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THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW

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The Nineteenth Century and After

A HISTORY YEAR BY YEAR FROM
A. D. 1800 TO THE PRESENT

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ILLUSTRATED WITH EIGHT COLORED PLATES AND
SIXTEEN FULL-PAGE ENGRAVINGS AND TWO MAPS

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME ONE

1800—1821

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PREFACE

A SURVEY of the last century reveals it as an age of some great men and many marvelous achievements. As the achievements exceed the giants of the age in number, so, too, they surpass them in grandeur. All the restless activity of a Napoleon or the iron policy of a Bismarck have not wrought upon modern life as did the steam engine. The great inventions and their adaptation to the needs of humanity are the real glories of the nineteenth century.

Thus new epochs in the development of man have been brought about by our modern modes of transit and transportation, our steam cars and boats, electric motors, bicycles and automobile vehicles, as well as our new modes of communication by means of the electric telegraph, telephone, and phonograph.

Human life, as it exists now among civilized communities, owes still more, perhaps, to our new labor-saving machines and devices. Of these, our various agricultural implements, our sewing machines, typewriters, and printing presses are but instances. The comforts of life have been immeasurably increased by the universal adoption of things now termed common and indispensable, such as friction matches, gas lighting, electric light and appliances, or steel pens—as well as modern methods of heating, plumbing and construction. Among the esthetic gains of mankind attained during this same century must be reckoned such results of the study of light as photography or the kindred processes of

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photo-engraving, electrotyping, lithography, color printing, and similar new methods of illustration.

The modern study of light has resulted in other scientific achievements of lasting importance, notably our knowledge of the velocity of light, spectrum analysis, and the Roentgen rays. In the study of medicine, to which this last invention has been principally applied, a new era may be said to date from the use of anesthetics and antiseptics, first adopted during the middle of the last century. A similar impulse to the theoretical study of medicine has been given by the discovery of the functions of the blood corpuscles, the cell theory in embryology, and the germ theory. Of like importance to science are such scientific discoveries as the correspondence between heat and energy; the theory of gases; of molecules and of atmospheric dust; the nebular and meteoric theories in astronomy; and the determination of geological epochs, resulting indirectly in Darwin's theory of the evolution of species and the origin of man. War has been made more terrible by such instruments of destruction as torpedoes, rifled firearms, machine guns, smokeless powder, lyddite, and melinite.

So much for a single century's achievements in science. They outnumber the great inventions of all the previous centuries within historic times. The same may be said of some other triumphs of the past century—notably of music. No less has been accomplished in some other arts. The great masterpieces in painting of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance have been rivaled in this century by the artists of France, England and other modern schools.

Unlike music and the fine arts, the march of modern literature has been along national lines. It was a far cry from Haydn to Wagner, or from David to Millet, yet it seems no further than the intervals of intellect that lie between Keats and Kipling, Kant and Nietzsche, Schiller and Suder-

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mann, Pushkin and Tolstoy, Alfieri and D'Annunzio, or Chateaubriand and Zola.

The years between the men representing these two extremes of various literary developments are filled with illustrious names. Well could Browning sing:

"And did you once see Shelley plain,
And did he stop and speak to you,
And did you speak to him again?
How strange it seems, and new!"

What is true of letters and art is true of almost every other phase of human attainment in the nineteenth century. Since Napoleon, Nelson, Pitt and Wellington, down to Garibaldi, Cavour, Kossuth, Bismarck, Moltke, Gladstone and Kruger, there has been a constant succession of famous captains, sailors, statesmen, philosophers, inventors and other great men, whose biographies alone would fill many more volumes than this history.

It is the pride of Americans that their hemisphere has contributed its share, and over, to the sum-total accomplished by the world since the death of Washington. In the roll-call of the great men of this age few names stand forth more brightly than those of Jefferson, Bolivar, Lincoln, Grant, Farragut, and Lee, or those of Fulton, Ericsson, Morse, Edison, Diaz, and Dewey.

Considerations such as these have entered largely into the preparation of this work. To them must be ascribed the apparent preponderance given to the part played by America in the history of the world during the nineteenth century. When a similar work was undertaken by Gervinus, the great German historian, he laid the responsibility for modern statecraft and ideals of government at the feet of America. Had he lived to complete his work, his pen might have traced the great story of the rise of nations during the last fifty years. Since the great civil war, which established the union of the

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North American States, the world has seen the rise of a national Italy, Japan, Germany, and the Slavic States, and of colonial empires, like those of India, Australia, and Africa. The attempt of the small Boer Republic to start a similar national movement in South Africa could not have failed to impress an observer like Gervinus as but another inevitable symptom of the times. He it was, too, who predicted the opening of the Far East as a result of these modern tendencies.

The Empire of Japan, since it faced about to adopt the latest benefits of Western civilization, has indeed become the "Land of the Rising Sun." Of her eastern neighbor across the China Sea, on the other hand, Matthew Arnold's lines on the Roman conquest still hold true :

"The brooding East with awe beheld
Her impious younger world.
The Roman tempest swell'd and swell'd,
And on her head was hurl'd.

"The East bow'd low before the blast
In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again."

Matthew Arnold's as well as Gervinus's prediction, strangely enough, has been fulfilled at the very close of the nineteenth century. Now that the century has ended, the eyes of men have turned from the new world in America to a newer world in ancient China.

THE RECORD OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER is brought down to May, 1906, a peculiarly opportune date in that it seems, in the prevision of students of the world's progress, to complete the cycle of anti-despotic revolution. Indeed, the work might be appropriately entitled "From the End of the French Revolution to the Beginning of the Russian," starting as it does with France's adoption of the

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Constitution of 1799, which made Napoleon dictator and so, in the phrase of the time, "finished" the French Revolution, and closing with the uprising against autocracy of the Russian mechanics and peasants commanded by the so-called "invisible government," and the organization of the Duma, a representative body certain in a short space of time to throw off the bonds with which autocracy still hampers its actions, and assume full power of legislation and financial control.

The complete period under discussion may be considered as subdivided into three eras, each of which is treated in a separate volume. Volume I extends from the close of 1799, when Napoleon was elected First Consul, to his death in 1821, completing the era of Military Conquest. Volume II, beginning with the declaration of Greek independence in 1822, and ending with the assurance of Italian unity by Garibaldi's conquest of Naples in 1860, covers another fairly complete period, that of Patriotic Revolution. The last volume, beginning with the outbreak of the Civil War in America in 1861, and closing with the uprising of the Russian people for economic as well as political freedom in the strikes and industrial disorders of 1906, may also be considered as comprising a third distinct era, the period of Popular Emancipation.

The succeeding period of the world's history may be characterized even more by the progress of natural than political science. The great and unforeseen disasters of the eruption of Vesuvius and the earthquake in California are here chronicled and bring the work to a close.

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INTRODUCTION

By GEORG GOTTFRIED GERVINUS

The essay of Gervinus, the German historian, which is referred to in Mr. Emerson's preface, was written as an introduction to a projected history of the Nineteenth Century. Gervinus was then a professor of history at Heidelberg. As soon as the pamphlet appeared, in 1853, the author was placed on trial for high treason. He declined to plead in his own behalf, but in justification of his work he declared in court: "The charge, though it appears directed against me, is in fact an accusation against Providence, or let us say History, which can not be condemned." Gervinus was convicted and sentenced to four months in prison, and his work was burned. The "Introduction" immediately became a classic in Germany and throughout Europe. The close of this famous essay is here presented (in the translation of Maurice Magnus) as aptly characterizing the spirit of the Nineteenth Century, and thus forming the best, as well as one of the briefest, of authoritative introductions.

THE emancipation of all those that are oppressed and suffering is the vocation of the Nineteenth Century. The force of this idea has been victorious over mighty interests and deeply-rooted institutions, which may be perceived in the abolition of serfdom and villenage in Europe and in the liberation of slaves in America. This is one of the greatest features of the time. The strength and belief of conviction, the power of thought, the force of resolution, a clear view of the object pursued, endurance and self-sacrifice, are all enlisted on the side of the people, and give this historical movement the character of Providence which can not be resisted.

It is this character we recognize in all the movements of the age, even those not appearing periodically. The history we propose to narrate was divided into three movements, which appear to be impelled by a higher power, and in turn have shaken a great part of the world to its foundation. They follow one another almost in geometric progression. The same progression which we have observed in time, peo-

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ple, and country may be observed also in the direction of the movement itself. The course of freedom since the Reformation had been chiefly in the regions of the north among Teutonic races until it reached America, where it found its natural limits. From that time it moved back toward the east. Its landing in France was difficult to effect; the whole of the east of Europe and even the free west opposed the new importation—but it secured its first footing. The movements of the twenties passed over from South America to Spain, from Italy to Greece, in regular line toward the east. The July revolution procured soil for freedom in France, and it breathed again in Spain, in Belgium, and in Old England—it endeavored even to reach Poland. In the year 1848 the Continent was shaken to its centre, and the revolution penetrated the stronghold of Conservative principle, even as far as Prussia and the Balkans. In this history we shall above all see the hand of Providence in these movements.

The resources of the United States, sufficient for their own supply, and their refusing all other nations the right of occupation in America as proclaimed in the famous Monroe Doctrine, will in time restrict the amount of emigration from Europe, and limit the commerce of the West. In an equal proportion the increasing decay of the East will invite to a renewal of the old commerce and civilization of Asia.

To effect this, the freedom of the continental nations of Europe is required, if the advantages which these prospects open are not to be lost to those whom they most concern. This eastern course of the principle of political freedom, which history seems so confidently to predict, will be fulfilled.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

American Policy of no Entangling Alliances with European Nations Announced by Washington—Beginning of Our Industrial Development—Our War with France—French Constitution of 1799—Napoleon's Good Statesmanship—He Subdues and Wins Over the French Royalists—General Kléber in Egypt—War with Austria—Moreau's Successful Campaign in Bavaria—Napoleon's Conquest of Northern Italy—Condition of France at Close of Century—Condition of Europe—Of England in Particular.

AT the end of the eighteenth century there was a lull in the storm of revolution which, beginning in the New World, had burst upon the Old in the hurricane of the French Terror and, though past, was still muttering its threats of return. In Europe the work of clearing away the débris of the fallen régime, and of laying the foundations of a new order was, in consequence, being prosecuted in a bewildered and irresolute fashion. America, however, had taken thorough precautions against the counter-revolution, and her citizens with confidence and enthusiasm were devoting themselves to the work of building up the nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

These precautions were of the nature of a quarantine against European broils. In his farewell address, issued in September, 1796, when he declined the Presidency for a third term, George Washington had left a solemn legacy to his countrymen to avoid foreign entanglements, holding it to be "the true American policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." In pursu-

BEGINNING OF OUR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

ance of this policy, Washington had not hesitated to break with France. When the new French Republic became embroiled in war with England (February 1, 1793) he issued a proclamation of neutrality, which saved the young American Republic from entering into a long and costly war at a time when the country's greatest need was peace and the establishment of a solid national credit.

Then began the wonderful development of the West, while a new impulse to industry and commerce in the Southern States was given by Whitney's invention of the cotton-gin. By the time the capital of the nation was transferred (July, 1800) from Philadelphia to the new city of Washington, which had been especially constructed to be the seat of government, the American people were well started on the way to prosperity.

Upon Washington's successor, John Adams, fell the immediate brunt of the new American policy. The first prospect was war with France. Throughout the European wars, brought forth by the French Revolution, the United States were in the position of a feeble neutral between aggressive belligerents. Whatever turn the tide of war might take, American commerce was sure to suffer. Jay's treaty with Great Britain (proclaimed March 1, 1796) had brought some amelioration by providing for a commission to pass upon claims of American citizens for loss or damage sustained by reason of the illegal capture or condemnation of their vessels. The concessions obtained from England only provoked the privateers of France to further outrages. John Marshall of Virginia, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina were sent as commissioners to France, but were not received by the Directory. At last they reported that immunity from attack could only be bought with money. The people of the United States were at once aroused, and, acting upon Pinckney's pas-

OUR WAR WITH FRANCE

sionate declaration, "Millions for defence, not one cent for tribute!" forthwith armed for war. A new navy department and marine corps were created, twelve frigates were fitted out, and letters of marque granted to privateers. Altogether a navy of thirty-eight staunch vessels was called into being. "Hail Columbia," first sung in May, 1798, became the popular song of the day.

The first conflicts were in West Indian waters. Captain Stephen Decatur, commanding the "Delaware," captured the French privateering schooner "Croyable." Renamed as the "Retaliation," she was presently recaptured by the French. On February 9, 1799, the American frigate "Constellation," commanded by Captain Thomas Truxtun, near the island of Nevis, West Indies, defeated and captured the French man-of-war "Insurgente." David Porter, then a midshipman, with eleven American seamen brought in the prize, single-handed. The American squadron in the West Indies, while cruising for French prizes, improved the occasion by suppressing the piracies of the troublesome picaroons of the West Indies. Nearly a year later, on February 3, 1800, Captain Truxtun added to his laurels and those of the "Constellation" by beating the French frigate "Vengeance" to a standstill off the island of Guadeloupe. In all, some ninety French vessels, carrying altogether more than seven hundred guns, were captured during the war, and a great number of American ships were retaken. By the close of 1800 the purposes of the war had been accomplished; Napoleon Bonaparte, who had just come into power as the First Consul of France, had weightier problems on his mind than the prosecution of a harassing guerrilla warfare on water against a distant race of sailors, and willingly granted redress to the United States, concluding definite peace with the new republic. He also entered into negotiations with Spain for the retrocession of Louisiana.

THE FRENCH CONSTITUTION OF 1799

By the new French Constitution of 1799, as conceived by the Abbé Siéyès and amended by Napoleon, all executive, administrative, and judicial powers had been conferred on the First Consul as head of the State. A system of centralization came into force which has remained in France to the present day. Its basis was universal suffrage, carefully pruned by letting the power from above select its appointees from the host of candidates chosen by popular vote. All governing and judicial officers were appointed, with all their subordinates, by the central government, and were directly responsible to it. These officers were divided into ranks as strict and absolute as those of the army. In its rational order, regularity of function, and apparent stability, the new government was a vast improvement on the old, and could not fail to confer great and rapid benefits upon disordered France. It was a working government from the start, and its work was accomplished so smoothly and thoroughly that it relieved the common people from all need of taking a share in it. On December 15 the new Constitution was offered to the French people for acceptance or rejection with this famous concluding phrase: "Citizens, the Revolution is fixed to the principles which commenced it. It is finished." The Constitution was accepted by a popular plebiscite of more than 3,000,000 yeas against 1,567 nays. Thus France passed from a distinctly democratic government to the most absolute rule yet imposed upon her.

So rapidly was popular government relinquished that within a year no one raised a hand when the First Consul quietly removed the very authors of the new instrument, his fellow consuls, Siéyès and Ducos, and appointed Cambacérès and Lebrun in their place. By means of life-senatorships the former consuls were paid to sink into instant obscurity.

Bonaparte's first acts under the Constitution were conciliatory. He drew around him the leaders of all parties

NAPOLEON'S GOOD STATESMANSHIP

and men of high talents: if they showed themselves submissive they were rewarded with public honors. Thus he honored Volta, the inventor of the new voltaic pile, and Laplace, the great astronomer. He selected as his regular medical adviser Dr. Corvisart, who was the first physician to practice chest tapping, the beginning of modern physical diagnosis in medicine. Gaudin, the greatest financier of France, was intrusted with the public moneys, and, encouraged by Napoleon, he founded the Bank of France. Tronchet and two of the most eminent lawyers of the Revolution were appointed at the head of a commission to codify the laws. Aided by Napoleon, they drew up an admirable civil code which was afterward known as the "Code Napoleon." It was the first working code effected in France, and has stood as a standard of its kind throughout western Europe and the Latin countries since its adoption.

Equally well calculated was the First Consul's indulgence for the ancient enemies of the Revolution—the Royalists and the Clergy. Thus he restored the freedom of religious worship. All those emigrants who had not actually borne arms against their country were invited to return. More than 150,000, most of whom were priests, responded. Bonaparte in person went to the Temple Prison to set the political prisoners free. In those early days of his rule great moderation was also used with the Vendean nobles and Breton peasants who had risen in arms against the Revolutionary government. A Proclamation of Amnesty for those who laid down their arms was issued on Christmas Day, 1799.

On the same day Napoleon, with his own hand, wrote courteous letters to the King of England and to the Emperors of Germany and Russia. Diplomatic steps were also taken to conciliate the King of Prussia and the Pope.

