march towards Paris; dug up the constitutional pillar they were forbid to pass, which they put into a waggon, and carried before them; respectfully following, without passing it, till they were at the gates of Paris!*

On the night of the 17th of Fructidor,* the guard of the Directory, and the garrison of Paris, had been reinforced by bodies of troops, which made the military force on the side of the Directory amount to nearly 10,000 men. The ministers had assembled at the Luxembourg, during the evening, to receive their instructions. Barthelemy,† who refused to join in the deliberations, was put under arrest in his own apart-

---

* 3d of September.

† Barthelemy was nephew to the Abbé of the same name, the celebrated author of "*Voyage du jeune Anacharse.*" He assisted in the memorable revolution of Sweden. Educated in principles of royalty, it is probable he retained a hankering after the Bourbon family. *Quo semel est—*

ments;* Carnot, who better understood the nature of revolutionary measures, had made his escape.

The troops had surrounded the capital, and trespassed the limits prescribed by the constitution, before the Directory was perfectly prepared to make the explosion which it meditated. The impetuosity of Angereau had induced him to take this step, which was passing the *Rubicon* and precluding all possibility of retreating.† If the councils had at that instant passed a decree of accusation against the triumvirate, they would have fallen under this stroke of unexpected rigor.

But far from adopting an energetic course, which necessity seemed to dictate for the common defence, the anti-directorians, more divided than ever at the approach of danger, neither knew how to form any plan, nor agree to any measure. They made a noise, they declaimed, when it was necessary to act. They did nothing but pass decrees, and commit blunders.

Some members of the council seeing the crisis approaching, insisted upon bringing forward the decree of accusation; but this was opposed by others whose harangues were not yet sufficiently prepared, nor their periods sufficiently rounded.

---

* Barras arrested Barthelemy with his own hands.

† Hoche had arrived at Paris to put in force the violence which the Directory meditated, but they preferred Angereau, whom Buonaparte had sent them, and who was an equally determined revolutionist.

The only step on which they could agree, was to verify the fact, if the troops had actually violated the constitutional circle. But whilst, in order to ascertain this, Lemerer was travelling about from post to post, the fatal hour arrived—the alarm gun was fired!

Having partially executed the first portion of their project, Barras, Rewbell, and La Reveilliere, the triumvirate, proceeded to direct the future operations of the faction. Pichegrue, Willot, Vaublanc, Thirbaudeau, Emery and Delarue, who composed a committee called inspectors, were sitting in the hall of the Council of Five Hundred, in deep deliberation, when Ramel entered, calling out, "Citizen members, the Thuilleries is surrounded with troops. I want only your orders, and I will defend the gates with my eight hundred grenadiers against the largest force they can bring."

Pichegrue had already ascertained that the halls were completely invested, and Ramel was consulting with him how to act, when a member ran in with his teeth chattering and exclaiming, "They have forced the *Pont Tournant*, the garden is filled with troops, and they are forming a battery to bear on the hall of the Council!"

Angereau, at the head of ten thousand men, was now heard calling to Ramel at the iron gates of the Thuilleries. "In the name of the Directory," cried he, "I summon the commander of the post to open these gates. I grant five minutes to him

while he sends to the members for orders: at the expiration of this time, the gates, if not opened, shall be broken down by the artillery."

Ramel's grenadiers, hearing this menace, prevented its execution, by throwing open the gates, and leaving the garden free for the entrance of the assailants. Some little show of resistance was made, but Angereau, advancing to Ramel, who was rebuking his soldiers for their cowardly conduct, treated him with indignity, and put him under arrest. He then rushed into the hall, where he secured Pichegrue, Willot, Vaublanc, and the rest of the committee, together with several other unfortunate members who had come to share their deliberations.

A considerable number of members of both councils having assembled at private houses to drink tea, play at cards, or pay their devotion to the fair, sallied forth in their scarfs, and attempted to gain the entrance of their own halls, but were thrice repulsed by the military; while the minority of each legislative body met at a play-house in the nieghbourhood of the Directory, called Odeon, and in the amphitheatre of the medical college, where they made laws suited to the views of the triumvirate. This was the *Rump* of the two councils confering legally on the Directory the absolute power which they had usurped.

Before day-break a division of Angereau's army had taken possession of the quays, bridges, prin-

cipal streets, and every avenue or post of consequence. The whole of this business was finished before the people of Paris had risen from their beds. They were but little surprized at seeing themselves in the midst of a camp: but their astonishment was excited at the tranquillity with which this event had passed.

The preceding day was a Sunday, and the Tivoli, and all other public places, were crowded with elegant and fashionable people, who all cursed the Directory, and praised the two councils. The day after the revolution, all the gardens, squares and streets, were filled with the same Parisians, dressed as *sans-culottes*, and crying out every where, "Long live the Directory! down with the councils!"

The decisive conduct of the Directory, who were more atrocious and more accustomed to the horrors of the revolution than their opponents, had determined the contest. There was no appearance of resistance in any quarter of the city; and the apprehension of the return of the bloody struggle of the 13th of Vendemaire,* which was

* The 4th of October, 1795. The mournful and ever memorable day of the disturbance among the sections of Paris, when Buonaparte, second in command under Barras, headed the troops of the line. Buonaparte was under the direction of Barras, and as a military subaltern had no other duty but obedience. He made the blood flow liberally, but

ever before the eyes of the Parisians, gave way to other sentiments, when they were informed by numerous *placards* stuck profusely on the walls in every street, that "a vast royalist conspiracy had been discovered and defeated."

Those deputies who were ignorant of the events that had taken place during the night, assembled early at the usual place of their meetings to take cognizance of what had passed; but they found the seals put on the doors of the hall of the ancients; and to those who were assembled at the hall of the Council of Five Hundred, an *arreté* of the Directory was presented, stating that "General Angereau was empowered to put the seals on the doors of the two councils; that the representatives were invited to assemble in the hall belonging to the surgeons, and the theatre of the Odeon, which were prepared for their reception."

Of the deputies who were present, and of those that came successively to the usual places of meeting, some went to the new places indicated in the *arreté*, and others, either returned home to wait the event, or to find out their colleagues, to deliberate by what mode they should regulate their conduct in the present conjuncture.

---

his unerring aim and dispatch prevented a greater effusion than would probably have otherwise happened. He kept up a fire of powder only during the night, which succeeded in deterring the sections from rallying, and returning to the attack.

By the hour of noon the ancients had assembled to the number of forty, and the five hundred to about eighty. By this time they were fully informed of the events that had taken place, and knew also that their colleagues were, for the most part, assembled at the Odeon, and its neighbourhood.

Unwilling to sanction this act of the Directory, which they judged illegal, they went, with their presidents at their head, to their accustomed place of meeting, and summoned the officer at the post to withdraw his guard and open the doors of their halls.

On the refusal of the officer, the deputies withdrew; some of them went to join the majority; and others, who refused to submit to the invitation of the Directory, assembled at the houses of two of their colleagues, to protest against the measures of government.

Those of the Five Hundred were framing this protest, when they were informed, that the president of the ancients with all who were assembled at his house, were arrested and sent to the Temple; on which they withdrew any further opposition, and the Odeon, and the Chirurgical Hall became the seats of the different branches of the legislature.

The proclamation which announced this intended conspiracy to the people, was supported by such justificatory proofs as the Directory had time to forge and prepare for the occasion. The

principal piece disclosed was a paper pretended to be written by Monsieur D'Antraigues, and found at Venice in his *porte-feuille*. This paper, the genuineness of which was attested by the generals Buonaparte, Clark, and Berthier, contained minutes of a conversation held at Venice, by this agent of Louis XVIII. with the Count de Montgaillard, another agent of the coalition, in which it was asserted that "Pichegrue had listened to the propositions which the Count, in the name of Louis XVIII. had made him to place that monarch on the throne; and that he had offered to cross the Rhine, to hoist the white standard, join the armies of Condé and the Emperor, and march to Paris, which he expected to enter in fourteen days." It was added that the scheme had failed through the jealousy of the Prince of Condé; but that Pichegrue was attempting in the Council of Five Hundred what he had not effected in the army.

The other papers were letters of the Prince de Condé to Imbert Colomés at Lyons, represented as a principal agent of the Pretender, and who was then a deputy of the Five Hundred.

The parties concerned all declared solemnly that the whole was a forgery, and only a stratagem of the Directory to excuse their usurpations. To confirm this opinion D'Antraigues and Colomés published each a denial of what was asserted; D'Antraigues denying having had any papers of minutes in his port-folio, and Colomé's repelling

the charge of receiving letters from the Prince of Condé.

To counteract the effects of this denial, it was asserted by the Directory that a secret correspondence had been seized by General Moreau, at Offenbourg, on his last passage across the Rhine. This correspondence, said to be found among the baggage of General Klingin, was transmitted by Moreau to the director Barthelemy, with a letter importing their contents, which reached Paris three days after the events of the 18th Fructidor. We insert Moreau's letter entire; it was spread abroad mutilated in the fugitive productions of the day.

The General in chief of the Army of the Rhine and Moselle,

To Citizen Barthelemy, Member of the Executive Directory of the French Republic.

Head-quarters, Strasburg,
19th Fructidor, 5th year.*

"Citizen Director,

You will, without doubt, easily recollect that during my last journey to Basle, I informed you, that at the passage of the Rhine, we had taken a packet belonging to General Klingin, containing two or three hundred letters of his correspondents. Many of these are in cyphers, and nobody takes

* 5th September, 1797.

his real name, so that several Frenchmen who correspond with Klingin, D'Enghien, and others, are difficult to be discovered. But we have such clues, as will soon lead to a detection.

" I was at first decided not to publish this correspondence, but perceiving at the head of the parties who at present do so much mischief to our country, a man enjoying in an eminent situtation the greatest consequence, a man deeply involved in this correspondence, and destined to perform an important part in the recal of the Pretender, the object to which it was directed; I thought it my duty to apprize you of this circumstance, that you might not be the dupe of his feigned republicanism, but anticipate his projects, and prevent the civil war which he meditates bringing into the bosom of his country.

" I confess, Citizen Director, that it is extremely painful to inform you of this treachery, more especially as he whom I now denounce to you was once my friend, and would be so still, were I not now acquainted with his character. I allude to the representative of the people, Pichegrue. He was prudent enough to commit nothing to writing. He only communicated verbally with those entrusted with the correspondence; they apprized him of the projects entertained, and received his answers. He is there designated by several names; and, among others, by that of *Baptiste*. A chief of brigade, named Baudo-

ville, was concerned with him, and went by the name of *Coco*. You must have seen him frequently at Basle.

" Their grand movement was to have taken place the beginning of the fourth year. They calculated upon some defeat sustained by my army, which, discontented at being beaten, would demand to be placed under the command of their old general, who then was to have acted pursuant to the instructions he had received.

" He obtained nine hundred *louis* to defray the expences of his journey to Paris, at the time of his dismission. Hence naturally arose the refusal of the embassy to Sweden. I suspect the family of Lajoloir to be in this intrigue.

" Nothing but the great confidence which I entertain of your patriotism and wisdom, could have determined me to give you this information. The proofs are as clear as day. I doubt, however, whether they be judicial.

" I entreat you, Citizen Director, to give me your advice in an affair so delicate. You know me sufficiently to judge what sacrifices this confidence has cost me; nothing but the dangers to which my country is exposed, could induce me to make it. This secret is confined to five persons, the Generals Dessaix and Regnier, one of my *aides-de-camps*, and an officer employed on the part of the army, who follows continually the

tokens these letters supply as they are decyphered.

Receive the assurances, &c.

MOREAU.*

The remnants of the councils, in the complete state of degradation which we have exhibited, having assembled each in the places allotted them (to keep up the farce of legislation, when the constitution was no more) sent a message to inform the Directory that they were installed, and to demand an account of the Republic, and of the events which had occasioned the extraordinary measures which had been taken.

To this requisition the Directory replied, by sending to the council various papers, among which were those that had already been published.

---

* The following passage occurs in a work called the Revolutionary Plutarch. (Vol, 1. page 33. Article, Life of Moreau.) "Moreau was still the commander in chief of the Army of the Rhine and Moselle, and his head-quarters were at Strasburgh, when the revolution at Paris of the 4th of September, that proscribed Pichegrue, took place. Strasburgh is upwards of 300 miles from Paris; but, in three or four hours, any thing may be communicated by the telegraph between the two cities. It is, therefore, to be supposed, that when Moreau, on the 5th of September, wrote a long letter against Pichegrue, and *denounced* him to the director Barthelemy (whom he no doubt, did not imagine had shared the same fate) he had already received a short telegraphic information that the jacobin faction had been victorious." What a wonderful spirit of divination!

They observed, " that the measures which had been taken were enjoined by strong necessity; that further delay would have delivered the Republic into the hands of its enemies." They then made a short detail of the means by which this subversion was to have operated, and concluded with *congratulating the councils on their escape*, asserting, that " in matters of state, extreme measures are to be appreciated only by circumstances.

A commission having been formed, consisting of five members, to consider of the measures which ought to be taken in the present crisis, a report was presented, in which they sanctioned the conduct of the Directory, and pointed out the means that were necessary to ensure the continuance of the public tranquillity, and the existence of the Republic!

This abject commission, after declaring its abhorrence of sanguinary measures, and at the same time under the necessity of taking such steps as should not commit the safety of the state, proposed to the council the punishment of exile for such as they should deem objects of the public vengeance, as agents or accomplices in the present conspiracy.

After reading the report of the committee, a series of propositions were affected to be submitted to the discussion of the council founded on the report. These propositions were adopted

after a few amendments, which consisted chiefly of exceptions made to the article which contained the names of those who were condemned to banishment. The council (if such in its present state it ought to be called) decreed also that the operations of the primary assemblies, communal and electoral, of forty nine departments,* were unlawful and void; that the persons named to public employments by the primary, communal or electoral assemblies of these departments, including the members of the legislative body, should forthwith cease their functions; and that the Directory should be empowered to fill up the vacancies in the tribunal.

Thus, in the first instance, the representatives of the people were outraged by an armed force, in direct violation of the constitution; and in the second, the people themselves were robbed of their rights and privileges by an act of tyranny, as gross and as illegal as any thing which was ex-

* These departments were L'Ain, l'Ardeche, l'Arriege, l'Aube, l'Aveyron, Bouches du Rhone, Calvados, Charante, Cher, Cotes d'Or, Cotes du Nord, Dordogne, l'Eure, Eure et Loire, Gironde, Herault, Ille et Vilaine, Indre et Loire, Loire, Haute, Loire, Loire Inferieure, Loiret, Manche, Marne, Mayenne, Mont Blanc, Morbihan, Moselle, Les Deux Nethes, Nord, Oise, Orne, Pas de Calais, Puy de Dome, Bas Rhin, Haut Rhin, Rhone, Haute Saone, Saone et Loire, Sarthe, Seine Inferieure, Seine et Marne, Seine et Oise, Somme, Tarn, Var, Vauclose, Yonne.

claimed against in the former government. From this moment posterity will date the decline and fall of the French Republic; since the men, who thus insulted every sound and virtuous principle, proved themselves afterwards as incapable in the exercising of power as they were daring in assuming it.

The 13th article contained the names of those who were to be transported, to the number of sixty-five; of whom fifty-three were members of the two councils, and the two directors Barthelemy and Carnot.

Of the Council of Five Hundred.

Aubry,	Gibert Desmoulieres,
J. J. Aimé called Job Aimé,	Henry Larviere,
Bayard	Imbert Colomés,
Blain (des Bouches du Rhone,)	Camille Jordan,
Boissy d' Anglas,	Jourdan,
Born,	Gau,
Bourdon, (de l'Oise,)	Lacarriere,
Cadroi,	Lemarchand Gomicourt,
Coucheri,	Lemerer,
Delahaye, (de la Seine Inferieure)	Mersan,
Delarue,	Madier,
Doumere,	Maillaird,
Dumalard,	Noailles,
Duplantier,	Andre, (de la Lozere)
	Mac Curtair,
	Pavie,
	Pastoret,

Duprat,
Polissart,
Praire Montaud,
Quatremere Quincy,
Saladin,
Simeon,
Pichegrue,
Vanvilliers,
Vienot Vaublanc,
Villant Joyeuse,
Willot.

Of the Council of Ancients.

Barbe Marbois,
Dumas,
Ferrant Vaillant,
Laffon Ladebat,
Laumont,
Muraire,
Murinais,
Paradis,
Portalis,
Rovere,
Tronson Ducoudray.

Carnot, director,
Barthelemy, director,
Brottier, ex-abbé
Lavillheurnois, ex-magistrate,
Duverne Dupraile,
Cochon, ex-minister of the police,
Dessonville,
Miranda, general,
Morgan, general,
Suard, journalist,
Mailhe,
Ramel, commandant of the grenadiers of the legislative body.

This list of persons designated by the Five Hundred to banishment, being sent to the council of the ancients, a discussion ensued. The Directory perceiving this hesitation, sent a message, or more properly, in the present state of things, an order to the Council of Five Hundred, representing the *danger* of *delay*, and exhorting them to imitate the conduct which they had observed; to let no metaphysical discussion respecting principles in-

terrupt the speedy course of national *justice*; that being placed in the most singular of positions, they could not apply the ordinary rules of the constitution, unless they wished to deliver up the Republic to its enemies. "If the friends of kings find friends among you, if slaves can meet protectors, if you delay an instant, despair of the salvation of France, shut up the book of the constitution, and tell the patriots that the knell of the Republic has tolled." This message was immediately sent by the Five Hundred to the Ancients, and the propositions passed into a law without further opposition.

Supposing the assertions of the Directory to have been (what they were not) proved, still, if they had had any regard to that *justice* which was upon their lips, but not in their conduct, surely some greater discrimination ought to have been made in the fate of those who were marked out as objects of punishment. Had the Council of Elders not been degraded to the lowest pitch, more proof would have been required than the mere list of names, which the Council of Five Hundred sent up, to convince them that Tronson Ducoudray, Simeon, and Portalis, were implicated in the same crimes with Brothier, Duverne des Presles, and Lavilleheurnois, the avowed agents of Louis; or that Barthelemy the director, and Cochon the ex-minister of police, ought to share the punishment of Rovere and Miranda; the one the chief actor in the murders of Avig-

non, and the other an indefatigable but imprudent instrument in the conspiracies of every party.

Pichegrue and the other arrested deputies had been conducted to the Temple. Early in the morning, of the eighth of September, this great man and the other proscribed persons, were removed from the Temple in carriages resembling cages, secured on all sides with bars of iron; such as the English use for the conveyance of wild beasts. They were about to be taken to Rochefort, where they were to be shipped off for Cayenne.

The triumvirate, anxious to enjoy the brutal pleasure of contemplating their fallen adversaries, caused the cars to pass before their palace of Luxemburgh; where the walls re-echoed with the mirthful plaudits of Barras, Rewbell, and La Reveilliére, whose savage exultation would have disgraced the untutored aborigines of America.

Pichegrue sat silent and musing in the car; it was a *countenance more in sorrow than in anger;* he seemed to deplore the fate of his wretched and degraded country. But it was a moving spectacle to behold a hero and patriot in fetters, and a bitter reflection that proscription should be the reward of him to whose conquests France owed Brabant, Flanders, and the new provinces on this side of the Rhine.

Thus have I related the acts of a desperate faction. Of no party, I have had no other object

than to furnish those who study history in a popular manner, with facts recommended by the attractions of interest. I have expressed my opinion with freedom, for this by prescription is the franchise of an historian.*

It has been seen that while these scenes were acting in Paris, Moreau was at his head-quarters on the Rhine. It seems that his denunciation of Pichegrue was too tardy. He was ordered by the Directory to repair to Paris. His departure was preceded by a proclamation to his army.

PROCLAMATION.

"The General in Chief of the Army of the Rhine and Moselle.

Head-Quarters, Strasburgh,
Fructidor 23, year 5.

"I receive this moment the proclamation of the Executive Directory of the 18th of this month, which discloses to France, that Pichegrue is unworthy of the confidence with which he has, for a long time, inspired the Republic, and particularly the armies.

