arately. Everything in this plan depended on rapidity, and it was now to appear that no beast of prey could excel the stealthy approach and swift leap of this young general. Before the snows had melted from the mountains, he arrived unexpectedly before the gates of Turin, and wrested a peace from the king of Sardinia-Piedmont, by the terms of which this old enemy of France had to surrender Savoy and Nice (May, 1796). Then Bonaparte turned against the Austrians. Before May was over he had driven them out of Lombardy. The Pope and the small princes, in alarm, hastened to buy peace of France by the cession of territories and of works of art, while the Austrians tried again and again to recover their lost position. But at Arcola (November, 1796) and Rivoli (January, 1797), Bonaparte, by his astonishing alertness, beat signally the forces sent against him. Then he invaded Austria to dictate terms under the walls of Vienna.

The Peace of Campo Formio, 1797.

This sudden move of Bonaparte's determined the Emperor Francis II. to sue for peace. Although his brother, the Archduke Charles, had, at the head of the Austrian forces in Germany, beaten Jourdan and Moreau in the campaign of 1796, the emperor was not prepared to stand a siege in his capital. His offers were met half-way by Bonaparte, and out of the negotiations which ensued there grew the Peace of Campo Formio (October, 1797). By this peace Austria ceded her Belgian provinces to France, recognized a sphere of French influence in Italy, and accepted for herself the principle of the Rhine boundary, the details to be arranged later with the Empire. In return for these concessions she received the republic of Venice, which Napoleon had just seized. Bonaparte's victories had made French influence dominant in Italy and led to an important political rearrangement. Out of his conquests in northern Italy he established two new states, the Cisalpine republic, identical,

in the main, with the former Austrian province of Lombardy, and the Ligurian republic, evolved from the former city-state of Genoa. Both these governments were modelled upon the republic of France, and though, like Holland, nominally independent, became the timid clients of the Directory.

When Bonaparte returned to France he was hailed as the Bonaparte national hero, who out of the bramble war had plucked the the hero of the hour. jewel peace. And what a peace he brought, a peace which French statesmen had dreamed of but never achieved, and which at last carried France on the east to her natural boundary, the Rhine! A man who had in a single campaign so distinguished himself and his country naturally stood, from now on, at the centre of affairs.

That Napoleon Bonaparte should obtain a position of pre- Youth of eminence in France before he had reached the age of thirty, Napoleon Bonaparte. would never have been prophesied by the friends of his youth. He was born at Ajaccio, on the island of Corsica, in 1769, of a poor but noble family. The inhabitants of Corsica, Italians by race, had long been ruled by Genoa, when, in the year 1768, France obtained the cession of the island. At the time of Napoleon's birth, therefore, the French were occupied in establishing their rule over a people who heroically but uselessly resisted them. In the midst of the patriotic excitement caused by his country's overthrow, the young Corsican grew up. The first notable turn in his fortunes occurred when, at the age of ten, he was sent to France to be reared in a military school. In due course of time he became a lieutenant of artillery, and it was while he was holding this commission, among a people whom he still detested as the oppressors of his country, that the French Revolution broke out, and opened a free field for all who were possessed of ambition and talent. The irresistible current of events caught up and bore the young Napoleon

Bonaparte creates two dependent republics in Italy.

along until he forgot his narrow Corsican patriotism, and merged his person and his fortunes with the destinies of France. We noted his first great feat at Toulon. The four short years which lay between Toulon and Campo Formio had carried him by rapid stages to the uppermost round of the ladder of success.

Foreign success, domestic failure.

After two years of existence the Directory had good reason to congratulate itself. Belgium, Holland, Italy, and the Rhine boundary, sounded a catalogue of brilliant achievements, and assured France an unrivalled position upon the Continent. Unfortunately, the domestic situation continued to give trouble, and the country still bled from the wounds inflicted by the fierce feuds of the past years. The Church question was no nearer solution, the royalists were gaining strength, and the finances were in hopeless confusion. The value of the paper money (assignats), on account of reckless multiplication, could not be kept up, and when it had shrunk to almost nothing, the Directory wiped the whole issue out of existence by the stroke of a pen. That act meant bankruptcy and the paralysis of business. Doubtless the wisest measure would have been to make peace and give France a chance to breathe. But the Directory had a different idea and chose to withdraw attention from domestic woes by throwing itself upon the last remaining foreign enemy, England.

tacks England in Egypt.