The Austrian Government contented itself with politely declining to entertain Napoleon's overtures to the German

SUBMISSION OF THE ROYALISTS

Emperor. When the Austrian ambassador ascertained that Napoleon had no intention of restoring the territory yielded by Austria in the recent treaty of Campo Formio (October 17, 1797), the imperial government at Vienna begged to be excused on the plea that it could not negotiate peace without consulting its allies.

England, under the guidance of the younger Pitt, bluntly rejected all offers and curtly avowed her intention to continue the war until the Bourbons should be restored to the throne of France.

This reply was like a blow in the face to France. Frenchmen of all parties burned to avenge the insult. At one stroke Napoleon had all France arrayed behind him. The cause of the Royalists waned from that day. In January their leaders, De Chatillon and D'Antichamp, signed conventions of peace with General Hédrouville on the Loire. By the middle of February followed the submission of the Royalist Chouans of Brittany and Normandy. Other chiefs in the Vendée were beaten by General Brune. The rank and file were quickly enrolled in the army and sent away to the frontiers.

Relieved of internal dangers, the First Consul was able to turn his attention to those outside of France. Disquieting news was not lacking. The relief expedition sent to the aid of the army in Egypt had been bottled up by the British fleet before Brest. Instead of reinforcements Napoleon despatched a letter to Kléber, the general in command, assuring him of his full confidence, and therewith left him to his fate.

One of General Kléber's appeals for help had fallen into the hands of the English. It encouraged them to repudiate the previous agreement to let the French evacuate Egypt unmolested. On March 19, 1800, Lord Keith, commanding the British fleet in Egypt, called upon General Kléber for an unconditional surrender. The French general communicated

WAR WITH AUSTRIA

the text of the British demands to his troops and gave out this rally: "Soldiers, such insults can only be avenged by a victory. Forward!" The French, early next morning, fell upon the sixty thousand Turkish soldiers encamped on the ruins of Heliopolis and completely routed them. Cairo was recaptured. While strengthening the French position in Cairo, General Kléber was assassinated by an Arab cutthroat. The command fell upon an incapable subordinate, General Menou. From that time the evacuation of Egypt by France became inevitable.

In the meanwhile the war between Austria and France was reopened. To provide for it the consuls revived the Revolutionary measure of general conscription. Every male citizen over the age of eighteen and under the age of sixty was called into the army. A reserve corps of 60,000 recruits was thus raised and placed under the command of the First Consul. Through his foreign agents Napoleon levied tribute from Genoa and Hamburg, and tried to force loans from Holland and Portugal on the security of their own jeopardized territory. By the spring of 1800 France was ready to strike.

The plan for opening the campaign, as arranged between Moreau and Napoleon, was to make a feint against the Austrian right; and, having thus drawn the attention of Kray, the commanding general, to that quarter, to concentrate the French centre and left upon the imperial centre, break through the Austrian line, cut off their communication with the Tyrol and Italy, and force them to the banks of the Danube. Toward the end of April a French army under Moreau crossed the Rhine and seized the town of Freiburg. A series of bloody fights followed, by which the enemy was forced back to Ulm. After a short respite this city was wrested from them by the French, who swam the river, and on June 1 worsted them in the bloody fight of Höchstädt on the

NAPOLEON CROSSES THE ALPS

famous old battlefield of Blenheim. On July 2 the French army occupied Munich. On the 15th an armistice was arranged.

During this time General Masséna, who had fought so well in Switzerland, had taken charge of the French army in Italy and was hemmed in at Genoa. Napoleon, instead of taking measures to relieve the garrison by sending an army along the coastwise roads on which he had won such successes before, determined to deliver a counter stroke in the rear of the Austrian army. This could only be done by crossing the Alps.

Leaving the government in Paris to his colleagues, he took charge of the new army of the reserve and manœuvred with it in various directions. He deceived Masséna as well as the Austrians. All thought that he would surely descend upon Genoa, and that by way of the seacoast. The Austrians accordingly drove the French back upon Genoa, and its harbor was blockaded by an English fleet.

In the third week of May, after Marescot and his engineers had prepared the way, Bonaparte suddenly took the main body of his army over the Great St. Bernard Pass, while smaller detachments crossed over the passes of the Little St. Bernard, Simplon, St. Gothard, Mont Cenis, and Mont Genève. The march, though toilsome, presented no extraordinary difficulties, till the leading column arrived at the mountain fort of St. Bard, which commanded the only passable road. Here the men had to pass in single file over a goat path high above the fort. Each gun, incased in a hollow log, was dragged by a hundred men, with frequent relays. The whole passage of the Alps was accomplished in four days without any serious mishap or confusion. This has always been accounted one of the most brilliant military feats of modern times, surpassing the ancient Alpine exploits of Hannibal and Cæsar.

BATTLE OF MARENGO

The advance guard of the French army poured down into the plains of Piedmont before the Austrians could dispute their entrance into Italy. Old General Melas, who had pursued a French division to Nice, hurried to Turin with a few thousand Austrians. From Turin he sent word to General Ott, whom he had left before the walls of Genoa, to raise the siege of that city and come to his support with all his men. Ott could not tear himself away from so sure a prey. Before Masséna struck his flag on June 4, fifteen thousand of the people within the walls of Genoa had died of hunger. Masséna's stubborn resistance served to keep the Austrian forces divided. It cost them nearly as dear as a defeat.

Napoleon, instead of marching on Genoa, as was still expected of him, turned to the east and thrust himself between the Austrians and their strongholds in the rear. Lannes defeated one Austrian force at Montebello. Murat took care of another. Nothing remained for Melas but to escape to Genoa or make a bold break through the French lines. The arrival of Ott's forces, at last, making his numbers slightly superior to those of Napoleon, encouraged the aged Austrian leader to stake all on a pitched battle.

Napoleon advanced westward from Milan and Piacenza through Stradella. So anxious was he lest Melas should make good his escape that he detached a division of 6,000 under his special favorite Desaix, who had just arrived from Egypt with his aides-de-camp, Savary and Rapp. They were to head off any possible movement toward Genoa. Early on the morning of June 14 the Austrians came forth from Alessandria and attacked the French at Marengo. Their onslaught was so impetuous that it carried all before it. At the end of seven hours' fighting the French forces were in full retreat. Tired out, the aged Austrian general rode back into Alessandria to despatch tidings of his victory. The pursuit of the French was left to General Zach.

BRITISH CONQUESTS

Desaix's division was nearly twenty miles away when he heard the cannon. He turned his column and counter-marched for Alessandria on the double quick. His panting vanguard arrived upon the battlefield at sunset, only in time to meet their retreating comrades.

Desaix at once charged into the victorious Austrians. He was shot through the heart, but his men charged on. At this moment Colonel Kellermann, with eight hundred French dragoons who had halted behind a wood, dashed furiously into the Austrian flank as it swept forward. The Austrians wavered and broke. Desaix's main body and rearguard fell upon them. French detachments from all sides returned to the fray. Melas's victory turned into defeat for Zach. He surrendered with 5,000 Hungarians. All Austrian fortresses in Northern Italy west of the Mincio were abandoned to the French. Napoleon returned to Paris.

The Austrian people were dismayed at the disastrous turn taken by their war with France. In deference to public clamor and to gain time, the Thugut Ministry sent Count St. Julien as an envoy to Paris to ascertain the French terms for peace, and arrange for an extension of the armistice. As a preliminary concession he tried to patch up a naval armistice between France and England, but the negotiations fell through. On September 5 the garrison of Malta, having been entirely reduced by famine, capitulated, and the noble fortress, with its unrivaled harbor and impregnable walls, was permanently annexed to the British dominions. The English also made themselves masters, in the course of this year, of Surinam, Berbice, St. Eustache and Demerara, Dutch settlements in the West Indies and on the mainland adjoining them. The Austrian envoy finally was constrained to apply for an extension of the armistice on land. For this concession he had to yield to the French Munich and Ingolstadt in Bavaria. In the end Count St. Julien's arrange-

BATTLE OF HOHENLINDEN

ments were repudiated, but the gain in time had been turned to no material advantage by the Austrians. In all, they had 230,000 soldiers in the field, while the French maintained four strong armies, numbering altogether 250,000 men, and controlling the Rhine, Alps, Upper Danube, and the Po. Discontent at this state of affairs grew so acute in Hungary and Austria that the Thugut Ministry had to resign.

In the month of November Napoleon announced the conclusion of the armistice, and on the 28th of that month both parties were prepared to fight.

Archduke Johann, a youth of eighteen, now took command of the Austrian army in the valley of the Inn. Moreau held the high plateau of Munich and the banks of the Isar. The young Archduke had a pet plan of surrounding the French and cutting off their supplies. As soon as the armistice expired, on the 3d of December, during a heavy fall of snow, he manœuvred his army into the rough country around Hohenlinden. Moreau waited until the Austrians, amid fatal confusion, had penetrated into the heart of the forest and had become entangled with some of his skirmishers. The Archduke, it was said, believed them to be the French rearguard and began to rejoice over his easy victory. Then Moreau fell upon the bewildered Austrians with his whole force from front, flanks, and rear. The slaughter was appalling. Ten thousand Austrians were taken prisoners, among them three general officers. The scattered remnants of the Archduke's army were chased across the rivers Inn, Salza, and Traun straight to Vienna. They tried to make a stand at Herdorf and again at Schwanstadt, but were only the more thoroughly routed.

In the same time the three other French armies had won laurels of their own. On the day of Hohenlinden, General Augereau gained an important advantage near Bamberg. General Macdonald, undismayed by the rigors of winter and

PEACE OF STEYER

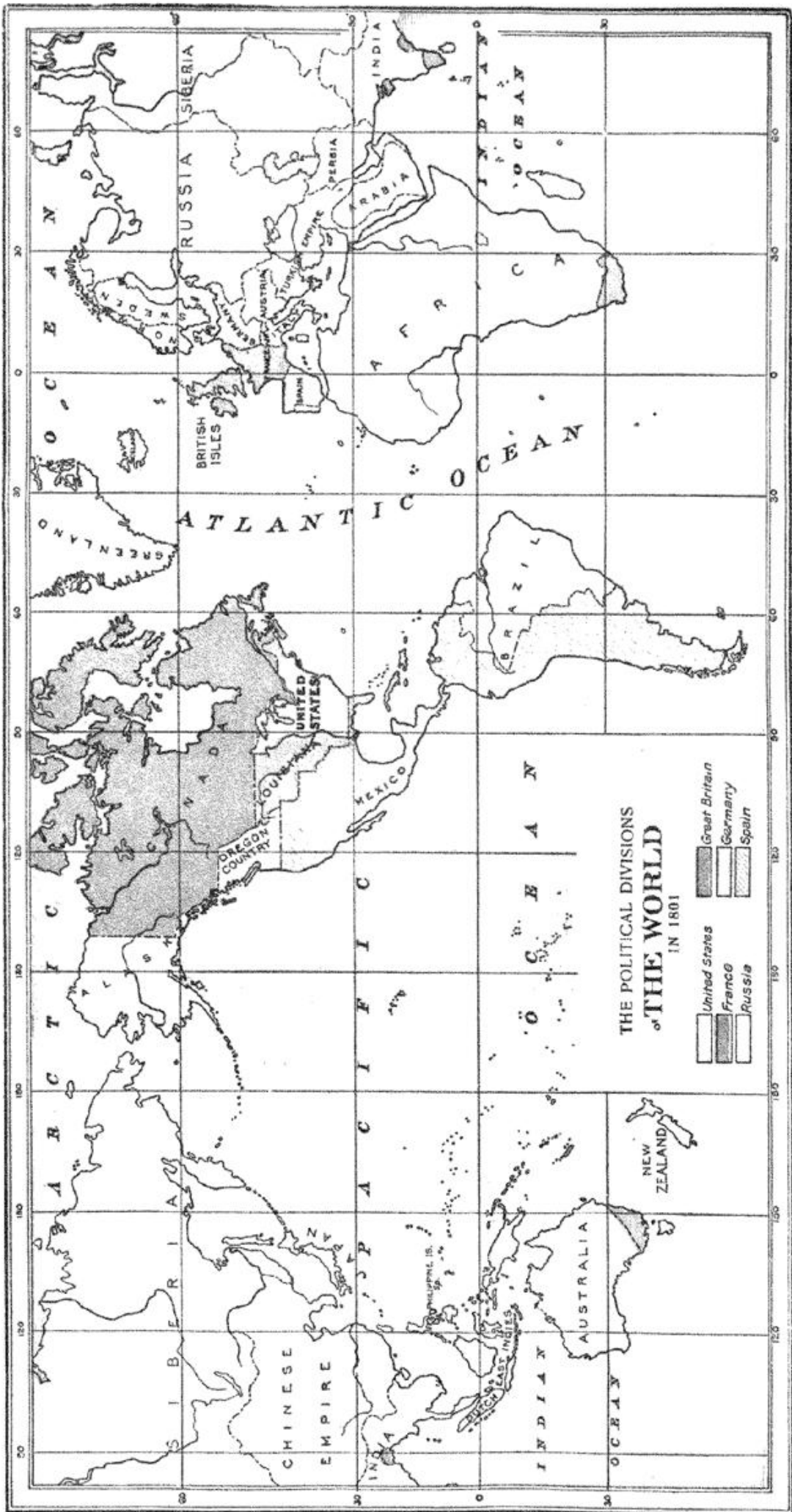
a series of disastrous avalanches, crossed his army over into Italy across the dizzy heights of the Splügen Pass, and beat back his enemies.

Vienna was struck with terror. Archduke Charles took command of the army and tried to infuse new courage into his troops. On viewing the French position before Vienna he was quick to sue for an armistice. It was concluded at Steyer on Christmas Day. By its terms the Austrians practically agreed to the provisions of the former treaty of Campo Formio, which they had repudiated earlier in the year. Beyond that they gave up additional territory, relying on Moreau's promises of restitution.







Peace was no less acceptable to France than to Austria. The old French debt had been repudiated, and a new debt contracted for fifty-five millions. The expenditures of the first year of the Consulate amounted to twenty-two millions. This paid for an aggregate army of nearly a million men in the field. On the other hand, the French navy had been reduced by one-half and was still dwindling. The tricolor had been chased from the seas by the combined efforts of British and American sailors. A relief expedition for Egypt was bottled up at Brest. The foreign trade of France was practically extinct.

England was now left alone in her struggle with France. Not only had her allies fallen off, but new enemies had arisen. In distant India, Seringapatam had to be taken at the point of the sword. Emperor Paul of Russia, exasperated by the Duke of York's mismanagement of the Anglo-Russian attack on Holland, and piqued at England's blockade and seizure of the Isle of Malta, of which he styled himself the Grand Master, had gone over to Napoleon. On September 9, 1800, the Czar seized all the English vessels in his ports and imprisoned their crews. His quarrel was seconded by the other northern kingdoms, which strove to resist the harsh measures of

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THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS
of THE WORLD
IN 1801

-  United States
-  Great Britain
-  France
-  Germany
-  Russia
-  Spain

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CONDITION OF ENGLAND

the British at sea. Foremost among them was Denmark, which had just lost the frigate "Freya," on account of her captain's refusal to submit to British search. Late in 1800 the Armed Neutrality of 1780 was revived in this new Northern Maritime League, the conventions of which were signed, on December 16, by Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and, later, Prussia. Gustavus IV, the young king of Sweden, convoked a Riksdag (parliament) to raise money. Its sessions were so stormy that he never repeated the experiment. On his own authority the king mortgaged the Swedish city of Wismar to the Duke of Mecklenburg for one hundred years for the sum of two million dollars. The determination of the League to resist the seizure of French goods on board their own merchantmen was received by England as a general declaration of war.

Such was the close of the eighteenth century. Great changes had occurred throughout Europe as the result of the incessant wars of the last decade. In England, owing to the increased annual expenditure of £60,000,000 for the war, the debt of the nation had doubled, rising from £244,000,000 to £484,000,000. The British navy had been nearly doubled in strength and now numbered eight hundred vessels with 120,000 fighting men. On land the fighting strength of Great Britain had grown from 80,000 to nearly half a million. These burdens could not have been borne but for a corresponding increase in British trade. The imports and exports together had grown from forty to seventy million pounds sterling. Yet it is to be noted that during the last year of the eighteenth century the Bank of England paid out no coin. The poor harvest of 1799 resulted in famine prices for that and the following year. In London and elsewhere the poor people rioted for bread. One poor devil, discharged from the army, attempted to assassinate the king.

EVENTS OF 1801

Celebration at Weimar of the Birth of the New Century—Union of Great Britain and Ireland—German Empire Dismembered by Treaty of Luneville—Other Treaties—Mutual Embargoes Declared by England and Her Allied Foes—English Defeat French in Egypt—Assassination of Paul I, the Mad Czar—Naval Battle of Copenhagen Destroys Confederation of North European Nations against England—Convention of St. Petersburg—Negro Insurrection in San Domingo—English Naval Victories—Peace Decreed by Parliament—Election and Inauguration of President Jefferson.

