

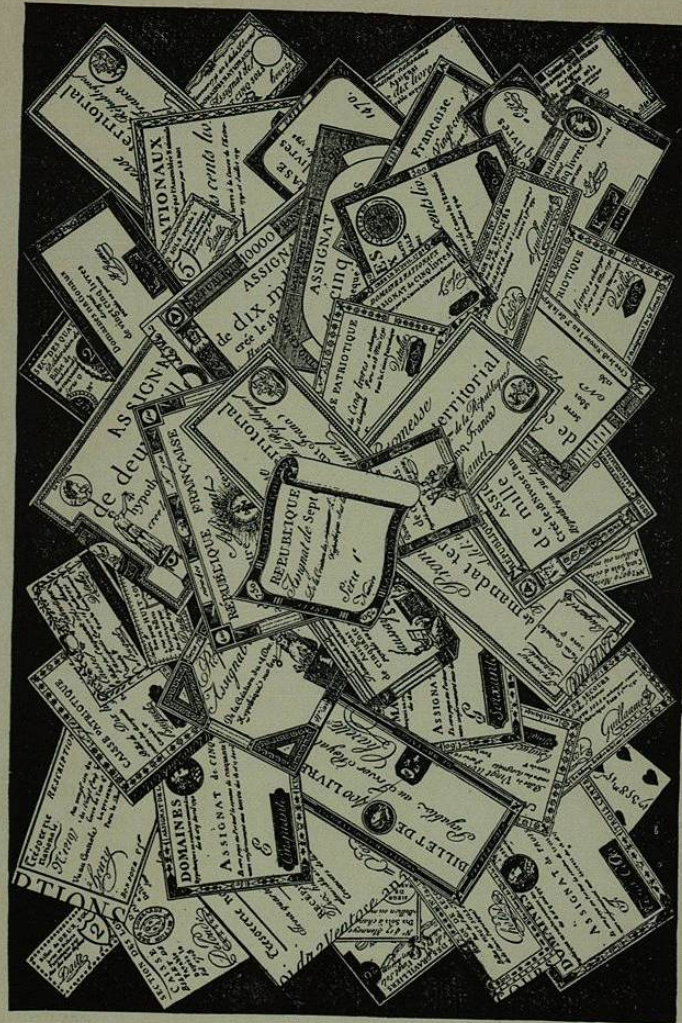
CHAPTER LXII.

THE DIRECTORY.

(October, 1795–November, 1799.)

Situation of the Republic at the End of 1795.—The Council of Ancients and that of the Five Hundred organized on the 27th of October, and elected as directors five regicides, La Réveillère-Lépeaux, Rewbel, Letourneur, Carnot, and Barras; the first three honest and laborious men, but thoroughly incapable of their duties; the fourth a superior man. The new government established itself in the palace of the Luxembourg. The situation was difficult. Local government was paralyzed. The treasury was empty, the *assignats* fallen into the most complete discredit. Commerce and industry no longer existed; the armies were in need of food, clothing, and even ammunition. But three years of such a war had made soldiers and generals; Moreau commanded the army of the Rhine; Jourdan, that of the Sambre and Meuse; Hoche, that in the West, and Bonaparte, who was to eclipse them all, had just been put in command of the army of the Interior, which he soon after exchanged for that of the army of Italy.

Napoleon Bonaparte.—Napoleon Bonaparte, born at Ajaccio on the 15th of August, 1769, was a son of Charles Bonaparte, of an Italian family, and Letizia Ramolino. His father died in 1785; his mother died in Rome in 1839. They had eight children; Napoleon was the second. Admitted to the military school of Brienne in 1779, he passed, five years after, to the military school of Paris. The following year he obtained the rank of lieutenant in a regiment of artillery. He was at first an earnest partisan of the Revolution. When the army of the Convention attacked Toulon, the representatives of the people made him a chief of battalion and gave him the direction of the artillery during the siege. He seized a point on the shore of the roadstead whence the English fleet could be fired upon. Their retreat thus cut off, the English hastened to abandon



ASSIGNATS.
From a print in the National Library.