---

* The leading facts of this relation of the 18th of Fructidor I have drawn chiefly from *Reponse de Carnot, Denonciation du Directoire, La conduite funeste, intrigues,* &c. &c. My slumbering original takes no notice of an event so intimately connected with his biography. He may possess the *coup d'œil* of war; but his historical *coup d'œil* is not comprehensive.

J. D.

" I am also informed that a number of officers and soldiers, too confident of the patriotism of this representative, after the services which he has rendered his country, are sceptical on the subject of his crime.

" It is a duty I owe my brethren in arms, and fellow-citizens, to impart to them the truth.

" It is but too true that Pichegrue has deceived the confidence of France. I informed one of the members of the Executive Directory the 17th of this month, that a correspondence had fallen into my hands with Condé and other agents of the Pretender, which no longer left the least doubt of Pichegrue's treason.

" The Directory have just called me to Paris, desiring, without doubt, some further unravelling of this correspondence.

" Soldiers, be calm and without inquietude about the internal safety of your country ; be assured, that the government, in suppressing the royalists, are awake to maintain the Republican Constitution which you have sworn to defend.

MOREAU,
General in Chief.

" *Note.* Some libels have been disseminated in Strasburgh, under the title of Addresses from the Army of the Rhine and Moselle.

" The General in Chief disdains to disavow them ; they can only be the productions of an unprincipled faction.

" The conduct of the army is a sufficient answer to these calumnies.

MOREAU."

This proclamation to the army was immediately succeeded by a letter from General Moreau to the Directory.

" Army of the Rhine and Moselle,
Head-Quarters, Strasburgh,
Fructidor 24, year 5.

" CITIZEN DIRECTORS,

" I received only the 23d, very late and ten leagues from Strasburgh, your order for me to repair to Paris.

" It was necessary that I should take a few hours to prepare for my departure, sooth the army to tranquillity, and arrest some persons implicated in an interesting correspondence, which I will deliver to you myself.

" I enclose a proclamation which I have made, and which has operated in converting a number of sceptics; I confess to you that it was difficult to believe that a man who had rendered such splendid services to his country, and could have no interest in betraying it, could be guilty of such infamous treason.

" I have been considered the friend of Pichegrue, when for a long time he had totally forfeited my esteem: you will find that no person has been more critically situated than myself; that all his projects were built upon the miscarriage

of the army which I commanded : its courage has saved the Republic.*

MOREAU."

It was to no purpose that General Moreau thus made a formal denunciation of Pichegrue, and expressed his patriotism and devotion in the warmest language of the passions. On his arrival at Paris, the Directory confirmed the sentence of his dismission from the army of the Rhine and Moselle.

It is a natural curiosity to enquire into the occupations of a great general, who experienced a transition of fortune from the head of a distinguished army to the obscurity of a private citizen. Those who admired him in his military career, when he filled the enemies of his country with dread, image him in their mind's eye submitting to his fate with dignity, and cultivating pursuits worthy an enlightened mind. He partly occupied himself with writing his own campaigns, and partly in reading the memoirs of other great generals.

---

* Let it be mentioned that when addresses poured in from Buonaparte's army in Italy, in favor of the Jacobins, and against Pichegrue, and others who opposed them in the Council of Five Hundred, not a single address could be procured from the army of the Rhine and Moselle.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Renewal of Hostilities on the Continent. Scherer the ex-War Minister appointed Commander in Chief of the Army of Italy. General indignation at his appointment. Moreau placed under him as General of Division. Attack of the French on the Austrian line at Verona. Success of Moreau's division across the Adige. Failure of Scherer in front of Verona. Defeat of Scherer's Army. Retreat of the French from the Adige. Arrival of Suwarrow in Italy. Command of the French Army transferred from Scherer to Moreau. Marches and Battles. Joubert put over Moreau in the command of the Army. Moreau takes a temporary command under his orders. Battle of Novi. Joubert killed. Moreau fills his place. Performs prodigies of valor with other Generals, and covers the retreat of the army from a superior force.

IN the seventh year of the French Republic, the Directory declared war against the King of Bohemia and Hungary, and the great Duke of Tuscany. The campaign of Italy had not opened, when that on the Danube was closed by the retreat of Jourdan, whose army had been the victim of the incapacity and corruption of the Directory, and of Scherer the minister of war.

These men were becoming daily more and more the objects of general hatred, and their venality was sonotorious, particularly that of Scherer, that the public indignation was such as compelled the Directory to dismiss him from his post.

His dismissal was hailed as a favourable omen by the French, who imagined that victory, under other auspices, would again revisit their standards; and the conviction of his incapacity and corruption was such, that almost every individual felt interested in hearing that he was no longer to preside over the military operations of the republic.

Italy, along the whole chain of the Alps to the Tyrolian mouuntains, from the frontiers of Venice to Sicily, was in the possession of the French. From this country such resources might have been drawn, as would not only have easily barred the passage to the coalesced powers, but have carried the theatre of war once more into the heart of Germany. Piedmont, Tuscany and Naples, into which the revolutionary spirit, whose irresistible force had already broken the coalition of Europe against France, was now introduced, might have produced still greater effects, aided by the corrected and experienced courage of French troops, under the command of an able and disinterested commander. The Directory having betrayed the Roman Republic, and just driven ignominiously from Paris the embassadors of the Neapolitan, in open defiance of public opinion, and regardless of general indignation, conferred the command of the armies of Naples and Italy on the ex-minister of war, Scherer.

The approach of war was looked on with a kind of gloomy reluctance by all classes. Not

only was all confidence in the operations of government entirely lost, but the detail of its corruption was every where disseminated. The highest authorities in the state did not dissemble to their partizans their apprehensions of disgrace and defeat long before their armies entered the field.

Under a general who had prepared the ruin of the army of Germany by his dilapidations as a minister, and that of Italy by his incapacity as a commander, Moreau was appointed to the command of three divisions. Moreau has often pronounced this period of his military career as the most disgusting and tormenting; not because he was placed in an inferior station for a man of his merit and rank, but because he despised General Scherer, and foresaw the destruction of the army under his command.

While the army lately commanded by Jourdan, now united with that under Massena, constrained to abandon the offensive plan, took the left side of the Rhine, from the Grisons, along its course, to the extent of the French territory, as a line of defence; the army of Italy were endeavouring to dislodge the imperialists from their strong position on the Lower Adige, and to push them back to the Brenta. The Russians had not yet entered Italy, and, in order to execute this operation before their arrival, the troops redoubled their exertions, in hopes of gaining this advantage, not-

withstanding the command of Scherer, whose presence occasioned as much discontent and indignation in the army, as his administration had done at Paris.

He had assembled the troops on the frontiers of the Cisalpine republic, behind Peschiera and Mantua, while the Austrian army formed itself, under the orders of General Kray, along the left side of the Adige, behind Verona and Porto Legnano.

The whole of the Austrian line between the Lake of Garda and the Adige, was attacked by six divisions, one of which menaced Porto Legnano, which flanked the left of the Austrian army, while two others marched upon Verona, and three whole divisions attempted to force and turn the posts on the right of the Austrian line, the chain of which extended to Bardolino, on the Lake of Garda, and covered the entrance of the valley between Rivoli and la Chiusa. The object of this movement was to take Verona on the left side of the Adige in rear, while it was attacked in front on the right, in the hopes of forcing the imperialists to abandon the place.

This plan was concerted by General Moreau, who led on the three divisions, under the respective commands of the Generals Delmas, Serrurier, and Grenier. It was crowned with the most compleat success. Moreau carried the redoubts and the intrenchments, took possession of Ri-

vali, passed the Adige, and advancing as far as Chiusa, cut the line of the Austrian troops, part of which, after great loss, retreated into the valley as far as Peri.

The two divisions of the centre of the French army, under the immediate command of Scherer, attacked the out-posts of Verona defended by General de Rheitzen. The posts of St. Lucie and St. Maximin were attempted at the same time; the former was carried, but the post of St. Maximin, under the command of General Kaim, taken and retaken seven times, remained definitively in the possession of the Austrians. The chain of the advanced posts of the Austrians was preserved, with the exception of St. Lucie, where the French maintained their ground. The attack on Porto Legnano failed also, and Scherer was obliged to fall back on Mantua.

Scherer quitted the field of battle the following day, after having made a few useless efforts; and Moreau, in order not to expose himself to being cut off, was obliged to repass the Adige with his divisions, and retire towards Peschiera. It was with great regret and mortification that Moreau saw himself compelled to take this retrograde movement. He wished Scherer to preserve his position before Verona, and give him time to attack it in flank; but Scherer was deaf to his remonstrances.

General Kray had marched considerable forces to his left; but perceiving that Scherer's principal force was directed against the centre, and right of his line, he led them back again to Verona, presuming that he would not fail to renew his attacks on that quarter. The troops, however, remained on the field of battle, when three days after the first attack, a suspension of arms took place to bury the dead.

The next day Scherer attacked with his left the whole chain of the posts of the Austrian army, and having dislodged General Kaim from his position before Verona, threw bridges over the Adige, and detached the division of General Serrurier to the left side, who drove back the advanced posts of the Austrians to within half a league of Verona; one of his columns had even gained the heights which covered their right flank, together with the road of Vicenza, and the camp of the army.

To repel this attack, the success of which would have insulated the fortresses of Verona and Legnano, General Kray detached through the city the division of Marshal Frolich, who had repulsed the French at Porto Legnano.

This division attacked Scherer in three columns with equal success, and forced his troops, after an obstinate resistance, to retreat to their bridges. This retreat was so precipitate, and the pursuit so warm, that a part only of the

French columns had time to pass the Adige, the bridges having been broken down either by the French themselves, or destroyed by the pontooniers, whom General Kray, from the beginning of the action, had contrived to dispatch round their rear, and had supported by a detachment. The retreat of almost a whole French column was thereby cut off, part of which surrendered prisoners, and the rest made vain attempts to escape into the mountains. The loss of the French on that day is estimated at full seven thousand men.

Thus defeated in all his various enterprizes, Scherer drew off his left from the Lake of Guarda, after throwing a strong garrison into Peschiera, and concentred his forces below Villa Franca, between the Adige and the Tartaro. This position, which covered Mantua, was not purely defensive, but threatened the passage of the Adige between Verona and Porto Legnano. The right division of Scherer was encamped before Porto Legnano; the rest of his army occupied the camp of Magnan, and his head quarters were at Isola della Scala. Meanwhile General Kray passed the Adige, occupied Castlenovo, masked Peschiera, and pressed upon the left of Scherer's army.

Scherer, in order to prevent Kray from turning his left flank, determinined to attack him on every point with three strong columns. That of the right, composed of the two divisions of the

Generals Victor and Grenier, was directed upon San Giacomo, below Verona. The division of the vanguard, under General Delmas, marched upon Dessobono, covering the principal attacks of the columns of the centre, formed by the divisions of the Generals Hatry and Mont Richard, under the command of Moreau. Serrurier's division formed the left of the column, which was to attack Villa Franca.

While these dispositions were forming, General Kray, who had received reinforcements the evening before, and suspecting, from an order dispatched from Pischiera, which had fallen into his hands, that Scherer was going to make another attempt to pass the Adige, resolved to prevent him. He marched, therefore, against him with the same plan of attack, having formed three strong columns under the orders of the Generals Mercaudin, Raim, and Zoph.

The two armies came to a general engagement, which was long and desperate. Moreau pierced through the centre, and fought under the walls of Verona. Every point of the line, on which the columns met, was disputed with great obstinacy. Villa Franca, attacked by Surrurier, alternately in possession of both parties, remained in the power of the French at the close of the day. At length the left column of the Austrian army, commanded by general Zoph, having succeeded

in flanking the two divisions of the right of the French army, forced them to retreat, and decided the victory, which had till then hung doubtful.

The two armies passed the night on the field of battle, strewed with dead bodies. The next day Scherer, evacuating at the same time Isola della Scala and Villa Franca, retreated by Roverbello, where he halted the day after. While Scherer's army passed the Mincio at Goito, Kray detached a vanguard, followed by the two divisions of Generals Zoph and Kaim, and completed the blockade at Pischiera.

The blockade of Mantua on the eastern side, the taking of the important post of Governolo, by General Klenau, and the interruption of the communication with Ferrara, were, on the side of the Po, the immediate consequences of THE BATTLE OF MAGNAN.

Scherer having no support on his left, continued his retreat, and passed the Chiusa at Atola. As the republican troops withdrew, the Austrians compleated the blockade of Mantua, and General Klenau, ascending the Po with his armed boats, took possession of the posts from which the garrison drew its supplies, and cut off the communications with Ferrara and Modena. Ponte Molino, Governolo, and several other posts, were

carried almost by surprize, on account of Scherer's precipitate retreat.*

The French army pursued its retreat by its right beyond the Oglio, and by its left beyond the Chiusa. General Kray, who had already marched his vanguard to Goito, passed the Mincio with his main army, and pushed his advanced posts as far as these two rivers, having been joined by General Melas, who was to have taken the command of the army, but who left it in the hands of Kray till the arrival of Suwarrow. This general reached Verona with the first vanguard of the Russian army, and, pressing the march of his columns, joined the Austrian army, the command of which was immediately assigned to him.

At the moment in which Suwarrow, by the peculiarity of his destiny and by one of the singular effects of the French Revolution, came to make war in the plains of Italy and on the summits of the Alps, he was sixty-nine years of age, fifty-seven of which he had spent in service. He had made twenty more or less active campaigns,

* What a pretty General, Scherer was to head the Army of Italy. Under his command the main-body wanted that military soul which it was accustomed to feel when Buonaparte commanded. All the confidence of the troops, (a moral lever stronger than physical force) every prestige of fortune had fled.

and fought the Prussians and Poles, the Turks and Tartars. He had made war on the shores of the Baltic, of the Black sea, and of the Caspian sea. He had arrived from the lowest to the highest rank in the army, and wore badges of the gratitude of three powerful sovereigns. Nothing was wanting to compleat this great military career, but to become connected with the greatest event of the age, the French Revolution. The man, who had in the north of Asia conquered barbarians, came to the south of Europe to conquer those who boasted of having attained to the highest degree of civilization.

The French army fell back behind the Adda, Cremona was evacuated; a body of the rear-guard remained on the left bank of the Adda, between this town and Pizzighitone. The French head-quarters were at Lodi, a place whose remembrance will long live in history, from the memorable victory obtained there by Buonaparte.

It was at this period that Scherer, covered with disgrace and confusion, after having caused the ruin of the army of the Danube as minister, and that of Italy as commander, was compelled to abandon a post which he was so unworthy of having filled. The command of this army, diminished to half its numbers, was given to Moreau.

This dangerous, but honourable appointment, Moreau accepted, not with any hope to repair the disasters of the beginning of the campaign,

vored by a rapid counter-march to overtake the victorious Moreau, who, after boldly fighting another battle with Kaim, retreated within the precincts of the Ligurian republic, and bade defiance to his disappointed foe.

Italy has at all periods been the principal slaughter-house of mankind; but history furnishes no example where the contending parties have been so numerous and varied as the present. Germans, Turks, Russians, French, Greeks, Poles and Italians; people of different languages, opposite customs, and most hostile faith, have met on this theatre. Interests the most adverse, and sentiments the most discordant, have joined in friendly alliance against one powerful object of dislike; and these regions, where nature has been so lavish of her favors, and whose voluptuous inhabitants had been effeminated by the arts, became at once the theatre of desolation, and of all the mischiefs and horrors of war.

While Moreau was thus supporting the military dignity of his country, the directors at the head of its government were plotting and intriguing against each other. The opponents to the Directory had increased by the daily news from the armies of defeat and ruin; of their seeking refuge in the mountains from the pursuit of the conquerors. Their party had also gained strength by the accession of Sieyes, whose dispositions against his

colleagues, notwithstanding his known character for dissimulation, were not equivocal.

The leaders of this opposition consisted of nine members, the chief of whom were Lucien Buonaparte, Francais de Nantes, and Boulay de la Meurthe, whose object was nothing less than the subversion of three members of the Directory, Merlin, Reveilliere Lepeaux and Treilhard; for Barras, equally corrupt, but less despotic than the others, had averted the storm by signifying to the opposition that he was accordant to their views.

The Directory had its guard and the command of the troops around Paris, but the whole of these the opposition gained over to their party, and having organized a considerable force, of which the discontented officers of every rank at Paris formed an important part, they made themselves secret masters of the *Ecole Militaire*, and of all the apparatus of war, which the Directory might otherwise have brought against them. Thus entrenched they became more bold in their attacks, and succeeded in expelling the obnoxious members.*

The Executive Directory now consisted of Barras, Sieyes, and Gohier. The former as has been

---

* This affair was called by the pompous name of the Revolution of the 30th Praireal.

observed, having made his previous submissions, was employed by the opposition as an instrument in the subversion of the rest; his neutrality at least was of considerable service. *Barras in days of revolution had been noted for his courage. He mounted his horse the 9th of Thermidor; the 13th of Vendemiaire, and the 18th of Fructidor; his colleagues pressed him to mount at the present crisis, but Barras peremptorily refused, alleging that his horse was foundered.*

Macdonald, by a brilliant retreat, had effected a junction in Italy with General Moreau, when a sort of involuntary truce, or suspension of carnage, took place on both sides of the Alps, while both armies waited for reinforcements to begin anew their labors of death. But in this interval the Directory, instead of throwing fresh troops into the army of Italy, sent a new general to command it. This was Joubert, formerly one of Buonaparte's colonels, and whom Sieyes had married to Mademoiselle de Semonville, the daughter of his friend Monsieur de Semonville.

Whatever may have been the motives of these changes, General Moreau had compleated his part in this grand scene, and Marshal Suwarrow would certainly render him this honorable testimony, that, when opposed to him, he had constantly supported his reputation for skill and enterprize in defensive war.

Joubert, who had taken his head-quarters at Campo Marino, between Savona and Montonette, after having reconnoitred with Moreau, whose *coup d'œil* was formed to this kind of war, all his positions; was determined to make a vigorous effort to march his army into the plains, and maintain himself there, after he should have forced Suwarrow to raise the siege of the citadel of Tortona. He invited Moreau to defer his departure, in order to aid him with his councils; Moreau accepted this invitation, and took a command under his orders.

On the 14th of August, while Moreau and Joubert were busy in reconnoitring and observing a distant part of the enemy's lines, they received intelligence that the left wing of the French was attacked; for Suwarrow, conscious of his strength, had determined to anticipate the designs of the French, whom he knew to be always most formidable when the assailants. On the return of Joubert and Moreau, they found the action was become general through the whole line, which had formed in sight of the allied army, upon the brow of the mountains abreast of Novi. Desirous of encouraging his troops, Joubert put himself at the head of a charge of infantry, and calling out, *Marchez! Marchez!** was struck by a ball in the

---

* *Forward! Forward!*

heart, and fell, calling till he expired, *Avancez mes Soldats!*†

His loss and last words augmented the ardor of the troops and the generals; and Saint Cyr, Perignon, Suchet, Grouchy and Dessolles, with one voice, called on General Moreau to take the command, who held no rank, but had served as a volunteer. It is in such trying situations that the comparative powers of every individual are felt and acknowledged.

While General Kray was endeavoring to turn Novi, the Russian General Pankrazian attacked it in front, but they were both repulsed; the Russian division under General Dorfelden in the centre, and the left wing of General Melas, then received orders to attack; the former by the *chaussée* of Novi, and the latter by ascending the left bank of the Scrivia; but this double attack had no better success than those of Kray and Pankrasian; Dorfelden tried in vain to gain the heights on the left of Novi.

The two armies were now engaged along their whole front; the slaughter was dreadful.

At three o'clock, General Kray's corps, having been twice repulsed, and having suffered extremely, General Suwarrow ordered a second attack upon the heights of Novi to be attempted by

† *March on my Soldiers!*

the Russian divisions under the orders of General Dorfelden, Pankraxian, and Milloradowitsch; but such was the resistance of the French, that, in spite of the repeated charges of the columns they maintained their position. The centre of the allied army was almost entirely cut to pieces in these charges, which General Suwarrow, with unshaken firmness, caused to be supported and renewed no less than three times, notwithstanding their bad success, in order to occupy, or at least to check the centre of the French army, on which he could make no impression. General Moreau fought there in person, and, as well as Generals St. Cyr and Dessolles, were to be seen in the hottest of the fight directing the energies of their troops.