THE birth of the nineteenth century was most elaborately celebrated at Weimar. In the afternoon of January 1, 1801, Haydn's "Creation" was sung and the Duke's players at the court theatre gave a mask written by Goethe for the occasion. A masquerade ball at court finished the evening. Some of the most enlightened spirits of Germany were present. Goethe, who was then in his prime, was hailed as Olympian Jupiter. In the throng of maskers were the poets Schiller, Herder, Wieland, and Von Seckendorf. With them were Schelling, the philosopher, Hufeland, the great physician, and Heinrich Steffens, the learned Dane. Next day Goethe was taken seriously ill. For a long time he lay unconscious, and the best physicians of Germany were summoned to attend him. All literary Germany held its breath until the crisis was safely over.

A more lasting tribute to the new century was Pitt's final accomplishment of the union of Ireland and England, and the opening of the Peace Conference at Luneville.

The former event was celebrated in London and Dublin on New Year's Day by the ringing of bells, salutes of guns, and the hoisting of the new imperial standard over the Tower. To accomplish this great result Pitt had promised to remove those obnoxious laws against Roman Catholics that

drove Ireland into rebellion in 1798. Now one hundred Irish members were taken into the Commons, and free trade between England and Ireland began.

The terms of the treaty agreed to at Luneville on February 9, 1801, changed the map of Europe materially. First of all the cessions wrested from Austria at Campo Formio were confirmed. All German territory on the left bank of the Rhine was ceded to France. The German princes who lost by this arrangement were to be indemnified with other possessions taken from Italy, the Free Hanseatic cities, and other weak landholders. It meant the disintegration of the old German Empire. The net loss to Germany was 25,180 square miles with nearly 3,500,000 inhabitants. Spain lost Parma and Louisiana. Tuscany was merged with Parma. Formal recognition was given to the French foster Republics of Batavia, Helvetia, Liguria, and the Cisalpine Republic.

The Peace of Luneville was followed by treaties at Madrid; and the Peace of Florence, between France and the kingdom of Naples, was concluded on March 18, after a number of Italian cities had been overrun by the French army. Naples ceded her principalities in central Italy and undertook to close her ports against all vessels of Great Britain and her ally, Turkey. Thus Napoleon took up a new weapon of offence against England's shipping—the Continental Embargo.

In England, meanwhile, the days of the younger Pitt's ministry were numbered. Early in the year the first United Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland met in London. Pitt tried to carry out his promise to remove all political disabilities from the Irish Catholics. This met with George III's opposition. Powerless to move a ruler who staked his soul on the letter of his oath of coronation, Pitt resigned. The new Prime Minister was Henry Addington, the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Addington's Cabinet found themselves with a general declaration of war on their hands. Willy-nilly they had to prepare for hostilities. An embargo had been declared on the ships of all the northern Powers. The French army in Egypt was still unsubdued and a French fleet lay watching for a chance to go to its relief. On March 8 a British fleet under Sir Ralph Abercromby debarked 18,000 troops at Aboukir. On March 12 a battle was fought with the weak French army under Menou, in which the French were worsted. On March 17 Sir Sydney Smith, the hero of the siege of Acre, seized the lake of Madieh and reduced the forts of Aboukir. On March 21 a pitched battle was waged between 15,000 Englishmen and 9,000 Frenchmen. Abercromby, the British commander, was mortally wounded. The French lost heavily and were thrown back upon Alexandria and Cairo. A large Turkish army landed at Aboukir and the French were invested in Alexandria. On May 22 the French army capitulated at Cairo, and was afterward conveyed to France in English vessels.

At home another British fleet was preparing to strike a blow at Russia. All was changed by the assassination, on March 24, of Emperor Paul of Russia. This eccentric monarch had ruled but four years. Of late his conduct had excited general comment. Thus, on December 30, 1800, the St. Petersburg "Court Gazette" contained the following item:

"His Majesty, the Emperor, perceiving that the European Powers can not come to an accommodation, and wishing to put an end to a war which has raged fourteen years, has conceived the idea of appointing a place to which he will invite the other potentates to engage together with himself in single combat on lists which shall be marked out; for which purpose they shall bring with them, to act as their esquires, umpires, and heralds, their most enlightened ministers

and able generals, as Thugut, Pitt, and Bernstorff. He will bring on his part Count Pahlen and Kutusof."

The Czar had ordered Louis XVIII, the French pretender, to leave his refuge at the Russian town of Mitau. At the same time he canceled the handsome annuity granted to the Bourbon prince. About the middle of March the Czar gave to his minister a warrant for imprisoning or banishing the Czarina, his wife, and his two sons, Alexander and Constantine. Count Pahlen showed the warrant to the two princes and said: "Your father is ruining the country and himself. He will now destroy you if this is to be borne." He suggested that something must be done to stop the Czar's course. The Czarevitch left all to him. On the night of March 24 thirty of the most influential members of the court, after a long carouse, forcibly entered the Czar's bedroom. They demanded his abdication. While wrangling over this matter, Prince Zubov, one of the former favorites of Empress Catherine II, Paul's mother, got into a violent dispute with the Czar. Seizing a chair, he struck the Emperor down. Then the others jumped on the prostrate Czar and beat and strangled him to death. Next morning Alexander announced in an imperial proclamation that his father had died of a stroke of apoplexy. After his coronation the assassins were advised to leave court and go into retirement.

Paul's death came just in time for Russia. On March 12 a British fleet of eighteen ships of the line, four frigates, and a number of gunboats, amounting in all to fifty-two sail, left Yarmouth under the command of Sir Hyde Parker. Nelson went with him as his first flag-officer. The immediate objective point was Copenhagen. They bore with them a British ambassador who had instructions to allow Denmark forty-eight hours wherein to accept Great Britain's terms and withdraw from her engagements with the other northern

Powers. This done, the Russian fleet at Revel was to be attacked. In anticipation of what was coming, Danish troops seized the free port of Hamburg and closed the mouth of the Elbe to British ships.

The Danish navy at this time numbered twenty ships of the line, fit for service, and fourteen frigates. Sweden had eighteen ships of the line, with fourteen frigates. Together with the Russian ships at Revel, St. Petersburg, and Cronstadt, there were some eighty sail of the line and fifty frigates available for sea service against England. But they were widely scattered. On March 19 the British envoy rejoined the fleet off Elsinore. His demands had been rejected. This amounted to a declaration of war. On March 30 the British fleet entered the sound. Next night was employed in soundings. Sir Hyde Parker, in accordance with Nelson's suggestions, directed him to make a front attack on Copenhagen with twelve ships of the line and all the smaller vessels, while he himself was to menace the crown batteries and four Danish ships on the inner line. The Danish battle front, composed of anchored ships, floating batteries, and coast defences, was one mile wide. Of the six hundred and twenty-eight Danish guns, three hundred and seventy-five could be brought into action on the engaged side. The approach was covered by a large shoal called the Middle Ground.

At half-past nine in the morning of April 2 Nelson weighed anchor. Three of his ships of the line soon ran aground. Their place was taken by several frigates that had to suffer dearly for their gallantry. By noon the battle was at its height. Manœuvring had ceased, and all depended on gunnery and sheer endurance. At one o'clock the signal-lieutenant of the "Elephant" reported that the admiral had thrown out No. 39, the signal to discontinue the fight. Nelson was pacing his quarter-deck and took no no-

tice of the report. The signal-officer met him at the next turn, and asked if he should repeat the signal. Nelson asked if his own signal for close action was still hoisted. "Yes," said the officer. "Mind you keep it so!" said Nelson. Nelson continued to tramp his quarter-deck, the thunder of the battle all about him, his ship reeling to the recoil of its own guns. The stump of his lost arm jerked angrily to and fro, a sure sign of excitement with him. "Leave off action!" he said to his lieutenant; "I'm hanged if I do." "You know, Foley," he said, turning to his captain, "I've only one eye; I've a right to be blind sometimes." And then putting the glass to his blind eye, he exclaimed, "I really do not see the signal!" He dismissed the incident by saying, "D—— the signal! Keep mine for closer action flying!"

By two in the afternoon most of the Danish guns had been silenced and the flagship "Danebrog" was in flames. One hour later nearly all of the floating defences had been destroyed or had struck their flags. The shore batteries were still unharmed, as were the Danish ships hovering under their protection at the mouth of the harbor. At this point Nelson sent in a flag of truce, and thus gained a valuable respite wherein to save his grounded ships. It is still a matter of dispute whether the use of the white flag in this case was a *bona fide* act of humanity or a *ruse de guerre*. Whichever it was, Nelson succeeded in the difficult manœuvre of withdrawing his injured ships during the long interval that the gig with the flag was pulling to and fro between the Danish batteries and Sir Hyde Parker's flagship, four miles in the offing. In the end the Danish king agreed to an armistice.

The result of the battle was to lay the front of Copenhagen open to bombardment. Under this threat Denmark was driven to consent to a long armistice, which gave the British admiral a free hand for his attack on the Baltic.

The value of this service was never adequately understood by Sir Hyde Parker or the British authorities at home.

On the same day that the British fleet forced the passage of the Sound, the Prussian Cabinet made a formal demand on the regency of Hanover, to permit the occupation of the Electorate by the Prussians and disband a part of their own forces. As this proposal was supported by an army of twenty thousand men, the Hanoverian Government was compelled to submit; and Hanover, Bremen, and Hameln were occupied accordingly. At the same time the Danes took possession of Hamburg and Lübeck, so as to close the mouth of the Elbe against English commerce; and, on the other hand, a British squadron, under Admiral Duckworth, reduced all the Swedish and Danish islands in the West Indies. Three weeks later Nelson's measures were approved in this chilling note from the British admiralty office: "Upon a consideration of all the circumstances, his Majesty has thought fit to approve the armistice." Very different is the verdict of the greatest naval authorities on this subject. They all agree in declaring Nelson's service on this occasion as admirable in the highest degree. His fellow admiral, Lord St. Vincent, wrote at the time: "Your lordship's whole conduct, from your appointment down to this hour, is the subject of our constant admiration. It does not become me to make comparisons. All agree there is but one Nelson."

The news of the Russian Emperor's death, which arrived during the naval armistice with Denmark, gave a wholly different cast to the situation. The Czarevitch was known to incline toward England. Now that he was on the throne, one of Alexander's first measures was to release the British seamen imprisoned by his father. This order was issued on the 7th day of April. Four days later the northern Powers were surprised to find that the British fleet had

entered the Baltic Sea. To pass the Kögge Shoals, the heavy guns on the three-deckers had to be transshipped. Sir Hyde Parker was now recalled and Nelson placed in full command. He had orders to suspend hostilities if Russia followed up the release of British sailors with the suspension of her embargo on British ships. Still Nelson attempted to intercept the Russian fleet at Revel, but Parker had delayed too long. The Russian ships had sailed away the day before. After all, it did not matter, since peace was now in the air. On April 17 Russia and Prussia had agreed to cease warring on England. On May 17 the Czar ordered the release of all embargoed British ships. On June 17 a convention at St. Petersburg settled the points in dispute. It was conceded by Russia that a neutral flag should not cover an enemy's goods, whereas England agreed to respect *bona fide* neutral shipments. Sweden and Denmark were not expressly included in this convention, but they of necessity followed the example of Russia. The Danish Government agreed to evacuate Hamburg, and restore the free navigation of the Elbe, and both Sweden and Denmark raised the embargo. Great Britain adopted corresponding measures; and Prussia took an early opportunity to withdraw her troops from Hanover. Thus was dissolved, in less than six months after its formation, the most formidable confederacy that had yet been arrayed against the maritime power of England.

Napoleon sent Duroc to St. Petersburg to counteract the influence of Great Britain, but his ambassador accomplished little beyond a flattering reception. For France, during this interval, a new annoyance had arisen in the West Indies. Early in the year the island of San Domingo had been thrown into ferment by the high-handed acts of a negro military chieftain known as Toussaint L'Ouverture. Pretending to act in the name of France, Toussaint, heedless of the protests of the French civil commissioners, annexed other

portions of the island that had been ceded to Spain in the treaty of Basle five years before. In July, 1801, the negro leader had himself acclaimed governor for life. A new constitution was promulgated abolishing slavery and all distinctions of color. Free trade was adopted. The landed estates belonging to Frenchmen not residing on the island were confiscated. To his French remonstrants Toussaint replied haughtily: "I am the Bonaparte of San Domingo. The colony can not get along without me." Napoleon was constrained to gather a naval force wherewith to recapture the lost colony. To make so distant an enterprise a safe venture, a disproportionately formidable fleet had to be assembled, for British cruisers were scouring the sea.

With bad tidings from San Domingo came news of a fierce fight of two squadrons of French and English ships off Algeciras, in the Bay of Gibraltar. The French were trying to reenforce Cadiz. With the help of the Spanish land batteries, the French rear-admiral, Linois, succeeded in capturing one of Admiral Saumarez's big ships, the "Hannibal," that had grounded under the Spanish guns. Saumarez withdrew to Gibraltar. Linois, having been reenforced with five Spanish ships of the line and another Frenchman, came out into the bay. The British attacked after dark and the fight lasted through the night. The French man-o'-war, "Formidable," beat off three British ships. In the dark, two of the largest Spanish ships, the "Real Carlos" and "San Hermenegildo," taking each other for enemies, set fire to one another and blew up. The French "St. Antoinette" was captured.

Throughout the summer all England had been aroused by the menace of invasion because of the French gatherings of troops and ships at Toulon, Dunkirk, and elsewhere. Coastguards were picketed all along the shore, and a British volunteer army called into service. When Admiral Gan-

thaume succeeded in taking a French squadron into the Mediterranean, in his attempt to succor the French in Egypt, the alarm grew. This was not abated when Ganthaume returned to Toulon after capturing three small English war vessels and the "Swiftsure," a ship of the line, carrying seventy-four guns. Early in August Nelson made an unsuccessful dash at the French flotilla off Boulogne. By the middle of the month he reappeared with eight ships of the line and a dozen or more frigates. The engagement that ensued was indecisive. By October both countries were heartily tired of the war. The various modes of prosecuting a war of offence were exhausted. One thorn in the side of both belligerents had been removed when Lord Keith brought about the French evacuation of Egypt by undertaking to ship their army back to France on his own vessels. This was accomplished early in September to the satisfaction of both sides. Preliminary peace negotiations were entered into at London on the first day of October. Previous to this Portugal purchased a treaty with her powerful neighbors by ceding to France one-half of Guiana, paying twenty millions of francs for the support of the French troops, confirming Olivenza with its territory to Spain, and closing her ports against all English ships, whether of war or of commerce.

On October 18 another secret treaty with Spain was signed at Madrid, by the terms of which Louisiana once more changed hands. In England the implacable Pitt and Nelson were among those who approved the conciliatory policy of the new Ministry. Peace was ratified in Parliament, on October 10, by a majority of ten to one. It was agreed that hostilities with France should immediately cease by land and sea; that Great Britain should restore its colonial acquisitions in every part of the world, Ceylon in the East, and Trinidad in the West Indies, alone excepted; that

Egypt should be restored to the Porte, Malta and its dependencies to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, the Cape of Good Hope to Holland; the integrity of Portugal was to be guaranteed, the harbors of the Roman and Neapolitan states evacuated by the French, and Porto Ferrajo by the English forces. The news of the definite signing of the treaty at London made French consols go up from forty-eight to fifty-three. In the same year peace treaties were concluded between France and Turkey, France and Bavaria, France and America, France and Algiers, and France and Russia.

Across the seas, in America, the new century opened serene and full of bright hopes for the future. The last Presidential election under the old electoral system had brought only a passing cloud. It was held in the fall of 1800. Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, and Aaron Burr, of New Jersey, were the candidates of the Republican-Democratic party against the Federalists John Adams and C. C. Pinckney. Jefferson and Burr tied with 73 votes each, while John Adams only got 65 votes. The election was thrown into Congress, where, after a stubborn contest, on February 17, 1801, Jefferson received the votes of ten States, leaving four for Burr and two blank. Under the old law Burr as the next strongest candidate was declared Vice-President. A grave peril to the young country was thus averted. Burr never got over this disappointment. The tragedies of his later life were largely due to the resentments begotten in him by the failure of more legitimate ambitions.

