

beuge and Landau, the French volunteers were getting into shape, their armies were being organized and their generals were gaining experience without losing their dash. At the end of August, 1793, the situation of France, attacked at every frontier and torn by civil war, seemed desperate. By the end of December she was everywhere victorious. Houchard had routed the English at Hondshoote, Jourdan had defeated the Austrians at Wattignies, Bonaparte had recaptured Toulon, and Hoche had carried the lines of Wissemburg. Moreover the tedious Vendean war was drawing to a close.

A few months afterwards the victory of Fleury gave France the Netherlands. The Spaniards were driven back beyond the Pyrenees, the Piedmontese beyond the Alps, the imperialists and the Prussians beyond the Rhine, and during the winter Pichegru fought his way into Holland. These reverses induced Spain and Prussia to abandon the coalition. Spain, at the mercy of a shameless court, was appalled at the sound of arms. Prussia needed repose in order to assimilate Poland, which had been finally dismembered.

England, Austria, Sardinia and the South German states remained in line. Russia entered their league and sent her vessels to assist England in starving the French coasts and in building an immense British colonial empire. The subsidies from the English aristocracy fed the war and prevented defections of the allies. While men aimlessly cut one another's throats on the Rhine, the English fleets scoured the seas and seized the vessels and trading posts of France and of her ally, Holland.

On land the young volunteers had quickly learned how to fight the veterans of Frederick II. But maritime war demands other tactics and long practice. All the brilliant naval staff which had combated England in the American Revolutionary War had emigrated. The French fleets had no sea-captains and were always worsted in sea-fight. In 1794, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, formerly captain of a merchantman, with twenty-six vessels manned by peasants attacked an English fleet of thirty-eight sail, in order to protect the disembarkation of an immense convoy of grain. The convoy passed, a part of France was saved from famine, but the French fleet lost seven ships. One of them, *Le Vengeur*, rather than strike its flag, went to the bottom, its

crew singing the Marseillaise. Martinique, Guadeloupe and even Corsica, which could not be defended, were seized by the English.

**Constitution of the Year III. The Thirteenth of Vendémiaire or October 5, 1795.**—But the Convention, issuing victorious from the tumults which followed the overthrow of Robespierre, repealed the democratic Constitution of 1793, which had not yet been put in execution, and intrusted the legislative power to two councils, the Five Hundred and the Ancients. It confided the executive power to a Directory of five members, one of whom was to be changed each year. At first the Convention had centralized everything. Now everything was divided. The legislative power was to have two heads, which is not too many for good counsel, but the executive power was to have five, which is unfavorable to action. Thus they hoped to escape dictatorship and to create a moderate republic. The result was a republic feeble and doomed to anarchy. The local assemblies accepted the Constitution, but disorders broke out in Paris. The royalists, who had so often suffered from sedition, committed the error of employing it in their turn. They carried with them many companies of the national guard, who marched in arms upon the Convention. Barras, whom the Assembly had appointed general-in-chief, charged Napoleon Bonaparte with its defence. That fifth of October began the successes and assured the triumph of the young officer, whose astute management overcame the superiority of numbers. Three weeks later the Convention declared its mission at an end (October 26).

In the midst of civil commotions and foreign victories, the Convention had pursued its political and social reforms. In order to strengthen the unity of France it decreed national education. It founded the Normal School, several colleges, primary and veterinary schools, schools of law and medicine, the Conservatory of Music, the Institute and the Museum of Natural History. It also established unity of weights and measures by the metrical system. By the sale of national property it enabled many to become proprietors. By the creation of the public ledger, it founded the state credit. By the invention of the aerial telegraph the orders of the central government could be transmitted rapidly to the very frontiers, and establishment of museums revived taste for the arts. The Convention wished to have the in-



firm and foundlings brought together and cared for by the country. The last act of these terrible legislators was a decree that the death penalty should be abolished after the general pacification.

**The Directory (1795-1799).**— Before it dissolved the Convention decreed that two-thirds of the members of the Council of the Ancients and of the Council of the Five Hundred, should be chosen from the members of the Convention. Thus the latter formed the majority in the Council. They elected as directors Laréveillère-Lepeaux, Carnot, Rewbell, Letourneur and Barras. These five directors established themselves in the palace of the Luxembourg. The situation was difficult. The local elective councils, which were to administer the departments, the cantons and the communes, were doing nothing or doing it badly. This paralysis of authority was compromising all the interests of the country. The treasury was empty. The paper currency was completely discredited. Commerce and industries no longer existed. The armies lacked provisions, clothing and even ammunition. But three such years of war had developed soldiers and generals. Moreau commanded the army of the Rhine and Jourdan that of Sambre-et-Meuse. Hoche kept watch over the coasts of the ocean to defend them against the English and to pacify Brittany and La Vendée. And in conclusion, he who was destined to eclipse them all, Bonaparte, then twenty-seven years of age, had just won on October 5 the command of the Army of the Interior, which he soon afterwards exchanged for that of the Army of Italy.