Toulon. Bonaparte, promoted to be brigadier-general as a reward for this service, went to command the artillery of the army of Italy. After the 9th Thermidor he was placed on the unattached list; the 13th Vendémiaire brought him prominently into public notice, and Carnot gave him the command of the army of the Alps. He was not yet twenty-seven years old.

Campaign of Bonaparte in Italy (1796-1797).—Carnot's plan for the campaign of 1796 was bold and wise. Jourdan and Moreau, having each from seventy thousand to eighty thousand men, were to enter Germany, the first by the valley of the Main, the second by that of the Neckar, to reach the basin of the Danube and descend thence upon Austria, which was to be threatened by Bonaparte from Italy. Thus, Moreau in the centre, Jourdan and Bonaparte on the two wings, were to effect a combined forward movement and converge if possible on the road to Vienna. But the three armies were separated from each other by mountains.

When Bonaparte reached the army of the Alps, the generals, Masséna, Augereau, and the rest, already distinguished by important services, received the new-comer coldly. He called them together, explained his plans to them, and convinced them at once. To the soldiers Bonaparte issued one of his magnificent proclamations, which electrified all hearts.

Bonaparte had thirty-eight thousand men against sixty thousand Sardinian and Austrian troops. But he resolved to take the offensive, and did so boldly. Instead of wearing out his forces among sterile rocks where no important blows could be struck, he turned the flank of the Alps and crossed them at the lowest point of the range, the Col de Montenotte, while Beaulieu, the Austrian general, awaited him on the seashore; by this skilful movement he placed himself in front of the weakest point of the Austrians and Piedmontese. He pierced their centre at Montenotte (April 11 and 12), established himself between them, and in order to separate them more completely, defeated them successively. He was then master of the road to Turin, upon which the Piedmontese had retreated, and of that to Milan, by which the Austrians were falling back. But he did not pause; he crushed the Sardinian army and compelled them to lay down their arms by the armistice of Cherasco, which he signed ten leagues from Turin (April 28), and which, followed

by a treaty of peace, gave France Savoy, Nice, and Tenda, and afforded him a secure base for the offensive march which he meditated.

Having got rid of one enemy, he turned towards the other. He crossed the Po behind the Austrians at Piacenza (May 9), defeated one of their divisions there, and, ascending the Adda, found the Austrians in a strong position at Lodi. The bridge of Lodi was carried by a brilliant charge (May 11). Beaulieu tried still to preserve the line of the Mincio. Bonaparte deceived him as to the real point of attack, forced the passage at Borghetto (May 30), and finally drove back into the Tyrol that army which but a little while before was threatening the French frontiers. At the same time he extorted from the dukes of Parma and Modena 2,000,000 fr. apiece, ammunitions, and pictures. The Pope promised 21,000,000, 100 pictures, and 500 manuscripts. He levied a war contribution from Lombardy of 20,000,000, and sent 10,000,000 of it to the Directory. He stopped at the Adige, an excellent line of defence, covering Lombardy, and besieged Mantua (June 3).

Meantime Wurmser, the best of the Austrian generals, succeeded Beaulieu. Wurmser had 60,000 men against 30,000, but he divided his forces. Raising the siege of Mantua in order to have all his forces united, Bonaparte, by successively moving all his forces from his right to his left, and from his left to his right, crushed both divisions of the Austrian army, at Lonato and at Castiglione. Wurmser, threatened with being cut off from the Tyrol, had only time to fall back; then he received reinforcements, which increased his army again to 50,000 men; he then commenced a second campaign. While he was descending the valley of the Brenta, Bonaparte hastened to meet him in the valley, attacked him there, surrounded him between the French army and the river, nearly captured him, and finally blocked him up in Mantua (September). After the defeat of Jourdan and the retreat of Moreau, Austria sent a fourth army, of 60,000 men, under Alvinzi, into Italy. Alvinzi recruited 60,000 more men. The army of Italy seemed lost; the whole peninsula behind it was in revolt, and this time the enemy advanced cautiously. Forty thousand men arrived in front of Verona and occupied a strong position, from which Bonaparte was unable to dislodge them. Apparently retreating from the town, he descended the Adige, and crossed it at

a lower point, in order to turn the flank of the Austrians. Here, in the marshes of Arcole, after three days' furious fighting (November 15-17), in which he was in great personal danger, he compelled Alvinzi to retreat.