On March 4, 1801, Thomas Jefferson took the oath of office in the new Capitol, ridiculed as a palace in the woods. The building stood on a hill in the city of Washington, then nothing but a straggling village of a few hundred inhabitants. It provoked comment at the time that Jefferson, who preferred republican simplicity in all things, wore "long pantaloons, an innovation of the French Revolution."

EVENTS OF 1802

Great Britain Reduces Armaments and Taxes—Progress of Literature—Italian and Batavian Republics Organized by Napoleon—Treaty of Amiens Redistributes Territory—The Concordat between Napoleon and Pope Pius VII Reestablishes the State Religion—Return of the French Emigrants—Reorganization of Education by the French Government—Consulate of Napoleon Extended—Reestablishment of Slavery Incites Second Insurrection in San Domingo—France Makes Treaties Inimical to England with Moslem Powers—Napoleon Made First Consul for Life—France Annexes Elba and Piedmont, and Invades Switzerland—Russia Admitted by Secret Treaty to Reorganization of Germany as Conducted by Diet of Regensburg.

IN England the threatening phantom of foreign invasion had been laid at rest. The British "Annual Register" thus records the beginning of the year: "It was the opinion of a vast majority of the British nation that the year 1802 commenced under circumstances highly auspicious. . . . It was universally understood that the income tax, a burden which the bulk of the nation had rather impatiently borne, was now to be withdrawn, and that vast reductions were to take place in our military and marine establishments." Richard Brinsley Sheridan spoke against these measures in Parliament. He said that the country had failed in every object for which it had plunged into war. Instead of checking the aggrandizement of France, Great Britain had raised her to such a height as to endanger the existence of all. He saw the immense power of France now consolidated, all her continental enemies subdued or won over to her interests. But the policy of retrenchment was adopted. Among other measures Parliament agreed to a reduction of the heavy duties on paper on the ground that the tax "struck directly at the very existence of English literature—in the development of which the country had begun to take a just pride."

The English romantic movement in literature was in full bloom. The stirring events of the French Revolution, together with the sudden brilliant rise of literature in Germany, where Goethe, Schiller, Richter, Wieland, Herder, and the great philosopher Kant were vying with each other in new productions, acted as a spur to the writers of England. In 1802 Scott brought out his "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," while the works of Chaucer were revived by Godwin, Shelley's friend. The same year saw the establishment of the "Edinburgh Review" and of Rees's great Cyclopaedia.

Nowhere else in the world was there such an outpour of literature. In Italy the death of Alfieri, the dramatic poet, left a void. In France the only writer of note was Chateaubriand. Art, too, languished. In France the painter David stood alone. Canova, the Italian rival of the Danish sculptor Thorwaldsen, had just finished his famous group of Theseus. Napoleon made haste to summon him to Paris.

The First Consul, after concluding his various peace treaties, continued to play the game of world politics on a grand scale. Before the end of January Napoleon caused the Cisalpine Republic to call a convention at Lyons. The 300 delegates had to cross the Alps in midwinter. Napoleon, proceeding there with Josephine, his wife, had himself proclaimed president of the Italian Republic. A constitution like that of France was adopted. The acceptance of a similar constitution was imposed upon the Batavian Republic of Holland. On March 27 a formal treaty of peace was concluded at Amiens between France, Holland, and Spain on one side, and Great Britain on the other. France kept possession of the Austrian or Flemish Netherlands, the left bank of the Rhine, the greater part of Italy and Switzerland, and that vast tract of territory on the Gulf of Mexico known as Louisiana. England kept none of her new possessions, excepting Ceylon, wrested from Holland, the Island of Trini-

dad taken from Spain, and a new slice of India won from the conquered Hindu prince, Tippoo Sahib. San Domingo for the moment was restored to France by General Leclerc's early victories over the blacks under Touissaint. The same fate befell the negro colonies of Guadeloupe and Martinique.

On April 8 the final adoption of the religious Concordat arranged July 15, 1801, with the new pope, Pius VII, was celebrated in the Church of Notre-Dame de Paris by a grand Te Deum. By this arrangement the Roman Catholic religion was declared to be that of the State; ten archbishops and fifty bishops of France were to be appointed by the French Government, and confirmed by the Pope. The previous confiscation of Church property by the State was to be condoned, and the State in return was to provide for the maintenance of the clergy. The Pope was to be recognized in temporal possession of the Papal States, excluding Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna. At the same time forty-four articles of the Protestant cult were sanctioned by law. All this caused bitter dissatisfaction among the old Republicans who believed in the entire separation of Church and State. The country at large hailed the re-establishment of religion with joy, and the priests turned from foes into loyal supporters of the new government. At the end of the month came another act of amnesty for the Royalist exiles. All but one thousand of the proscribed royalists were permitted to return. Their lands, seized by the State, were to be returned to them if not exceeding a certain area, but not so their hereditary privileges over canals, highways, or other public institutions. As a result of these measures a great number of exiles returned from England, and with them came a host of travelers eager to visit the land that had so long been closed to them. The British Embassy in Paris was reopened.

Napoleon's next measure was to reorganize the French educational system. On the first of May an act was passed governing secondary schools. Thirty of the best *écoles centrales* were reorganized as *lycées*, where the pupils were drilled and trained in semi-military fashion. To bind these new schools as closely as possible to the State, 6,000 pupils, called "wards of the nation" were to receive free education. Most of these were the children of deserving soldiers. Technical and special schools were also founded. Education, which up to 1790 had been in the hands of the clergy, became a prerogative of the State. On May 8 a decree of the Senate extended Napoleon's Consulate ten years beyond the original term of ten years in recognition of his services to France. Napoleon accepted the honor in these words: "The interests of my happiness and of my good fame demand a termination of my public life so soon as general peace is assured to the world. But you say that I owe my country another sacrifice. I will make it."

A few days afterward the Chamber passed a law re-establishing slavery in the West Indian colonies restored to France by the Treaty of Amiens. This goaded the blacks of San Domingo to further desperate resistance.

General Leclerc and Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse had landed their expedition at Samana. On the night after the French troops landed, the negroes burned the French settlement at Cape François, now Cape Haytien. Of 800 houses but 60 escaped. The blacks carried their war into the mountains. Revolting cruelties were practiced on both sides. Yellow fever came to the aid of the blacks. Then General Leclerc tried diplomacy. The two black leaders, Dessalines and Christophe, were won by false representations. Next he induced Toussaint to come to a conference at Gonaive. Toussaint was seized and deported to France. There he died of neglect in the dungeons of Chateau Joux. General

Leclerc, with the bulk of his army, remained to fall a prey to the ravages of yellow fever.

On June 25 the final treaty of peace between France and Turkey was concluded. It assured free navigation in the Black Sea to French ships, and in some other respects was found to be inimical to England. Similar conventions were established with the Deys of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. On August 3 the French Senate revised the Constitution, so as to extend the term of office of the consuls for life. To the First Consul was given the former royal prerogative of executive clemency. The troublesome Tribunes were reduced from one hundred to fifty. Lafayette, who opposed the suspension of political liberties and of a free press, was retired from public life. Napoleon accepted his new honors in these words: "Senators! the life of a citizen belongs to his country. The French people wish mine to be entirely consecrated to them. I obey their will."

Toward the end of the year most internal questions were settled for France, and Napoleon once more felt the need of reaching out. In September a decree of the French Senate "reunited" the Island of Elba with France. Next, the Italian province of Piedmont was annexed to France. On October 9 French troops occupied the Duchy of Parma upon the sudden death of the Duke, Don Ferdinand de Bourbon. On October 21 General Ney, at the head of 12,000 French soldiers, entered Switzerland to suppress the disorders that had been brought about by Napoleon's agent. Already the canton of Wallis had been detached, ostensibly to form an independent republic, but really to secure to France the control of the Simplon Pass into Northern Italy. The British ambassador in Paris alone protested against these breaches of the peace. Napoleon silenced him with the proud declaration, "It is recognized in Europe that Italy, Holland, and Switzerland are at the disposal of France."

No part of Napoleon's diplomacy was more ably conceived or better carried out than the negotiations with the German princes intrusted to Talleyrand. All through the years 1801 and 1802 a Diet at Regensburg deliberated over the changes imposed upon the German Empire by the treaty of Luneville. The proverbial antagonism between the various German States and princes played its usual part. In the summer of 1801 Prime Minister Montgelas of Bavaria had signed the first of those treaties which made Napoleon the arbiter of Germany. Two months later a secret treaty between Alexander I and Bonaparte admitted Russia to a share in the reorganization of Germany. Equilibrium was to be maintained between Austria and Prussia. Beyond that the Czar stipulated for the advancement of his own relatives on the thrones of Wurtemberg, Bavaria, and Baden. One after another the German princes settled with their patrons for a share in the spoil. On June 3 a secret agreement between France and Russia embodied all of these arrangements, and the spoliation of the ancient German Empire was a settled fact. The Diet of Regensburg solemnly ratified the provisions by which forty-two out of forty-eight free cities and all the ecclesiastical states lost their independence. Only six free cities remained—Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Frankfort, Augsburg, and Nuremberg. All the landed property of the Church was confiscated. The free universities, too, lost heavily. Most of the former feudal states were wiped off the map. For Germany as a nation the destruction of these innumerable petty principalities was a distinct gain. A constant source of discord was done away with. The national feeling of the German people grew in unity and strength.

EVENTS OF 1803

Napoleon Picks a Quarrel with Great Britain—To Raise Funds He Sells Louisiana to the United States—The Americans Pay Tribute to the Barbary Pirates at the Cannon's Mouth—French Troops Invade Hanover, Principality of the British King—Napoleon Begins His Continental Embargo against British Ships—Great Britain Replies by Blockade—Emmet's Insurrection in Ireland—British Capture French Expedition to San Domingo—British Conquests in India—Napoleon Prepares to Invade England—Madame de Staël is Exiled the Second Time from France.

THE desire for peace led England to remain inactive until the French aggressions in Holland, Italy, and Switzerland became accomplished facts. Even then Napoleon was the first to renew the quarrel. In January, Talleyrand complained to the British ambassador of the hostile articles in the English newspapers. Lord Whitworth made a countercharge against Napoleon's official organ, "Le Moniteur," which had stated that "six thousand French would suffice to reconquer Egypt."

This threatening manifesto resounded in England like a war cry, and, when Talleyrand called for an explanation of Great Britain's delay in evacuating Malta, it was not forthcoming. On February 13 Lord Whitworth attended a state function at the Tuileries, and his complaints about the French aggressions were insolently forestalled by Napoleon. Two days later the "Moniteur" published a taunt that was evidently inspired by the First Consul: "Be the success of intrigue what it may in London, it will not drag other nations into its net. The nation asserts with just pride that England, single-handed, is unable to cope with France."

It was a cry to arms. On March 10 the British militia were called into service. Two days afterward the First

Consul summoned Lord Whitworth to the Tuileries, and loudly assailed him: "So you are bent on war." Turning to the other ambassadors he shouted: "The English are bent on war, but if they are the first to draw the sword, I shall be the last to sheathe it. Since Britons do not respect treaties, we shall cover them with black crape." Next day Napoleon despatched confidential couriers to Alexander of Russia and to the King of Prussia to induce them to make common cause with him. On March 25 a law was passed in France which placed 120,000 new conscripts under the colors. Negotiations were opened to sell French Louisiana to the United States of North America for eighty million francs. Napoleon yielded more than a million square miles, with 85,000 mixed inhabitants, for the sum of \$11,250,000, to be paid in six per cent bonds, payable fifteen years after date. For the United States, Messrs. Monroe and Livingston concluded the terms of the purchase on April 30, 1803. In the autumn the United States took peaceable possession.

The purchase of Louisiana was the greatest event in Jefferson's administration. The control of the Mississippi was no longer a matter of dispute. Very aptly did Mr. Livingston say to the French ministers as they arose from signing the treaty: "We have lived long, gentlemen, but this is the noblest work of our lives." Napoleon said: "This will forever strengthen the power of the United States." Among the American people this was not so clearly recognized. Jefferson's administration was severely assailed by critics who declared that the new territory was a barren wilderness which would never be worth the price.

Two other notable American achievements undertaken in that year were Chief-Justice Marshall's reformation of the American law, and the war against the Barbary pirates. For some time the Moorish pashas along the northern coast of Africa had exacted tribute from all American shipping

that came within their reach. The American Government consented to pay a subsidy to exempt American ships from these exactions. In 1801 Captain Bainbridge, commanding the "George Washington," took the money to the Dey of Algiers, and was ordered by him to convey the Dey's own tribute to the Turkish Sultan to Constantinople. At the request of the American Consul, Bainbridge consented, but expressed a hope that the "next tribute might be delivered from the mouths of his guns." In the same year the Sultan of Tripoli clamored for more tribute. He tried to enforce his demand by acts of war. An American squadron was sent to the Mediterranean under Captain Dale. The Dey of Algiers came to terms. Not so the Dey of Tripoli. The first engagement of note was fought in the fall of 1801, off Malta, between Lieutenant Sterrett, commanding the twelve-gun schooner "Enterprise," and the war polacca "Tripoli." The corsair struck her colors after a two-hour fight. The "Tripoli" was sent home under a jury mast and jibsail with the compliments of the American navy. Fifty Arabs had been killed. The "Enterprise" had not lost a man.

In July, 1802, the "Constellation," under Captain Murray, fought nine gunboats off Tripoli and drove five of them ashore. Next summer a Tripolitan cruiser of twenty-two guns was driven into a bay seven leagues east of Tripoli. The "John Adams," under Captain Rutgers, and the "Enterprise," under Lieutenant Isaac Hull, stood in and gave battle at close range. In three-quarters of an hour the enemy's flag came down. The Americans tried to take possession, but the Tripolitan met them with another broadside and then blew up with all aboard. In 1803 the American squadron in the Mediterranean under Commodore Preble numbered nine ships. The "Philadelphia," under Bainbridge, captured a Moorish corsair. Commodore Preble entered the harbor of Morocco and brought the Sultan to terms.

The "Philadelphia" soon after chased a pirate into the Bay of Tangier and ran upon a reef. She was surrounded by gunboats and Captain Bainbridge had to surrender. Three hundred American seamen were sold into slavery. The "Philadelphia" was floated and refitted, with her thirty-six guns, as a corsair. While in prison Captain Bainbridge managed to send home a secret letter written in lime juice, in which he suggested that the ship might be retaken. Lieutenant Decatur acted upon the suggestion a few months later. In the Moorish ketch "Mesticah," captured by himself, this gallant officer slipped into the harbor of the enemy one night. Pretending to be a Maltese merchantman that had lost his anchors he made fast to the former "Philadelphia." His disguised seamen swarmed over the side of the brig. The pirates were cutlassed and driven overboard. The former Yankee brig was set afire, and by the light of the burning ship the Americans sailed for the mouth of the harbor. Within half an hour the "Philadelphia" blew up. The ketch got away safely without the loss of one man and was joined by the American ship "Siren" waiting outside. Decatur was made a captain by Congress and his crew rewarded. The ketch was renamed "Intrepid," in honor of the event. Lord Nelson characterized it as "the most bold and daring act of the age." The Dey of Tripoli vented his rage by casting Bainbridge and his officers into deeper dungeons. The war continued unabated.

This little pirate war, while full of stirring exploits, was of slight importance compared to the impending world-war between France and England. On May 13 the British ambassador had been ordered to withdraw from Paris. On May 22 the French Senate declared all British travelers in France prisoners of war. French troops under General Mortier immediately invaded Hanover. As the hereditary Elector of this principality, King George of England had at-

tempted to save his domain by declaring neutrality for Hanover. All England took to arms. Wordsworth's vigorous sonnets in behalf of Switzerland and Holland were followed by this clarion cry:

"No parleying now. In Britain is one breath.
We are all with you now, from shore to shore.
Ye men of Kent, 'tis victory or death!"

In June a royal message informed Parliament that Holland had been drawn into the campaign, and more armaments were called for. The whole number now raised in Great Britain was 103,000 men. Further war measures were passed early in July. On July 20 Napoleon issued a decree in Antwerp excluding all vessels that had even touched at a British port. It was the beginning of his famous continental embargo against English shipping. Admiral Brui was placed in command of a small French naval force for the avowed purpose of invading England. Great Britain retaliated by declaring a blockade on the waters of the Elbe and Weser, Genoa and Spezzia, and Havre-de-Grace. More than a hundred prize vessels were captured by the English before the middle of June. Things were at this pass when Emperor Alexander of Russia, on August 19, offered to mediate between England and France. Great Britain refused to accept mediation unless the French first evacuated Hanover. About this time another insurrection broke out in Ireland under the leadership of Napper Tandy, Redmond, and Robert Emmet, who had come from France. Lord Kilwarden, Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, was murdered in the streets of Dublin. It took several months to quell the rebellion. The chief rebels were brought to trial and condemned to death. The execution of Emmet, in September, 1803, was in particular greatly deplored, because of the youth and eloquence of the victim, and his romantic attachment to Sarah Curran, daughter of the famous Irish orator.