**Campaigns of Bonaparte in Italy (1796-1797).**— On placing himself at their head, he found his troops pent up in the Alps, where they were struggling painfully with the Sardinian troops, while the Austrians were threatening Genoa and marching on the Var. With the eye of genius Bonaparte chose his field of battle. Instead of wearing out his forces amid sterile rocks where no great blows could be struck, he flanked the Alps, whose passage he might have forced. By this skilful manœuvre he placed himself between the Austrians and the Piedmontese, cut them in pieces, defeated them in succession, drove the former into the Apennines and the latter back upon their capital, and thrust the sword into the loins of the Sardinian army until it laid down its arms. Thus delivered from one enemy, he turned upon the other.

In vain did the Austrian Beaulieu, alarmed by his defeats at Montenotte (April 11), Millesimo (April 14), Dego (April 15), and Mondovi (April 22), retreat with utmost speed. Bonaparte followed him, overtook him and crushed him. At Lodi the Austrians tried to stop him. The French fought their way across the river over a narrow bridge and won a magnificent victory. Beaulieu was succeeded by Wurmser, Austria's best general, with a larger and more veteran army. It disappeared like the first at Lonato and Castiglione (August 3 and 5), and Bassano (September 8). Alvinzi, who replaced Wurmser, was routed at Arcola (November, 1796) and at Rivoli (January, 1797). The Archduke Charles succeeded no better. All the armies and the generals of Austria dashed themselves in vain against less than 40,000 men led by a general eight and twenty years of age. On the flag which the Directory presented to the Army of Italy, were inscribed these words: "It has taken one hundred and fifty thousand prisoners, captured seventy flags, five hundred and fifty siege guns, six hundred field guns, five pontoon equipages, nine vessels, twelve frigates, twelve corvettes, eighteen galleys, has given liberty to the peoples of Northern Italy, sent to Paris the masterpieces of Michael Angelo, Guercino, Titian, Paul Veronese, Correggio, Albani, Caracci, and Raphael, gained eighteen pitched battles, and fought sixty-seven combats."

While these marvellous campaigns of Italy were going on, Jourdan had allowed himself to be beaten by the Archduke Charles at Würzburg, and Moreau, left unguarded, had found himself obliged to retreat into Alsace. His retreat was as glorious as a victory; for he took forty days to march a hundred leagues without allowing himself to be attacked. Moreover, the Army of Italy had won for France as a boundary that great river which for nearly a thousand years, had separated Gaul and Germany. The treaty of Campo Formio, signed by Bonaparte (October 17, 1797), restored to France the Rhine as her frontier. Beyond the Alps she possessed a devoted ally in the new Cisalpine republic founded in Lombardy.

**Egyptian Expedition (1798-1799). Second Coalition (1798). Victory of Zurich.**— Austria had laid down her arms; but the English, unassailable in their island, could not consent to allow France so many conquests. Therefore the war with



them continued. To strike them to the heart by destroying their commerce, the Directory despatched to Egypt an expedition commanded by Bonaparte. From the banks of the Nile he hoped to reach England in India and overthrow her empire there. At the battles of the Pyramids and Mount Tabor, he scattered the Mamelukes and the Turks before him. But the loss of the French fleet at Aboukir had deprived him of siege guns and caused his siege of Saint Jean d'Acre to fail. After that disaster he could accomplish nothing important by remaining in Egypt. Destroying another Turkish army at Aboukir, he quitted his conquest and returned to France.

During his absence the weakness of the Directory had permitted all the fruits of the peace of Formio to be lost. The spectacle of French internal disorganization and the absence of Bonaparte with the best French army, which seemed lost in the sands of Egypt, induced the continental Powers to lend an ear to the persuasions of Pitt. As early as 1798 that great and hostile minister began to form a second coalition against France. It was composed of Russia, where Paul I had just succeeded to Catherine II, of that part of Germany which was under Austrian influence, of the emperor, who could not console himself for having lost Milan, of Naples, Piedmont and Turkey. The alliance of the latter power with France, after lasting three centuries, had been ruptured by the expedition to Egypt. The Barbary States offered their assistance against the nation which seemed to have become the foe of the Crescent.

France, without either money or commerce, no longer borne on by the patriotic impulse of '93 and not yet possessing the military enthusiasm and strong organization of the empire, found herself exposed to the most serious dangers. Still the first operations were fortunate; Joubert drove the king of Sardinia from Turin, and Championnet proclaimed at Naples the Parthenopean Republic. But the coalition had 360,000 soldiers against 170,000 Frenchmen. An Anglo-Russian army landed in Holland. The Archduke Charles vanquished Jourdan at Stockach, and laid siege to Kehl, opposite Strasburg. Schérer at Magnano, Macdonald at Trebia, and Joubert at Novi lost Italy, which was invaded by 100,000 Austro-Russians.