Six weeks later (January, 1797) Alvinzi, again reinforced, reappeared with 60,000 men. Selecting the sole point in the mountains at which the two chief divisions of the Austrian army could effect a junction, Bonaparte, though he had only 16,000 men against 40,000, established himself at the point of junction, and inflicted upon both divisions the overwhelming defeat of Rivoli. Suddenly he learned that Provera, with 20,000 men, had passed the Adige, and was seeking to release Wurmser. He left Joubert to pursue Alvinzi, and hastened against Provera with Masséna's division, which had fought on the 13th before Verona, had marched that night to the assistance of Joubert, had just fought all day long on the 14th at Rivoli, and now marched all night and all day on the 15th to fight again on the 16th before Mantua. The most celebrated soldiers had never before accomplished anything like this. Provera was compelled to lay down his arms. Wurmser, reduced to the last extremity, surrendered Mantua (February 2). Thus in ten months 55,000 Frenchmen had conquered more than 200,000 Austrians, had taken prisoners more than 80,000, killed and wounded more than 20,000; they had fought twelve pitched battles, more than sixty skirmishes, and crossed several rivers. War, thus conducted, and for a glorious cause, is a magnificent spectacle.

The regency of Modena and the Pope having shown sympathy for the Austrians, Bonaparte deposed the duke, erected his states into the Cispadane Republic, and marched upon Rome. Pius VI., trembling, signed the peace of Tolentino; it cost him 30,000,000, the Romagna, which, with the legations of Ferrara and Bologna, was united to the Cispadane Republic, and Ancona, which was occupied by the French (February 10, 1797).

Retreat of Moreau (October, 1796). — The armies of Germany had not been either so skillfully or so fortunately conducted. Jourdan and Moreau at first drove the Austrians before them; but Carnot caused them to act separately, and the Archduke Charles, boldly leaving Moreau with a part of his forces, and joining Wartensleben in the valley of the Main, defeated Jourdan, and drove him back behind the

Lahn. This was the same manœuvre which had proved so advantageous to Bonaparte in the opening of the campaign in Italy. It was equally successful, but had not the same result, for Moreau was not Beaulieu, and the archduke was not Bonaparte. He lost a precious opportunity by not attacking Moreau at once in the midst of Bavaria; Moreau slowly fell back through the Black Forest, and without having left behind him a single caisson or a single man, in that glorious retreat of twenty-six days, he re-entered Alsace unmolested on the 18th of October.

Last Victories of Bonaparte in Italy; Preliminaries of Leoben (1797).—Fortunately the marvellous victories of the army of Italy compensated for this reverse. The Archduke Charles, having defeated Jourdan, arrived with a fourth army which stretched along the Carinthian and Julian Alps from the upper Adige to the mouth of the Tagliamento. Bonaparte, with Joubert and Masséna, cut this half-circle at three points. Then, while Joubert and Masséna effected a junction in the Puttersthal, Bonaparte pushed on to Klagenfurt and finally to Leoben; his advance guard, on the summit of the Sömmering, could perceive, twenty-five miles to the north, the hills of Vienna.

At this moment Hoche and Moreau began operations. The first, at the head of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, crossed the Rhine in face of the enemy; in four days he marched thirty-five leagues, won three battles, and fought five minor engagements, and was about to surround the Austrian army. Desaix, one of Moreau's lieutenants, crossed the river with equal success, and drove the enemy back into the Black Forest. If Bonaparte had known of these victories, he would have refused all negotiations; but the court of Vienna, in alarm, hastened to sign the preliminaries of Leoben (April 18), agreeing that France should have Belgium, and Austria the provinces of Venice on the mainland as compensation for the Milanese. Venice having broken out in insurrection in Bonaparte's absence, four thousand men entered the city and established there a provisory republic. The senate of Genoa was also overthrown, but remained an independent Ligurian Republic. England now offered of her own accord to negotiate, and conferences for peace were opened at Lille.