England in turn tried to stir up trouble among the Royalists in France. In November, Portugal, England's former ally, after a secret treaty with Spain and France, declared neutrality.

The British Admiralty despatched a fleet to the West Indies to take a hand in the struggle going on in San Domingo. The war of the blacks against the French degenerated into unspeakable horrors. The bulk of the French army was down with yellow fever. The survivors were driven back into the chief towns. Both sides sank into savagery. Bloodhounds were imported from Martinique wherewith to hunt down the luckless negroes, and whole shiploads of captives were killed. In the fall of 1802 General Leclerc died of fever. His successor, General Rochambeau, ventured an open battle with the blacks and was driven back to Cape Haytien. In exasperation the French massacred their prisoners. The blacks in turn gibbeted all the French officers they had taken. Jerome Bonaparte was glad to return to France. At this point the British squadron hove in sight and blockaded the French at Cape Haytien. The situation became intolerable. General Rochambeau thus commented on it in later life: "Pressed almost to death by absolute famine, wretchedly feeding on our horses, mules, asses, and even the bloodhounds, we had no way to escape the poniards of the enraged negroes but by trusting our fate to the sea."

During the last days of November the French, after a final assault by Dessalines, capitulated first to the negroes, and then, fearing a general massacre, to Commodore Loring of the British squadron. Five French vessels that tried to escape without surrendering were caught. General Noailles alone got away. The force taken by the British numbered 8,000 troops, three frigates, and seventeen merchantmen. That was all that was left of the total French expedition of 36,000 men that had been sent to the West Indies. Alto-

gether 80,000 human beings had lost their lives within the space of two years.

French San Domingo declared its independence and became the Republic of Haiti. The other colonies of France and Holland also suffered severely by the war. A squadron under Sir Samuel Hood successively captured St. Lucia, St. Pierre, Tobago, Berbice, Demerara, and Issequibo. Meanwhile French agents were stirring up trouble in England's colonies in the Far East. While the British were straining every nerve to resist Napoleon's projected invasion of England, they were distracted by incessant insurrections and border wars in India. The great Sultanate of Mahratta had split up into a federation of warlike chiefs, who were forever overrunning their borders. In their armies they employed many French officers. In 1803 General Wellesley was directed to restore the deposed Baji Rao. By a march of sixty-two miles in thirty-two hours he reached the city of Poona. An attempt was made by some of the Mahratta chiefs to turn their territory over to France. Admiral Linois, who arrived at this juncture with a French squadron, failed in his demonstration. The troops he landed at Pondicherry were taken prisoners. The arrival of reinforcements and the opportune death of the Nizam of Hyderabad strengthened England's position in Northern India. In the autumn of 1803 General Wellesley defeated the Mahrattas and stormed Ahmednuggur. The Marquis of Wellesley's brother, the future Wellington, earned his spurs in this campaign. The fort of Djalnapoor was taken in September. On September 23 another bloody battle was fought at Assaye, in which Colonel Arthur Wellesley had the supreme command. Though outnumbered by ten to one, and quite overmatched by the Mahratta artillery, he won the day by a series of wild charges. One-third of the British were slain. Finally, after 15,000 of the enemy had been killed,

the Mahrattas were put to rout. Meanwhile hostilities had broken out in the province of Bombay. The town of Baroach was stormed by the British under Colonel Woodington, and his victory was followed by the conquest of Chimapeer. In the east, the British troops stationed in Bengal and Madras stormed the fortress of Barbutty. Perron, a Frenchman placed in command of 15,000 Sindias, suffered a defeat in front of Allyghur. On September 4 the fort itself was stormed and Perron was taken prisoner. General Lake pushed on and attacked a large Hindu army under the French general, Bourgnieu, in front of Delhi. The Hindus lost 3,000 men and 68 guns. The French officers surrendered, and Peishwa Allum of Delhi accepted British suzerainty. General Duderhaigne surrendered Mathura in October. By the end of that month the Mahrattas made a determined attempt to recapture Delhi. On October 27 General Lake's cavalry was defeated at Lashwaree. Colonel Vandeleur, the leader, was killed. The British infantry, coming up, renewed the attack with great loss. Major-General Ware was killed, and General Lake and his son were wounded. Two thousand Hindus and a large number of elephants were captured. On October 29 General Wellesley defeated the Mahrattas at Arghaum and captured thirty-eight guns with all their elephants. The stronghold of Dammergaun was taken early in December with great slaughter. After these events the Rajahs of Berar, Sindia and Bhonsla came to terms. They engaged never to enter into another treaty with Frenchmen, and yielded all their territory in Northern Hindustan between the Jumna and the Ganges. All the forts in the Deccan were given up. The war in India had lasted altogether five months. During its course the natives of the Island of Ceylon were likewise brought under British rule.

While Great Britain thus had her hands full, King George III succumbed to a temporary attack of insanity and had to

be put in a strait-jacket. In Paris the "Moniteur" published this comment: "Why are we at war? Because the English people have no one to conduct their affairs but a mad king and a prime minister who is like an old nurse." Napoleon himself was inspecting the camp of invasion at Boulogne. Frenchmen were reminded of the glorious deeds of Joan of Arc, and new songs were composed on the descent into England. The poets were publicly rewarded by Napoleon. Not so Madame de Staël, who about this time ventured to return to France from her recent exile. "Inform her," wrote Bonaparte to Regnier, "that if at the end of five days she is still in France, she will be conducted to the frontier by the gendarmerie. The arrival of this woman, like that of a bird of ill omen, has always been a signal of some trouble. It is my intention that she shall not remain in France."

Together with the poet Chateaubriand, who had been sent to Switzerland by Napoleon, Madame de Staël had helped to start the French romantic movement in literature. Conviction led her to oppose Bonaparte, whom she enraged with pin-pricks of irony.

The exile of Madame de Staël was followed by a reorganization of the French Institute, which practically reduced that body to a nullity.

EVENTS OF 1804

Pitt Becomes Prime Minister—Napoleon Takes Advantage of Discovery of Cadoudal's Conspiracy against His Life to Rid Himself of His Rivals—Banishment of Moreau—The Assassination of the Duke of Enghien Horrifies Europe—Napoleon Accepts the Imperial Crown Offered by the Senate—He is Elected and Crowned—Madame de Staël's Satirization of Etiquette at the Court of Napoleon—Napoleon's Imitators—British Capture of Spanish Treasure Ships Bearing Subsidies to France Leads to Spain's Declaration of War—Prosecution of Our War with Tripoli—Burr Kills Hamilton in Duel—Jefferson Re-elected President—Death of Kant.

THE new year opened amid general feverish preparations for war. At Boulogne Napoleon had gathered a flotilla of flat-bottomed ships and an army of 120,000 veterans, who were constantly drilled in the tactics of embarkation. It was only necessary for Napoleon to be master of the Channel for a few hours to make the descent upon England a reality. Meanwhile opposition to the administration had been growing in Parliament. Prolonged debates between the ministry on one side and Fox, Pitt, and Canning on the other, finally led to the resignation of the Cabinet. On May 8 Pitt was once more called to power. Fox was left out of his Cabinet.

In the meantime certain events were occurring in France which Napoleon was taking advantage of, if not, as his enemies have claimed, actually inspiring, in order to further his imperial ambitions, and which later supplied Pitt with cogent arguments to bring about a new coalition of European powers against the insatiable tyrant and common enemy. An elaborate plot on the First Consul's life was discovered by the police. Georges Cadoudal, a Breton gentleman, was suspected of negotiations with the Count of Artois and the English Gov-

ernment to murder Bonaparte, and brought to trial and executed. General Charles Pichegru and forty-six others, including General Moreau, the hero of Hohenlinden, were arrested for conspiracy against the life of the First Consul. On April 6 Pichegru was found strangled in prison. Captain Wright, the commander of the vessel which brought Pichegru to France, was murdered in prison. Of the forty-seven prisoners, twenty were condemned to death, five sentenced to imprisonment, and the rest acquitted. Armand Polignac, one of the prisoners, was spared from death only by the intercession of Josephine Bonaparte. In the case of Moreau trial by jury was suspended, and he was sentenced to two years in prison. "I only wished to pardon him," said Napoleon to the judges. Judge Clavier rejoined: "But who will pardon us?" Moreau's sentence was commuted by Napoleon, who banished him for life. The unfortunate general with his wife betook himself to America, whence he returned to Europe in July, 1813, to join the allies against Napoleon. He was mortally wounded at the battle of Dresden, August 27, 1813. He announced the fact to his wife by letter: "At the battle of Dresden, three days ago, I had both legs carried off by a cannon ball. The rascal Bonaparte is always fortunate. Excuse this scrawl."

In the principality of Baden, twelve miles from the French frontier, there remained the Duke of Enghien, one of the Bourbon princes. He was said to be implicated in the conspiracy. On March 15 a troop of French soldiers made a dash across the border and arrested the prince in his house at Ettenheim. He was taken by Savary to the Fort of Vincennes, where a grave had already been dug for him. On the night of his arrival he was court-martialed and shot. His body was scarcely cold when the French Senate, at the suggestion of Napoleon's chief of police, Fouché, hastened to gratify the First Consul's ambitions: "You are founding,"

they said, "a new era, but you ought to make it last forever. Splendor is nothing without duration. Do not delay, great man, to accomplish your work! Render it immortal like your glory! You have rescued us from the chaos of the past. You make us blessed with benefits of the present. Guarantee for us the future!"

Bonaparte begged for time wherein to consider this offer of a crown. While he was considering, the rest of the world awoke. At the news of the Duke of Enghien's death a thrill of horror seized the princes of Europe. Chateaubriand, the poet, resigned his office as ambassador in Switzerland. The court of Russia put on mourning. The Russian chargé d'affaires in Paris lodged a formal protest against the execution of Enghien and the invasion of German territory. Napoleon, on the other hand, issued orders to the German states to expel all French Royalists and English subjects from their dominions. The British ambassador at Munich received his passports. Other German princes hastened to execute Napoleon's orders. The Austrian Minister told the French ambassador that his master "understood the necessities of politics." But at the Diet of Regensburg official protests were raised against Napoleon on the part of Russia and Sweden. Prussia immediately allied herself to Russia in a secret treaty in which both agreed to declare war "on the first encroachment of the French Government upon the states of the North." Napoleon answered Russia's protest with a cutting allusion to the unpunished death of the late Czar. At the same time Talleyrand was instructed to recall the French ambassador from St. Petersburg. Count d'Ouvril, the Russian ambassador, was instructed to leave Paris unless four points were granted: 1. The French evacuation of Naples. 2. A convention on Italian affairs. 3. An indemnity for the King of Sardinia. 4. French evacuation of Northern Germany. These demands were not granted. "I do not wish for war," wrote

Napoleon, "but I do not fear it with any one. I will suffer no interference in France."

For the moment France was allowed to accomplish her own destiny. On May 18 Napoleon accepted the French Senate's offer of hereditary empire. Cambacérès, the regicide, first saluted him with the title of Majesty. "I accept," said Bonaparte, "the title which you believe to be useful to the glory of the nation. I hope that France will never repent of the honors with which she endows my family. At all events, my spirit will no longer be with my posterity on that day when they shall cease to merit the love and confidence of la grande nation." A procession of Senators, accompanied by trumpets and kettledrums, announced the event to the people of Paris. The act was ratified by means of lists to which the people signed their names. The affirmative votes numbered 3,572,329, as against 2,509 negatives. The succession was to be in the male line, the Emperor having the privilege of adopting the children of his brothers, in default of which, or of direct issue, the crown was to go to Joseph and Louis Bonaparte. On December 1 the French Senate presented to Bonaparte the results of the plebiscite by which he was elected Emperor. Next day Napoleon and his wife, Josephine, were solemnly crowned as Emperor and Empress in the Cathedral of Notre Dame. Pope Pius VII officiated. When the Pope reached for the crown Napoleon snatched it out of his hands and placed it on his own head. In his first imperial proclamation to the Senate Napoleon said: "If death do not overtake me in the midst of my enterprises, I hope to leave to posterity a memory which shall serve forever either as an example or as a reproach to my successors. . . . I do not desire to increase the territory of the Empire. I have no ambition to exert influence in Europe. No other state shall be incorporated in the Empire under my rule."

As immediate results of this change of government, the

consular constitution was amended by an imperial decree. Cambacérès and Lebrun, the two outgoing consuls, were made arch-chancellor and arch-treasurer. Napoleon's two brothers became grand elector and grand constable. Their sisters were princesses. Eighteen marshals of the Empire were created. They were Murat, Masséna, Kellermann, Soult, Brun, Lannes, Ney, Momy, Jourdan, Augereau, Bernadotte, Mortier, Davoust, Bessières, Junot, Lefebvre, Perignon, and Lessurier. Of the illustrious leaders of the Army of the Rhine none were honored. Moreau was disgraced, and Lecourbe, his right hand, with Macdonald, had to shun Paris. Moreau's house and estate were given to two of Napoleon's generals. A new nobility was created and the Order of the Legion of Honor was enlarged. An imperial court was established at the Tuileries.

"Whoever," says Madame de Staël, in speaking of these days and events, "could suggest an additional piece of etiquette from the olden time, propose a new reverence, a novel mode of knocking at the door of an antechamber, a more ceremonious manner of presenting a petition or folding a letter, was regarded as a benefactor of the human race. The code of imperial etiquette is the most remarkable authentic record of human baseness that the history of the world contains."

The new dynasty was recognized at Vienna and Berlin. Two months after the assumption of the imperial title by Napoleon, Francis II of Austria raised the dominions of the House of Hapsburg to the dignity of an empire, of which he had been the nominal head. In distant Haiti the negro leader, Dessalines, assumed the title of Emperor Jean Jacques I.

The close of this year was marked by an absolute rupture between Spain and Great Britain. Spain had been in a measure compelled to purchase peace from France by the payment of a large subsidy, the amount of which was kept

carefully concealed from the British Cabinet. When the facts were learned, the English Minister in Madrid remonstrated against the payment of such money. It was not long after discovered that four Spanish frigates, with the subsidy on board in specie, would arrive from America at Ferrol, where a French and a Spanish squadron were to meet them and assist at the pretence of a capture of the subsidy. The British Cabinet immediately issued orders to Lord Nelson in the Mediterranean, Lord Cornwallis on the Brest station, and Admiral Cochrane off Ferrol, to prevent the sailing of both the French and Spanish squadrons, and to intercept the homeward-bound treasure-ships of Spain. Four of the British frigates soon fell in with the four Spanish ships off Cadiz. The Spanish commodore declined to submit to an equal force, and a naval engagement was fought. It ended in the blowing up of one of the Spanish ships, and the capture of the other three, with ten millions of dollars on board.

The capture of these frigates, before any formal announcement of hostilities, produced the result which might have been anticipated; to wit, a declaration of war by Spain against Great Britain.

The people of the United States viewed these proceedings with indifference. The interminable naval warfare between Great Britain and France had increased American shipping nearly fivefold. The little war against the Barbary pirates still lingered on, and several attempts were made by Commodore Preble in the Mediterranean to bring Dey Yusuf of Tripoli to terms by bombarding his harbors. Finally General Eaton, the American Consul at Tunis, brought about an alliance between the American forces and those of Hamet, who was then commanding an army of Mamelukes against the Turks in Upper Egypt. From the other side, Turkey was threatened by the Servians, who threw off the Turkish rule under the leadership of Czerny Georgos.

At home the American people had been deeply shocked by the killing of Alexander Hamilton, the great Federalist, in a duel with Aaron Burr. President Jefferson's first term was drawing to a close. Aaron Burr, while holding the office of Vice-President, became a candidate for the governorship of New York, hoping to strengthen thereby his candidacy for the Presidency. The powerful influence of Hamilton prevented Burr's election. Burr sought a quarrel with Hamilton and challenged him to a duel. On the morning of July 11, on the heights of the Hudson, opposite New York, he shot Hamilton dead after Hamilton had declined to fire. Dueling came into disfavor in America from that day. Burr was indicted for murder and sought refuge in the South. Thomas Jefferson was reelected President by a vote of 162 to 14, cast for the Federalist candidate, C. C. Pinckney.

The most famous man who died during this year was Immanuel Kant, the great German philosopher. As a metaphysical and critical thinker he first achieved fame in 1781. The existence of an authoritative moral law, he contended, implied immortality of the soul and the existence of a power above. His doctrines were summed up in his "Critique of Pure Reason" (1781), "Critique of Practical Reason" (1787), and "Critique of the Faculty of Judgment" (1790). He died at Koenigsberg, where he had always lived, never having journeyed more than thirty miles from home.