The victory of Masséna at Zurich and that of Brune at Bergen saved France from invasion.

**Internal Anarchy. The Eighteenth of Brumaire, or November 9, 1799.**—At home the struggle between parties was beginning again with fury, but fortunately with less bloodshed. After the overthrow of Robespierre the Revolution seemed almost desirous of retracing its steps. The emigrants returned in crowds and the royalists showed themselves everywhere. The condemnation of several hot-headed republicans, who preached the abolition of property, and the success of the "whites" in the elections, thereby giving the monarchists the majority in the councils, increased their hopes. The pretender, Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, believed that he was on the point of being recalled and was already formulating his conditions.

To the parliamentary coup d'état which was preparing, the Directory retorted by a coup d'état of the government and the army. It proscribed two of its members: Carnot, who was unwilling to employ violence against the royalists, and Barthélemy, who was royalist at heart. It sentenced fifty-three members of the two Councils to deportation. Among them were Pichegru, Barbé-Marbois, Boissy-d'Anglas, Portalis and Camille Jordan (September 4, 1797). On May 11, 1798, there was another coup d'état, but this time it was directed against the deputies, called "patriots," whose elections were annulled. The legislative body, thus attacked by the Directory, struck back on June 18, 1799, and three directors were forced to resign. In the Councils, at Paris, in the armies, men talked openly of overthrowing the Constitution, which by dividing the executive power compelled it to be by turns weak or violent, but never strong or apparently durable.

Thus weary of the anarchy in which a feeble and undignified government let her exist, France accepted Bonaparte as her leader on his return from the East with the prestige of fresh victories. Sieyès, one of the directors, who wished a new constitution which he had long been meditating to be accepted, thought he had found in the general a useful tool. Bonaparte did not deprive him of his illusions, but accomplished the military revolution of the eighteenth of Brumaire, or November 9, 1799, which resulted in the fall of the Directory and the creation of the Consulate.

The eighteenth of Brumaire was another national day crowned by an act of violence. Royalists and republicans, generals and magistrates, priests and laymen, had employed



alternately during the last ten years conspiracies or weapons to modify or overthrow the law.

**Another Constitution. The Consulate.**—In order to strengthen the executive power the new chiefs of the state were reduced from five to three, and their functions were prolonged for ten years. The three consuls were Bonaparte, Sieyès and Roger Ducos.

From the first Sieyès recognized that he had given himself a master. Bonaparte rejected his plans and had a Constitution adopted, known as that of the year VIII, which placed in his hands under the title of First Consul the most important prerogatives of authority. The two associate consuls, Cambacérès and Lebrun, had only the right of consultation.

According to the new Constitution, the laws, prepared on the order of the consuls by the council of state, were discussed by the Tribunal and adopted or rejected by the legislature. The Tribunal expressed its opinions, which the government heeded or not as it pleased, concerning existing or proposed laws, abuses to be corrected, and improvements to be introduced. When after examination by the tribunes a proposed law was submitted to the legislative body, it was discussed by three speakers from the Tribunal and by three Councillors of state. The members of the legislative body had no right to participate in the debate. They voted in silence.

The Senate, composed of eighty members appointed for life, was charged with the maintenance of the Constitution, the judgment of all acts contrary to the organic law, and the nomination from the national list of all members of the Tribunal and of the legislature. All Frenchmen twenty-one years of age and inscribed on the public registers were electors. The electors of each communal district chose a tenth of their number to draw up from among themselves a list of communal notables, and from this list the First Consul selected the public functionaries of each district. The notables placed on the communal list named a tenth of their number to form the departmental list, and from this the First Consul selected the functionaries of the department. The persons named on the departmental list drew up the national list, which included one-tenth of their number, and from which the national functionaries were chosen. Also from this third list of notables the Senate was to name the members of the Tribunal and the legislative body.

Thus the assemblies which discussed and passed the laws were the result of four successive elections. This Constitution was submitted to a plebiscite or popular vote. There were cast 3,011,007 votes in favor of its adoption and 1562 against it.