Internal Anarchy.—While the republic was victorious abroad, at home the situation was growing worse under a

divided and incapable government. In the beginning it had been strong enough to overthrow two attempts of the two extreme parties; the first in La Vendée, suppressed by Hoche (February and March, 1796), the second that of the communist Babœuf (May). A conspiracy of the Jacobins in September proved fruitless.

But the Directory was growing weak, and the disorder was extreme. The territorial *mandats* which had replaced the *assignats* (March, 1796), had fallen into equal depreciation. The financial crisis became frightful; dishonest acts were imputed to the whole Directory. The country, like the government, was going at random. So lately escaped from the Terror, it rushed into pleasure; dissipation and speculation were unbridled; bands of robbers increased. It seemed that the State would be utterly destroyed.

Progress of the Royalists.—The royalists believed that it would be an easy matter to overthrow this tottering government. The émigrés returned in great numbers, and openly labored for a counter-revolution. Emboldened by their success in the elections for the renewal of the Councils, they made two of their partisans presidents of them, and another, a member of the Directory. A monarchical restoration in favor of the Bourbons seemed imminent. Louis XVIII., brother of Louis XVI. (the latter's son, called Louis XVII., had died in prison in 1795), believed himself on the point of being recalled. But the country was not so ready to restore what it had so lately struck down. The armies especially were republican, and from the banks of the Adige, Bonaparte promised his aid against the royalists.

The 18th Fructidor, Year V (September, 1797).—In the night of the 18th Fructidor, Augereau led into Paris twelve thousand men, who surrounded the place where the Councils were sitting. The minority in each, on invitation from the Directory, expelled their colleagues and condemned fifty-three of them to transportation, together with two directors, — Carnot, who did not wish to resort to violence against the royalists; and Barthélemy, who favored them.

Moreau, falling under suspicion, was displaced; the two armies of the Rhine were confided to Hoche, in whom the republicans trusted, but who died at twenty-nine, a few days after having received this important command.

Treaty of Campo-Formio (1797).—The Directory pro-

posed to continue the war. But Bonaparte desired peace. In spite of the government, which justly refused to abandon the Venetians to Austria, he signed the treaty of Campo-Formio, the most glorious that France ever concluded (October 17, 1797). The emperor ceded Belgium, the possession of the left bank of the Rhine, and the Ionian Isles; he accepted the establishment of the Cisalpine Republic (Milan, Modena, and Bologna); as compensation, Venice, Istria, Friuli, and Dalmatia were given to him. Bonaparte had calculated wisely; his fame was increased by this peace more than by fresh victories. After having regulated the affairs of Italy, he returned to Paris, where the government and the people gave him a triumphal reception. The army of Italy shared in the honors which were showered upon their general.

Expedition to Egypt (1798-1799).— The war against the English continued. Hoche had wished to wage war directly against England; this was the true policy. But Bonaparte caused the Directory to renounce this enterprise. He had, however, firmly resolved to keep himself prominently before the people. He proposed an expedition which he had thought of while in Italy, the conquest of Egypt. From the borders of the Nile he hoped to attack England in India, and strike her in the heart by destroying her commerce and her empire. In order to risk forty thousand of the best soldiers of France at so great a distance, one ought to be master of the sea, and the English covered it with their fleets. It was consequently running a great risk, but it is often thus that the public mind is fascinated and mastered. The expedition was prepared in the greatest secrecy. The fleet, composed of fourteen ships of the line and a great number of transports, left Toulon the 10th of May, carrying thirty-six thousand men, almost all old soldiers of Arcole and Rivoli, together with savants, artists, and engineers.