EVENTS OF 1805

Napoleon Perfects the Organization of the Army—His Threats to Austria and England—He Visits Italy—England Declares War on Spain—End of Our Own War with Tripoli—India is Subdued by British—Napoleon is Crowned King of Rome—Annexation of Genoa to Italy Drives Austria into the Coalition against France—French Army Suddenly Concentrates at Ulm and Destroys Austrian Army—French and Spanish Fleets Overwhelmed at Trafalgar—Masséna Drives Back Austrians in Italy—Murat Unwisely Passes by Kutusof and Occupies Vienna—Russians are Thereby Enabled to Concentrate with Austrians before Napoleon—He Redeems the Situation by the Overwhelming Victory of Austerlitz—By Peace of Pressburg Napoleon becomes Master of Europe—Death of Schiller.

IT has remained a subject for conjecture to this day whether Napoleon's preparations for invading England were serious or intended only as a feint. At all events he proceeded so earnestly at Boulogne that all the world anxiously awaited the blow. To Napoleon it afforded an excellent excuse for keeping large bodies of troops ready for instant action. It was at this time that Napoleon perfected his new military system. He divided his army, in the first instance, into corps of from twenty to thirty thousand men, each of which was intrusted to a marshal of the Empire. Again, he separated these corps into four or five divisions under the command of generals who received their orders from the marshal. In this way the generals became familiar with the qualities of their officers and the officers with the capacity and disposition of their men; an *esprit de corps* was formed, not only among the officers of the same regiment, but among those of the same division and corps. Early in January, after Admiral Villeneuve had succeeded in taking a French squadron out of Toulon past the ever-watchful cruisers of Great Britain, only to be pursued to the West Indies by

Nelson, Napoleon explained to his privy council that the Boulogne encampment was maintained but to hoodwink the continental neighbors of France. He justified his expenditure of thirty million francs, for twenty thousand artillery horses and the like, by the fact that he was now able to throw an army into the field within twenty days—one month earlier than Austria could mobilize her artillery. Yet the preparations at Boulogne were so thorough that Napoleon could afford to bide his time for a favorable opportunity to make a dash across the Channel after all. Whichever way he turned, he did not mean to be caught napping.

When Austria, under the promise of more subsidies from England, started to reorganize her artillery service, Napoleon curtly told the Austrian ambassador in Paris that he and his marshals looked forward to eating their Christmas dinner in Vienna.

Early in 1805 the Czar had sent special envoys to London to arrange for a coalition against France. Napoleon at the same time wrote another personal letter to George III of England, expressing a wish for peace, and stating that England's efforts to form a coalition of continental powers against France would prove futile.

Lord Mulgrave, the British Foreign Secretary, sent a reply which intimated the coalition was already assumed. Napoleon transmitted this correspondence to the Prime Minister of Spain, and wrote to the Emperor of Austria of the intended accession of his brother Joseph to the crown of Italy. Napoleon himself journeyed to Italy, after a rapid tour along the Rhine to Aix-la-Chapelle, ostensibly for the purpose of visiting the tomb of Charlemagne. In Italy he and Josephine revisited the scenes of his campaigns and held a grand review upon the battlefield of Marengo.

On January 24 England declared war with Spain for placing her forces at the disposal of France. Early in

March Napoleon informed the French Senate that he would accept for himself the crown of Italy. The Pope left France and returned to Rome, foiled in his efforts to regain his lost temporal power.

About the same time Jefferson and Clinton took the oath of office as President and Vice-President of the United States. On March 5 General William Eaton, the American Consul at Tunis, started out from Alexandria on his overland expedition against Yusuf, the usurper of the throne of Tripoli. With General Eaton went a picked body of Mameluke horsemen, Greek mercenaries, and a number of Egyptian fellahs. They traversed the Desert of Barca in a long march of over a thousand miles, and finally arrived before the Tripolitan harbor of Derne. An American fleet opportunely arrived before the harbor at the same time. Their ships bombarded the castle, and American seamen were landed to help General Eaton and his motley followers. They stormed Derne on April 25. Yusuf sued for peace. On June 4 a treaty was concluded between the United States and the last of the Barbary pirates. The American prisoners at Tripoli were set free and the pirates relinquished all claim to further tribute.

In the meanwhile England had to wage more wars in India. Jeswunt Rao Holkar and his general, Ameer Khan, the former allies of Sindia and the Mahrattas, stirred up another war with General Wellesley, the British High Commissioner. Holkar was defeated in a series of bloody battles by General Lake. In the first of these General Fraser, commanding the British cavalry, lost his life. In the end Holkar had to take to the mountains, and India, for the moment, was pacified.

In spring a treaty had been signed between Great Britain and Russia to stop further encroachments by Napoleon. King Gustav of Sweden gave his immediate adhesion. Three

weeks later Napoleon was crowned King of Italy. The Austrian dependency of Genoa was annexed to Italy. This last act, premeditated by Napoleon for many years, brought Austria into the coalition. The allies against France now included England, Russia, Austria, and Sweden. Great Britain undertook to pay subsidies to all the members of the coalition. France could count on the South German States and on Spain. The King of Prussia remained aloof in the hope of obtaining Hanover.

By the middle of summer the political horizon was surcharged with electricity. Napoleon wrote to Talleyrand: "All my news from Italy is warlike. Indeed, Austria no longer observes any concealment." On August 13 Napoleon, in order to have a free hand against England, demanded, through Talleyrand, the withdrawal of all Austrian troops to Bohemia. Otherwise he threatened immediate hostilities. On the same day he issued urgent orders to Admiral Villeneuve, who had returned to Ferrol from the West Indies, to join the squadron at Brest and to strike the English at all hazards. "If with thirty ships my admirals fear to attack twenty-four British," he concluded, scathingly, "we may as well give up all hope of a navy."

He also wrote this prophetic letter to Talleyrand:

"If my squadron follows my instructions, joins the Brest squadron, and enters the Channel . . . I am master of England. If, on the contrary, my admirals hesitate, manoeuvre badly, and do not fulfil their purpose, I have no other resource than to wait for winter to cross with a flotilla. That operation is risky. Such being the case, I hasten to meet the most pressing danger. I raise my camp here by September 23. I shall have in Germany 200,000 and 25,000 in Naples. I march upon Vienna, and do not lay down my arms until I have Naples and Venice. Then I shall have no more to fear from Austria."

Napoleon's forebodings were realized. Admiral Villeneuve, discouraged by adverse winds and an indecisive action with some British ships under Sir Robert Calder, took his fleet to Cadiz. A small British squadron, commanded by Collingwood, took care of it there until reinforced by Calder's squadron, which followed the French from Ferrol. Other British ships joined the blockade from the Mediterranean. With twenty-six ships of the line, Collingwood held the French securely blocked until the end of September. Then Nelson arrived from England and took command. Napoleon's hopes of invading England, if ever genuine, were ended for good.

Napoleon received the news of Villeneuve's fatal blunder with an outburst of rage. War on land was his only course henceforth. By the end of August the whole French army was in movement. Napoleon himself remained at Boulogne under the pretence of preparing to embark for England. Not until September 24 did he leave France. Then the Emperor fairly flew to join his army. On the 26th he was at Strasburg. The whole army crossed the Rhine, and on October 7 the united French forces struck the Danube below Ulm. "You have won the war with your legs," said their delighted leader. Marmont's corps of 20,000 had marched for Mainz. Bernadotte, with the 20,000 who had held Hanover, boldly abandoned the North, and crossing through the Prussian territory of Anspach, joined Marmont. Thirty thousand soldiers of the Southern German States threw themselves into the arms of the first comer. This swelled the French army to 200,000 men. By the time the Austrians threw an ill-mobilized advance force of 60,000 into Bavaria, the soldiers of Bavaria and Wurtemberg had joined the French at Stuttgart. Bernadotte held Munich.

The Austrian general, Mack, stood at Ulm with 45,000 men waiting for the 50,000 Russians under Kutusof, who

were to reach him by October 10. The Russians were several days behindhand. Meanwhile the French with four army corps crossed the Danube nearly a week before they were expected. The left wing of the Austrians was turned and the Austrian forces in the Tyrol were thus cut off. Bernadotte's and Ney's divisions pushed in between General Mack and the slowly advancing Russians, while Marmont swung around to the Austrian rear. Ney, Soult, and Lannes advanced their three army corps from Donauwoerth, while Murat, with his cavalry, made a dash along the banks of the Danube. The concerted movement was executed by Napoleon's seven marshals with admirable precision. Ney rolled up the Austrians under Archduke Ferdinand at Gunzburg and again at Elchingen. Three thousand prisoners fell into his hands. Soult overran Augsburg and took Memmingen, with 4,000 prisoners. Murat overtook General Werneck's battalions marching out of Ulm and threw them back into the city, taking 3,000 prisoners. From all sides the Austrians were thrown into Ulm. There they were completely surrounded by overwhelming numbers, and, as it were, suffocated. On October 20, Mack surrendered with 23,000 Austrians, without ever a chance to fight a pitched battle. Napoleon could write to Josephine:

"During all the days of the week I have been drenched with rain and my feet have been nearly frozen. To-day I have had some rest. I have fulfilled my designs. I have destroyed the Austrian army by simple marches. I have taken 60,000 prisoners, 120 guns, 90 flags, and more than 30 general officers. I am content with my army. We have lost but 1,500 men, two-thirds of whom are merely wounded. I now go in pursuit of the Russians. They are undone. Adieu, my Josephine. One thousand loving words to you."

On the day after this brilliant success the French arms elsewhere suffered irretrievable disaster. Before quitting

France, Napoleon had given orders for the French fleet to enter the Mediterranean to help the French army under St. Cyr to strike at Naples. At the same time there was to be a change of command. "As Villeneuve's excessive pusillanimity will prevent him from undertaking this," wrote Napoleon to Decrès, "we will send to replace him Admiral Rosily, who will bear letters directing Villeneuve to return to France and give an account of his conduct." On the approach of Admiral Rosily, Villeneuve, getting wind of his mission, determined to strike a blow on his own behalf. On October 18 he wrote to Decrès: "I will sail hence to-morrow if circumstances favor." The next day his fleet weighed anchor. Nelson, waiting far outside, at once made sail for the Straits of Gibraltar to bar the entrance to the Mediterranean. Early on the morning of October 21 thirty-three French and Spanish ships of the line with five frigates and two brigs headed due south for the Straits. The two British columns were nearly a mile apart, sailing parallel according to Nelson's prearranged plan of battle. Nelson was on the "Victory," with seventy-four guns, commanding twelve ships on the right. Collingwood on the "Royal Sovereign" headed fifteen ships on the left wing. The French and Spaniards steered south in five columns, two of which were detached to windward under Admiral Gravina. Cape Trafalgar loomed up twelve miles in the distance. Nelson hoisted the signal: "England expects every man to do his duty."

To the British double column advance the French opposed a long line, close-hauled, so as to curve away from the point of attack. Admiral Villeneuve was almost in the centre on the "Bucentaure," an eighty-gun ship, and Vice-Admiral Alava was but a few ships from him on the "Santa Anna." Both British columns made for the middle of the French line, Nelson's flagship heading for the "Bucentaure," while Collingwood made a dash for the "Santa Anna." "Let

us do something to-day that the world will talk of hereafter," said Collingwood. So far did the "Royal Sovereign" out-sail, or rather outdrift, the rest of the fleet, that Collingwood entered the enemy's fire three-quarters of a mile ahead of the rest at noon. For fully half an hour he had to support the combined fire of the enemy's ships quite alone. "See!" cried Nelson, as he watched his progress, "see how that noble fellow Collingwood carries his ship into action!" and Collingwood at the same time observed to his officers, "What would Nelson give to be here!" Collingwood's first broadside raked the "Santa Anna" from stern to stem. Her decks ran with blood. Then the "Royal Sovereign" luffed up close to her chief antagonist, and side by side with the "Santa Anna" she fought off the enemy's ships that closed in upon the two. At last Collingwood's next-in-line came up with the "Royal Sovereign," and together they sank or captured twelve of Admiral Alava's sixteen ships forming the rear line. Nelson, at the head of his squadron, did not reach the "Bucentaure" until half an hour after his right wing was in full battle. Nelson's flagship raked the "Bucentaure," but a ship close to leeward blocked her way. A furious close-range fight followed between the "Victory" and the "Redoubtable." The English broadsides were stronger, but the French swept the "Victory's" decks with their musketry. Of the French crew of 643 but 35 were left, and they kept up the fight. At half-past one Nelson was struck by a bullet fired from the Frenchman's rigging. He fell on the deck mortally wounded. As his ship trembled under the thunder of her continued broadsides, Nelson exclaimed: "Ah, Victory, Victory, how thou dost rack my brain." "They have done for me at last," he said. While they carried him down to the cockpit he covered his face and epaulets with a handkerchief, lest the news of his injury should discourage the fighting sailors. When they brought him news that fifteen of the enemy's ships

had been taken, he whispered: "'Tis well, but I bargained for twenty." Lord Nelson died a few moments after the "Achille" and the "Intrepide" had blown up.

At last the French flagship struck, and was taken possession of by a tiny boat's crew from the "Conqueror," consisting of three marines and two sailors. The marine officer coolly locked the powder magazine of the Frenchman, put the key in his pocket, left two of his men in charge of the surrendered "Bucentaure," put Villeneuve and his two captains in his boat with his two marines and himself, and pulled off in search of the "Conqueror." In the smoke and confusion, however, he could not find that ship, and so carried the captured French admiral to the "Mars."

By two in the afternoon the enemy's fleet was cut in two. Altogether the French and Spaniards lost eighteen ships. At five in the evening Admiral Gravina retreated to Cadiz with the remnants of the allied fleet. Only five French ships got away. Admiral Villeneuve and the Spanish Rear-Admiral Cisneros were taken prisoners. Admiral Gravina and Rear-Admiral Alava were wounded, and the French Rear-Admiral was killed. Villeneuve, later, committed suicide. Four of the French ships that escaped shortly afterward fell a prey to the British off Cape Vilano. After a four hours' fight between Commodore Strachan and the French Rear-Admiral, Dumarois, they struck their colors.

The battle of Trafalgar at one stroke destroyed the sea power of Spain and of France. Its consequences have lasted to the present day.

In Italy the command of a French force numbering 90,000 men had been given to Masséna. The Austrians confronted him with their strongest army, numbering 75,000, under Archduke Charles. Face to face, on the opposite banks of the Adige, the two armies waited only for the signal of attack. Masséna, hearing how favorable matters stood in

Germany, resolved to strike simultaneously with Napoleon. On October 18 he crossed the Adige, but encountered such a murderous fire from the Austrian trenches that, after securing a lodgment, he had to fall back. On October 20 the French army crossed the river a second time and stormed the heights of Valpantena and St. Michael amid great slaughter. On October 30, upon the news of the surrender of Ulm, Masséna attacked very vigorously all along the line. A bloody battle followed at Caldiero, in which both sides suffered severely. In the end 3,000 Austrians were made prisoners. A detached column of 5,000 under Hillinger likewise had to surrender to the French. Archduke Charles, after obtaining a short armistice, fell back and began a steady retreat toward Vincenza and Venice. The French followed step by step. All attempts to reenforce him from the Tyrol were frustrated.

In Germany Napoleon followed up the surrender of Mack by sending his cavalry under Murat after the detached Austrian battalions, with instructions to come in touch with the approaching Russian column. Kutusof, the Russian general, fell back over the Danube. Murat failed to engage him, but pushed on to pluck the easy prize of Vienna. His victorious squadrons rode through Vienna on November 13. As a result of this tactical mistake on the part of Napoleon's brother-in-law, Mortier's advance columns under General Gazan were almost annihilated by the Russians. Murat received peremptory orders to leave Vienna and attack the Russians on their right flank in Moravia. In a stubborn fight at Hollabrunn the Russian general, Bagration, held the French long enough to prevent the Russian flank from being turned. The Russian reserve of 45,000, under Generals Bennigsen and Essen, came up and joined forces with Kutusof and the remnants of the Austrian armies. Napoleon, standing at Brunn with 80,000, found himself confronted by an army of 100,000 allies. To protect his flanks,

Napoleon had to extend his army far into Bohemia, Hungary, and down to the Alps. Behind him in Italy, Russian and British forces had landed at Naples.