For the year 1798 the government planned a great action in order to bring England to terms. As the lack of a fleet put a direct attack upon the island-kingdom out of the question, it was resolved to strike at England indirectly by threatening its colonies. With due secrecy an expedition was prepared at Toulon, and Bonaparte given the command. Nelson, the English admiral, was, of course, on the outlook, but Bonaparte succeeded in evading his vigilance, and in starting unmolested for Egypt (May, 1798). Egypt was a province of Turkey and the key to the east. By estab-

lishing himself on the Nile, Bonaparte calculated that he could sever the connection of England with India and the Orient. Nelson gave chase as soon as he got wind of the movements of the French, and although he arrived too late to hinder them from landing near Alexandria, he just as effectually ruined their expedition when on August 1st he attacked and destroyed their fleet at Abukir Bay. Bonaparte might now go on conquering Egypt and all Africa-he was shut off from Europe and as good as imprisoned with his whole army.

Thus the Egyptian campaign was lost before it had fairly Bonaparte begun. Bonaparte could blind his soldiers to the fact but he hardly blinded himself. Of course he did what he could to retrieve the disaster to his fleet. By his victory over the Egyptian soldiery, the Mamelukes, in the battle of the Pyramids (1798), he made himself master of the basin of the Nile, and in the next year marched to Syria. The seaport of Acre, which he besieged in order to establish communication with France, repulsed his attack, while the plague decimated his brave troops. Sick at heart Bonaparte returned to Egypt, and despairing of a change in his fortunes, suddenly resolved to desert his army. Contriving to run the English blockade, he landed on October 9, 1799, with a few friends, on the southern coast of France. Though the army he had deserted was irretrievably lost,1 that fact was forgotten amid the rejoicings over the return of the national hero.

The enthusiastic welcome of France, which turned Bona- The Second parte's journey to Paris into a triumphal procession, was due Coannon, 1798, 1799. partially to the new dangers to which the country had been exposed during his absence. Bonaparte was hardly known to have been shut up in Egypt, when Europe, hopeful of shaking off the French ascendancy, formed a new coalition against the hated republic. Austria and Russia, supported

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The army surrendered to the English in 1801.

The French public is weary of revolution.

by English money, renewed the war, and the year 1700 was marked by a succession of victories which swept the French out of Italy and Germany. At the time when Bonaparte made his appearance in Europe, an invasion of France had narrowly been averted by the heroism of General Masséna

No wonder that the hopes of the nation gathered around the dashing military leader. What other French general had exhibited such genius as Bonaparte, had won such glory for himself and France? Moreover, after the ceaseless agitations of ten years people were tired to death of revolution, the party spirit, and the continued uncertainty of all social relations. The Directory had made matters worse by going into national bankruptcy. Discontent was so general that optimistic royalists predicted the early return of the legitimate king. In short, France was in hopeless confusion, and everybody turned spontaneously to Bonaparte as toward a saviour.

Bonaparte overthrows the Directory, November, 1799.

The general was hardly apprised of this state of public opinion, when he resolved to act. With the aid of some conspirators in power and urged by public opinion, he overthrew the government. The only resistance was made by the Chamber of Five Hundred, which he overawed by military force. The ease with which the coup d'état of November 9, 1799 (18th Brumaire), was executed proves that the Constitution of the Year III. was dead in spirit before Bonaparte destroyed it in fact.

## The Consulate (1799-1804).

A new constitution.

Bonaparte was now free to set up a new constitution, in which an important place should be assured to himself. Rightly he divined that what France needed and desired was a strong executive, for ten years of anarchic liberty had prepared the people for the restoration of order. The result

of Bonaparte's deliberations with his friends was the Consular Constitution, called the Constitution of the Year VIII., by which the government was practically concentrated in the hands of one official, called the First Consul. Of course, to hoodwink democratic enthusiasts the appearances of popular government were preserved. The legislative functions were reserved to two bodies, the Tribunate and the Legislative Body, but as the former discussed bills without voting upon them, and the latter merely voted upon them without discussing them, their power was so divided that they necessarily lost all influence. Without another coup d'état, by means of a simple change of title, the Consul Bonaparte could, when he saw fit, evolve himself into the Emperor Napoleon, who would govern France as its absolute master.