At first the expedition was entirely successful. On the voyage it captured Malta; the knights did not even defend themselves. The fleet successfully eluded the English admiral, Nelson, and a landing was effected without hindrance on the 1st of July, four miles from Alexandria; that city was, in a few hours, carried by assault. Bonaparte marched immediately upon Cairo, where the formidable army of the Mamelukes, the real masters of the country, had concentrated its principal strength. Repulsed

in a first engagement, the Mamelukes fell back upon Cairo and prepared for a general battle. The French army followed them thither and paused, seized with admiration, in front of the Pyramids which rose in the vicinity of that city. "Soldiers," cried Bonaparte, "from the height of those Pyramids, forty centuries look down upon you!" In order to fight against this innumerable and valiant cavalry of the Mamelukes, he formed his divisions into squares and so placed them as to support each other. In vain the Mamelukes made the most brilliant and daring charges; they could not break those lines of iron and fire. The occupation of Cairo and the submission of Lower Egypt were the result of this victory (July 21).

Bonaparte hastened to organize the country; he respected the faith and the customs of the inhabitants, but he also assured the well-being of his soldiers, and established the Institute of Egypt, the members of which began the scientific conquest of that mysterious country. The news of a disaster to his fleet surprised Bonaparte in the very midst of these enterprises. He had ordered Admiral Brueys to leave the roadstead of Aboukir. A fatal delay allowed the English time to come up. The French line had not been formed near enough to the shore; half the English fleet could pass between it and the land, while the other half passed between it and the offing. This bold manœuvre was attempted by Nelson. It was successful. All the French vessels, except four, motionless at anchor, were obliged to sustain on both sides the fire of the whole fleet of the enemy, which advanced slowly, destroying the French ships one by one. The French fleet, with the exception of four vessels which escaped to Malta, was entirely destroyed (August 1). The Egyptian expedition, which was to have given the French the control of the Mediterranean, was, after this, only an adventure, instead of being the beginning of great achievements.

The French army was imprisoned in its conquest, and the Porte declared against it. Bonaparte first completed the occupation of the whole country, and suppressed a revolt in Cairo. Then, sure of his conquest, he advanced towards Syria, whence he could cover Egypt, and threaten Constantinople or India at will (February, 1799). He at first succeeded, and dispersed, at the battle of Mount Tabor, a large Turkish army. But at the siege of Acre all his genius

failed, for want of material means, against the courage of the Turks and the tenacity of the English commodore, Sidney Smith. He led his exhausted and diminished army back into Egypt. There he again signally defeated his enemies. The army of Egypt had nothing more to fear, but it also had nothing more to do, and this inaction annoyed Bonaparte. When he learned that a second coalition had been formed, that Italy was lost, that France was about to be invaded, he gave the command to Kléber, and embarking in a frigate, boldly crossed the whole Mediterranean through the midst of the English cruisers, and in October landed at Fréjus.

Maladministration of the Directory.—The Directory, by turns weak and violent, on the 22d Floréal (May 11, 1798), annulled the election of a number of deputies. A few months before, it had gone into actual bankruptcy. The interest of the debt was 258,000,000; the Directors repaid two-thirds of it with bonds on the national property, which lost five-sixths of their nominal value; the other third was consolidated and inscribed in the "great book of the public debt." They increased the excitement to the highest degree by a forced loan of 100,000,000, and by the law of hostages against relatives of émigrés and of former nobles, a law which destroyed the security of one hundred and fifty thousand families. Abroad they provoked Europe by imprudent acts. They overturned the temporal power of the Pope and the aristocracy of Bern; they created discontent in the Batavian, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics; and were unable to secure the obedience of their generals.

Second Coalition (March, 1799–March, 1802).—The sight of this internal disorganization, the withdrawal of Bonaparte and the best army, decided the powers of the continent to listen to the words of Pitt. England, Austria, Russia, a part of Germany, Naples, Piedmont, Turkey, and even the Barbary States, united against France. The country was exposed to the most serious dangers. The Councils decreed the law of conscription, which forced into military service all citizens of between twenty and twenty-five years, and ordered a levy of two hundred thousand men. The king of Naples, by an imprudent attack, brought upon himself a crushing defeat. The Parthenopean Republic was immediately proclaimed (January, 1799). Joubert had, at the same time, driven the king of Sardinia from Piedmont (December, 1798).