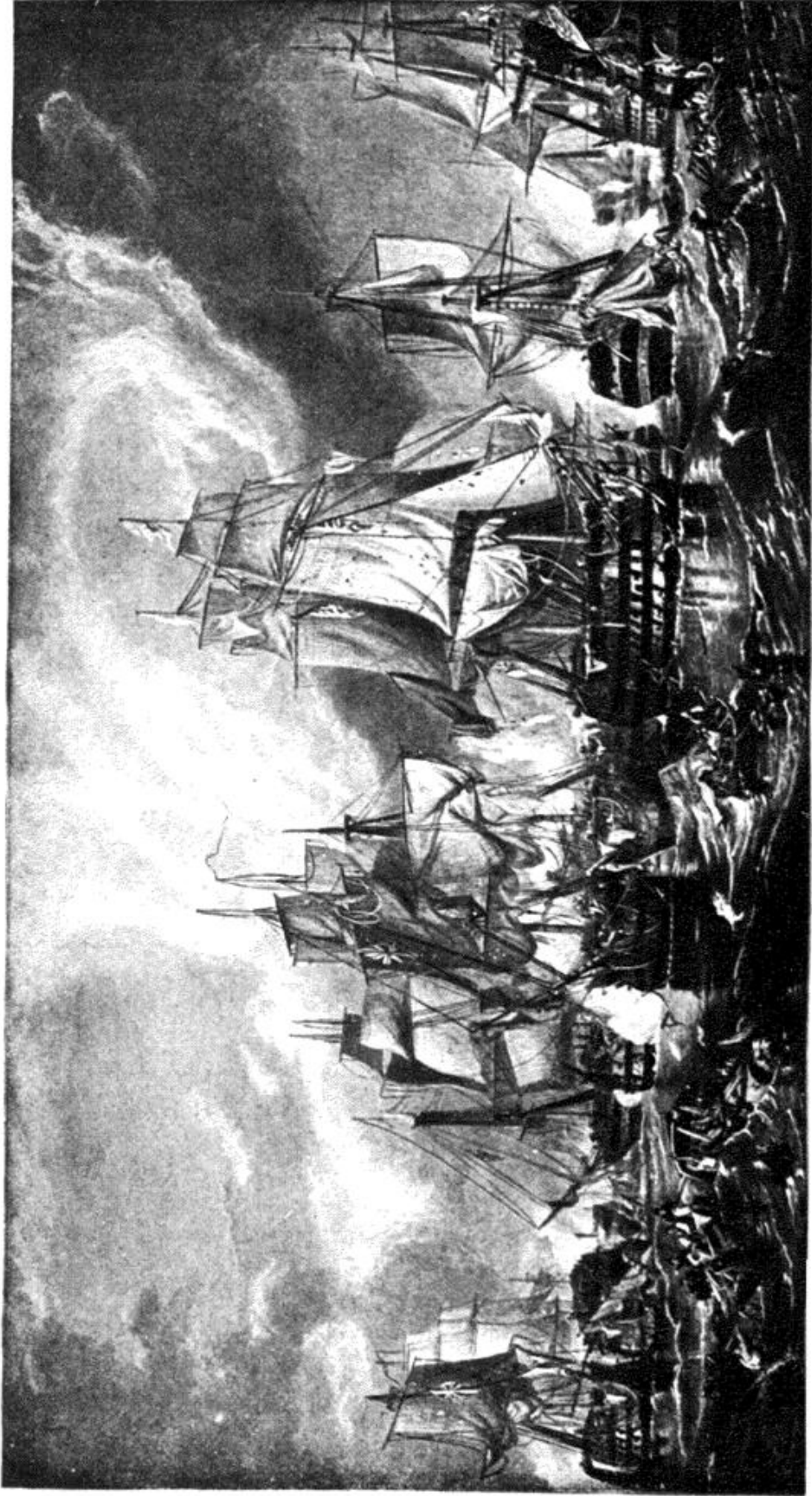
At this critical moment the Prussian prime minister, Von Haugwitz, appeared at Napoleon's headquarters. By way of reparation for Bernadotte's march through Prussian Ansbach, he demanded immediate evacuation of all recent French acquisitions. Otherwise Prussia stood ready to join the allies with an army of 180,000 men. As it was, the King of Prussia had already shown his temper by permitting the Russians to march through Prussian Silesia. For Napoleon, it became all-important to hold the Prussians off, if only for a few days. To gain this time he sent Von Haugwitz to Talleyrand at Vienna with private instructions to that master of diplomacy to prolong his proceedings with the inconvenient envoy as long as he possibly could. In the interval all might be won by a bold stroke of fortune.

In the camp of the allies the youthful Czar of Russia felt equally impatient. Alexander burned to measure his imperial generalship against that of the Corsican upstart, and forthwith General Weyrother was ordered to draw up a plan of battle. The allies, in their plan of attack, meant to turn the right flank of the French army, to cut them off from Vienna, and drive them to the Bohemian mountains. They sought to effect this by one of the most hazardous operations in war—a flank march in column in front of a concentrated enemy, and that enemy Napoleon. Accordingly, early on December 1 they moved forward in five columns obliquely across the French position, while the reserve, under Grandduke Constantine, occupied the heights in front of Austerlitz. The moment that Napoleon saw this manœuvre undertaken, he exclaimed, "That army is mine!"

His vanguard was at once withdrawn to lure on the Russians. For the sake of better concentration, Napoleon fell

back behind Brunn, where Bernadotte and Davoust could the more readily join him with their army corps. The Russians harassed the right flank of the French. To detach the Russian forces still further, Napoleon, on the eve of battle, extended the end of his right flank in the direction of Tellnitz. The Russian general fell into the trap. While turning the distant French flank he denuded the centre of the allied battle line. Napoleon had planned to strike the allies in their weak centre. The better to accomplish his purpose he meant to take them by surprise. Upon the approach of the allies, early next morning, Marshal Soult, who held the French centre, was ordered to fall back from the heights of Pratzen. This was done. The Russian vanguard hastened to climb the heights and waited for the rest to come up, while the French concentrated in the valley below. All was hidden in the mists of winter.

At nine o'clock the haze blew away and the sun rose glorious above the heights—the famous “Sun of Austerlitz.” It was Napoleon’s lucky day, December 2, the date of his coronation. As soon as the fog lifted, Soult’s columns dashed up the hill and stormed the heights. The Russian guns, just unlimbering on the crest of the hill of Pratzen, were turned against the allies. At the point of the bayonet their infantry was driven down the steep slope and threw the Russian reserve columns into indescribable disorder. The struggling mass of allies came under the shot and shell of their own captured batteries on the hill, while the French horse artillery dashed to other points of vantage. The Russian guards made a brave stand in the plain, but they were overwhelmed by Soult’s compact corps charging down the hill. Soult pierced the centre and cut the allied army fairly in two. All the French reserve cavalry under Murat crumpled up the Austrian left wing. For a while the right flank still held its own. The Russian horse-guards repulsed the



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THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR

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French *grenadiers-à-cheval* and cut their way through them to the foot of the eminence, where Napoleon stood directing the battle; but the combined forces of Soult, Lannes, and Davoust were too much for them. Napoleon's aide-de-camp, Rapp, was wounded, and the Russian prince, Ruppin, was taken captive during this encounter. Whole battalions were bayoneted by the French. The bridge at Aujezd broke under the weight of fleeing Russians. Other large bodies of allies broke through the ice of Lake Satcha, which was burst by means of French artillery fire. Several thousand were drowned or taken prisoners. Elsewhere 6,000 Austrians perished, and 20,000, most of whom were Russians, were taken alive. All the stores and ammunition of the combined armies fell into Napoleon's hands. "I had previously seen some lost battles," says an eye-witness of this frightful scene, General Langeron, "but I had no conception of such a defeat." The young Czar wept as he rode away from the scene of the disaster. After him went all that was left of the Russian army. The Austrian emperor sought out Napoleon at his headquarters and sued for terms. Thus ended the battle of The Three Emperors.

Through Von Haugwitz at Vienna, Prussia, instead of attacking Napoleon, entered into a secret treaty with the conqueror at Schönbrunn. Napoleon remarked: "Here's a compliment to which fortune has given a change of address." Prussia's reward for this change of front was to be the dominion of Hanover. Ten days after the departure of Haugwitz from Vienna, Austria made peace with France at Pressburg. Napoleon's threat that his marshals would eat their Christmas dinner in Vienna was fulfilled. Austria had to give up 28,000 square miles of territory, with three and a half million inhabitants. Venice and Dalmatia went to France; the Tyrol and the free cities of Augsburg and Nuremberg to Bavaria, which was elevated to a kingdom, to-

gether with Wurtemberg. Prussia obtained Hanover, but lost Neufchatel in Switzerland to France, and Anspach to Bavaria. Once more Napoleon was master of Europe, with none to dispute his sway but England.

The year 1805 was a sad one for Germany in other respects. During this year the poet Friedrich Schiller died at Weimar in his forty-fifth year. He was then in the midst of a Russian historical play, "Demetrius." Schiller was one of the brightest stars of German literature. As a poet he was a master of lyric expression; and this at a time when the German language was still in an uncouth and crude stage. As a historian, unlike most German scholars, he was distinguished rather by his command of facile and lucid prose than by the thoroughness of his research. Yet his poetic idealism gave him at times the clear vision of a prophet. Thus, as early as 1794, he gave this forecast of the main results of the French Revolution, then at its height: "The French Republic will pass away as suddenly as it arose. It will pass into anarchy, and this will end in submission to a despot, who will extend his sway over the greater part of Europe." Goethe secured for him an appointment as professor of history at the University of Jena, a post which Schiller held until his death. In his capacity of historian he wrote "A History of the Revolt of the Netherlands" and an elaborate "History of the Thirty Years' War," which is still a standard. From 1795 to 1800 the poet wrote his finest ballads and his most finished drama, the trilogy of "Wallenstein." In the following years, spent mostly at Weimar, he produced "Mary Stuart," "The Maid of Orleans," "The Bride of Messina," and "William Tell," the last and most successful of his plays.

EVENTS OF 1806

Napoleon Deposes the Bourbons of Naples—Death of Pitt—Napoleon Distributes Sovereignties to His Brothers and Relatives—Internal Reforms—The Code Napoleon—Great Britain's Embargo Cripples European and American Commerce—British Impress American Seamen—Jefferson's Protest—Affair of the "Leander"—Burr's Plot to Seize Spanish Territory—Expedition of Lewis and Clark to Oregon—New Coalitions Formed, French and Anti-French—Death of Fox—War between France and Prussia—French Victories—At Saalfeld—At Jena and Auerstädt—Napoleon Enters Berlin—Decreases Confiscation of all English Property in Europe—Makes New Levies of French Soldiers—Foments Polish Insurrection—Incites Turkey against Russia—Advances against Russia—Is Held at Bay by Drawn Battles of Golymin and Pultusk—Is Indifferent to Polish Freedom.

ON January 1 of this year the reigning princes of Bavaria and Wurtemberg assumed the royal crown. From Schönbrunn in Austria Napoleon dictated a decree deposing the Bourbon family in Italy. The Queen of Naples fled to Palermo in Sicily, where her court was protected by the guns of British cruisers.

On January 23 William Pitt died in the forty-seventh year of his life. The death of Nelson, with the disasters of Ulm and Austerlitz, following so closely upon one another, were too much for Pitt's failing health. "Roll up that map," he said in a hollow voice, as he pointed to a map of Europe which hung upon the wall. "It will be useless for ten years to come." The bearer of a great name, the son of Lord Chatham had made it even more illustrious. For twenty-three years he presided over the councils of Great Britain. He showed his chief ability in the management of the internal affairs of his country, particularly in the regulation of its finances. But for his resolute creation of a national sinking fund based on the increment of compound interest, England

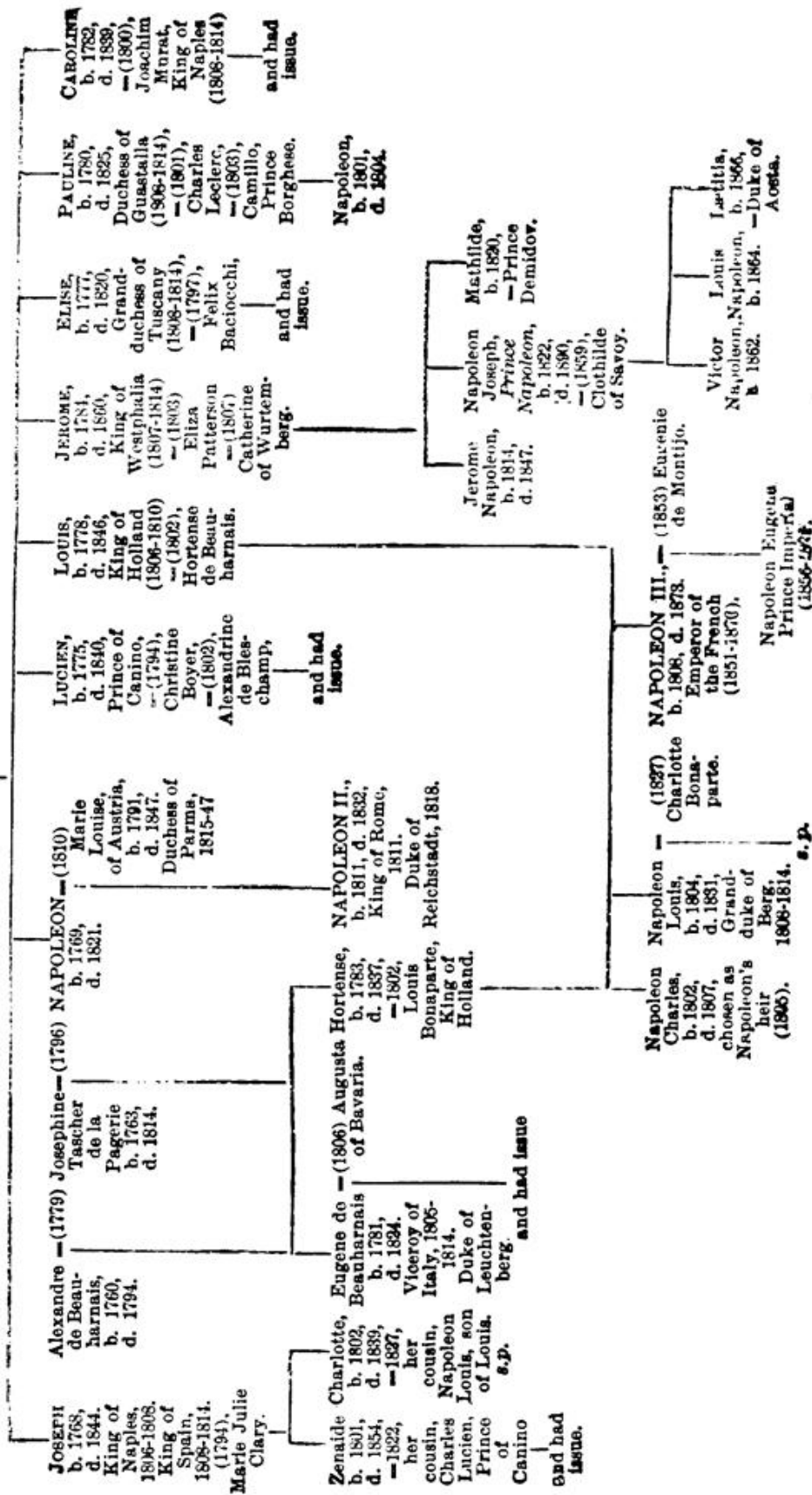
would have been unequal to the financial burdens of her gigantic war against the power of Napoleon. In external affairs he was singularly unfortunate. His blunt letters to Napoleon are a case in point. Almost all his political reverses came from that source. He was succeeded in office by Lord Grenville, who appointed Fox Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

In the first week of February Napoleon announced to the Corps Legislatif the deposition of the House of Naples, and sent an army of invasion to Naples under Masséna.

Simultaneously with this, Joseph Bonaparte, very much against his will, was proclaimed King of Naples and Sicily. Napoleon's other brothers, Louis and Jerome, were likewise disposed of. Louis, in the face of his protest, was selected for the throne of Holland. Jerome, who had married a Miss Patterson of Baltimore, was ordered to give up his wife and child to marry a princess of Wurtemberg, with whom to reign over the projected kingdom of Westphalia. When Pope Pius VII demurred to this divorce, Napoleon wrote to his cousin, Cardinal Fesch: "I do not intend the court of Rome to mix longer in politics; I shall inform the Pope in a very few words. If he does not acquiesce, I shall reduce him to the same condition in which he was before Charlemagne." Napoleon's stepson, Eugene Beauharnais, married Princess Augusta of Bavaria and was made Prince of Upper Italy, while her former betrothed was united by force to Stephanie de Beauharnais, Napoleon's mistress. To this system of grand fiefs Napoleon added a number of lesser sovereignties which he distributed at will among his relatives and favorites. His sister Elise received Lucca and Piombino; Pauline Bonaparte obtained the Duchy of Guastalla; Marshal Berthier got the Principality of Neuchâtel; Murat was made Grandduke of Clèves-Berg; Lebrun became Duke of Piacenza; Bernadotte received Ponte-Corvo, and Talleyrand, the former

THE FAMILY OF NAPOLEON

Charles Bonaparte—Letizia Ramolino
b. 1746, d. 1785. | b. 1750, d. 1839.



bishop, became Prince of Benevento. The Venetian States alone formed twelve additional fiefs.