Bonaparte was known as a great general. He showed himself a still greater administrator. His first care was to reestablish order. He himself proclaimed oblivion of the past and endeavored to reconcile all parties. He declared the former nobles eligible to public office, recalled the later exiles, reopened the churches and permitted the emigrants to return. The country districts were cleared of bandits. In order to found an administration which should be at once firm and enlightened, he constituted the departments after the pattern of the state itself. The departments had been administered by elective directories over which the central power had little influence, and which worked badly or not at all. He replaced them by a Prefect who depended directly upon the Minister of the Interior, and he concentrated all the executive authority in the hands of that official. At his side he placed the Council of the Prefecture, a sort of departmental council of state, and the General Council, a sort of legislature. The sub-prefect had also his District Council. The mayor of each commune had a Municipal Council. Each district or sub-prefecture had a civil tribunal and for the finances a special receiver. Each department had a criminal tribunal and a receiver-general. Twenty-seven appellate tribunals were instituted over the land. A Court of Cassation or Supreme Court of Appeal maintained the uniformity of jurisprudence. A commission, composed of Portalis, Tronchet, Rigot de Préameneu and de Malleville and often presided over by Bonaparte himself, prepared the civil code, which was discussed by the council of state, and which the legislative body, after full examination by the great judicial bodies and the Tribunal, adopted in 1804. One of the most useful creations of this period was the Bank of France, which has rendered great services to the country in times of difficulty.

**Marengo. Peace of Lunéville and of Amiens.**—The royalists, disappointed in their hopes, raised the standard of insurrection in the west. By energetic measures Bonaparte stifled this new civil war. On the frontiers, especially in the direction of Italy, serious dangers menaced the Republic. The situation of 1796 seemed repeated. Instead



of flanking the Alps, as on the former occasion, Bonaparte crossed them by the Pass of St. Bernard and fell upon the rear guard of Melas who, master of Genoa, was threatening to cross the Var. By the single battle of Marengo he reconquered Italy (June 14, 1800). This dazzling success and the victory of Moreau at Hohenlinden forced Austria to sign the peace of Lunéville (February 9, 1801).

England alone, still governed by Pitt the mortal enemy of France, obstinately persisted in war. But men's eyes were opening. They began to see why that one power, which gained by the war in which all the other powers were the losers, refused to lay down arms. The ideas, which twenty years earlier had armed against England the northern Powers, again made their appearance in the councils of the kings. The Tsar, the kings of Prussia, Denmark and Sweden, whose commerce the English were molesting, renewed the League of the Neutrals (December, 1800). England replied by placing an embargo in her ports on the vessels of the allied states, and Nelson forcing the passage of the Sund threatened Copenhagen with bombardment. This audacious act and the assassination of Paul I broke up the League of the Neutrals. The new Tsar, Alexander I, renounced the policy of his father, and France found herself left to defend the liberty of the seas alone. The capitulation of Malta after a blockade of twenty-six months and the evacuation of Egypt by the French army seemed to justify the persistence of England; but she was staggering under a debt of over \$2,000,000,000, enormous even for her. The misery of her laboring classes produced bloody riots. For a long time the Bank of London had paid out no coin. Moreover the French marine was springing into new life. At Boulogne immense preparations were under way for an invasion of England. Just as the peace of Lunéville was signed Pitt fell from power. A few months later the new ministry concluded with France the preliminaries of the peace which was signed at Amiens, March 25, 1802. The acquisitions of France and the republics which she had founded were recognized. England restored the French colonies, gave back Malta to the Knights, and the Cape to the Dutch. She retained only the Spanish Island of Trinidad, and Ceylon, which completed her establishment in India. Peace was reestablished on all the continents and on all the seas. The coalition of the kings was vanquished!

## XXX

## GREATNESS OF FRANCE

(1802-1811)

**The Consulate for Life.**—The treaty of Amiens carried the glory of Bonaparte to the zenith. For the second time he had given peace to France. Egypt was indeed lost and an expedition, intended to make the blacks of San Domingo recognize the authority of France, was doomed to failure. But those distant misfortunes hardly awakened an echo at home. They were forgotten as men beheld parties calmed and order reviving everywhere under the firm, skilful hand of the First Consul.

He renewed the powerful impulse imparted by Colbert to manufactures. Commerce was encouraged, the finances were reorganized, the roads and ports repaired, the arsenals stocked. At Paris he threw three bridges across the Seine. Between the valleys of the Seine and the Oise he dug the canal of Saint Quentin. Between France and Italy he opened the magnificent road of the Simplon, and founded hospices on the summits of the Alps. The civil code was being discussed under his supervision, and he was already elaborating the project of complete organization of national education. A marvellous activity and an unprecedented ability to labor made him see everything, understand everything, do everything. Arts and letters received from him precious encouragement. For the purpose of rewarding civil and military services, talent and courage, he instituted the Order of the Legion of Honor, a glorious system of social distinction which the spirit of equality could accept. A stranger to the hatreds of the past ten years, he welcomed the exiles, recalled the priests, and signed the Concordat with the Pope. He tried to efface petty animosities and to form only one great party, that of France. Finally, while he harnessed the Revolution to his chariot, he preserved its principles in his civil code and thereby rendered it imperishable.