In the mean time General Melas with eight battalions of grenadiers and six battalions of Austrian infantry, which formed the left wing of the allied army, having gained the first heights of Novi on the side of Pietale, and detached general Nobili's corps along the left bank of the Scrivia, undertook to turn entirely the right wing of the French army; he reached Scravalle, the blockade of which he raised; he thus occupied Arquata, and marched by the road of Scravalle against Novi. He ordered the right flank of the French to be attacked by General Frolich's division: the head of this attack was formed by the first battalion of Fürstenberg, and by the brigade

of Major-General Lusignan, who being in the first charge vigorously repulsed, was severely wounded and taken prisoner. General Melas supported this column, which formed the right and the main spring of his attack, by a second column under the orders of General Laudon; a third, headed by the Prince de Lichtenstein, was directed to pass beyond the line of the French as far as the rear of their right wing, occupying at the same time the advantageous points that presented themselves in the intervals of the columns. General Melas protected their movement, and supported their action by batteries corresponding to the direction of their march; a manœuvre which decided the victory.

About five o'clock in the afternoon General Melas with the grenadiers of Paar attacked in flank this post of Novi, which had cost all the blood spilt from the beginning of the action, and which Moreau had just reinforced in that part, to cover the retreat he had ordered; the French, being almost surrounded, were compelled to abandon it: Prince de Lichtenstein's column having cut off their communication with Gavi, they could retire only on their left flank towards Ovada. This retreat was at first executed in good order; but the artillery not having passed through the village of Pastouraux as quickly as it ought to have done, the division which formed the rear guard, found this village blocked up; it

was stopped, thrown into confusion, and soon overtaken by General Karaczay's corps, which had been sent in pursuit of it by Marshal Suwarrow. The French Generals Pérignon, Grouchi, and Parthenau, made every effort to rally this rear guard, but without success; all three were wounded and taken prisoners, as was also the Piedmontese General Colli. Pérignon and Grouchi were cut down by sabres. An instance has been mentioned of the gallant conduct of General Grouchi, who, after several unsuccessful charges, having rallied a body of cavalry, charged the enemy with a standard in his hand, and on its being snatched from him in the conflict, he stuck his hat upon the point of his sword, and charged again, when he was wounded and thrown from his horse. Night put an end to the battle.

Against the reiterated attacks of troops superior in number and equally brave, the French had, not merely with obstinacy, but with the courage of despair, defended a position very strong by nature, and covered with trees and bushes, which on all sides made its approaches very difficult. This position was likewise rendered formidable by a numerous artillery advantageously planted, and extremely well served. But the more the confidence of the French had been sustained during the whole day by these advantages of the ground, and by the want of success of the attacks of General Kray's corps and of the Russian

divisions against their left and centre, the greater was their loss, and the more precipitate their retreat, when General Melas by his skilful manœuvres succeeded in dislodging their right.

If we except the battle of Malplaquet, gained by Prince Eugene, commanding the allied army, against Marshal de Villars, in 1709, in which 30,000 men were killed, and that of Francfort upon the Oder, in 1759, between the Prussians and the Russians, in which Frederic II. left near 20,000 men upon the field of battle, and did not quit it till after having made a slaughter equally dreadful among the Russian infantry, there has been, in this century, no battle so bloody as that of Novi. According to the official reports, and the testimonies of the officers taken prisoners, we may estimate the number of killed and dangerously wounded in both armies near 25,000 men. Here, as at Malplaquet, the two armies being engaged at all the points of their line, did not cease to destroy each other as long as the day lasted. This was also the case at the battle of Francfort, where the capital manœuvre of General Laudon decided the victory. At Novi, the advantage remained uncertain till General Melas was enabled to turn the right wing of the French.

The French army retreated during the night to the Apennines pursued by General Karaczay, who had taken possession at Pasturano of a part of the field-artillery. Moreau covered his retreat

by occupying the Red Mountain, where General St. Cyr posted himself with his division within reach of defending, towards the road of Gavi, the approaches to the Bochetta; the rest of the French army rallied by degrees, and took its former positions. Moreau went to Geneva, and pressed General Championet to go and take the command, to which he was named a short time after by the Directory, who had decreed the army of the Alps to that of Italy.

The part Moreau took in this campaign will be long celebrated in the annals of war. When the battle of Magnan was lost by Scherer, at the moment that 45,000 Russians were marching to reinforce the Austrian army, it appeared altogether improbable that Moreau, with a disorganized army, should not only have defended the Milanese, but even have kept his station in Piedmont and in the state of Genoa; much less that he could have rallied Macdonald's army, whose capture or destruction seemed inevitable.

The great generalship which he displayed, both in retarding the passage of the Adda, and in the choice of that position, where he contrived, by deceiving the enemy with respect to his projects, to concentrate his forces between Alessandria and Tortona, and not only keep the imperial armies in check, but even obtain an important success against forces infinitely superior; in short the unexampled rallying of the army of Naples with the

wrecks of the army of Italy, an event so important, and which Suwarrow had not the genius, though he had abundantly the power, to prevent, will for ever exalt Moreau, and do honor to the military talents of Macdonald.

CHAPTER XIX.

While the armies of Italy were saved from total ruin by Moreau, Egypt was conquered by the victorious army of Buonaparte. He meditates returning privately to France. He embarks with Berthier, Lannes, Marmont, Murat and Andreossi. His arrival in France. Buonaparte and Moreau meet. Fete given them at the Temple of Victory. Enfeebled state of the government of the French Republic. Project of Sieyes for the cure of the body-politic. Adhesion of Buonaparte to Sieyes' project. Session of the councils at St. Cloud. Resignation of Barras. The day of the 19th of Brumaire. Buonaparte's speech at the bar of the Council of Elders. Buonaparte at the Council of Five Hundred. He enters without a hat, and unarmed. Agitation, murmurs and vociferations. Arena makes a blow at him with a poignard, which *Thome* a grenadier parries off. Lefevre and others rally round their general. The President Lucien in great danger. He mounts the tribune, and afterwards his horse. March of soldiers into the chamber of the council to the sound of the *pas de charge*. The members finding the arguments of bayonets irresistible, scramble out of the doors.

WHILE Moreau was defending the conquests of the republic in Italy, Buonaparte had conquered Egypt, established in it a colony, enacted a code of laws, regulated every object of administration, and enlightened with the arts and sciences a part of the world that was once their nursery, but which for many ages had lost every vestige of civilization. What would have been sufficient to

immortalize more than one man, was considered by the hero of Italy and of Egypt a small part of his duty; he had new dangers to experience, new plans to execute, factions to suppress, and a throne to ascend on which the Bourbons had shewn themselves unworthy to sit. All fire, all intelligence, our tribute of admiration is equally exacted, whether we behold him snatching a standard from the hand of a subaltern, and animating his soldiers on the bridge of Lodi by his actions and gesticulations (his voice was drowned in the noise of the cannon and musquetry) which neither Berthier nor Massena, nor Cervoni, could get them to pass; or triumphing over superstition, clothed in cowls and surplices, brandishing a poignard in one hand, and a crucifix in the other. What a general! What a conqueror! I have before said that compared to him Hannibal was a stripling, Alexander a holiday captain, and Cæsar a mere candidate for military fame; but I forgot to say that he had subdued Venice, conferred a new form of government on Genoa, struck the triple crown from the head of Pius VI. made Sardinia a kingdom by courtesy, restored Corsica to France, taught an emperor to tremble beneath his diadem, and become the legislator of the hordes of the desert.

Lucien Buonaparte had found means to keep up a correspondence with his brother in Egypt, by the way of England; he had acquainted him

with the miserable state of the interior of France, and with the disorganization of the armies, every where defeated. The jealous Directory, far from sending him any intelligence, endeavored to keep him in the most profound ignorance of the political state of Europe. It was, I am of opinion, from fear of his popularity that they gave him the expedition to Egypt; hoping that, like Charles XII. he would blast all his laurels, and wander a fugitive rather thon a conqueror among the Cossacks of the Ukraine.

The republic had met with fresh disasters without, and was threatened with new convulsions within. He had been informed, by communications with English flags of truce, of the first reverses which her armies had undergone in Italy and on the Rhine, and of the struggles which were taking place in France. He determined to return to Europe, and communicated his design to General Berthier alone.

Knowing that nothing cultivates the affection of a people more than attentions to their religious prejudices, he had just celebrated with much pomp the festival of the prophet in the presence of Mustapha Pacha and the Turkish officers who had been taken with him at Aboukir.* But now

* This must have been a very edifying spectacle to the staff, subalterns, sergeants, corporals, rank and file, even down to the suttlers of the camp of the army of Egypt. In their European campaigns they had gone on in the old trammels of the

his last moments were employed in assuring the pay of the army, in providing for its wants, and distributing rewards.

Being determined to trust his fortune to the winds and waves, he gave orders to Admiral Gantheaume to get ready two frigates, an aviso, and a tartane, without informing him of their destination.

The persons on whom he conferred the dangerous favor of accompanying him were the Generals Lanner, Marmont, Murat and Andreossi, together with Monge and Berthollet, the chief of

---

service, and thought it enough that they took care the horses and their own bellies were filled, that they eat when others eat, and fought when others fought. But now their days of regeneration were come, and they aspired to spiritual as well as temporal conquest; while they extended the terrestrial possessions of France, they amassed for themselves celestial treasures. The faith of the military was kindled, and they knocked for the gates of the seventh heaven to be opened to them, where black eyed houris sat and sighed. But Buonaparte's congregation (like Lord Chatham's administration) was a motley work, so checkered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery so crossly indented, and whimsically dove-tailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a tesselated pavement without cement, here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; muftis and generals; imans and troopers; Arabs and Frenchmen; despotic beys and fraternizing republicans; mamelukes and dragoons. Such a scene forty ages may indeed contemplate with wonder from the pinnacle of the pyramid of Cheops.

brigade Bessieres and his guides: each of these received a sealed note, which he was to open on a certain day, at such an hour, and at such a point of the sea-shore.

They found in them an order to embark immediately, and without permitting themselves any sort of communication. A similar packet, which was to be opened only twenty-four hours after the departure of the vessels, was destined for General Kleber, and contained his nomination to the chief command, and for Dessaix that of upper Egypt.

The 5th Fructidor, year vii,* was the day appointed. All who had received notes arrived at the rendezvous, opened their instructions, and found they were to embark immediately. They lost no time, but left their effects in their quarters, and their horses on the sands.

Arrived on board the vessels prepared for their voyage, they found Buonaparte standing on the quarter-deck; they made a general muster, and found two strangers, whom they put on shore. The anchors were hove up, and they set sail; but owing to contrary winds could not get out of Aboukir bay before the 7th.

He arrived on the 9th of Vendemaire at Ajac-

* 23d August, 1799.

cio, his native place,* having met with no part of the British fleet at sea, nor seen any vessel but one ship at a distance. They were wind bound till the 13th; but on the 16th he reached

* Napoleon Buonaparte was born the 15th of August, 1769, at Ajaccio, a small town on the western side of Corsica. General Marboeuf, who had conquered Corsica for France, and remained there governor of the island, placed him at the royal military college of Brienne, in Champagne, where he shewed himself inclined to solitude, and a stoical rigor of life. He lived much in his gloomy cell, where provided with the spare furniture of a hammock, an earthen jug, and a washing bason, he was locked up every night. He seldom joined in the sports of his school-fellows, and often drove them out of his garden with his garden implements. Once he defended his chamber against their attacks, throwing his pitcher and water-bottle at their heads. He always carried a volume of Plutarch in his pocket.

In 1784, he was admitted into the *Ecole Militaire*, where, leaning on the parapet of a fort, with the works of Vauban, Cohorn and Foard, by his side, he drew plans for its attack and defence. He entered afterwards a regiment of artillery, as lieutenant, and first distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon, where he was observed by Barras serving a piece of artillery almost by himself, charging, loading, and ramming, with nothing but dead bodies lying around him, swimming in their blood.

He was soon after invested with the chief command of the army of Italy, where he made the veteran troops of Europe turn pale, and the Brunswicks, the Clairfaits, the Wurmsers, bend to him their silver locks. Malta, impregnable both by nature and art, fell at his presence; he took Alexandria by storm, fought a decisive battle under the Pyramids, routed the Beys, placed the tri-colored cockade over Pompey's pillar, and illuminated Cleopatra's needle.

St. Raphieau, and at two o'clock entered the town of Frejus, with his generals and *suite*, where the inhabitants crouded to see him, making the air resound with *Vive la Republique! Vive Buonaparte!*

At six o'clock in the evening of the 17th, he left Frejus, and set out for Paris, with General Berthier and three of the *literati* whom he had brought back with him. He could appreciate talents, and owed much to authors. Had not Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, Montesquieu and Mably, paved the road for a revolution by exposing in their writings the follies and abuses of former times, Louis the eighteenth's head would have been still on his shoulders.

It was at Paris Buonaparte first saw Moreau, whom he met at the house of the director Gohier. They regarded each other with admiration, but without envy. For each might have said:

De qui dans l'univers puissé-je être jaloux?

"*General*" said Buonaparte to Moreau, "*J'ai eu plusieurs de vos lieutenans dans mes campagnes d'Egypte; je puis vous assurer que ce sont d'excellens officers.*" "*General, I have had several of your lieutenants with me in Egypt, and I can assure you they are very distinguished officers.*

All Paris welcomed the return of Buonaparte: the streets, the windows, the tops of the houses were filled with every class of citizens greeting his return; while the artillery was

fired, and the flags displayed. All parties hailed his coming;—tired with their long, continued strifes, and numberless disorders, all looked up to him in the hopes of security and happiness; all confided in the republican hero, who had even attempted to disseminate knowledge and freedom through the deserts of Africa.

On the 15th of Brumaire,* a *fête* was given to Buonaparte and Moreau by the two councils in the Temple of Victory, formerly the church of St. Sulpice. Among the songs sung and applauded, there was the following to the air of the *pas de charge*.

O Buonaparte! et toi Moreau
Noms chers à la victoire!
Quel est le sublime pinceau
Qui peindra tant de gloire?
Championet! Brune! Massena!
Que d'éloges à faire!
Ma foi, mettons et cætera;
Puis cherchons un Homere.

Les rois, fiers de quelques revers,
Pleins d'un orgueil extrême,
Pretendaient nous donner des fers
Jusque dans Paris même.

* 6th of November.

Nous, modestes dans nos succès,
Comme beaux en vaillance,
Aux rois nous donnerons la paix:
O la douce vengeance!

O Buonaparte! O Moreau!
For conquest pre-ordain'd:
What pencil proud may hope to shew
The glories ye have gain'd.
Massena! Championet! and Brune
What eulogies should throng!
Hold, hold, the rest—th' entire platoon
Demand a Homer's song.

The race of kings with pride elate,
Yet stung with secret fright,
With fetters strove t'enslave our state,
And cramp each civic right.
But we, more modest in success,
As more in arms compleat,
With peace the reign of kings will bless,
O vengeanee heavenly sweet!

If I may be allowed to express my opinion, *en passant*, of this poetical tribute to the shrine of Buonaparte and Moreau, I will observe that the muses have not strewed over it the flowers of Parnassus. It is not less adapted to a psalm tune of Sternhold and Hopkins, than the air of the *pas*

de charge. But the chief guests at table were too much abstracted with revolutionary projects to be able to distinguish good poetry from bad; the discerning of the jacobins viewed Buonaparte with a jealous look; and whether they eyed him *en face*, or *en profilë*, sat on thorns the whole of the *fête*. The party, composed of the members of the legislative body and principal military officers at Paris, broke up early; and when Buonaparte returned to the house provided for him in Rue des Victoires, he found there Madame la Fayette with the youngest of her daughters, who came to thank him for having delivered the Marquis from the gloomy dungeons of Austria. She met with a distinguished reception; which caused some one to say: *That is not surprizing; virtue ought to be cherished by glory.*

The Abbé Sieyes, who has transiently appeared twice or thrice in this drama, was one of the Directory when Buonaparte returned to Paris: it has been seen how he accomplished the subversion of Treilhard, Merlin and La Revelliere. He had figured in an early period of the revolution; he was the author of the famous declaration of the *Rights of Man;* in which however there is an incongruity arising from applying abstract deductions to the practice of government and legislation. It was opposed in warm and strong language by that eloquent but pensioned writer, Mr. Burke; who stated that Sieyes wanted to reduce

the art of governing to the rules of architecture, and to measure the passions of men with a geometrical compass. "I would recommend to our reformers," said Mr. Burke, "one of the new constitutions ready cut and dry, from the pigeon holes of the Abbé's bureau."*

When the constitution of the French republic was under discussion, Sieyes projected a constitutional jury; but it was thrown aside as a thing useless and cumbersome, and fitted rather to retard than aid the progress of the political machine.

An injury may be forgiven, but an insult never is; the mind feels degraded, and is not content till it has recovered its level. Sieyes never relinquished his project; and the opposition made to all his measures by the jacobin party, both in the councils and by his colleagues, decided him to attempt his counter-project the first favourable opportunity; to give France a constitution modelled after his own political notions; a constitution of a democratical monarchy.

But if Sieyes had capacity to plan a constitution, he had not power to enforce it; he required

* A literary emigrant has made the Abbe the sad burden of his rhymes:

"Le Legiste Sieyes, docteur en style dur,
Qui passe pour sublime à force d'etre obscur."

a military man to back him; he wanted a distinguished general to defend with his sword the project of his waking and sleeping thoughts. The first person on whom he fixed his view was Joubert; but Joubert was not so fully impressed with the necessity of the change as Sieyes, and preferred being chief of an army destined to relieve Italy, to becoming, as he perhaps imagined, the instrument of political intrigue.

The increase of the evil only served to augment Sieyes' desire to find the remedy; and this evil had nearly approached its height when Buonaparte landed in France from Egypt. Nothing, therefore, could be more propitious to the execution of his project than the presence of this hero; and, perhaps, no union of talents was ever better fitted to form a revolutionary plan, and carry it into execution.

Sieyes procured a private interview with General Buonaparte. They had much discussion together, and in this discussion the soldier conducted himself as wily as the priest. At length they agreed that the project, or so much as was necessary at that time to be made known, should be entrusted to twenty members* of both Coun-

* Lucien Bounaparte, Boulay de la Meurthe, Lemercier, Courtois, Cabarus, Regnier, Fargues, Villetard, Chazal, Baraillon, Bouteville, Cornet, Vimar, Delecloy, Fregeville, Le Harry, Goupil, Prescho, Rousseau, Herwyn, Cornudet.

cils; who assembled at the house of Lemercier, the President of the Council of Ancients, in the morning of the 16th of Brumaire,† the day after that on which a *fête* had been given by the two Councils to Buonaparte and Moreau.

In this conference between Sieyes, Buonaparte, Lemercier, Lucien Buonaparte, and the sixteen other members, the mode of executing the plot was canvassed; and it was determined on that the Councils and Directory should be translated to St. Cloud; and that the measure should be proposed by the commission of inspectors to the Council of Ancients. After taking an oath of secrecy, the twenty separated to instruct each one such of his friends as he could rely on, and prepare them for this new crisis.

To see these leaders of a party flocking round Buonaparte, to strengthen themselves with his suffrage, raises him in our admiration. He was the only man who could repair the tottering ruins of the political edifice, or rebuild it on a more solid foundation. In the midst of a lamentable fluctuation, he felt the necessity of bringing speedily into port the leaky vessel of the state; and, like another Alexander, resolved to cut the gordian knot, and take upon himself an immense responsibility, as well as immense glory,

† November 7, (1799.)

by seizing, with a firm and steady hand, the reins of government.

Meanwhile the proper officers were charged to get ready plans of jacobin conspiracy, in case the occasion should demand them; for the charge of conspiracy on the party to be overthrown is always an object of the first importance, whether true or false, in making a revolution.

The next day letters of convocation were addressed to the members of the Council of Anciens, except such as were known for exaggerated and jacobinical principles; and at eight the following morning, the 8th of Brumaire,* the members who had been convoked assembled at their usual place of sitting.

The greater number ignorant of the cause of this unusual convocation, were eager to learn it. They were profoundly informed by those in the secret that a vast conspiracy was forming, and advised to the adoption of whatever measures should be proposed.