But for the present there was more urgent business on Bonaparte hand. As France was at war with the Second Coalition, again in Italy, 1800. there was work to be done in the field. The opportune withdrawal of Russia before the beginning of the campaign, again limited the enemies of France to England and Austria. The situation was therefore analogous to that of 1796, and the First Consul resolved to meet it by an analogous plan. Neglecting England as inaccessible, and concentrating his attention upon Austria, he sent Moreau against her into Germany, while he himself went again to meet her in Italy. By a strenuous and picturesque march in the early spring over the great St. Bernard Pass, a feat which rivalled the performance of the great Hannibal, he was enabled to strike unexpectedly across the Austrian line of retreat and force the enemy to make a stand. In the battle of Marengo, which followed (June 14, 1800), he crushed the Austrians, and recovered all Italy at a stroke. Again Francis II. had to admit the invincibility of French arms. In the Peace of Lunéville (1801) he reconfirmed all Peace of the cessions made at Campo Formio, and as the Empire 1801.

became a party to the treaty, there was now no possible defect in the cession of the left bank of the Rhine. It is this feature of the Rhine boundary which gives the Peace of Lunéville its importance. As the treaty, furthermore, redelivered Italy into Bonaparte's hands, he now reestablished the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics in their old dependence upon France.

Peace with England, 1802.

Again, as in 1798, the only European state which held out against France was England. How reduce the great seapower to peace? Bonaparte's naval resources were as inadequate now as ever, and as for striking at the colonies, the recollection of Egypt quickly disposed of the idea. Sated for the time with success and glory, he opened negotiations with the cabinet at London, and in March, 1802, concluded with England, substantially on the basis of mutual restitutions, the Peace of Amiens.

France at peace with the world.

After ten years of fighting, France was now at peace with the world. The moment was auspicious, but it remained to be seen whether she could take up the labors of peace, and while healing her many wounds, remove the apprehension with which defeated Europe regarded her.

Bonaparte undertakes the reconstruction of France.

Certainly the First Consul showed no want of vigor in attacking the domestic situation, though the picture which unrolled itself before his eyes was frightful. After the wholesale destruction and careless experimentation of the last decade, France needed, above all, a season of constructive statesmanship. Not that the Revolution had not scattered seeds in plenty, but the harvest had not been awaited with patience. The work before the First Consul during the interval of peace which followed the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens was, therefore, nothing less than the reconstruction of the whole social order. He shouldered his responsibilities with his usual ardor. In a public proclamation he announced that the disturbances were now over

and that he considered it his special task to "close" the Revolution and to "consolidate" its results.

One of his first cares was to bring back material prosperity. Return of The national bankruptcy of the Directory now proved a help, for by wiping out the worthless paper money, it enabled the new ruler to make a fresh start. With the currency restored, confidence again began to prevail in business circles, and industry and commerce quickly recovered from their long depression. Surely the country had reason to boast of its "man of destiny." Sustained by an unexampled popularity, the First Consul now undertook to create a number of fundamental institutions, which, in spite of all the revolutions of the nineteenth century, exist, in the main, to this day, and are his best title to fame. Let us give these institutions a brief consideration.

The internal administration of France had, during the Anewcen-Revolution, fallen into complete anarchy. The constitution of 1791 had divided France into eighty-three departments, and had supplanted the old centralized administration of royal appointees by a system of local self-government. Practically every office was made elective, requiring a political activity of which the voters, unaccustomed to the exercise of such duties, became weary. They refused to attend the polls and permitted the power to drift into the hands of a few professional politicians. Even under the Terror the system had been given up, and now with Bonaparte's advent a deliberate return was made to the traditional policy of centralized control. Over every department was put a prefect, appointed by the First Consul and reporting back to him. By this means the whole country was kept in the hands of the chief executive. With his wonderful sense of precision, Bonaparte so perfected his system that no monarch by Divine Right has ever in an equal degree made his will felt through the length and breadth of his dominion.

Democracy, the will-o'-the-wisp pursued through blood and fire for ten agitated years, was sacrificed, but the weary people were content for the present with the order and security assured by the new administration.