Reverses in Italy and in Germany (1799).—But the coalition had set on foot 360,000 men; the Directory had only 170,000, divided into five armies; Macdonald and Brune were at the two extremities, at Naples and in Holland; Jourdan and Schérer on the wings, in Germany and in Italy; Masséna in the centre, in Switzerland. Since the last war a democratic revolution had been going on in that country, and Switzerland had signed with France a treaty of alliance, which permitted the French to occupy the country with military forces; Masséna therefore advanced as far as the Rhine, while Schérer approached the Adige. Jourdan crossed the Rhine, and advanced between the Danube and Lake Constance in order to keep abreast of Masséna, while the latter, crossing the Rhine, sent his light horse into the upper valley of the Inn to support Schérer through the Tyrol. But the Archduke Charles stopped Jourdan at Stockach, and compelled him to fall back to the Rhine.

In Italy, Schérer, after wearying his troops by a succession of ill-conceived movements, and being defeated near Verona, lost his head and retreated behind the Adda. Masséna was forced to follow this retrograde movement; he retired behind the line formed by the Linth, Lake Zürich, and the Limmat. Meanwhile thirty thousand Russians had joined the sixty thousand Austrians in Italy, and Suwarof commanded the combined army. Moreau, replacing Schérer, was defeated at Cassano, but made a masterly retreat upon Turin, then upon Genoa. Macdonald returned from Naples in all haste, but was severely defeated in attempting to effect a junction with Moreau.

Victories of Brune at Bergen (September 19), and of **Masséna at Zürich** (September 25, 26, 1799).—Meanwhile, however, Brune defeated at Bergen (September 19), an army of forty thousand English and Russians which had landed in Holland, and forced them to seek refuge on their vessels; Masséna won the immortal victory of Zürich. For political reasons, the Aulic Council at Vienna resolved to send Suwarof and his army into Switzerland, the archduke to the Rhine. Masséna surprised the allies in the midst of their manœuvre, when the archduke had already quitted Switzerland, and Suwarof had not yet entered it. Throwing himself upon Zürich, he there crushed a Russian corps, and put to route another corps which was guarding the Linth; when Suwarof arrived from the Saint-Gothard, after much fatigue

and great losses, he found himself confronted by victorious troops who threw him back into the frightful gorges, whence he only escaped with the loss of half of his men. This glorious succession of manœuvres, called the battle of Zürich (September 25 and 26), cost the allies thirty thousand men and the defection of the Russians, who withdrew from the coalition. Bonaparte never gained a more glorious battle.

The 30th Prairial (June 18, 1799). — France, indeed, was saved; but the country nevertheless blamed its government for having exposed it to such great perils, and forced three of the directors to resign (30th Prairial, June 18, 1799). But it was of little use to change men, for the cause of the evil was in the institutions themselves. Anarchy continued. It was no longer as before the 18th Fructidor the royalists who tried to profit by it, but the remnant of the Jacobins. The government triumphed over this party without difficulty, yet the Directory continued to be despised. It was at this juncture that Bonaparte landed at Fréjus.

The 18th Brumaire (November 9, 1799). — His return was greeted with transports of joy, which showed him that he was master of the situation. He appeared reserved and impenetrable. He shut himself up in his small house in the Rue Chantreine, and seemed to live only for his sister, for his wife, Joséphine de Beauharnais, and for his colleagues of the Institute. Meantime he was observing and calculating. The country repelled the royalists because it did not wish to return to the old régime; it repelled the Jacobins, because it did not wish to return to '93. It was determined to preserve the Revolution. But the Revolution was twofold, social and political; it had been undertaken in order to secure equality and liberty. Anarchy was endangering both; to save the one France postponed the other; she cast herself into the arms of Bonaparte; she asked him to guarantee the social conquests of the Revolution by establishing order; liberty would return to her later. And Bonaparte accepted.