As the ostensible motive was to shake off the demagogical yoke, they were equally well inclined, and took the conspiracy upon trust.

As soon as the assembly was formed, Cornet, one of the inspectors, ascended the tribune, made a representation of the dangers which

* November 9.

threatened the country, and concluded on the necessity of taking speedy and effective measures for its deliverance.

He was followed by Regnier, whose speech struck still greater terror into the minds of the uninitiated; he drew the liveliest pictures of the audacious ruffians, and determined conspirators, vomited out against them from every part of the globe—that execrable foreign faction, the cause of all their misfortunes.

When this salutary horror was raised to its greatest height, he declared to them the remedy which had been prepared; which was the transporting the Legislative body to a commune near Paris, where they might deliberate in security on the measures necessary for extricating the country at that alarming crisis; assuring them also that General Buonaparte was ready to execute whatever decree he should be charged with.

The translation of the Council of Ancients to any other commune, on their simple vote, was an article of the constitution; and it is remarkable, that it was the only article furnished by Sieyes, who was a member of the commission for forming it.

Regnier, therefore, moved that the Council should be translated to St. Cloud; the discussion of other motions, proposed by members of the Council, was over-ruled, and the motion was carried by a great majority.

It was further moved and carried, that, this translation should take place on the following day; that Buonaparte should be charged with the execution, and take the necessary measures for the surety of the national representation; that he should be called into the Council to take the requisite oaths, and that a message containing the resolution of the Council should be sent to the Directory, and the Council of Five Hundred.

As it was expedient to enter also into some explanation with the people, with respect to this extraordinary measure, an address was proposed, in which, after the right of such translation had been stated, the motive alleged was the enchaining of the different factions, and the obtaining a speedy peace both without and within. Both these objects were sufficiently interesting to the people of Paris to induce them to keep quiet and peaceable, as they were enjoined. They had too enthusiastic confidence in the person to whom the execution of the law was entrusted.

The decree was notified to Buonaparte at his house in *Rue des Victoires*, where he was surrounded by a numerous staff. He obeyed the summons, and immediately set off for the Thuilleries, where he appeared at the bar of the council. He read the decree of the council, and, when he had finished it, addressed the representatives.

" *Citizen Representatives,*

" The republic was perishing; you were acquainted with it, and your decree must ensure its safety. Woe be to them who wish to trouble and confuse it. I will take care to secure them. Generals Lefevre and Berthier, with all my companions in arms, will lend me their assistance. Let them not revert to the past for examples to retard your progress; there is nothing in history to equal the end of the eighteenth century.

" Your wisdom has issued the decree; our arms shall put it in execution. We will have a republic founded on the right basis, on civil liberty and national representation: we will have it, I swear! I swear it in my own name, and in that of my fellow soldiers!"

When this first part of the project was executed, the assembly broke up. The message being read at the Council of Five Hundred, the deputies, who were not in the secret, or who favored the jacobin party, were struck with astonishment, but made no observations; the remainder of the assembly rested in hope and confidence. The law which had been passed at the Elders was read, and the council adjourned, some among them crying *Vive la Republique!* and others, who had vague suspicions of what was brooding, extended their views further, and cried *Vive la Constitution!*

The walls of Paris were immediately covered with proclamations, which, as the event had been foreseen, were previously written and printed.

In these Buonaparte informed the troops of the measures taken by the Council of the Ancients, and the command which had been conferred on him; he invited them to second him with their accustomed energy, firmness and courage, promising them that liberty, victory and peace, should raise again the republic to the rank which it held in Europe, and which ignorance, faction and treason had almost brought to destruction. "In what state," said he in the proclamation, "did I leave France? In what state have I found it? I left you peace, and I find war! I left you conquests, and the enemy are passing your frontiers! I left your arsenals well supplied, and you are without arms: your cannon have been sold; robbery has been reduced to system, and the resources of the state are drained: recourse has been had to vexatious means, repugnant alike to justice and good sense: the soldier has been left without defence. Where are those heroes, the hundred thousand comrades whom I left covered with laurels? What is become of them? Alas! they have perished!"

His address to the officers of the national sedentary guard was, if it be possible, still more emphatical. It declared, "A new order of things is about to take place; the Council of Ancients are

going to save the republic; whoever opposes it shall perish by the bayonet of the soldier."

The moment of conferring the chief command of the troops on Buonaparte, and that of carrying it into execution by the display of a vast military force, immediately followed each other.

The garden of the Thuilleries was filled almost instantly with infantry and cavalry, among whom were also the guards of the Directory. Buonaparte reviewed the troops about the palace, which at a distance resembled the appearance of a camp.

The principal posts in and around Paris, such as the bridges, the Luxemburgh, the hall of the Council of Five Hundred, the military school, the invalids, St. Cloud and Versailles, were entrusted to Marmont, Serrurier, Lasnes, Macdonald, Berthier, Murat, Andreossi, and other generals whose names had figured with his own in affairs more hazardous, though not more important. Lefevre* was his first lieutenant: Augereau,

---

* General Lefevre is reproached by his enemies, with the crime of being born in a baggage-waggon. God knows that this must have been involuntary, at least, on his part! But, in imitation of Marius, when the Roman nobility boasted of the statues of their ancestors, he may open his breast, and exhibit his honest scars by way of a reply.

From the ranks he rose to a *halbert;* and would have stopped for ever at this point in the muster roll, under the ancient order of things; without patronage, friends, family,

who had hitherto mingled with the jacobin party, in the true spirit of a soldier, came voluntarily and joined him.

I have not been able to learn in what particular point General Moreau afforded his assistance; but that he espoused Buonaparte in his revolutionary measures we have his own testimony. He says to him in a letter, which will appear in due succession, *surely you have not forgotten the disinterestedness with which I seconded you on the 18th of Brumaire.*

While the proclamations were stuck up at every corner of the streets, a small pamphlet, written expressly for the purpose, was distributed gratis to the croud, purporting that the Parisians need be under no apprehension that Buonaparte intended to act the part of Cæsar or of Cromwell.

This new organization had taken place before such of the directors as were not in the secret

---

or title; destitute of every thing but talents to back his pretensions.

In consequence of the revolution, the drill-serjeant was estimated by the standard of individual merit, and rose to the rank of general. He distinguished himself eminently in the passage of the Rhine. The man, who had made himself a general, was opposed to a prince, who was born one! His Serene Highness of Wirtembergh had learned to dance; and unfortunately for him, he was actually practising a *pas de deux* at a ball, the very moment Lefevre was beating up his quarters!

were apprized of any attempts against their authority. Sieyes and Roger Ducos, on receiving the message from the ancients for which they were in waiting, repaired immediately to the commission of inspectors at the Thuilleries, to which were united the commission of inspectors of the Five Hundred, and other persons of influence, to whom the object of this meditated revolution had now been made known.

Barras* was the first of the three other directors who became acquainted with the change. He was invited to give in his resignation, a proposition which he received indignantly; but recollecting himself, acknowledged the necessity and justice of the measure, without, however, yielding to the requisition.

---

* Barras, born in 1755 sprung from one of the noblest and oldest families in France. He was bred to the profession of arms. In his youth he went to the Isle of France, and served in the war at Pondicherry. On his return to Paris he could not resist the seductions of its brothels and gambling houses; they elevated him to the fourth story of an obscure hotel. He figured in the revolution; he revived the patriotism of the soldiers at Toulon, and after two nights fighting and fatigue restored that port to the republic: He told the convention afterwards that, *the only patriots he had found there were the galley slaves*. His courage was often apparent; he was the commander of the armed force which overcame the popularity of the dictator Robespierre, and the formidable cannoneers led on by the ferocious Henriot and Coffinhal.

Gohier, waking late in the morning, was surprized at finding the decree of the Council of Ancients on his table. He repaired to the council-room of the Directory, where Moulins met him, as ignorant and as much surprized as himself. Their perplexity was increased, when, on enquiring for Sieyes and Ducos, they found that they had repaired to the Thuilleries, and that Barras refused to join in their deliberations. The secretary was then called to write the arretés they were about to form; but their astonishment was carried to its utmost on his observing, that two members could not form a majority, and that it was impossible for him to fulfil the function of his ministry.

The only resource now left was that of military force, and Moulins gave orders to surround the house of Buonaparte. The danger of this strong measure was suggested to him; but on his insisting that it should be put into execution, it was discovered that the guard had deserted, and gone to the Thuilleries.

General Lefevre was then summoned to appear before them: he came, but, bowing, answered that an irrevocable decree, which had just been issued by the Council of Ancients, invested General Buonaparte with the supreme command of all the troops in Paris; that he was now only a subaltern; and that they must address themselves to Buonaparte for any information they required.

Of the inefficacy of every attempt they were soon convinced, by finding the directorial palace invested by a troop of soldiers. Moulins, who had been thoroughly initiated in revolutionary measures, did not wait to be arrested, but jumping out of the window, escaped across the garden of the Luxemburgh. Gohier repaired to the Thuilleries, where, as president of the Directory, he put the seal to the decree of the translation to St. Cloud; but persisted in not giving in his dismission, or resigning the seal of state; and returned to the palace of the Directory, where he was put under a guard.

Sieyes and Ducos resigned their offices: immediately after Barras sent in his resignation to Buonaparte, by his secretary Botot.

While Botot was gone in search of the general, the ex-director waited in a coach at a short distance from the Council of Ancients, to hear the result of his message.

Buonaparte was in the chamber of inspectors, when Botot asked to speak with him, to execute his mission. He delivered the resignation, and enquired in a low voice, what Barras had to expect from him. "Tell him," said Buonaparte, "that I will have no further intercourse with him; and that I shall know how to make the authority I am invested with respected."

Barras, informed of Buonaparte's dispositions, withdrew peaceably to his estate of Gros Bois,

accompanied by a detachment of cavalry, which, on his request, the general lent him for his personal protection.*

The measures taken for the preservation of the tranquillity of Paris had been more than sufficient. The city was in the most perfect calm, and a general satisfaction reigned throughout, from the persuasion that the result could not be otherwise than good. The committees of inspectors, with the ex-directors Sieyes and Ducos, passed the night at the Thuilleries, to prepare measures for the sitting at St. Cloud, whither the legislature repaired the following day, according to the decree.

---

* It does not appear that, through his long directoryship, Barras's power was signalized by any extraordinary act of violence or despotism. His principles, if he had any, were aristocratical; but his ruling passion was pleasure, and to this he sacrificed every other consideration. None of the Directory, except Rewbell, was more corrupt; but the rage of Barras for money was accompanied by an irresistible impulse of squandering, so that, if he was equally rapacious with his colleague, he was prodigal as the other was avaricious. The one retired from power covered with riches, the other with debt. Barras was liberal in his donations, and, from his private purse, supported the wants of many whose fortunes together with their titles had fallen into the yellow leaf; and the general sentiment which attended his fall was that of good natured contempt, mingled with something like a feeling of concern, that his good qualities could not redeem his vices.

On the 19th of Brumaire,* before break of day, multiplied detachments of infantry and cavalry, occupied all the posts and the neighbourhood of the palace of St. Cloud. The Council of Ancients assembled in the chamber called the Gallery: the Council of Five Hundred occupied the Orangery, which opened on the garden.

The Council of Five Hundred opened its sitting about one o'clock, of which Lucien Buonaparte was President. It was compleat, with the exception of forty-five members: they were all in their *costume.*

After reading the *procès-verbal*, Emile Gaudin rose. He took a rapid survey of the dangers which threatened the country, and moved that a commission of seven members should be chosen to make a report on the actual situation of the state, and propose at the same time such measures as should be deemed necessary for the public interest. He moved also that the Council should suspend all deliberations till the report was presented.

The report had been already fabricated by the commissions of inspectors at the Thuilleries, and one of the measures to be proposed was the arrest of sixty of the members of the violent party. It had been concluded that this motion would

* November 10, (1799.)

have passed without difficulty, and that those against whom it was principally directed would absent themselves from the meeting, knowing that the translation boded nothing good to themselves.

It had been suggested by those who were better acquainted with the tenacity of that party, to exclude them from the Assembly on their presenting themselves at the palace: but this advice, which it would have been wise in the present circumstances to follow, was overruled by Buonaparte, who, ignorant of the manœuvres of the party in deliberations, or rather in the art of preventing deliberations, thought that the majority of the Council was sufficient to awe the rest into silence.

He was deceived in his calculation; for no sooner had Gaudin finished his speech, than the jacobin members began to vociferate: "*à bas les dictateurs! la constitution de l'an 3, ou la mort! les baionnettes ne nous effrayent pas: nous saurons mourir à notre poste! down with the dictators! the constitution of the third year, or death! bayonets do not affright us: we shall know how to die at our post!*" some moving for a message to the council of elders, to know the motives of the translation; others for the renewal of the oath of fidelity to the constitution.

When the first tumult had ceased, the proposition for the renewal of the oath was formally made by Grandmaison, and carried by acclamation; the

whole of the members rising and exclaiming "*Vive la Constitution!*"

No plausible objection could be made by any against re-taking the oath of fidelity to the constitution. They who were initiated in the secret, who had the report in their pockets, the immediate tendency of which was to overthrow it, were compelled to follow the torrent, and mount in their turn the tribunes, to commit this act of political perjury. But violations of this oath had been so long enumerated in the list of remissible offences, that no one chose, at that moment, to hazard the refusal; though it was not difficult to perceive by the tones of the deputies, as they repeated the oath, the degree of sincerity they attached to the ceremony; the jacobins dwelling with particular emphasis on the words, "resistance to every kind of tyranny," while the moderate party, who were now more or less initiated into the secret, rehearsed their parts with marks of contempt or indifference. This ceremony, however, which took up nearly two hours, disconcerted part of the plan.

When the swearing was finished, the secretary read a letter from a member who sent in his resignation, and two messages from the Council of Elders, informing the Council of Five Hundred of their being installed, and of their suspending their deliberations till they received similar information from themselves. A motion was then made and adopted, that notice of the installation of the

council at St. Cloud should be sent to the Directory, notwithstanding the ironical observations made by certain members respecting the difficulty at the moment of finding the address.

The Council of Ancients had opened their assembly in the palace, and sat as if uncertain what motive had brought them together, when Buonaparte, who was in an adjoining room with the committee of inspectors, together with Sieyes, Ducos, and several officers of rank, presented himself at the bar of the council.

At his appearance a compleat silence ensued, when he addressed the Assembly.

" Representatives of the People, you are not in an ordinary situation, you are placed on a volcano; let me address you with the frankness of a soldier, and that of a citizen zealous for the welfare of his country.

" I was living peaceably at Paris when I received the decree of the Council of Ancients, which informed me of their dangers and of those of the Republic: I hastened to assemble my brother-soldiers, and we came to give you our assistance.

" Our intentions were pure and disinterested: as a reward for our services the Council of Five Hundred loaded us with calumnies and talked of conspiracy among the military. But is not the blood they have shed in so many fields of battle a full and sufficient warrant of their devotedness to

the Republic? Have those who are for ever sharpening their poignards against them given such proofs of attachment to its cause? The most dangerous of conspiracies is the public misery, which every where surrounds them, and which is continually encreasing.

"Let each examine himself, and say to whom the crime ought to be imputed. Was it wise to suffer the Republic to perish amidst so general a disorganization, or see the armies, covered with laurels, fade away by the horrors of famine? Have not ignorance, folly and treason, held long enough their extended empire? Have they not commited ravages enough on the country? What class has not been their victims? Have not the French been long enough divided into parties, or rather into hostile battalions, and become the mutual and persevering oppressors of each other?

"The time for putting an end to these disasters is now come. You have charged me to present you with the means, and I will not betray your confidence.

"Had I personal projects, or views of usurpation, I should not have waited till this day in order to realize them. After our triumphs in Italy, I was solicited by the leaders of the respective parties to take possession of the authority. But I rejected such overtures, because liberty is dear to me, and because it is unworthy of my character to

serve any faction. My services are due to the French people alone.

"I unite my sentiments with those of the Council of Ancients. I accept the command which they have entrusted to me, only to lay it down when the necessary crisis shall be past. I declare to you, I will be only the supporting arm of the magistracy which you may think proper to nominate.

"The country has not a more zealous defender than myself; I am entirely devoted to the execution of your orders: but it is on you alone that its safety depends; for the directory is no more; four of the magistrates who composed it have given in their resignations; dangers press hard; the evil augments; the minister of police has just informed me that, in *La Vendée*, several places have already fallen into the hands of the Chouans. The Council of Ancients is invested with great authority; but it is also animated by still greater wisdom. Let us not be divided. Associate your wisdom and your authority to the force that surround me. I will be nothing but the devoted arm of the republic."

Such was the harangue of Buonaparte, when a member, anxious to push the general to the full confession of his political faith, and to round the last period, exclaimed, "and of the constitution." This was the most unharmonious chord that could have been touched; the word "Con-

stitution" was in perfect disunion with every part of the project and of the proceeding.

" The constitution!" re-echoed Buonaparte, his anger and indignation kindling as he spoke, " Does it become you to invoke the Constitution? Is it any thing else at present than a ruin? Has it not been successively the sport of every party? Have ye not trodden it under foot the 18th Fructidor, the 22d Floreal, the 28th Praireal? Is it not in the name of the constitution that ye have organized every kind of tyranny since it has existed? To whom can it serve hereafter as a guarantee? Is not its insufficiency attested by the numerous outrages which have been committed against it, even by those who are pretending at this very moment to swear a mockery of fidelity towards it? The rights of the people have been atrociously violated, and it is in order to re-establish those rights on an immutable basis that we ought to labor instantly to consolidate in France both Liberty and the Republic."

Buonaparte in denouncing the conspiracy, had co-operated thus far in the plan of the inconstitutionals; but they had more extended projects than that of arresting the attention of the Councils on the guilty individuals, and the observations respecting the constitution were judged premature.

Cornudet, a member of the commission, who saw the danger, stopped as soon as he could the

General's impetuosity, which was hurrying him on to discoveries more prudent to keep concealed. He generalized what he had said respecting conspirators and conspiracies. He stated, that, from what had already been said, no doubt could be entertained of the reality of their existence, and that he himself had taken an active part in the measures of public safety which were then proposing; from the intimate knowledge which he had of the criminal propositions which had been made to Buonaparte from the chiefs of factions, and of the projects connected with them; but that if a further explanation were to be entered into, on these points, the Council ought to form itself into a secret committee.

This motion was agreed to, and the Council prepared to go into a general committee; but, before it could be put in execution, Buonaparte, too anxious for the event to heed the means, and too much heated by the opposition of the Council of Five Hundred to notice the precautions by which his friends were desirous of bringing about the *denouement*, addressed the Council a second time relative to the conspiracies, and then turned his observations on himself, inviting the friends of liberty to direct their poignards towards his bosom if he ever violated any of its principles. Then turning himfelf to some soldiers who were on duty within the hall, "And you my comrades," said he, "may the bayonets with which we have so

often triumphed together, if I am ever guilty of such perfidy, be pointed against my own heart; but also, if any person, the stipendiary of foreign powers, dare pronounce against your general the words *Hors la loi*, may the thunder of war crush him instantly: remember that I march accompanied by the God of War, and the Divinity of Fortune."

The latter part of this incautious impromptu, which was received with murmurs,* did not much advance the project. Several members, who wished to have plainer evidence of the facts, called upon him to name the conspirators.

Buonaparte, with the same alacrity as the demand had been made, returned for answer that each had his particular views, his plans and his coterie. Barras and Moulins had theirs, and had made him propositions.".

The general had proceeded thus far, when the cries for the secret committee interrupted him; but the whole had now been said; the conspiracy against the constitution by the Jacobin party on

* The General afterwards publicly regretted this speech. "I had worked up my passions," said he the next day to his friends, "and I concluded with a bad phrase. The French are judges of propriety: I had no sooner pronounced the words, than a murmur made me feel them. But what could I do? I was spoiled on the road: they so often repeated those words to me all the way from Marseilles to Paris, that I could not get them out of my head."

the one hand, and the plan for immediately overturning it by the moderate party on the other, were now openly avowed: the motion, therefore, for forming the secret committee was negatived after a short discussion.