The religious

Religion lay in a similarly hopeless tangle, owing to the persistent attacks of the Revolution upon the Catholic Church. A beginning had been made in 1789 by the confiscation of its property, followed in 1790 by the famous Constitution of the Clergy, by which the priests and bishops were reduced to the level of paid civil servants of the state. Against this measure the Church revolted, creating a religious chaos which led to the persecution and wholesale slaughter of orthodox priests and was diversified by such extravagant episodes as the worship of Reason and Robespierre's cult of the Supreme Being. But in spite of banishment and guillotine, Catholicism at the dawning of the new century was still alive. Bonaparte himself possessed no positive religious views, but he had a splendid sense of reality and divined the superior vigor of the persecuted faith. He had also a clear appreciation of the support which the reconstituted Church could furnish his reorganized state, and presently entered into negotiations with Rome. The result was a treaty of peace, called the Concordat (1801): the Church resigned its claim to its confiscated estates, and the state undertook the maintenance, on a liberal basis, of priests and bishops; these latter were to be nominated by the state and confirmed by the Pope. Thus, if the Church was reëstablished, it was henceforth reduced to a close dependence on the state.

The Concordat.

judicial system.

With administration and religion cared for, Bonaparte gave his attention to the department of justice. The legal confusion reigning in France before the Revolution is indescribable, for everything had been left to chance, and radically different systems of law were often in force in the various sections of the country, or even in the same province. The Revolution had made an attempt to straighten out the confusion, but had not got far when Bonaparte came to power. With his usual energy he soon had a commission of experts at work upon the creation of a uniform system. and in 1804 he was enabled to publish the result of their labors in the Civil Code, called afterward the Code Napoléon. No labor of similar scope had been undertaken since the days of Justinian. The Roman law was made the basis of the Napoleonic code, with such modifications as the progress of the centuries and the principles of the French Revolution made inevitable.

Bonaparte also planned a general system of state educa- Bonaparte tion, consisting of the primary, secondary, and college stages, of the ways. but he did not get far with his project, and the regulation of school affairs, above all, the creation of a system of popular education, had to wait for more auspicious times. From what has been said, however, some idea can be gained of his constructive and methodizing genius. It is a noteworthy circumstance that his labors of peace have survived 1 all subsequent revolutions, while the conquests of his sword have been "swept in fragments to oblivion." Bonaparte as First Consul stood at the parting of the ways. He might continue the labors of peace so gloriously inaugurated, or he might return to the policy of aggressive war lately closed with the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens. We must remember that he was primarily a soldier, animated with restless energy and spurred on by boundless ambition, and that civil labors could not long engage an imagination which embraced the ends of the earth. Slowly and instinctively this man, the type of the born military conqueror, turned his eyes from France to let them rest upon Europe and the neighboring

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Concordat was lately (1905) terminated by action of the state with results which cannot yet be estimated.

394

continents, and girded himself for a rôle like that of Cæsar and Alexander. Therewith the Revolution entered upon its last or Napoleonic stage, in which France is only the tool for the realization of the ambition of the most extraordinary genius of modern times. He took the initial step upon this path when he modified the consular constitution in his own interest. In 1802 he had himself appointed consul for life, and in May, 1804, dropped the transparent pretence of republicanism by the assumption of the title emperor of the French. The final step in this transformation scene occurred in December of the same year, when in the presence of the Pope, and with all the formality and pomp of the ancient régime, he crowned himself and his wife Josephine before the high altar of the Cathedral Church of Paris.

emperor of the

Napoleon.

## The Empire (1804-15).

Napoleon's action in Holland and Italy.

Napoleon's first imperial measure was the appropriation of the subject-republics by which France was surrounded. At his nod the Batavian republic bloomed forth as the kingdom of Holland, and thankfully accepted Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, as king. In like manner the Cisalpine republic became the kingdom of Italy and offered the crown to its powerful protector. In May, 1805, Napoleon crossed the Alps, and had himself crowned king at Milan. The Ligurian republic now had no further raison d'être, and like Piedmont, some years before, was quietly incorporated with France.

Renewal of the England.

Even before these signal acts of aggression the confidence with which the European governments had first greeted Napoleon had vanished. Slowly they began to divine in him the insatiable conqueror, who was only awaiting an opportunity to swallow them all. As early as 1803 continued disputes over the Peace of Amiens had led to a renewal of the

war with England. Napoleon now prepared a great naval armament at Boulogne, and for a year, at least, England was agitated by the prospect of a descent upon her coasts: but the lack of an adequate fleet made Napoleon's project chimerical from the first, and in the summer of 1805 he unreservedly gave it up.