"To save France," said Siéyès, "a head and a sword are needed." For Bonaparte he complacently reserved the rôle of the sword. On the 18th Brumaire the majority of the Council of the Ancients ordered the removal of the two Councils to Saint-Cloud, and confided the execution of the decree to Bonaparte, who received the command of all the troops. Three members of the Directory, Siéyès, Roger-

Ducos and Barras, handed in their resignations; the other two were put under guard in the Luxembourg. At the same time Paris was filled with troops. The next day Bonaparte went to Saint-Cloud. He went first to the Ancients, then to the Five Hundred. At the hall of the Five Hundred, he was greeted with furious cries. "Down with the dictator! Down with the bayonets!" was heard from all parts of the hall as he entered, followed by a few grenadiers. He was surrounded, threatened; his grenadiers were obliged to defend him. His brother Lucien, who presided over the Council, went out of the hall, and, in the name of the people, summoned the soldiers to expel these agitators. Then, at the order of Bonaparte, General Leclerc entered the Assembly; the drum drowned the voices of the protesting deputies, and the hall was emptied without bloodshed. The Council of the Ancients resigned the executive authority into the hands of three provisional consuls, Bonaparte, Siéyès, and Roger-Ducos; and ordered two commissioners to revise the constitution (November 9 and 10, 1799).

The Revolution was abdicating in favor of the military power, and was about to enter with it upon a new phase of existence. At home it was to take root permanently in the country; abroad, its principles were to spread over Europe with the victories of the French armies. But afterwards was to come disaster, and France was to escape, mutilated and bleeding, from the terrible hands of the powerful genius who had now just seized upon her. The 18th Brumaire was the beginning of that long chain of prosperity, glory, and unexampled power, but also of lamentable errors and reverses, which form the history of the Consulate and the Empire. Besides, it was still another act of violence. How were law-abiding citizens, interested in wise modification of their institutions, to be formed, when for ten years no change had been effected except by violent overturnings?

End of the Eighteenth Century. — Not long after this military revolution, was ended the eighteenth century, an age at once both sceptical and credulous, gentle and terrible, light in morals and frivolous in wit, but which produced the great thought that society, as well as man individually, should grow continually better. Whatever may have been its faults, much may be forgiven this century "which, in material affairs, created the sciences by the help of which man has acquired an unlooked-for domination over nature,

and singularly increased his prosperity; which in moral affairs secured tolerance, sought for justice, proclaimed rights, demanded civil equality, recommended human fraternity, abolished cruelty in penal institutions, did away with the arbitrary administration of public affairs, endeavored to make reason the guide of the intellect, liberty the guide of governments, progress the ambition of peoples, and law the sovereign of the whole world" (Mignet).

CHAPTER LXIII.

THE CONSULATE.

(November, 1799-May, 1804.)

Constitution of the Year VIII. — Siéyès had ready a skilfully constructed constitution. But his too complicated machinery suited neither the time nor General Bonaparte, who had the genius and the strength to rescue France from her chaos. The plan of Siéyès was therefore abandoned, and on December 15, 1799, the constitution of the year VIII. was promulgated. Roman forms were still in fashion. The executive was to consist of three consuls, elected for ten years and re-eligible; but the first alone possessed all the prerogatives of power, the other two had only a consultative voice. These three consuls were Bonaparte, Cambacérès, and Lebrun.

The executive power was to be no longer subordinate to the legislative. The laws, prepared, by order of the consuls, by a council of State appointed by them, were discussed by the Tribunal, composed of one hundred members, and passed or rejected by the Corps Législatif, which numbered three hundred deputies. The Tribunal merely made suggestions which the government might or might not take into consideration. When a law was brought before the Corps Législatif, three councillors of State, as orators of the government, and three orators of the Tribunal, discussed it before them. They then voted in silence. Thus, while the Convention, distrusting the executive power, had divided it by creating five directors, the constitution of the year VIII., distrusting the legislative, divided it, giving the initiative of laws to the government, their discussion to the tribunes, and the voting of them to the legislators. The Conservative Senate, composed of eighty members, appointed for life, watched over the maintenance of the constitution, judged all acts contrary to the organic laws, and chose the members of the Tribunal and of the Corps Législatif.

The electoral power continued in existence, but was trans-