The council having determined to continue its sitting, the general was called on to finish his harangue. "Since my arrival," continued Buonaparte, "every magistrate, and every public functionary with whom I have conversed, have given me the most perfect conviction that the constitution, so often violated, and continually disregarded, is on the brink of ruin; that it offers no guarantee to the French, because it has no diapason. Every faction is persuaded of this truth, and each is disposed to take advantage of the fall of the present government; all have had recourse to me, all have been anxious to gain me over to their respective interests.

"I have thought it my duty to join myself to the Council of Ancients alone, the first body of the republic. I repeat that this council cannot take too speedy measures, if it be desirous to stop the movement which in a moment, perhaps, may destroy liberty.

"Recollect yourselves, citizen representatives; I have just spoken openly to you truths which no one has ventured to whisper. The means of saving the country are in your hands. If you hesitate to make use of them, if liberty perish, you

will be accountable for its destruction towards the world, towards posterity, towards your own families, and towards France."*

Having finished his speech, Buonaparte withdrew, leaving the council to deliberate on what had been said; they began a debate, since the question was now brought fully forward, on the merit and demerit of the constitution.

The Council of Five Hundred had just finished individually taking an oath to defend the constitution, when Buonaparte presented himself at the door of the assembly, without a hat and unarmed, accompanied by a few officers, and grenadiers without arms.

He advanced a few paces into the room, as if wishing to address the council. Instantly the whole of them was in motion. He was assailed by cries from different parts of the chamber of, *à bas*

---

* Buonaparte is rather below the middle size, but admirably proportioned; thin in person, but though of a slight make, he appears to be muscular, and capable of fatigue. His square and projecting forehead is shaded by hair of a deep chesnut, which is cut short behind; his eyes are large, dark, quick and piercing; aquiline nose, a raised chin like that of the Apollo Belvidere, pale complexion and hollow cheeks. His countenance, which is of a melancholy cast, is strongly indicative of a discerning and elevated mind. His air is solemn but open; in a decisive action his pale complexion reddens, and his body is all nerve like that of a lion.

MERCIER, VOLNEY, &c.

le tyrant! hors la loi! à bas le dictateur! tuez le! tuez le! down with the tyrant! out-law him! down with the dictator! kill him! kill him! Buonaparte called and made signs to be heard; the murmurs, cries and vociferations redoubled. Lucien, the general's brother, and president of the Council of Five Hundred, at length with great difficulty obtained leave to speak: "The general," said he, "has undoubtedly no other intention than to inform the council of the present situation of affairs:" here he was interrupted by clamors and threats.

The vehemence of the members who had uttered the invectives against the general, was not confined to words. They started from their seats, and rushed towards the door, loading him wtih reproaches, and making use of threatening gesticulations.

Several of them were armed with daggers. While some were pushing him back, and menacing his life, Arena, one of the council, made a blow at him with a poignard, which *Thomé*, a grenadier, stepped forward, and parried off; he received a wound in his arm.

Buonaparte stood speechless, but General Lefevre and the grenadiers who were behind him, seeing his danger, advanced, calling out, *Sauvons notre géneral!* they gathered round him, and drew him out of the room, pale and trembling with suffocated passion, into the vestibule.

By this act of violence open war was in some measure declared; Buonaparte accepted the challenge, and repaired instantly to his soldiers, drawn up in the court of the palace.

The presence of Buonaparte in the Council of Five Hundred had blown up into a flame the rage which had hitherto been only smothered, nor did his absence tend to allay it. As soon as he was gone, the president, Lucien his brother, was apostrophised in nearly the same language as had been used towards the general.

He left the chair, and descending to the tribune, as soon as he could make his voice heard, harangued the assembly.

"After the services," said he, "my brother has rendered to the republic, it is abominable to suppose he has any views hostile to liberty. What Frenchman has given greater pledges of his attachment to the state? He came, no doubt, to give some important information relative to the present circumstances; I demand that he be called to the bar of the council."

The tumult drowned his voice; the assembly seemed a chaos; numberless motions succeeded each other; some for breaking the decree of the ancients, which named Buonaparte general; others for leaving St. Cloud, and repairing to Paris; others for naming another general to take the command of all the troops, who should be named the guard of the Councils: some apostro-

phised the soldiers who remained at the door, and others continued their invectives against the president.

In this tumult, Lucien Buonaparte, after attempting in vain to speak, imploring the assembly to hear him, his tears rolling down his cheeks—deposed his robe, cloak and scarf upon the table, declaring that he divested himself of the presidency.

This act served only to raise the jacobin party to a higher pitch of exasperation ; several members of this party had now gathered round him, and some among them presented pistols, as if to force him to resume his robe. It was amidst this last act of disorder, that twenty grenadiers sent by General Buonaparte, who had been informed of the situation of his brother, presented themselves at the tribune, and, placing him between them, conducted him in safety to the court of the palace.

The confusion in the council redoubled at this new incident. The jacobin party became still more infuriated ; motions and speeches the most incongruous succeeded each other with the volubility of lightning.

The moderate party, which had hitherto remained in some measure tranquil spectators, waiting the event, judging from the violence of the others, who did not cease crying, *Hors la loi ! Out-law him !* and being totally ignorant of what

was passing without, concluded that Buonaparte had really been out-lawed, or had been murdered, and that the soldiers had come to arrest the president, in order to do similar execution.

The president found the general on horseback in the court of the palace, riding along the armed ranks, and haranguing his soldiers. " Soldats," said he, " une trentaine de factieux ont levé sur moi leurs poignards ; ils ont voulu me mettre hors la loi ! Hors la loi, moi que tous les rois conjurés de l'Europe n'ont jamais pu y mettre !" " Soldiers, thirty factious members have raised their poignards against your general, and threatened to out-law him ! Me whom the combined kings of Europe have been unable to reach with their arms !"

The soldiers heard him with interest and attention ; they all seemed disposed to serve him, but none moved forward to offer themselves as his avengers, nor was it certain that they would have marched against the legislative body, even had the general given the positive command.

But the presence of Lucien, the president, who had now mounted on horseback, and addressed them, increased and legalized in some measure their dispositions in favor of the general.

" Soldiers of the republic," said Lucien Buonaparte in an animated tone, " the immense majority of the Council of Five Hundred are, at the moment I am speaking, under terror from a few

tans, je vous invite à vous retirer; le General Buonaparte a donné des ordres: Citizen representatives, I invite you to retire; General Buonaparte has given the order.

The constitutionalists stood firm, and one of them exclaimed, "What are you, soldiers? You are only the guardians of the national representation—and you dare to menace its safety and independence! Is it thus you tarnish the laurels you have acquired? I conjure you, in the name of liberty, not to follow your leaders, who aim at the destruction of the republic."

Murat,* tired with their obstinacy, called out, *Grenadiers en avant! Grenadiers forward!* The *pas de charge* was instantly renewed, and the grenadiers, presenting their bayonets, advanced; the general by an artful manœuvre, encircled the deputies on the right and left, and the grenadiers drove them with the bayonet through all the avenues, windows and doors of the hall.

Buonaparte in the mean time was busily employed. By marches and counter-marches he adroitly kept the troops in continual motion, in order to avoid their being corrupted. He was present every where, and spared neither flatteries, obliging words, nor specious promises to sooth

* General Murat married one of Buonaparte's sisters. He is at present Prince Murat.

them to complacency. *Vive Buonaparte!* was the general cry, when their beloved leader had finished his harangue.

At night both the legislative bodies assembled again at St. Cloud, but of the Five Hundred scarcely two thirds were present. The latter decreed at last "that the Directory had ceased to exist; that the provisional government of the state should be committed to Sieyes, Roger Ducos, and General Buonaparte: that the latter shall bear the title of Consul, that twenty-five members, chosen from the two legislative bodies before their adjournment, be added to them as a subordinate council of state.

At this midnight sitting, Lucien Buonaparte harangued the assembly in a strain of impassioned eloquence: descending from the chair to the tribune, he thus spoke:

"If there be no longer any confidence, there are no longer any resources, no more force, no longer harmony in the government. Hence uncertainty and the rage of intestine war throughout the land; no guarantee for foreign powers and no means of attaining peace.

This former palace of kings, where we sit in this solemn night, attests that power is nought, and that glory is every thing. Let us deliberate in all the freedom of our souls on the state of the country. If we are unworthy of being the first people on the earth; if by pusillanimous and mis-

placed considerations, we do not extricate ourselves from the horrible state in which we are plunged; if we betray the hopes of our country, we lose our glory, nor shall we long retain our power; since as the measure of our calamities shall increase, in the same proportion shall increase the indignation of the people.

"I blushed at wearing so long the robe, when the clamors and poignards of a few factious men stifled within these walls the cries of thirty millions, who are asking for peace. I should blush still deeper at having resumed it, if, delivered from the yoke of those demagogical assasins, you should hesitate in this decisive sitting, or draw back from securing the salvation of your country."*

---

* *Revolution du* 18 *Brumaire.—Journee du* 19 *Brumaire. La Vie du General Buonaparte.—Les Details des journees des* 18 *et* 19 *Brumaire. Le* 19 *Brumaire an VIII. &c. &c* — The hinge of my subsequent history is Buonaparte's election to the consulate; it was, therefore, necessary to interweave with my original the events of the 18th and 19th Brumaire.

J. D.

CHAPTER XX.

Buonaparte nominated First Consul. An inference drawn from good premises that Moreau was not ambitious of being made the supreme Ruler. Political death of Seyes. Moreau appointed by the First Consul to the chief command of the army of the Rhine. He passes the Rhine. Rapid conquests. The Emperor and Archduke John repair to the army. Armistice. *Bon Mots* of Moreau. Rupture of the armistice. Winter campaign. Battle of Hohenlinden.

THE Consular Government was established at Paris the 24th of Frumaire, year 8;* and Buonaparte, nominated First Consul, and Cambaceres and Lebrun, second and third Consuls, immediately took the reins of government.

Had Moreau been fired with boundless ambition, and aspired to supreme power, he might no doubt have become the Ruler of the French Nation.

Early in the eighth year he returned from the army to Paris, when Buonaparte, in a manner, was banished to Egypt, from whose coasts it was scarcely possible the fleets of England would permit him to return.

In Paris he found Sieyes, one of the Directors, despairing of the government on account of its weakness; a weakness so dependent on the

* December 19, 1799.

vices of its nature, as to baffle the most distinguished talents of any executive—This directory seemed convinced that every thing in France was lost, if a more energetic government was not devised; whose administration being less divided, should be better calculated for the affairs of a great and extensive empire.

He expressed his sentiments to Moreau, and Moreau was convinced of their justice. This would have been the flood in the tide of the general's political affairs. Moreau had only to speak one word, and his was the supreme power.

But on examining himself, he did not perceive any indication that he was the person designed by heaven to fix the destinies of France. He knew wherein his own worth consisted: he knew what station nature designed him in the political order; he knew his place was to be found in the hour of danger and in the field of battle, whenever and wherever the chief of the nation should assign it to him.

The constant subjects of the private discussions, between Sieyes and Moreau, continued to be the necessity of such a government, and the impossibility of finding, in France, that person in whose hands it could be safely deposited, when they learnt that, by a miracle as incomprehensible as fortunate, Buonaparte had disembarked at Frejus.

Moreau immediately hailed the omen. Buonaparte arrives. Sieyes discloses the project to him. Moreau voluntarily assists to place Buonaparte in that situation which he had rejected when offered to himself. The eighteenth of Brumaire bursts upon us with all its splendor. The Directory is dissolved. Buonaparte is proclaimed First Consul.

Sieyes becoming importunate with his many new proposals and speculations, was speedily silenced, and politically killed by the weight of national property; by the acceptance and enjoyment of which he lost the confidence of all those who formerly esteemed him as a disinterested patriot of incorruptible morals.

Of the persons named to places by the constitution, Buonaparte and Sieyes hold the first rank. The contest for supremacy in the hierarchy of government was at first warmly disputed between these chiefs. The victory was decided in favor of Buonaparte; but public jealousy, if not public favor, still held strongly to Sieyes.

It was necessary for the consolidation of Buonaparte's power to diminish as much as possible this *prestige* in favor of his rival. The snare was coarse and obvious, yet Buonaparte, it seems, had discovered the nature of his game. In the

---

* Deecember 15, 1799.

eagle soaring to the sun, he found traces of the kite that stoops to carrion. Sieyes, struggling for power, was deemed ambitious; but he was respectable and approved; he had even a very large minority in his favor. His more fortunate rival, for the present, might have soared above him, but Sieyes was an object constantly in view; his name was interwoven with the revolution; those who disliked his ambition had confidence in his principles.

To destroy this last hold, it was necessary to tempt his avarice. The bait succeeded, and Buonaparte felt his seat solid and permanent the moment that Sieyes accepted the estate of Crosne, a national domain of six hundred pounds sterling a year, which the legislative commissions were instructed to offer him.

Half of France regarded the offer as an insult, and the other half no way doubted of Sieyes's instant rejection. Both were astonished and disappointed. Sieyes swallowed with greediness the bait; but to render the transaction more ludicrous, the national estate so ignominiously bestowed was discovered to be the property of a private citizen!

Sieyes having incurred the disgrace, was resolved not to lose the profit, but followed up his dishonor with all the fervor of avaricious intrigue, and procured the mutation of his unenjoyed domain into a sum of money of thrice the value.

General Moreau passed the winter of 1799 at Paris. In the beginning of 1800, by the appointment of the First Consul, he took the command of the army of the Rhine; and the plan of this campaign is said to have been laid down by himself.

It was intended to act with large masses against inferior numbers; and by a well combined and consentaneous movement (if the expression may be used) of the armies of Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, to end the contest with the capture of Vienna.

Having re-organized the army, on the 5th of Floreal, year 8, Moreau crossed the Rhine a third time.

On the 13th and 14th, he defeated General Kray at Engen, took from him seven thousand men, ninety pieces of cannon, and a considerable part of his military stores.

The 15th he gained the battle of Meskirch.

On the 19th he conquered a second time at Biberach, on the same field which first felt his victorious tread three years before; and detached twenty two thousand men to the army of Italy, to assist under the auspices of the First Consul, in deciding the fate of France and of Europe.

The whole circle of Shabia was now subject to French dominion, and all the imperial magazines on the bank of the Danube at the disposal of Moreau's army. The cabinet of Vienna was struck

with terror. By these conquests it was afterwards constrained to accede to those humiliating terms, which, as Moreau said, "put it out of the power of Austria to resume hostilities."

When on the 19th of June, Moreau was apprized of the event of the battle of Marengo, he prepared to pass the Danube between Ulm and Donauwert. This he effected after an obstinate resistance from General Sztaray, who, being advantageously posted on the celebrated plain of Hochstet, or Blenheim, disputed his ground with vigor and ability, though without success. And this victory, while it gave Moreau five thousand prisoners, five stands of colors, and twenty pieces of cannon, expunged the stigma which French valor had formerly received in the same plains from the victorious arms of Marlborough.

He continued his triumphant progress. Neuberg, and Landstrutt, bestowed new laurels on his troops. Munich opened her gates. The Grisons submitted. Croia was taken: and the army of the Rhine thus, as it were, witnessed that almost supernatural victory, by which the brave army of Italy, under that illustrious chief who has always sported with perils and difficulties, re-established on a solid basis the supremacy of France, and gave a peace to Europe. Moreau was preparing for new exploits, when the armistice that had taken place in Italy was extended to Germany.

The resistless progress of Moreau had filled Vienna with consternation. The Emperor took the field. He informed the imperial troops that, he had determined to put himself, with his brother the Archduke John at their head; hoping that this example, as well as the general danger, would re-animate the ancient courage of the Germans.

The Emperor and his brother repaired to the army, where the latter entered on his office as commander in chief.

On his arrival in this quality, he received a letter from General Moreau, enclosing the instructions that had just been transmitted from the First Consul, and which he literally transcribed: "Inform the general who commands the Austrian army, that the Emperor refuses to ratify the preliminaries of peace; and that you are obliged to recommence hostilities. You may, however, agree to an armistice of a month, on condition that places of surety be immediately put into your possession." An officer from Moreau was the bearer of this letter, who was authorized to state the terms of this new armistice, or notify the commencement of hostilities the following day.

Whatever might have been the intentions of the Emperor on leaving Vienna, of tempting once more the fortune of war, a nearer review of the state of his forces, and the peremptory demand of

General Moreau, led him to favor more pacific sentiments. The interview between the Archduke John and General Lahorie, ended in an arrangement for another armistice; the fortresses of Ulm, Ingolstadt and Philipsburg, were put into the hands of the French. The treaty was signed at Hohenlinden, the 20th of September, 1800, and confined the armistice to forty nine days.

After this convention, General Moreau set out for Paris, where he arrived the 26th Vendemaire,* at eleven in the morning. He went immediately to visit the First Consul, who received him with great deference and respect. In the presence of all the foreign ambassadors, and of many French generals, he said: "General Moreau, you have made the campaign of a consummate and great captain, while I have only made the campaign of a young and fortunate man."

They had not the salloon when the minister of the interior brought in a superb brace of pistols, of exquisite workmanship, and enriched with diamonds.

The Directory had ordered them to be made for a present to some foreign prince, and they had since remained at the house of the minister of the interior. Several of the foreign ambassadors and generals admired their workmanship. "They

* 18th October.

come very apropos," said the First Consul, presenting them to General Moreau; then turning towards the minister of the interior: "Citizen Minister," said he, "let some of the battles General Moreau has gained be engraved on them;—but not all; they would occasion too many diamonds to be taken away; the General indeed attaches no great value to these, but the design of the artist must not be wholly deranged."

It was during this visit to Paris that General Moreau, as some writer has quaintly observed, entwined the roses of Hymen with the laurels of Mars. He is said to have united himself with an amiable lady, whom his father* had commended to

---

* General Moreau's father was a man of great respectability, and on account of his integrity, disinterestedness, and private virtues, was generally called the *father of the poor*.

On the breaking out of the revolution, such was the general confidence in his honesty, though a lawyer, that he was selected by the gentry and nobility of Morlaix, and its neighbourhood, as the most proper person to be entrusted with the management of their affairs.

The great number of deposits which he received on this occasion from the nobles and emigrants, contributed not a little afterwards to bring him to the guillotine, under the government of Robespierre; and he was put to death at Brest, by order of Prieur, then on mission in the department of Finisterre.

Several eye-witnesses have declared, that the people present at his execution wept aloud, exclaiming "They are taking our father away from us!"

him in his will. Filial obedience is in common men a duty; in great men heroism.

On the celebration of his nuptials, Moreau, having a *presentiment* that a renewal of hostilities would call him back to the tented field, said to a friend, who was congratulating him on his marriage, "I hope Mars jealous of Venus will not treat me *à la Joubert*;" alluding to the pitiable fate of that general, who had been joined in wedlock to a lovely Parisian lady only a few weeks before he took the command of the army, at whose head he fell. As Joubert marched up to give battle to Suwarrow, he placed the miniature picture of his bride in his bosom, saying to his officers: *Il faut bien que je triomphe! J'ai juré a ma femme et à ma patrie, que j'arracherai le laurier de la tête de ce Russe.*" *I must surely conquer! I have sworn to my wife and to my country that I will tear the laurel from the brow of this Russian.* The event shewed that Joubert was a false prophet, and death did for him what he had done for thousands.

During the suspension of hostilities I will introduce another anecdote or two of Moreau; the historian must advance with a steady march, but the biographer may sometimes turn aside from the main road to gather the flowers that invite his eye.

At the battle of Novi we have seen General Moreau, at the request of his successor, assist with-

out command. There we have seen him fighting in the ranks as a private soldier, while three horses were killed under him; retarding by the feats of his valor a defeat which he had foretold; in the moment of rout and disaster accepting the perilous honor of commanding a beaten army, assigned to him by the universal acclamation of generals, officers and soldiers; restoring it to order, and giving it such a terrible aspect to its enemies, that, they durst not venture to pursue, as he reconducted it in safety to its strong positions in the territory of Genoa; thus holding the key of Italy, and preparing victory for the general who was to succeed him. "At this battle" (one of the most celebrated in the annals of history) General Moreau used to say in a laughing manner, "I fought *as an amateur*."

He was ever ready to acknowledge merit in the generals who took the field against him. When Macdonald by rapid marches had nearly effected the junction of the army of Naples with that of Italy, he wrote to Moreau, "*La victoire est encore fidele aux armes des republicains: il ne reste plus qu'une petite espace entre nous, et les routes sont belles: Victory is still faithful to the arms of the republicans: there remains but a small space between us, and the roads are excellent:* Moreau replied, *C'est vrai qu'il n'y reste qu'une petite espace entre nous; mais dans cette espace il se trouve Suwarrow, qui vaut bien une mauvaise*

voisie: It is true there is now only a little space between us; but in that space is Suwarrow, an obstacle equal to a bad road.

No man ever submitted to the reverses of fortune with a better grace. He resigned, without a murmur, the command of an army he had saved, to General Joubert, who, affected even to tears, by the order Moreau had established, and by the noble simplicity with which this unassuming soldier relinquished the chief rank; could not refrain from giving him the most public marks of veneration and gratitude.

Moreau had not been married a fortnight before a rupture of the armistice took place, and hostilities were renewed; but at the first signal of alarm he tore himself from the object of his affections, and flew to his post.

If a temporary cessation of hostilities was favorable to the Emperor, it was not less so to the French armies, whose victories, though splendid, had not been purchased without considerable loss, though less from the military tactics and conservatory dispositions of Moreau than it would have been under any other French General.

Hastening back to his head-quarters at Munich, where were assembled the generals Dessoles, Eblé, Decaen, Richepanse and Lahorie, General Moreau issued a proclamation to his army, which was the most numerous he had ever commanded, and prepared again to enter the field. In his pro-

clamation he requested his soldiers "to exhibit the same gallantry, and the same disregard to the rigors of the season, which they had before displayed, when employed in the defence of Fort Kehl, and the conquest of Holland."

While Moreau was maturing his plan of operations, the Austrian army made a daring attack on his left wing, which seemed to have put the French in their turn on the defensive. Flushed with this success, with a confidence equal to his imprudence, the Archduke John abandoned his strong positions on the Inn, where he might have made a long, if not an effectual resistance, and marched into the plain.

This march was the completion of Moreau's plan, which was to get him dislodged from the position he had taken, and which could not have been effected but with a great effusion of blood.

The Archduke following up his success, marched upon the army of the French, stationed near the village of Hohenlinden. Moreau, who waited for him in the positions he had taken, met the attack as if he had intended only to keep himself on the defensive; and the hesitation in the French general was construed by the Archduke John into an indisposition to come to a decisive action.

This error, however, was not of long duration. While the Archduke, confident of victory, assured at least of compelling the French to abandon the field, was endeavoring to force Moreau

to some determinate purpose, he was filled with astonishment and horror to find a French division in his rear; led on by Richepanse and Decaen.

It was for this moment of surprize and confusion that Moreau waited; this moment of hesitation in the Archduke John was the signal of Moreau's attack: the French Generals Grenier and Ney poured down their divisions on the Austrian lines, and met half way those of Richepanse and Decaen.

The divisions of these last generals, having innumerable obstacles to encounter, had performed prodigies of valor. Richepanse, cut off from the rest of his division, without looking behind him, had marched with five battalions immediately into the midst of the Austrians. The imperial army, surprized, broken, overwhelmed, panic-struck, endeavored to retreat; but, ingulfed in defiles and woods, and surrounded by enemies, no mode of retreat or rallying presented itself. In the space of a league and a half the carnage was horrible; the centre of the Austrian army had disappeared or perished; the groans of the dying, and the cries of the falling soldiers asking quarter, resounded from the hollow caverns of death; infantry and cavalry expired together; and the corses of nobles were mingled with heaps of vulgar dead.

The defeat of the centre drew on eventually that of the wings. Moreau, equally dreadful in

attack as retreat, annoyed their march, and hung upon their rear with such perseverance and effect, that they were saved by the approach of night alone from total destruction. There was no part of the French line that was not engaged; and the snow fell in large flakes the whole of the action.

Moreau's army remained masters of the field of battle, with eighty pieces of cannon, 200 caissons, 10,000 prisoners, and a considerable number of officers, among whom were three generals. This battle was called the battle of Hohenlinden.*

The battle of Hohenlinden rivals the miracles of Italy: This immortal day, and that of Marengo, will be for ever hailed as the most brilliant examples of French bravery.

This victory was one of those calculated to decide the fate of an empire, and determined the campaign in favor of the French; but in order to prevail on the imperial cabinet to offer again or accept terms of peace, it was necessary to follow up with vigor the important conquest.

Moreau, without losing time, or suffering the retreating army to muster its scattered forces, or recover from its surprize, marched directly upon

* This battle has conferred on General Moreau, by universal suffrage, the title of "The Hero of Hohenlinden." It was fought in the last month of the eighteenth century, December 3, 1800.

the Inn, passed its barriers, driving before him all the Austrian corps, and on the 16th of December fixed his head-quarters at Saltzburg.

On the same day Riehepanse, with the left division of the French army, pursued the imperialists along the road to Lintz, and entered Neumark, the last post of Bavaria on the frontiers of the hereditary states, where they took a number of prisoners, among whom was the Prince of Lichtenstein and his staff.

The Archduke John, whose head-quarters were then removed to Braunau on the Lower Inn, was by this manœuvre cut off from all communications with the Austrian commander in the Tyrol, which was now threatened on the North side by Lecourbe, on the west by Mollister, and on the south-west by Macdonald, who was master of both banks of the Upper Inn, of the Upper Engadine, and of the valley of the Adda in the Valteline, with well established communications between all his divisions.*

---

* "If the fate of arms was less favorable to Macdonald than to Moreau, the success of his retreat ought not on that account to appear more equivocal, since, like Moreau, he brought back his army within the lines of general defence." So says a military writer. But though Macdonald fought so manfully, that the victory Suwarrow snatched from him on the Trebia was at the price of three bloody battles, yet he would have found his retreat very difficult but for the diver-

The battle of Hohenlinden, and the passage of the Inn, had thrown not only the court of Vienna, but the capital also, into the greatest confusion; and in proportion to the presumption of the former, was now its terror and dread of seeing the French soon at the gates.

One resource was still left, since that of arms had proved fruitless; and of that the imperial cabinet was sufficiently prudent at this crisis to take advantage.

Prince Charles, who had been dismissed from the command of the army at the opening of the campaign, and who retreated into honorable exile, as governor of Bohemia, because he had freely declared his opinion respecting the events of the war, which the result had justified, was once more resorted to, as the savior of his country.

The court had flattered itself that his presence and efforts would once again establish an equili-

---

sion effected by Moreau, which recalled Suwarrow and the main body of his army to the neighbourhood of Alessandria.

Had not the miraculous Moreau produced this diversion, but Suwarrow had continued to harass Macdonald's rear guard with all his army, and turned it on the side of the mountains; while Klenau, and Hohenzollern, who had joined between Modena and Reggio, had attacked him in flank and retarded his march; the situation of Macdonald would have been very unenviable. Jourdan could do nothing for Moreau. J. D.

brium of force with the French, and conceived hopes that its military affairs were yet retrievable.

This charm was now dissolved; the Prince, though adored by the army, found that this prestige was now departed; and the soldier of every rank hailed his return, not as the hero who was to lead them to victory, but only as the herald of peace.

The Archduke, with whatever hopes he might have flattered himself at the moment of his recal, saw, on his arrival at the army, how utterly those hopes were destitute of foundation. Before, however, he decided on making a submission, which, from the circumstances of the French army and his own, he presumed must be almost unconditional, he resolved on making a last attempt.

On the 17th of December, the Archduke Charles having taken the command of the Austrian army, removed their head quarters to Schwanstadt, and endeavoured to take a strong position behind the river Traun, with a view to defensive measures; but this he was not able to accomplish before Moreau's army, in five divisions, approached severally, commanded by Legrand, Granjean, Richepanse, Decaen and Groucy.

Richepanse with the advanced guard, attacked the rear of the imperialists, and defeated them, taking a thousand prisoners, of whom six hundred were cavalry, with General Lopez their commander.

The Austrians, retiring, endeavored to make a stand on the heights of Lambach; but Richepanse again defeated their rear guard, drove them into the defiles of Lambach with great slaughter, and the imperial army retreated to Lintz, within 92 miles of Vienna.

The French continued to advance, and on the 20th fixed their head quarters at Wels.

Moreau now formed his army in three columns; of which the right, under Lecourbe, made for the mountains, south of Steyr on the Ens; the centre, commanded by Moreau in person, set out for Steyr; and the left, under Grenier, which had marched along the south bank of the Danube, and forced the Austrians to retreat from Lintz across the river, marched on the high road from Lintz directly towards Vienna.

On the 24th, Richepanse, with the advanced guard of the centre column, entered Steyr, in in which he found 17 pieces of cannon, and made 4000 prisoners.

The imperial cabinet was now convinced that there was no safety for the Austrian monarchy but in peace at any rate, and on any terms; since in the space of twenty days the army had lost seventy leagues of ground, 25,000 prisoners, 15,000 killed or wounded, 140 pieces of cannon, immense magazines of every description, while Moreau was in a position to dictate orders to the capital.

On the 25th, Moreau was proceeding onward to the next river, the Erlaph, and the Austrians were retiring beyond the Trasen, the last river of any note within 50 miles of Vienna, when, in the evening of that day, an officer arrived at the head quarters of Moreau, from the Archduke Charles, bringing proposals for a new armistice, and announcing that the Emperor had sent a courier to Count Cobentzel at Luneville, with directions to sign a peace.

On the 9th of February 1801, a definitive treaty of peace was signed at Luneville, between Austria and France; and General Moreau resigned the command of an army which had reduced Austria more in one campaign than it had been before in three centuries, and procured to France a peace which neither the ambition of French kings, the negociations of French ministers, nor the intrigues of French politicians, could obtain in the last two hundred years.

During former campaigns Moreau had been considered in the light rather of a prudent than an enterprizing general. He had at different periods exhibited great proofs of his skill in preserving from destruction retreating or routed armies, and had deservedly acquired the reputation and title of the French Fabius. The events of this campaign exhibited him under a new form, that of an ardent and daring chief, who never-

theless by the most profound combination and extensive foresight made fortune a faithful auxiliary.

CHAPTER XXI.

Buonaparte made First Consul for life. A tolerance of emigrants and religion. Infernal machine. Military spectacles at Paris. Colors restored to a disgraced regiment. Cold reception of the English Ambassador. A renewal of the war between France and England.

IT was to Buonaparte the French people owed their political existence. Without his resolute character and energy, every thing would have gone to ruin. He animated with new life those who had lost all hopes, and inspired the fugitive with courage.

The nation, prone to enthusiasm, when it saw itself saved, could not abstain from boundless gratitude to the man, to whom they owed their preservation; and they elected Buonaparte First Consul for life.

A tolerant spirit both in politics and religion was now manifested; the drawing rooms in Paris were open to the officers of the army of Condé, and a national synod was convened to discuss the means of restoring religion after its long death-like slumber. The re-establishment of the Catholic religion occasioned a caricature, in which

Buonaparte was represented as falling from the arms of the goddess of victory on his nose against the holy water pot.

Multiplied theatres were now opened to amuse the gay Parisians, and the man, who, as it was once sung of Jupiter, moves the world with his eye-lids, encouraged the drama. When Buonaparte entered his box, the lofty dome was filled with the thundering plaudits of the pit, but he paid no attention to them, and neither bowed nor inclined his head. The diamond that decorated the crown of the devoted Louis, sparkled in the hilt of his sword.

The audience did not renounce their right to hiss, and a new play* has been "damned" in the presence of Buonaparte, who had come to see it. During these petulant scenes he remains quite composed.

Among the ornaments of his box was a gold star, which is sometimes on the top, and sometimes at the bottom of it. He believes in a star of fortune, on which he places more reliance than on his own great genius.

---

* Before a new play is acted a censor examines it. An author wrote a piece entitled *Belisarius*, and the censor, thinking General Moreau was alluded to in this character, forbade the representation.

Most of the busts and portraits of Buonaparte are little like him, and many of them have no resemblance at all. His profile is that of an ancient Roman, grave, noble, and expressive; his complexion is sallow, but he has a face of character, and an eye of penetration. His gravity is somewhat frigid and repulsive, but when he speaks, a placid smile gives a grace to his mouth, and produces confidence in the person whom he addresses. He is of a thin make, and indeed imagination allows him only so much of an earthly form as is necessary to be the instrument of the mind. The new bust or effigy on the six livre pieces, or French crowns of the year twelve, is by far the most accurate resemblance of him.

It was in going to see a new piece at the opera* that he escaped by a kind of miracle being blown up by a barrel filled with powder, into which was inserted a match, so as to cause the explosion at a calculated moment.

This infernal machine, placed in a cart, was drawn into the Rue Nicaise in the evening of the

---

* The First Consul had a private box at the opera, through whose fluted columns he could view unseen the audience and performers; he excited the impression of dignity by a rare and well-timed display of his person.

"Thus did he keep his person fresh and new;
His presence like a robe pontifical,
Ne'er seen but wondered at."

3d Nivose. The coachman drove at a full gallop through the street, as the Consul had exceeded the hour of the opera, and he had scarcely passed the cart, when the barrel blew up. By the explosion, the houses near the spot were shattered to their foundations, and by the contents of it, chiefly consisting of lead and iron, three of the Consul's horse guards were wounded, and a number of persons killed in the street.

Fouche, the police minister, was aware of a conspiracy, and waited upon the First Consul to warn him not to go to any public place. Buonaparte replied "Fear only makes cowards and conspirators brave."

He arrived unhurt at the opera, and with every appearance of perfect tranquillity entered his box, amidst the acclamations of the pit, boxes and galleries.

The legislative bodies and constituted authorities waited on him with their congratulations on his escape from such imminent danger: he told them, "you ought not to be surprized at such events; those who hold the first places in the magistracy are in as constant danger as a general in chief in the heat of battle." When the principal singers at the opera, who had performed Haydn's Oratorio of the Creation, went in a body to him after the performance, to express their

joy at his escape, he said to them :* *vous avez chanté comme des cochons.**

Superb military spectacles, now recalled by association in the minds of the Parisians, the trophies of the First Consul, whose renown had sounded through the remotest regions of the earth; and whose exploits were united by the worshippers of favored heroism, to those of the conqueror Darius.†

We will exhibit one of these grand scenes—the military review of all the regiments in Paris.

A little before noon, all the regiments of horse and foot, amounting to about 10,000 men, had formed the line, in the *Place de Carousel*, when the Consular regiment entered, preceded by their fine band, and the tambour Major, who was clothed with the most prodigal magnificence.—The cream-colored charger of Buonaparte, upon

---

* *You have sung like mud-larks.*

† Buonaparte copied Alexander while he was in Egypt; Cæsar during his Italian campaigns; and Charlemagne after he assumed the office and the powers of a ruler. When traversing the sands of Egypt and Syria, he did not forget the Lybian deserts: Alexander was then his model. He placed a large statue of Cæsar fronting his apartments in the Thuilleries, that he might have it in daily contemplation. Since the addition of Helvetia and the Cisalpine Republic, the power of Charlemagne, extending over Europe, has filled his imagination.

which he had often made dreadful way in the field of battle, next passed, led by grooms in splendid liveries of green and gold, to the grand entrance.

As the clock struck twelve, the First Consul, surrounded by a chosen body of the Consular guard, appeared with a throng of Generals and Adjutants, all wearing superb regimentals, while his own dress was extremely plain, without embroidery or other tinsel, and his hat without tassel, lace or feather; he had on the great coat which he wore at the battle of Marengo.

He mounted, and rode off in full speed to the gate, followed by General Moreau; Gen. Lasnes, commander of the Consular guards; by Genera Durocque, his aid-de-camp; General Berthier, the war minister; young Beuharnois; General Caffarelli, and Roustant, a young Mameluke chief, who accompanied the First Consul from Egypt.

Buonaparte rode slowly up and down the lines. His beautiful charger seemed conscious of the glory of his rider, and bore him through the ranks with a commanding and majestic pace. He stopped his horse before the colors of each regiment, and saluted them; while the Colonel of each regiment came, from time to time, with his sword drawn, to receive his orders, and gave the word of command accordingly.

A few minutes after Buonaparte had passed the lines, a procession of soldiers entered, whose history demands a relation.

About two years before, one of the regiments of artillery revolted in battle. Buonaparte in anger deprived them of their colors, and suspended them, covered with crape, among the captive banners of the enemy in the Hall of Victory.—The regiment had recovered the lost esteem of their General, and covered their shame with laurels, by desperate acts of valor, and this day was fixed upon for the restoration of their ensigns.

They were marched up under a guard of honor and presented to the First Consul, who took the black drapery from their staves, tore it in pieces, threw it on the ground, and drove his charger indignantly over it. He then restored the regenereted banners to the regiment, with a short and suitable address.

After this ceremony, the several regiments, preceded by their bands of music, marched before him, in open order, and dropped their colors as they passed. The flying artillery and cavalry left the parade in full gallop, and made a terrific noise upon the pavement of the Place de Carousel.

Upon his return to the court-yard, he was several times stopped by females, who approached extremely close, spoke to him, and presented petitions. These he gave to his Adjutant.

On coming back, the Turkish Ambassador presented him with two horses, in the name of the Grand Seignior, superbly caparisoned from head to foot, and almost entirely covered with gold and

pearls. They were very spirited animals, for two Turks having mounted them to ride about, one was immediately thrown; but he seemed to be used to it, for he instantly got up, and at one leap was again in the saddle.

Buonaparte, who meanwhile, with an air of *nonchalance*, frequently took snuff out of a very plain tortoise-shell box, did not deign to notice the present. He only now and then cast an indifferent look towards them. He seemed to be totally occupied with some fresh troops, whom he caused to perform successive manœuvres.

At this period the people of the two empires, whose shores almost touch, and, if ancient tales be true, were once unsevered, again meditated war, before they had taken time to recline at length under the shade of their respective vines.

The First Consul received and treated the English Ambassador, after having delayed his first audience for three weeks, with the most striking coolness. At a public audience he said to him: *Les Anglais ne respectent pas les traités; il faut les couvrir de crepe noir:* "*The English do not respect treaties; they should be covered with black drapery.*" Buonaparte wanted Malta delivered up; the English would not relinquish its possession till it was guaranteed by some other power.

He may have believed the proud islanders sufficiently humbled by the disadvantageous and

dishonorable terms of the peace he had compelled them to embrace; and, favored as he had been by so many unexpected circumstances, he imagined that he might shew to their Ambassador and to them his contempt and hatred.

But these *humbled* islanders, to whom nothing under heaven is so sacred as English laws and English liberty, put their wooden walls well manned in motion, and declared themselves again his foe.

"A war with this haughty chief," said they, "is unavoidable; we must indemnify ourselves for the disadvantageous peace which we have made: and we had better decide on it now, than ten years hence, when, perhaps, the enemy may have accomplished all his hostile preparations, so openly carried on: better now, than when the nation is betrayed into false security, and dangerous slumber, by deceitful promises, and treacherous allurements. We are still possessed of that rock, on which he in future might rest, with his face towards Asia and Africa, musing on his grand projects against us, and all Europe. Let the proud boaster try whether we are not able to cope with him."*

* If in this volume I have reduced a variety of events into a portable system, and collected a number of scattered rays into one focus; I have procured my materials chiefly through the medium of the French and English Circulating Library in Pearl-street, which I congratulate the city of New-York upon as an inexhaustible source of rational instruction, and elegant delight. J. D.

CHAPTER XXII.

GENERAL Moreau retires to his estate at Gros Bois. Pichegrue escapes from Cayenne to England. The Abbe David effects an accommodation between the two generals. The necessitous state of the ex-general Lajolais. His intrigues and plots. He procures a letter of introduction from Pichegrue to Moreau. He goes to England. Character of Georges. By misrepresentation of the internal state of France Lajolais prevails on Pichegrue and the Royalists to go to Paris and attempt to restore the Bourbons to the throne. Pichegrue, Georges, and other Royalists, arrested, and General Moreau implicated in their conspiracy. Pichegrue is found dead in his prison. Buonaparte is declared Emperor. Trial of the Conspirators. Dignified speech of General Moreau to the judges. Lajolais and others pardoned. Georges and eleven more executed. General Moreau retreats into honorable exile.