He gave it up because England had succeeded in playing The Third upon the fears of Austria and Russia until they formed a new coalition to curb the growing power of the emperor. No sooner had Napoleon got wind of the state of affairs than he abandoned his quixotic English plans, and threw himself upon the practical task of defeating his continental enemies. His military genius presently celebrated a new triumph, for at Ulm he took the whole Austrian advance guard captive, and on December 2, 1805, he followed up Austerlitz, this advantage by administering a crushing defeat to the 1805. combined Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz in Moravia. With his capital, Vienna, lost, and his states occupied, the Austrian emperor was reduced to bow down before the invincible Corsican and sign the Peace of Pressburg (December 26, 1805), in which he gave up Venice to be incorporated with the kingdom of Italy, and the Tyrol to be incorporated with Bavaria.

These provisions introduce us to a very characteristic Napoleon's feature of Napoleon's policy of conquest. He did not plan, policy. at least for the present, to incorporate the conquered provinces of Europe with France, but rather, from France as a centre, to rule over a host of subject-kings. Especially in regard to Germany, his policy was to create a check for the great powers, Austria and Prussia, by fattening the smaller states at their expense. Therefore, Wurtemberg as well as Bavaria had received new territory and been raised to the rank of a kingdom. He now went a step farther and proposed to gather all the smaller German states into a new

Coalition, England, Aus-

The Confederation of the Rhine, 1806.

union under his presidency. As they had neither the power nor the moral stamina to resist, the world was presently informed of the organization of a new German confederacy, composed of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and in its final form of all the states of Germany except Austria and Prussia. Of this union, called the Confederation of the Rhine, Napoleon became sovereign under the name of Protector. A glance at the map will show how this triumph drove a wedge into central Europe.

End of the Holy Roman Empire.

Naturally, the creation of a rival German organization coupled with the defection of its component elements from the Holy Roman Empire gave that venerable institution its death-blow. It had been an unconscionable time a-dving, and now Napoleon, the product of a revolution which made sport of tradition, bade it begone. Emperor Francis spoke a last service over its remains when he resigned his now empty title, and adopted in its place the designation emperor of Austria (1806). Certainly no German, however much he might regret the manner of its taking off, had any cause to shed a tear at the passing away of this decrepit government. The stroke which freed Germany from the incubus of centuries cleared the way for a happier future.

Napoleon turns upon Prussia.

But that future was as yet hidden behind the clouds of the gathering storm which threatened to destroy every vestige of German independence. For with Austria humbled and the small states reduced to subservience in the Confederation of the Rhine, Napoleon now turned his attention to Prussia. Ever since 1795 (Treaty of Basel) Prussia had maintained a friendly neutrality, and all the persuasion and threats of the rest of Europe had not induced her to renew the war against her western neighbor. Even after Napoleon became emperor, the government of Berlin pursued an amicable course, weakly hoping for all kinds of advantages

from a close association with France. But as soon as Napoleon had disposed of Austria, he showed his true hand and inaugurated toward Prussia a policy of provocations. which the obsequious government of the peevish king, Frederick William III. (1797-1840), refused for a long time to resent. By the autumn of 1806, however, Napoleon's acts had grown so flagrant that Prussia, to save the poor remnant of her self-respect, had to declare war.

The French Revolution

Again Napoleon had an opportunity to show that the old Napoleon as military art of Europe could not maintain itself against his methods. As we examine these now, they surprise us by their mathematical simplicity. To get ready earlier than the enemy, to march more rapidly than he, and, finally, to strike him at the weakest spot with concentrated energythese were the principles of Napoleon's military science, combined with personal qualities of hot daring and cool foresight which have perhaps never been equalled.

The campaign of 1806 brought Napoleon's genius into The Prussian view more clearly than any that had preceded it. But if campaign of 1806. the emperor won, his soldiers shared the honors with him. For the Prussian troops, drilled like machines but moved by no enthusiasm, were as little the equals of the great national French armies, animated by the ideas of country and glory, as the Prussian commander, the ancient duke of Brunswick, who had been trained in the antiquated school of Frederick the Great, was a match for the fiery young emperor. On October 14, 1806, old and new Europe clashed once more, and at the battles of Jena and Auerstadt, fought on that day, the military monarchy of the great Frederick was overwhelmed. With a bare handful of troops Frederick William fled toward his province of East Prussia, in order to put himself under the protection of Russia, and before the month of October had passed, Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph.