

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.

But he could not disarm all his enemies. Every day fresh conspiracies were formed against his life. The infernal machine of the Rue Saint Nicaise came near destroying his life. In order, as he himself said, to make his enemies tremble even in London, he caused the execution of Georges Cadoudal who had come to Paris to assassinate him. He exiled Moreau and imprisoned Pichegru, who strangled himself in his cell. Seizing the Duke d'Enghien contrary to international law at the castle of Ettenheim in the margravate of Baden, he handed him over to a military commission which condemned and executed him that same night in the moat of Vincennes (March 20, 1804).

On August 2, 1802, four months after the treaty of Amiens, he was appointed consul for life. In order to bring institutions into harmony with its new powers, the Constitution was remodelled. The lists of notables were replaced by electoral colleges for life, and important changes were made to the advantage of the Senate. Invested with the constituent power, this body had the right of regulating by senatorial decrees whatever had not been provided for in fundamental laws, to suspend the jury and to dissolve the legislature and the Tribunate. But organic senatorial decrees were to be previously discussed in a privy council, all of whose members were to be selected each time by the First Consul.

Bonaparte Hereditary Emperor (May 18, 1804). — Admiration for a transcendent genius, gratitude for great services, and a crying need of order after so many agitations, caused these dangerous innovations to be accepted. A few members protested in the Tribunate. But the murmurs of Daunou, Lanjuinais, Chénier, Carnot and Benjamin Constant, like the opposition of Madame de Staël and Châteaubriand, were lost in the splendor which surrounded the new power. Finally the Senate invited the First Consul to rule the French Republic with the title of hereditary emperor as Napoleon I. The mighty master of France was unable to master himself and to restrain his ambition.

More than three and a half million voters declared in favor of the empire. Pope Pius VII himself came to Paris and crowned the new Charlemagne on December 2, 1804. To give the throne which had just been set up the brilliancy of the old monarchies and to unite under the same titles the men of the Revolution and those of the old régime,

Napoleon created a new nobility of counts, dukes and princes. He appointed eighteen titled Marshals: Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Masséna, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellerman, Lefèvre, Pérignon and Serrurier, with large endowments in money and lands. Again were seen officers of the court, its great dignitaries, its chamberlains and even its pages.

Napoleon was president of the Italian Republic. Having become emperor in France, he became king of Italy (March 18, 1805). That fair country, enervated by a servitude of four or five centuries' duration and by divisions which dated from the fall of the Roman Empire, was then unable either to defend itself, or of itself to unite. If the hand of France were withdrawn, either Austria would seize it once more or it would fall back again into its eternal rivalries. "You have only local laws," said Napoleon to the deputies of the Cisalpine Republic; "you need general laws." That is to say, they were only municipalities, hostile to each other, and ought to become a state. The unity which Napoleon I wished to give the inhabitants by first making them French, Napoleon III afterwards assured them by leaving them Italians.

Beginning with 1803 the emperor was Mediator of the Helvetian Republic. He took advantage of the right conferred upon him by this title to give Switzerland a constitution which, by maintaining peace between the rival cantons, ultimately led the Swiss to form a real nation without destroying local patriotism. Six new cantons, Argovie, Thurgovie, Saint Gall, Grisons, Vaud and Tessin, were added to the thirteen old cantons, and all unjust privileges disappeared. After the proclamation of the empire, Napoleon made no change in his relations toward Switzerland, but took many Swiss regiments into his service.

Third Coalition. Austerlitz and the Treaty of Presburg (1805). — Pitt returned to the ministry on May 15, 1804. Thus the war party again obtained the upper hand. In fact England could not bring herself to evacuate Malta despite her word pledged at the treaty of Amiens, and without declaring war she seized 1200 French and Dutch ships. Napoleon replied to this provocation by invading Hanover, the patrimony of the English king, and by immediately setting on foot preparations to cross the

Straits of Dover with an army. The American Fulton offered the means for crossing by the steamboat which he had constructed, but his proposals were refused. England was in danger. Nelson himself failed against the Boulogne flotilla which, should the tempest drive away the English vessels for a few days or should a calm render them motionless, was ready to transport 150,000 men on its thirteen hundred boats. Admiral Villeneuve with the Toulon fleet might have protected the passage, but he lacked the daring. Through fearing a defeat in the Channel, he suffered a terrible disaster a few months later on the coast of Spain at Trafalgar (October 21, 1805).

England had warded off the peril by dint of gold. She subsidized a third coalition, which Sweden, Russia, Austria and Naples entered. Prussia held back and awaited developments. The emperor was in the camp at Boulogne when he learned that 160,000 Austrians, preceding a Russian army, were advancing under Archduke Charles upon the Adige and under General Mack on the Rhine. He was compelled to postpone his invasion. Napoleon immediately broke up his camp at Boulogne, sent the grand army post haste to the Rhine and, while Masséna held back the archduke's vanguard, flanked Mack, shut him up in Ulm and forced his surrender (October 19). Two days later the destruction of the French fleet at Trafalgar forced him to renounce the sea, where he could not cope with his enemy.

Still he controlled the land and was already planning the ruin of the English by closing the continent to them. On November 19, he entered Vienna, and on December 2, he won the battle of Austerlitz over the emperors of Austria and Russia. The remnants of the Russian army returned to their country by forced marches. Austria at the treaty of Presburg ceded the Venetian states with Istria and Dalmatia, which Napoleon united to the kingdom of Italy. She also surrendered the Tyrol and Austrian Suabia to the Dukes of Würtemberg, Bavaria and Baden. The first two princes he made kings and the third a grand duke. Thus by the cession of Venice Austria lost all influence over Italy, and by that of the Tyrol all influence over Switzerland. The proposed cession of Hanover to the court of Berlin in exchange for Clèves and Neuchâtel, was designed to remove Prussia also from the French frontier.

The Confederation of the Rhine and the Vassal States of the Empire.—The emperor dreamed of inaugurating a new European system. He wished to be the Charlemagne of modern Europe. He had conceived a plan of empire which was not completed until after Tilsit. Still, we may present it now as a whole, so as to escape returning to it again. Resuming the idea which Mazarin had cherished of a league among the states of western Germany, he organized after Austerlitz the Confederation of the Rhine. The old Germanic empire was dissolved after a duration of ten centuries. Francis II, reduced to his hereditary domains, abdicated the title of Holy Roman Emperor to assume that of emperor of Austria. The 370 petty states, which shared among them the German soil and maintained permanent anarchy, were reduced to thirty or forty. Thereby the more powerful states were enlarged and some of their princes received from France the name and the dignity of kings. They were united under the protection of Napoleon into a federated state, from which the half-Slav states, Prussia and Austria, were excluded.

The new diet which sat at Frankfort was divided into two colleges. The College of Kings comprised the kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the prince primate, ex-electors of Mayence, the Grand Dukes of Baden, Berg and Hesse-Darmstadt. The College of Princes included the Dukes of Nassau, Hohenzollern, Salm and others. The nobles, whose possessions were enclosed within the territories of these divers princes and whom former emperors had favored so as to weaken their greater vassals, were made subject to their territorial chiefs, and were thus deprived of their sovereign legislative and judicial rights and of control of police, taxation and recruiting. Each of the confederated states was to be absolutely free in its internal government. Resolutions in common were taken only with reference to foreign relations. Though successively enlarged, the Confederation comprehended but thirty-four members in 1813. Nevertheless Napoleon had made Germany take an immense step toward unity. For this progress France was ultimately to pay dearly by the suppression of the Diet of Frankfort and by the establishment of a new German empire far more powerful than the old.

But for the advancement of civil order in Germany and for the maintenance of European peace, the idea of inter-

posing between the three great military states of France, Prussia and Austria a confederation, which would be slow in action and necessarily pacific and which would prevent their frontiers from touching, was a happy combination. In order to make the plan truly successful, Napoleon should have left the confederates really independent. By trying to render this Confederation of the Rhine too French, his exactions repelled the Germans of the centre and west, then friendly to France, toward the northern and eastern Germans from whom it was his interest to separate them. Had the emperor confined himself to his first conception of the treaty of Presburg and of the Confederation of the Rhine, he would have assured for a long time the peace of Europe and the grandeur of France.

The creation of this new state was only a part in the stupendous plan of bold combinations which his genius had in mind. He made all his own relatives kings and princes. His three brothers, Louis, Jerome and Joseph, became kings of Holland, Westphalia and Naples. Eugene de Beauharnais, his stepson, was viceroy of Italy. Murat, his brother-in-law, was made Grand Duke of Berg and afterwards king of Naples, when Napoleon judged it expedient to transfer Joseph to Madrid as king of Spain. His sister Elisa was Princess of Lucca and Piombino, and later on Grand Duchess of Tuscany. His other sister, Pauline, was Duchess of Guastalla. He himself was king of Italy and mediator of Switzerland. His ministers, his marshals and the great officers of the crown, had sovereign principalities outside France. Thus did Berthier at Neuchâtel, Talleyrand at Benevento, Bernadotte at Pontecorvo. Others had duchies in Lombardy, the Neapolitan territory, or the states of Venice and Illyria, without feudal power, it is true, but yet with a share in the public property and revenues.

Thus dynastic policy replaced national policy. Napoleon was guilty of the imprudence of placing in one family, but yesterday poor and obscure, more crowns than the ancient houses of Hapsburg and Bourbon had ever worn. But by this sudden elevation of all his kindred he thought that he was serving France even more than his own house. Believing in the strength of administrative organization rather than in that of ideas or popular sentiments, he imagined that he was fortifying his empire by surrounding it with these feudatory states, like so many buttresses to support it and

advance posts to guard its approaches. These kings, princes and dukes, who were renewing royal races in so many countries, were only prefects of France seated on thrones and wearing the ermine. No one could fail to recognize that, under one form or another, half of Europe obeyed Napoleon.

Jena (1806) and Tilsit (1807).—In face of this daily increasing ambition it was inevitable that those powers which were still erect should do what France had done legitimately in the sixteenth century against the house of Austria and Europe in the seventeenth century against the house of Bourbon. That the weaker should unite to repress him who aims at omnipotence is a necessary policy. Thus Napoleon was himself largely responsible if war was always either threatening or declared.

The cannon of Austerlitz had killed William Pitt. His rival, Fox, a man of larger scope and without the former's hatred for France, succeeded as minister. Napoleon immediately offered to treat. As the restitution of Hanover, the patrimony of the English kings, would be the guarantee of a durable peace, he suggested the possibility of this arrangement. Prussia, who believed that she already held in her grasp this long-coveted province, was angered at what she considered a piece of perfidy. The death of Fox having restored power to the war party, the court of Berlin commenced hostilities. The victories of Jena and Auerstadt broke the Prussian monarchy (1806). Behind Prussia Napoleon again found the Russians. After the drawn battle of Eylau, he crushed them at Friedland, and the Emperor Alexander signed the treaty of Tilsit which reduced Prussia by a half and gave Finland to Russia (1807).

The Continental Blockade.—A few days after Jena Napoleon endeavored to attack England by promulgating the decree of Berlin. It declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade and forbade all commerce with them. This was an act of reprisal against the maritime despotism of the English. But in order to render it effective it was necessary that not a single port of the continent should remain open to British merchandise. After having closed the ports of Holland, northern Germany and Prussia, he must necessarily close those of Russia and Spain, which was equivalent to rendering himself the master everywhere. The continental blockade was a gigantic engine of war, sure to deal a

mortal blow to one of the two antagonists. It was Napoleon whom it slew.

Invasion of Spain (1807-1808).—As Portugal refused to join in the new policy, Napoleon formed an army corps to drive the English from that kingdom. The court of Madrid was then presenting to the world a pitiable spectacle. Ferdinand, the heir presumptive, was conspiring against his father Charles IV who was wholly controlled by Godoy, an unworthy favorite, and he in terror besought the aid of the emperor. Napoleon employed duplicity out of keeping with his strength. He invited the two princes to Bayonne and persuaded the aged monarch to abdicate in his favor (May 9, 1808). Ferdinand was relegated under a vigilant guard to the castle of Valençay. Charles retired with a sort of court to Compiègne. Napoleon wished to resume the policy of Louis XIV and make sure of Spain on the south, so as to have full freedom of action in the north. The idea was correct, but its execution was unwise. This attempt to lay hands on Spain was a main cause in the fall of the Empire.

The French troops had already entered Spain. But the courage of the French soldiers and the skill of their leaders were of no avail against the religious and patriotic fanaticism of the Spaniards. In vain did Napoleon win victories and conduct to Madrid his brother Joseph, whom he took away from his throne of Naples in order to make him king of Spain. In that mountainous land insurrection when crushed at one point reappeared at another. Moreover England all the time was furnishing arms, money, soldiers and generals.

Wagram (1809).—Despite the assurances which Napoleon received from all the continental powers at the interview of Erfurt, the English managed to organize a fifth coalition, which forced the emperor to leave his enterprise in Spain unfinished and hasten again to Germany. On May 12, 1809, he entered Vienna for the second time. On July 6, he won the sanguinary battle of Wagram, followed by the peace of Vienna. Austria lost 3,400,000 inhabitants whom France, Bavaria, Saxony, the grand duchy of Warsaw and Russia shared between them.

Napoleon then appeared to be at the acme of his power. His empire extended from the mouth of the Elbe to that of the Tiber. His marriage with the Archduchess Maria

Louisa had just secured his entrance into one of the oldest royal houses in Europe. The birth of a son (March 20, 1811), who was proclaimed King of Rome in his cradle, but was to die Duke of Reichstadt, was his last gift from fortune.