GENERAL Moreau, after having defeated the numerous armies of the enemy, and dictated the terms of peace for his country at the gates of their capital, withdrew to the shades of domestic obscurity.

When in 1801 Barras* was sent into exile at

* Those who took an active part in the horrors of the Revolution, are not persecuted but forgotten; nay, nobody even bears them any animosity. Barras is living at Brussels among many persons whom he has injured, and yet they live with him in amicable intercourse.

Brussels by the First Consul, Moreau bought his estate Gros Bois, belonging formerly to Louis XVIII, whither he retired with the expectation of reposing undisturbed upon the laurels he had won in such profusion.

Most assuredly we have no need of any fresh proof of the fickleness of Fortune to appreciate the favors which she seems to grant with so much prodigality, only in order to make her votaries pay for them afterwards with proportionate rigor. From Miltiades dying in confinement to Louis uttering his last groan in agony on a scaffold, we should find but very few exceptions to that decree of fate, which, placing the happiness of life in mediocrity, has decided the ambitious should purchase, at the expense of their tranquillity, and frequently of their existence, the glory of leaving behind a name famous among men. We are now going to witness a citizen burning with more than Roman ardor, who was yesterday so near the Capitol, to-day still nearer the Tarpeian rock.

The man who had planned and executed conquests on so gigantic a scale, as reduces all the designs of Louis XIVth to insignificance; he who in his first campaign displayed talents, to the admiration of all Europe, that more than placed him on a level with a Condé, an Eugene, and a Turenne; he who exceeded all other generals in vigor of attack, and vigilance of retreat,

and united what is highly desirable, but almost incompatible, the activity of a young general with the prudence of an old one; he whose very retreats were victories, for while pursued by the enemy he took many thousands of them prisoners; this great captain who never gave his adversary time to breathe, but manœuvred with incredible vivacity and boldness; who swelled the trophies of his country during a long period of patriotism and devotion, and immortalized his name as a consummate military leader;—General Moreau was now to suffer the humiliation of imprisonment, to be dragged from his wife and family to the Temple, to go before the Tribunal, and vindicate himself from a criminal accusation, by an appeal to the uniform probity of his life for the last twenty five years; and to the multiplied services he had rendered his country.

Pichegrue and the other deputies sentenced to deportation, were embarked in a vessel at Brest, and transported to Cayenne. The period of his banishment was, however, but short. He found means with Barthelemy and some others to elude the vigilance of the colonial government, and escaped to Surinam. The governor of Cayenne sent to demand them, but the Dutch *commandant*, who had not shut his heart to every generous sympathy, *winked* at their escape on board an American vessel, out of which they were taken, on their passage, by an English frigate, and landed

in England. I remember having seen Pichegrue at a grand review in Hyde-Park, where he accompanied his Majesty on horseback. At the opening of Parliament, in the same year, he was present in the House of Peers while the King was reciting his speech, and, by a strange coincidence, happened to stand on the steps of the throne, close to the Stadtholder, whom he had driven from the summit of power. Thus, after the lapse of only a few months, both the conqueror and the conquered found themselves exiles in the same country, and even under the same roof!

General Moreau had known from his youth a Curate of Pompadour, named David, the uncle of General Souham. In the year 1793, during the bloody persecution of the priests, the Abbé David fled to the Army of the North, and took refuge in the Staff-Major of his nephew: David, Souham, and Moreau, lived together in the house of Pichegrue. While David accompanied the army, he had an opportunity of inspecting the orderly book; and, *n'ayant rien de mieux à faire*, he composed a volume which he entitled, *Histoire des Campagnes du Général Pichegru.* This book, vicious in its arrangement, is not recurred to for its power of pleasing: facts without interest are only a guide to indifference, and indifference ceases to remember.

Moreau had heard nothing of the Abbé David from the time of Pichegrue's deportation, until the

middle of the year 10, when one day he announced himself to Moreau's servant at Gros Bois, and demanded an interview with the General.

Its object was to obtain an explanation of what he called the denunciation of Pichegrue, and become the mediator of a reconciliation between the two Generals.

General Moreau satisfied the Abbé on the subject of the denunciation. He now, as the mutual friend of both Generals, proposed an accommodation to General Moreau.

Moreau at this interview resisted.

David wrote to Pichegrue, mentioned the conference, but concealed Moreau's repugnance, and offered his mediation: it was accepted by Pichegrue.

David soon after called on Moreau again. He conjured him by the remembrance of his former friendship with Pichegrue, to cease retaining any longer enmity against him. There is a philtre in an old friendship not easily destroyed; and Moreau's breast, incapable of harboring an eternal resentment, consented to a reconciliation with his old friend, when David shewed him a letter in which Pichegrue desired it. The two generals, through the medium of the Abbë, were reconciled, and interchanged forgiveness.

The abbé David prepared to go to England; he waited on General Moreau, and asked if he

had any commands to General Pichegrue: Moreau requested he would present him his compliments.

David directed his course towards Calais, where he was to embark for that shore,

> "Whose foot spurns back the ocean's roaring tide,
> And coops from other lands her islanders."

But at Calais, just as he had obtained a passport the old pilgrim was arrested, and conveyed to the Temple at Paris. *Que diable allait il faire dans cette maudite galere?*

It is observable that when this arrest was made, General Moreau, with the dignity of conscious innocence, took no pains to ascertain whether he was implicated by the papers found on David; but remained unconcernedly at home, without in any thing varying his usual mode of life.

When Pichegrue was denounced by the Directory for plotting the restoration of the Bourbons, one of his former generals, Lajolais, was implicated in the conspiracy, and committed to prison, where he underwent two years confinement; but at length he was liberated by the judgment of a council of war.

On leaving prison he found himself in the very abyss of wretchedness, without money, and doubtful of a dinner.

He lived at first upon what he could borrow, but this resource was of a very failing nature,

for there is nothing a man sooner grows tired of than lending his money.

Every door was now shut against him, and no person in Paris was at home when General Lajolais called; he was shuned like a guilty wretch, for, throughout the civilized world, there is no scandal like rags, and no crime like poverty.

Still it was necessary General Lajalois should have food, but instead of being awakened to habits of independent exertion by the stimulating touch of adversity, he had recourse to what, in the vulgar idiom, is called, "raising the wind."

When all means seemed to be exhausted, he learnt that an accommodation had taken place through the medium of David, between General Moreau and General Pichegrue. Delightful visions now filled his imagination. He calculated that Moreau would cheerfully perform the first service solicited by Pichegrue.

Having contrived to obtain a recommendation from Pichegrue, in which he begged General Moreau would endeavor to procure some appointment *pour le pauvre general Lajolais*, ruined by long imprisonment; he repaired to Gros Bois, and delivered his letter.

General Moreau received the letter of recommendation with politeness. Lajolais spoke of his old friend and their reconciliation. General Moreau said he should have great pleasure in seeing

Pichegrue restored to France, but that it was not in his power to serve Monsieur Lajolais, as he lived altogether retired; he could not aid his petition, and counselled him to make application to others.

Lajolais bowed, and was about to retire. But before taking his leave, he acquainted General Moreau with his necessitous state, and requested he would aid him with a few louis to enable him to return to Alsace, his native country. In preferring his suit, he made mention of a little daughter of fourteen, whom he supported at Paris.

General Moreau knew, doubtless, how and where to bestow his charity; no friendship for Lajolais required the exercise of its duties; and, as he thought it would be so much money lost, the General refused.

Lajolais departed for Alsace, where he was detained several months by a poverty which denied him the power of travelling. At length he found means to pay his passage for England, and arrived at the metropolis:

"London, the needy villain's general home,
The common shore of Paris and of Rome."

He landed in England at a very favorable moment for the execution of his projects to put money in his purse. He found the nation in a state of alarm at the threatened invasion of Buonaparte; and a desire prevailing of throwing back on France

those inquietudes which she had caused in Great Britain.

Lajolais availed himself of this national fermentation. He gained access to the French Princes and the Royalists, and confirmed every hope that had been built upon the seclusion of Moreau from public life, and the coldness with which he was treated by the Consular government.

This worker of evil saw his advantage, and diligently profited by it. His calumnies against Moreau received a colour of truth, and the detractions of his republicanism were rendered plausible.

He represented Moreau to have the armies at his disposal, that he was favorable to Pichegrue, the French Princes, and to England; that he contemplated moving out of the way the First Consul and the Governor of Paris; and that he would avail himself of a party in the Senate sufficiently strong to re-establish the Bourbons on the throne of France.

The French Princes caught rapture from the glorious sounds; their generosity kept pace with the overflowing of their joy; they were not less prodigal of their guineas than this dæmon of mischief was of his fables. Lajolais had now found the philosopher's stone, and, so far from being constrained to eat the fog in the park for his breakfast, he could enter with perfect confidence

of physiognomy the most stylish coffee-house in Westminster.

Of the Royalists who eagerly swallowed the bait, and burnt with impatience to restore the crown of France to the Bourbons, the most distinguished was Georges Cadoudal. This man had been one of the most noted of the insurgents in La Vendée. In the Royal and Catholic army, which proposed to take possession of the kingdom in the name of Louis XVIII. he commanded all Lower Britanny, and chiefly the Morbihan. He was invincibly hostile to every new mode of government since the dethroning of his unfortunate monarch; insisting that directors and consuls were alike traitors and usurpers. Both Pichegrue and this man were promised by Lajolais names and supporters in France, which they were not less dismayed than disappointed at not finding.

It often happens, that in the execution of a project we are carried beyond our original designs. When Lajolais saw the most distinguished Royalists flocking round the airy standard which he had displayed, he began to think in earnest that France would be restored to her ancient dynasty; and already he was created, in imagination, a Duke or a Marquis, invested with a chateau and park, and loaded with riches for his loyalty, patriotism and devotion.

Seven months had elapsed since Moreau had heard the name of Lajolais, when one morning, about the close of the winter, he received a visit from that gentleman. In that visit he learnt from him, with infinite surprise, that Pichegrue was then in Paris. Lajolais pressed him to consent to see Pichegrue, who wished to concert the manner of procuring his public return to France. Moreau refused: observing, that his return to France, without the authority of government, subjected him, if recognized, to arrest, and that he did not think it prudent, as that arrest might take place even during their interview, to expose himself to every false interpretation that might be given to such a circumstance.

He thought that he should hear no more on this subject, when, about eight o'clock on an evening early in Pluvioise,* Lajolais and two other persons were announced. He repaired to the hall, and there found Lajolais, Pichegrue, and Couchery. This Couchery was the friend of Lajolais, who, about eight months before, had waited on Moreau to know if he had any letter to send to Pichegrue, and who received from Moreau the answer that he had no communication to make to that gentleman,

* The new calendar was the ingenious production of Fabre D'Eglantine, author of *Etrennes du Parnasse*. He was guillotined in Germinal, year 3.

and farther, that he certainly could not hold any relation with him while he remained in a country at war with France.

Moreau was extremely embarrassed at this meeting; after what had passed in the year 5, he never could have pardoned himself had Pichegrue now been arrested in his house. He shewed him into a library adjoining the hall, where they remained some minutes. In this interview Pichegrue spoke only of his desire to be erased from the list of emigrants, of his wish to be allowed to return to France, of the means of procuring a passport, of their former comrades, &c. &c. Moreau advised him, if he wished to procure his amnesty to quit England, and remove for some time into Germany. He then begged him to retire, assuring him that if he could be of any service to him he would see him with pleasure, but that not being the case, he wished him not to repeat his visit. They were together twelve or fifteen minutes. When they rejoined Lajolais, Moreau reproached him for having brought Pichegrue to his house; and, as to himself, desired that *he* would never return to it.

Moreau did not wish again to see either Pichegrue or Lajolais. He had at this first meeting expressly told them so. And in effect Lajolais did not return. But some days afterwards a Monsieur Roland, who, in the years 4, 5, 8, and 9,

had served under Moreau in the army of the Rhine, as inspector of the military transports, and was in the habit of occasionally paying his respects to him, waited on him in the morning. He asked a rendezvous for Pichegrue, who lodged at his house. Moreau refused it. Roland observed that he had something important to impart. Moreau persisted in his refusal ; but to soften this denial to an old friend in distress, told Roland that he would, if necessary, send his secretary to receive the communication of Pichegrue.

He patiently waited until evening for a reply, when he was told a person waited upon him, and on repairing to his cabinet, to his great astonishment found M. Pichegrue. Moreau was much chagrined ; but as no indiscretion had escaped the general at his last visit, it would have been ridiculous and indecent to have shewn resentment, or to have ordered him out of the house.

Conversation at first turned on the embarrassments of Pichegrue, on his desire of leave to return into France, and of obtaining a passport. But after some vague remarks, it fell upon politics. Pichegrue spoke of the intended descent on England, of the dangers which might arise from the absence of the First Consul, and of the changes which this event might occasion. It was then that he hinted something of the progress of opinion, divested of its republican prejudices,

concerning the Bourbons, their misfortunes, and their pretensions. Without developing any determinate plan, but merely as if by a supposition that any misfortune should ensue the invasion; and that, in consequence, parties should again arise to distract France, he seemed endeavouring to sound Moreau upon his disposition towards that family. At that moment, and for the first time, not the disclosure of a conspiracy, but some slight insinuations, or as they are called overtures, concerning what might interest France in the event of a failure of the intended invasion, were made to Moreau. He drily, formally, and with minute exactness, repulsed every idea that their return was possible, or that such an order of things as these remarks seemed to have in view, could ever exist, being totally incompatible with the national temper.

Their parting was cold, and Pichegrue seemed much discontented. Moreau saw no more of him, nor of Lajolais. But Roland came again to his house the next day. He brought back the conversation to some of the ideas that had fallen from General Pichegrue. He spoke of the possible evils that might attend the invasion; of the commotions that might result from it; and of the pretensions of the Bourbons.

Moreau replied, that he was at a loss to conceive how a handful of individuals, dispersed, could

on. Citizen Petit, and three of his agents, followed the cabriolet; Georges, through the back-window, perceived them pursuing him, and told the driver to flog on. But there is no escaping from these police officers. The moment the cabriolet entered the *Rue des Fossés*, Monsieur le Prince, the inspector of the police, and Jean Francais Callosle seized the horse by the rein, while Citizen Buffet, another inspector, coming up, looked into the carriage. One of the two former paid very dear for his presumption, and the last for his curiosity. Georges, with two pistols, fired at the same time, shot Citizen Buffet dead, and wounded Jean Francais Callosle very dangerously. Georges and Leridan instantly jumped out of the cabriolet, one on the right, and the other on the left. Le Prince ran after Leridan, and Citizen Petit seized Georges by the collar, assisted by Citizen Destavigny the whipper-in. They were thrice repulsed by Georges, who was still armed with his poignard, and would have found it a difficult matter to secure the brigand, if Citizen Thomas, a hatter, had not darted upon him, and Citizen Lamotte, a taylor, left his shears and shop-board to aid in disarming him.

Centinels were now placed along the walls of Paris, so that no person could pass the barriers during the night; the suspected houses were searched by the officers of the police, and forty

more "*brigands*" were conducted to the Temple; viz. Bouvet de Lozier, Rusillon, Rochelle, D'Hozier, De Riviere, Louis Ducorps, Picot, Lajolais, Coster Saint Victor, Deville, Armand, Gaillard, Joyaux, Bourban, Lemercier, Armand, Polignac, Jules Polignac, Lelan, Merille, Roger, Leridan, Rolland, Antoinette Hizay, Victor Couchery, David, Herve, Lenoble, Rubin, Lagrimaudiere, N. Ducorps, Datry, Even, Troche *pere*, Troche *fils*, Monnier and his wife, Denan and his wife, Spio, Caron, Galais and his wife.

On inspecting this list it will be found that David and Lajolais got apartments supplied them at the expence of government: what rendered Lajolais' imprisonment peculiarly interesting were the visits of a charming little girl of fourteen, who ministered to her father's comfort with tearful smiles.

At the same time a warrant was issued for the apprehension of General Moreau, who was conducted to the Temple, which, ever since the death of the unfortunate Louis XVI. had been used as a common place of confinement for prisoners of state. The most distinguished citizens now waited in crowds on Madame Moreau, to condole with her on the arrestation of her husband; while a general expression of indignation burst forth when his name was posted on the walls of Paris, in a paper entitled, "A list of Brigands in the pay of England to assassinate the First Consul."

General Pichegrue, whose testimony might have cleared up many doubts on Moreau's conduct, was suddenly discovered dead in his cell; a stick was found twisted so very tightly in his cravat as to strangle him. The news of Pichegrue having strangled himself with his cravat, gave occasion for Georges to say with great archness to his keeper, "*Citizen Turnkey, I here deliver to you my cravat; and I solemnly promise to make oath before any Notary Public, as I now do before you, that I will never strangle myself, nor make any attempt on my own life.*"

Thus died Pichegrue—and the manner of this great General's death moves the pity of the meanest being on the earth. Of all the French Generals, no one acquired greater renown. His first signal victory was the relief of Landau, where he was seen in the front of the line, in the midst of a tremendous fire, waving his hand, and exclaiming to his soldiers, *Point de rétraite aujourd'hui mes enfans.** The victories of Meucron, Courtray, Hoogleden, swelled his trophies, and he conquered Holland unconquerable before. The extent and versatility of his talents were shewn by his taking the lead in the Senate, as well as in the field. He was modest in prosperity, and bore

---

* *There's no retreating, my sons, to-day.*

calamity without repining. He may be esteemed by the present age a traitor, but posterity will not deny that he was a very great man.

For four months General Moreau was denounced by the public reports of the Grand Judge, by placards printed and affixed to public places, by the orders of Generals to their armies, and by addresses from all the constituted authorities, and a great number of military corps. But all these proved nothing; they were the greatest satire on the government that human malignancy could have devised. If a person accused is to be judged by Generals, alas! for that government whose criminal proceedings are to be directed by men holding drawn sabres; and if he is to be judged by the Ministers, by placards, or addresses, we may search with a lanthorn in the middle of the day for an independent Judiciary.

These orders, these placards, these reports, were in every Journal, on every wall, in every hand. During four months France resounded with them, and every voice that was heard, was heard against Moreau. Not one was raised in his favor except a solitary cry from his generous brother.

Condemned to a prison, held in the most rigorous seclusion, denied all communication with others, even refused the presence of his own family, and without one defender, General Moreau

was compelled to be silent, while universally accused. He was not permitted to dissipate prejudices in their birth, and before they should take root in the public mind. He was not allowed to trace the charges against him singly, step by step, and before they had assembled into a mass. He was not at liberty to contradict the falsehoods rumored against him, before they could establish themselves in credulous imaginations, nor to explain such parts of his conduct as might be supposed to afford some pretence for those rash judgments, which are with difficulty banished from the mind when once entertained by it.

On the 30th of May, 1804, General Moreau, after an imprisonment of more than three months, was put on his trial with the other State Prisoners. Of the advocates who offered to plead for him, he accepted the services of Chaveaux Lagarde, a man of uncommon eloquence, and who most ably vindicated, when she was deserted by every other friend, the cause of the unfortunate Antoinette, late Queen of France. The curiosity and anxiety of the public were so strongly excited, that the doors of the palace of justice were crowded by break of day, and the neighboring streets filled with persons eager to hear the trial. General Moreau was dressed in the clothes he wore at the battle of Hohenlinden, which put the seal to French military glory, and restored peace to thirty

millions of his fellow citizens wasted with seven years of war.

The indictments which had been published by government were read, and the crimes alledged against General Moreau, were: 1. Not having denounced Pichegrue in the year 5, at the detection of his criminality. 2. A reconciliation and culpable relation with Pichegrue, in England, through the agency of David and Lajolais.—3. Having engaged to re-establish the Princes of the House of Bourbon on the throne of France. 4. Having had interviews with Pichegrue at Paris, and rejected certain overtures, but substituted others, which had for their object the overthrow of the Consular government. 5. Of not having denounced the conspiracy.

It was objected by the General's advocate, that the first charge ought not to have been made in the present indictment. "Of what consequence," said Lagarde, "in the year 12, to the Consular, and particularly to the imperial government, is a conspiracy, real or imaginary, the object of which was to annul, in the year 4, the fragile constitution of the year 3, which the 18th Brumaire so happily reduced to dust, amidst the general plaudits of the nation.

"In what predicament should each of us at this moment appear, if the government under which we now so happily repose after a tempest-

of such long continuance, espousing all the quarrels of every government which has been erected and proscribed in France, during the last fifteen years, should demand from us a rigorous account of all that we may have done, for or against the old monarchy of 1788, for or against the constitutional monarchy of 1791, for or against the revolutionary government of the third year, for or against the Directories of Vendimiare, or Prairial, or of Fructidor; which have been in such rapid succession overturned by each other?

"On the 18th Brumaire France emerged from a chaos. It is from that day she should date her existence. All which preceded it, is involved in midnight darkness. On that day the national will, to secure the public repose, proscribed, en masse, all this train of ephemeral government, and ordained that no man should be questioned upon what had been his conduct under their influence.

"It is then a mere mockery to make the conduct of General Moreau against the Directory, previous to the 18th Fructidor, a subject of criminal enquiry. If he was at that time guilty towards it, what must have been his subsequent degree of guilt? Was it not he, who, on the 18th Brumaire, marched to the Luxembourg, and there held that feeble authority in awe, whilst, at St.

Cloud, another government arose at the wish, and for the happiness, of France."*

Lagarde was about to proceed, when General Moreau put an end to the discussion of this charge, by an expression equally distinguished for its reason and dignity. "If," said he, "I erred, it "was an error against the Directory; which has "since been sufficiently expiated by my having "gained thirty battles, and saved two armies."

In refutation of the second charge, Lagarde thus spoke: "General Moreau could not believe himself guilty in expressing a wish to see Pichegrue return to France; when at the same time he beheld every drawing-room in Paris open to the general-officers of the army of Condé, whom he had overthrown in battle the year before.

"Another particular not less important, and which at once deprives Lajolais of the title of

---

* This speech informs us what part Moreau took in Buonaparte's overthrow of the Legislative Bodies. It was my intention to have inserted a letter, which General Moreau is said to have written, in the Temple, to the First Consul; but I am not persuaded that it is original, and I am aware that misstated facts in a book acquire the stamp of authenticity. Verba volant, sed litera scripta manet. If I have been premature in this promise, let it be taken into consideration, that this volume was written and sent to the press between January 1 and February 10.

J. D.

agent for General Moreau in this suppositioos plot, is, that his examination in presence of General Moreau and the proceedings of the court have instructed us, that, at the very time when he is said to have been employed to procure this interview, he asked General Moreau to lend him some money, which the General refused.

"And will it be believed that General Moreau, at the very instant when he entrusted his secret to Lajolais, and associated him in his plans, would have refused to supply him, for the moment, with a few Louis?

"But as no plot can be matured without funds, it is therefore evident that General Moreau, after having initiated Lajolais into this conspiracy, would necessarily have placed his purse at his command, as he had already made him master of his fortune and his hopes."

On the third charge he thus expressed himself: "If we believe Roland, he was the agent of a party of Royalists. If from him General Moreau received the confidence of Pichegrue, he must have known that Pichegrue acted in concert with Georges and his friends; that is to say, in concert with the most resolved and faithful adherents of the House of Bourbon. And we are told that Gen. Moreau, in answer to the overtures made to him, whether by Roland or Pichegrue, gave such a re-

ply as this :—" I never will serve the Princes of " Bourbon. But let the Royalists immediately " proceed to execute their design. I will not " mix in the broil. I will wait its success. Let " them kill the Consul and the Governor of Pa- " ris. And then, when the danger shall have " passed by, when every obstacle shall have been " surmounted, when the struggle shall have been " crowned with success, when the Royalists shall " be masters of the state, then, instead of pro- " claiming the king for whose sake they devoted " themselves, they shall renounce the immediate " object for which they incurred so great a risk, " and they shall call upon me : I will then come " forward to reap the harvest of their toils and " perils ; I will go to the Senate and declare my- " self dictator!" Before this day, did ever an idea so full of folly enter the brain of a lunatic, as that of supposing that all these pure Royalists should, at once, in the hour of success, abandon the cause of their king to become the soldiers of the Dictator Moreau !"*

* Roland, together with the other conspirators, avowed in their depositions before the court, that General Moreau at first entered into their views, but that afterwards he wished to become Dictator of France himself. Nay, some went so far as to say, that he deceived them with the assurance of having a strong military force at his command.

After having vindicated General Moreau from the remaining accusations, Lagarde closed his defence with an eloquent appeal to the passions.

" But whence," said he, " the necessity of a train of reasoning to prove that a man did not plot the ruin of his own fame? If the name of Moreau is celebrated in Europe, it has become so by the disasters of the House of Bourbon: by victories acquired over its allies and protectors: by its present disgrace, which makes it every way improbable, that it should ever again be restored to power! Yet do not those tremble at the baseness of the charge, who suppose that Moreau wished its return to France! What honor, what recompence, could he thence derive? Then indeed might he expect to be reproached and arraigned as a traitor. Then would he himself be obliged to bury all his trophies, and never again to recall any of his glorious military atchievements; which, from the moment of its re-establishment, would be declared rebellion, and must mark him out as the most distinguished of rebels!

" Yet of what else is General Moreau accused? He casts his eyes around him, on those crowded and fatal benches; whom does he there perceive? Far be it from his intention to insult their misfortunes; through the struggles in which we have been involved, the lot of preserving a pure character has fallen to very few; yet he cannot re-

main from observing, that there he does not perceive one republican, one soldier, with whom he ever held a communication of conduct or sentiment. He beholds only determined Royalists, who have, with a fanatic and unbroken faith, continued their attachment to their party. He looks for his accomplices, and meets only adversaries and enemies. He is the only republican who there occupies a seat; nor dare one of those on either side claim him as their associate."

For several minutes a profound silence prevailed, when General Moreau rose, and, in a firm tone of voice, addressed the Court:

"GENTLEMEN,

"In presenting myself before you, I have to beg that you will favor me with a personal hearing for a few minutes. My confidence in the counsels I have retained is unbounded; to them I resigned, without reserve, the defence of my innocence; and through their medium alone did I wish to address the court; but my feelings tell me I must now speak myself to you and to the nation at large.

"Some events in the life of the most virtuous men living may be obscured by unfortunate circumstances, either effected by chance or by the workings of malice. Finesse and artifice may do away suspicion from a criminal, and may

seem to prove his innocence; but the surest way to judge an impeached man is by the general tenor of his conduct through life. In this way, then, I shall speak to my persecutors. My actions have been public enough, I conceive, to be well known. I shall call to your recollection but a few of them; and the witnesses I desire to bring forward on the occasion are the French people themselves, and the nations whom France has conquered:

"At the commencement of the revolution, which was to establish our independence, I was devoted to the study of the law; but the scene was now changed, and I became a soldier. It was not from motives of ambition that I enrolled my name among the defenders of liberty. I engaged in the profession of arms to defend the rights of the nation, and became a warrior because I felt myself a citizen. This character I carried with me into the ranks, and I preserved it free from blemish. The more I became enraptured with independence, the more readily I submitted to discipline.

"My promotion, though rapid, was not effected by fawning to the committees, and by overleaping the customary grades. It was the gradual reward of services rendered to my country. When I obtained the chief command, when victory prepared our way through hostile nations, my principal care was to impress on them

respect for the character of the French people and a dread of their power. War, under my direction, was a scourge only in the field of battle. This our enemies, in the midst of their ravaged plains, have done me the justice to acknowledge; which, perhaps has been of more use to the nation than victory itself.

"Such a line of conduct, at a time when contrary maxims seemed prevalent in the committees of the government, never once exposed me to the persecution or calumny of either party. Previous to the 10th of Fructidor no cloud had arisen to obscure the laurels I had won. The most active of those who were employed in the events of that too memorable day reproached me with tardiness in denouncing a man whom I regarded as a brother in arms, as long as, by the evidence of facts, I was not fully convinced that he was unjustly accused. The directory, to whom alone the particulars of my conduct were sufficiently known to draw conclusions from them, and, who, it is well known, were not much inclined to indulgence, loudly proclaimed me free from fault. They again employed me in the field; not, indeed, in a very brilliant capacity, but in one which soon became so.

"The nation, I dare presume, has not yet forgotten how faithfully I discharged the trust reposed in me. It has not forgotten with how much readiness I took a subordinate command in

Italy; and conquered my feelings upon the occasion. It has not forgotten that I was re-established in the chief command by the ill success of our armies, and that I was again made a general, as it were, by our misfortunes. It undoubtedly remembers that I twice supplied the wants of the army with the spoils of the vanquished; and that, after having twice put it in a condition to cope with the Russians and Austrians, I twice resigned the command of it, to take another of much greater responsibility.

"At that period of my life I was not a more staunch republican than I had been before; but I appeared so, by becoming more conspicuous. On me alone the notice and confidence of such as could at pleasure give the government what bias they pleased, seemed to be entirely placed. They proposed to me (as it is very well known) to put myself at the head of a popular commotion, similar to that of the 18th Brumaire: so that my ambition, had it aspired much, could have easily clothed itself in all the appearances, nay even the glory, of the most refined sentiments of patriotism.

"The proposals were made to me by characters who stood very high in the annals of the revolution, as ardent lovers of their country, and as men of eminent talents in our national assemblies. Their offers, however, I disdained to embrace; for, although I felt myself adequate to

the task of commanding the armies of the republic, I had no wish to command the republic itself.

"I was at Paris on the 18th of Brumaire; and that revolutionary epoch, which had been brought about by others, and to which I was a total stranger, could not in the least alarm my conscience. As it was directed by a man whose fame was emblazoned in the most brilliant characters, it had naturally brought my mind to hope for favorable results; and I therefore seconded his endeavors to the utmost of my power, although opposite parties were eagerly soliciting me to put myself at their head, to oppose him. I obeyed the orders of Buonaparte at Paris; and by so doing I assisted in raising him to that degree of power which circumstances seemed to justify.

"Some time after, when he offered me the chief command of the army on the Rhine, I accepted it from him with as much devotion as if it had been given me by the republic. Never were my military successes more rapid, more numerous, or more decisive, than at that period; the splendor of which was reflected on the government by which I am now accused.

"When I returned from the scene of so many triumphs (the chief advantage of which was the bringing about a continental peace) my journey was cheered, in every quarter, by shouts of national gratitude.

" Was this, then, a moment to become a traitor, even if my mind had been capable of entertaining such a design! No one is insensible of the attachment which armies have to favorite leaders, who have led them to victory. Suppose one of these were an ambitious traitor, would he not have taken advantage of the time when he had an hundred thousand victorious troops at his disposal to execute his projects, instead of returning to the bosom of a nation still in a state of ferment, and uncertain as to the form and duration of its political existence?

" My only wish was to disband the army, and bury myself in the retreats of civil life.

" In those retreats, which I am far from thinking inglorious, I certainly preserved my honor, which no human power can ever deprive me of. I enjoyed the remembrance of my past actions, the testimonies of my conscience, the esteem of my fellow citizens and foreigners; and, I dare presume, the voice of posterity will declare the uprightness of my conduct.

" I was in possession of a fortune which could only be thought great as my desires were moderate; and my conscience could not accuse me of having acquired it unfairly. I fully enjoyed the emoluments granted me on my retreat from the army. I was, indeed, content with my lot; for I never envied the lot of any man living. I was

surrounded by friends, who had no more to expect from my credit and fortune, but who still adhered to me from motives of personal attachment. My mind was so completely occupied by these blessings (the only ones I was ever enabled to value highly) that no ambitious desire could possibly intrude. How, then, should it be suddenly open to criminal designs?

"So well was my way of thinking known, so completely diverted were my ideas from the paths of ambition, that ever since the victory of Hohenlinden, to the day of my arrest, no one could accuse me of any other crime than that of talking freely; and, indeed, my conversation was often favorable to the measures of government. But if, by accident, it was not always so, how could I imagine that to be a crime in a nation which had so often decreed the liberty of thought and speech, and which, even under its kings, had so fully enjoyed that privilege!

"I must confess that, as I was born with an openness of disposition which characterizes the country in which I first drew breath, I could not easily lose it in camps (where every thing conspires to heighten its effect) or in a revolution, where it was so often extolled as a virtue in individuals, and recommended as a duty to citizens at large. But do conspirators talk loudly on matters which they disapprove? Can candor and fair

dealing be connected with the mysterious and dark machinations of intriguing men?

"If I had wished to carry any secret plans into execution, I should have dissembled my real sentiments, and courted an employment which would have given me command of the national forces. I had instances enough of success, in undertakings of such a nature, to make me sanguine. I knew that Monk, in the execution of his designs, did not withdraw from the reach of his army, and that Brutus and Cassius approached the heart of Cæsar only to pierce it.

"Magistrates, I have now nothing more to say. Such has been my character, and such the tenor of my conduct through life. I solemnly call heaven and earth to witness the innocence and integrity of my intentions. You know your duty. France awaits your decision; Europe contemplates your proceedings; and posterity will record them."

The effect produced by this speech was sensibly felt, even among the Judges, who were visibly agitated. The Court proceeded to the trial of the conspirators, in which a scene highly interesting, was when the two Polignacs, brothers, and noblemen of the highest respectability, were seen warmly contending for the favor of dying for each other, and begging finally to be suffered to die together. This rare instance of brotherly affection called bursts of tears from many ladies who

had gained admittance to the Tribunal, and the Hall of Justice resounded with sobs of female sympathy.

Georges boldly declared before the Tribunal, "that he came to Paris to attack the First Consul by main force, and to put his lawful King in the place of an Usurper."

The trials ended June 9, when the President made known the final determination of the Court in the presence of the prisoners, and the strangers who crowded the Hall. It was as follows:

Georges Cadoudal, Bouvet de Lozier, Russillon, Rochelle, Armand Polignac, d'Hozier, de Riviere, Louis Ducorps, Picot, Lajolais, Coster Saint Victor, Deville, Armand Gaillard, Joyaux, Burban, Lemercier, Lelan, Aberille, and Roger, were condemned to suffer death, with confiscation of their goods.

General Moreau, Jules Polignac, Leridan, Roland, and Antoinette Hizay, were sentenced to two years imprisonment.

Victor Couchery, David, Herve, Lenoble, Rubin Lagrimaudiere, N. Ducorps, Datry, Even, Troche *pere*, Troche *fils*, Monnier and his wife, Denan and his wife, Spin, Caron, Galais and his wife, were acquitted.

The following notice was the next morning posted up in all parts of Paris, from the Police Office to the Police Officers:

"While the public proceedings against the conspirators lasted, I enjoined you to give free access to the Palace of Justice; but now that the Court of Justice has delivered its sentence, *you will not permit any persons to assemble, or to publish, sell, or distribute any printed paper or pamphlet, relative to the persons condemned. You will arrest all persons who shall act in disobedience to these orders.*

The Minister of Police.

(Signed) FOUCHE."

About this period the Duke d'Enghien, son of the Duke of Bourbon, and grandson of the Prince of Condé, was arrested in the Elector of Baden's territories, and carried into France. He was conducted from Eltenheim to the Temple, at Paris, but did not enter it; those who escorted him finding an order there to convey him, without delay, to Vincennes.

On his arrival at Vincennes, a military commission was immediately assembled for his trial, which sentenced him to death. He was so excessively fatigued, that he slept profoundly during his trial, and it was necessary to awake him to read his sentence to him. He then collected his fortitude, and met death with firmness: he would not permit his eyes to be bound.

He was shot on the 22d of May, 1804, before day-light, in the forest of Vincennes, near the castle of that name. It is remarkable that he

should have perished in that very wood in which his ancestor Louis IX. or Saint Louis, was wont to administer justice under a large oak, according to the simple manners of the thirteenth century.—From this monarch he was the twenty-first in descent.

It was this gallant young nobleman, who, in the retreat of the army of the Rhine and Moselle, saved the centre of Latour's army, at the battle of Biberach, from being made prisoners by General Moreau. The unprecedented manner of his arrest in a neutral territory, his summary trial, and the immediate death that followed it, excited much interest all over Europe.

While the measure of these unfortunate persons' calamities was full, the honors of this vain world were thickening round the family of Buonaparte. The Tribunate decreed that Napoleon Buonaparte should be proclaimed Emperor of the French.

The coronation of Buonaparte took place the 11th of Frimaire; that is, Sunday, December 2, 1804. Ambitious of the name of the second Charlemagne, he had the coronation ornaments of that great Prince borne before him, in his procession to the Church of Notre Dame. He entered the Cathedral with the crown placed previously upon his head by himself; Marshal Lefevre carried his sword, and Marshal Serrurier the Empress' ring. The horses that drew the Emperor's coach belonged formerly to the King of England,

at Hanover. A continual succession of troops followed: the cavalry all galloped.

It must have been thought a strange medley, to see Turks in a procession on a religious ceremony, and in connexion with his holiness the Pope, by those who did not know that Buonaparte's Mamelukes were all Catholics.

At the moment their Majesties entered the porch, the Pope descended from the throne, and, advancing to the altar, sang *Veni Creator!* The Emperor and Empress said their prayers upon their cushions; his holiness bestowed a triple unction on the head of the one, and on the two hands of the other. He then performed mass. After the mass, the Pope said prayers separately over both crowns, the sceptre, the sword, and the hand of justice. When all these were consecrated, Buonaparte put them on again, and placed the crown on the head of the Empress. The Pope followed the Emperor to the throne, where, after kissing him on the cheek, he cried aloud to the audience, "*Vivat Imperator in æternum!*"

After the elevation of the Host, and the *Agnus Dei*, Buonaparte, with the crown upon his head, and his hand upon the Gospel, pronounced the oath; when, the chief Herald at Arms proclaimed, in a loud tone of voice: "The most glorious and most august Emperor Napoleon, Emperor of the French, is crowned and enthroned! Long live the Emperor!"

In the going and returning of the procession, the Pope was attended by a numerous train of

clergy; and a foolish brute of a priest went before his holiness, seated on a mule, and carrying a cross; he was hatless in the most bitter cold that can be conceived, and made much fun for the Parisians, who exclaimed, "*Quelle bete!*"

June 9, Madam Polignac threw herself, at St. Cloud, at the feet of the Emperor, and raising her fine eyes and white arms, supplicated him for the pardon of her husband. "She had been from six in the morning with the Empress, who, in the kindest and most affecting manner, had not only supported and encouraged her, but had contrived the means of an interview with the Emperor. The Emperor regarded her with attention, and seemed very much affected by her attitude and tears. "I am astonished," said his imperial majesty, "that Monsieur de Polignac, whom I remember as the companion of my youth, at the Military School, should have engaged in such an odious transaction. But as the attempt was made, against my own life, I may be justified in pardoning him, and I pardon him accordingly."

June 11, the sister and aunt of Monsieur de Reviere went to St. Cloud, to implore the clemency of his majesty the Emperor in favor of their unhappy relative condemned to death. Her imperial majesty the Empress facilitated their access to her august spouse. The Emperor granted to the tears of this family the pardon it solicited.

June 12, Mademoiselle Lajolais went alone to express her despair to Madame the princess Louis Buonaparte.

Her Imperial Highness received her with that goodness of which the Empress her mother had given such an affecting example. She conducted the weeping girl immediately to St. Cloud. Her tears and supplications obtained the pardon of her father.

When his Imperial Majesty observed that this was the second time her father had been guilty of a crime against the state, "Sire, replied Mademoiselle Lajolais, in the accents of ingenuousness, her voice interrupted with sobs and tears—"the first time, my father was innocent, doubtless; but now I supplicate of you his pardon."

The pardon of M. Bouvet de Lozier was granted the same day to Mademoiselle Bouvet, his sister, under the auspices of her Imperial Highness madame the Princess Murat.

On the morning of the 25th, Georges and eleven others were taken from the *Bicetre* to the *Conciergerie*, where their awful sentence was read to them. After spending some time in devotion, they were, between eleven and twelve, put into four carts, and conveyed to the *Place de Greve*, where they were guillotined. The head of Georges fell the first; and they all died with the greatest firmness, exclaiming in an undaunted manly tone, *Vive le Roi! Vive Louis XVIII!*

General Moreau was suffered to banish himself from France. He went with his lady and family, by the way of Barcelona, for Cadiz, where he embarked for the United States of America.

FINIS.