Napoleon's most gifted brother, Lucien, alone held out. He had angered his brother by marrying Madame Jouberteau, a lively lady of Paris, at a time that Napoleon wished him to marry the Queen of Etruria. Several attempts at reconciliation failed. Finally, incensed at Napoleon's epithets in regard to his wife, Lucien ended all negotiations in a letter which ended with the famous line: "I glory, sir, in being ignorant of the language which you employ." After this Lucien was expatriated.

During the war of 1805 the internal affairs of France were going from bad to worse. The annual expenses for the year 1805, according to Gaudin's reports, were 894,000,000 francs. On starting for the front of war, Napoleon remarked to his new minister, Mollien: "Our finances are in a bad state. It is not here that I can restore them to order." After the battle of Austerlitz all this changed. The enormous French army was quartered outside of France at the expense of other countries. From the contributions levied on Austria and Southern Germany a "war chest" was formed and intrusted to Mollien for the especial benefit of the soldiers of the Empire. "The belles-lettres and arts are about to take a soaring flight," wrote Napoleon, as he issued decrees for the completion of the museum of the Louvre, the restoration of the Pantheon to religious worship, and the construction of a "Tribunal of Commerce" on the site of the Church of La Madeleine. The most lasting of these home measures was the great code of civil procedure, which went into effect by the end of the year.

The "Code Napoleon," as it has come to be called, swept away the last remnants of feudalism and established the equality of all French citizens before the law. The freedom of divorce, one of the innovations of the French Revolution, was

abolished, and in its place came a strict legal recognition of the responsibilities of the marriage tie and of all family relations. Laws were established for dower of daughters and distribution of property among all members of the family.

After the partial accomplishment of these reforms at home, Napoleon's attention was drawn once more beyond the borders of France. Russia's announcement of her annexation of Hanover, and the embargo laid upon British ships in the North Sea, as stipulated in the treaty of Schönbrunn, was counteracted by Great Britain's embargo on all Prussian shipping. During the next few weeks nearly four hundred Prussian ships were taken by the British, but the right of confiscation was not as yet enforced in their case. Not only Prussian and French shipping was made to suffer by British cruisers, but also that of America. The British also boarded American vessels and forcibly impressed members of their crews on the pretext that they were British deserters. A formal protest against this practice was addressed to Great Britain by President Jefferson. Great Britain did not heed the protest. On April 25 the feeling between the two countries was aggravated by the killing of an American seaman named Pierce, by a stray shot from the British cruiser "Leander," within sight of New York. The captain of the "Leander" was permitted to go unpunished. President Jefferson issued a proclamation excluding the "Leander" and her two convoys from all harbors of the United States. The New York rabble clamored for war. Finally a treaty was drafted between Lords Holland and Auckland on one side and Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney on the other, in which an attempt was made to regulate these abuses. But President Jefferson, finding England's concessions inadequate, withheld his ratification.

Early in the year Aaron Burr entered into a project with the British Minister in America and others to separate the

Western and Atlantic States and seize Spanish territory in Florida and Mexico wherewith to form a new empire of the South. From Great Britain Burr demanded a promise of naval aid and a credit for £110,000. Burr and his fellow conspirators talked so freely that the plan became known to the Spaniards. Marquis Yrujo, the Spanish Minister, informed his government of all the main details of the plot, which he characterized as "almost insane." President Jefferson, when apprised of the plot, showed himself inclined to give Burr liberal leeway. By midsummer, in 1806, Burr had accomplished all that could be done in the East and betook himself westward. In Ohio Burr induced Blennerhassett, an Irish gentleman of means, to throw his fortunes in with him. Blennerhassett started to raise troops and armaments for the enterprise on his island estate. In Ohio and Kentucky Burr's project for disunion aroused intense opposition. Finally the district attorney of Ohio made formal charges against the conspirators. Burr appeared in court seconded by young Henry Clay and was acquitted. At last President Jefferson took action. On October 22 he ordered gunboats to proceed as far as Fort Adams and called for Burr's arrest upon the commission of any overt act. Burr was again arraigned in court, Henry Clay pledged his own honor on his friend's innocence, and Burr was once more triumphantly acquitted by a grand jury. A public ball was given in his honor. Then President Jefferson issued a proclamation against "sundry persons conspiring against Spain," and ordered them and all their property to be seized. The expedition at Blennerhassett's island fled down the river. Burr escaped from Nashville and floated down the Mississippi only to surrender in the end.

While the South was still in a turmoil over Burr's enterprise, a peaceful mission, far more lasting in its effects, had just been accomplished. In September Lewis and

Clark had returned from a trip of exploration into the new western territory of the United States upon which President Jefferson had sent them. They had been absent nearly two and a half years, and had traveled over eight thousand miles in boats, on horseback, and on foot. They had worked their way up the Missouri until they reached the gates of the Rocky Mountains near the present city of Helena in Montana. Thence they floated down the Oregon River to the Pacific Ocean. Their full report of their travels was a revelation of the boundless possibilities of the newly acquired territory of Western North America.

In the meantime, the war between England and France was lagging on in a half-hearted fashion. Mr. Fox was inclined to enter into more peaceful relations with Napoleon. Thus he sent word to the French Emperor of a plot for Napoleon's assassination that had been unfolded to him. Talleyrand returned the compliment with a graciously worded message of appreciation. This exchange of courtesies presently led to direct parleys on the subject of peace. Talleyrand, speaking for Napoleon, expressed his readiness to give up Sicily. While the parleys lasted peace had been made to appear even more desirable to Napoleon by a bloody defeat inflicted on July 6 upon the French under General Regnier by Sir John Stuart, at St. Euphemia or Maida, in Calabria. All Calabria rose in revolt against the French, and the province was drenched with blood, until the last of the French garrisons had been driven from the country. The capture of Gaeta by Masséna more than counterbalanced these reverses. The surrender of Gaeta, after its severe siege under the Prince of Hesse, cut off communications with the disaffected northern provinces of the kingdom of Naples. Some 16,000 of the besieging army were set at liberty to act against the Calabrians. With their help, Calabria was finally reduced to subjection.

Napoleon's covert offer to cede Sicily to England was communicated to the reigning house of Spain, the rightful owners of that province. Spain took alarm the more as the enmity of England had been brought home to her by the recent temporary capture of her South American colony of Buenos Ayres by an English fleet that had been sent to seize the Cape of Good Hope, and by the appearance of a formidable British squadron under Lord St. Vincent off Lisbon. Godoy, the Spanish Prime Minister, went to England to negotiate a secret treaty.

The Emperor of Russia, whose troops had seized the mouth of the Cattaro when the French were about to occupy it, influenced by other counsels, now decided to withdraw his forces. In pursuance of this new policy he sent Count d'Ouvril to Paris as a peace commissioner. The conclusion of the preliminaries of the peace with Russia, on August 15, completely changed the tenor of Napoleon's negotiations with Fox. He would no longer hear of yielding Sicily, not even to the Spanish Bourbons. Instead of that he offered to take Hanover from Prussia and return it to King George of England. This offer came upon the heels of Napoleon's formal announcement of the formation of his new Confederacy of the Rhine. By the terms of this confederacy, as arranged in July, fourteen German princes seceded from the German Empire and entered into a league with France. Besides the three sovereigns of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden, the new confederation included the new Prince Arch-Chancellor of Dalberg, the Elector of Hesse-Darmstadt, the Duke of Nassau, the French Grandduke of Berg, the Prince of Salm-Salm, and others. They entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with France in perpetuity and agreed to furnish an army of 63,000 men to be incorporated into the French army of 200,000 still standing in Southern Germany. Within a week after this announcement, Francis II of Aus-

tria, who had been despoiled of all his German fiefs, relinquished his vain title of German Emperor. The Holy Roman Empire, so called, was dissolved. The French Minister informed the members of the ancient German Diet that the Emperor, his master, no longer recognized the Germanic constitution, though he recognized the sovereignty of each of the German princes considered individually. The old town of Regensburg, where the Diet met, was ceded to Bavaria. The German princes had been induced to join hands with Napoleon, partly through fear and partly by the new accessions to their realms, which Napoleon consented to grant them.

The announcement of this new powerful league caused consternation among those German States that had not been included in it—most of all at Berlin. The King of Prussia had reason to be alarmed. In the north, the King of Denmark seized this opportunity to declare “Holstein forever separated from the German Empire,” and annexed it to Denmark. More alarming still were the significant manœuvres of the French army evacuating Austria. When the French columns left Bohemia and Moravia, they did so in oblique marches that brought them between the Palatinate and the banks of the Weser. This placed General Augereau, with a French reserve corps, at Frankfort, a convenient central position. An official betrayal of Napoleon’s offer of Hanover to England brought matters to a point. Prussia began to mobilize her army. Russia, taking alarm at the French preparations for a northward move, on August 15 broke off all proposals for peace. England, through her ambassador at Berlin, confirmed the report of Napoleon’s Hanoverian bargain. This put an end to all peace negotiations between Talleyrand and Fox. It was the last stroke in Fox’s career. He died on September 13. Thus, within a few months after his illustrious rival, another of the most eminent statesmen of England passed away. The most prominent feature of

this great man's character was his love of liberty and hatred of oppression.

To anticipate the inevitable coalition forming against him, Napoleon issued an ultimatum to Prussia. He refused to evacuate Germany unless Prussia agreed to put a stop to the mobilization of her army. Failing to receive a satisfactory reply by October 8, he threatened immediate hostilities. In Germany public opinion, long pent up, burst forth in great violence against Napoleon. His destruction of the Holy Roman Empire had wounded German patriotic sensibilities. Popular murmurs arose and patriotic pamphlets against the French appeared on all sides. One of these, entitled "Germany in the Depths of Degradation," the work of Genz, was published by Palm, a bookseller of Nuremberg. Palm was arrested and shot. The unfortunate bookseller met death with a simple fortitude that made him a popular martyr among his countrymen. In German song and story public feeling against the French rose high. In Berlin the war party, headed by Queen Louise, got the upper hand. The officers of the guards whetted their swords on the stone steps of the French embassy. Philosophical writers like Fichte and popular poets like Arndt stirred up the people by their appeals to patriotism. The Prussian regular army, proud of its achievements under Frederick the Great, burned to prove its mettle against the foreign invaders. Only Frederick William III, the King of Prussia, hesitated. While he took council with his cautious Cabinet, Napoleon hurried to Mainz at the rate of sixty miles a day. Thence he flew to the front at Carlsruhe.

The hostile forces stood facing each other in central Germany. The Prussian army numbered 130,000 men, under the command of the aged Duke of Brunswick, with a staff of inexperienced princes and old officers like Mollendorf, grown gray in service. The soldiers were armed and drilled

according to the precepts in vogue at the time of Frederick the Great. They were well disciplined, but had no other incentive to drive them on but brutal corporal punishment. Promotion from the ranks was unheard of. All the officers' commissions were held by the nobles. The French army, on the other hand, was commanded by youthful officers throughout. Every man in the ranks was made to feel that he carried a marshal's baton in his knapsack. Napoleon had taken pains to equip all the branches of the service with the most modern arms and accoutrements. Under the stress of constant active service in the field, the whole French army had been reorganized from top to bottom. Everything down to ordinary tactics had been brought up to date. To the French leaders advancing from campaign to campaign the art of war had become almost second nature. All were firm believers in Napoleon's maxim: "The strength of an army, like the power in mechanics, is estimated by multiplying the men by the rapidity. A rapid advance augments the morale of the army, and increases its means of victory. Press on!" The events of the next few weeks made all this plain. The Prussians, instead of taking the offensive, as was counseled by Scharnhorst, one of their few young generals, remained in their original position on the banks of the Saale. There they waited for the commencement of hostilities. On October 5, three days before the expiration of the period set in Napoleon's ultimatum, six French army corps advanced simultaneously into Saxony. They marched in the form of a large square. The Prussian general, Blücher, commanding a detached corps of Prussians, made haste to join the main army. The Prussian reserve, under Prince Eugene of Wurttemberg, moved too late to catch up in time. On October 7 Napoleon was in Amberg. In contemptuous allusion to the blunders of the old Prussian generals he said, "They will make frightful fools of themselves, those old wigs." The

next day the French army made a rapid advance in three divisions. By their movements the left wing of the Prussians was exposed to the attack of the whole French army. While the vanguard of the Prussians fell back, the extreme end of the left flank was turned by the French. Davoust, with 33,000 men, overran the Prussian stores at Hof, and made for their base of supplies at Naumburg.

The Prussians met the concerted French advance by advancing their central army corps under Prince Hohenlohe. On October 9 the two regiments came in touch. Marshal Lannes, by forced marches, brought his whole army corps to bear down upon the firing line. Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia advanced with a brigade of crack cavalry over the bridge at Saalfeld. His troopers, proud of their former prowess, were eager to distinguish themselves. The French fell upon them in overwhelming number. The Prussians put up a furious fight, but were overthrown and utterly routed. Prince Louis Ferdinand was killed in action. With him fell six hundred of his troopers. "Diable! That will make an impression upon them!" said Lannes, when they showed him the dead prince, riddled with bullets.

As soon as Napoleon arrived in Gera, he divined the position of the Prussian army, and gave orders to his marshals to swing their divisions around to the west, while advancing north toward the Prussian flank. By October 12 Murat's cavalry had already penetrated to Naumburg, the Prussian base of supplies. Threatened in their rear, the Prussian general staff was seized with consternation. After endless consultation, they decided to retreat. By the time they came to this decision, Davoust's corps had already passed the dangerous defiles of Koesen and was advancing toward the Prussian centre. Further back, near Weimar, marched General Ruechel with 30,000 Prussians, while Prince Hohenlohe's former van was transformed into a rearguard.

On the night of October 13 Napoleon, from the crest of the Landgrafenberg, beheld the camp fires of the Prussian rearguard at Jena. He determined to strike on the morrow. All that night was spent in getting the French artillery up the Landgrafenberg. Napoleon himself lighted the way with a torch. Lannes's corps hastened to occupy the foothills. Bernadotte's advance corps was despatched parallel with the Prussian line of retreat. Ney and Soult hurried up in all-night marches, to fill the place left by Bernadotte's division, while Murat's cavalry was summoned from afar.

At six in the morning, Lannes's corps poured down the hillsides. Prince Hohenlohe believed he had but one French army corps to deal with and determined to crush it with his whole force. Lannes's corps suffered severely. At noon Prince Hohenlohe thought victory was sure and sent this despatch to General Ruechel in his rear: "Send all the force you can to the chief point of attack. At this moment we beat the enemy at all points. My cavalry has captured some of his cannon." Napoleon was on the point of throwing his guards into the battle when Ney's main army descended upon the Prussians, and Soult also came into action with his vanguard. Ney's men stormed the hamlet of Vierzehnheiligen. Soult crumpled up the Prussian left wing and threw the disordered Prussians under the fire of the French batteries stationed on the Landgrafenberg. Hohenlohe realized that he was losing the battle. He despatched an aide-de-camp to Ruechel with this message: "Lose not a moment in advancing with your yet unbroken troops! Arrange your columns that through their openings may pass the broken strands of the battle. Be ready to receive the fierce charge of the enemy's cavalry which is overwhelming our infantry, cavalry, and artillery." Hohenlohe's situation was made still worse by the entry of Augereau's corps in the line of battle. General Sujet broke through the woods of Issledorf and cut off

the Saxon guards on the line of retreat to Weimar. They alone lost 6,000 prisoners. At last Ruelhel marched on from Weimar with 20,000 reserves. They were thrown into confusion by the disordered retreat of their comrades.

It was now four in the afternoon. Napoleon saw that the decisive moment had arrived. He ordered Murat's cavalry, which had just come up from its all-night ride, to charge the Prussians. Twelve thousand horsemen dashed down the slope straight into the confused masses of Prussian infantry. Everything went down before them. The battle was over. Murat's squadrons chased the fleeing Prussians along the road to Weimar. The rest of the French army followed. At dusk the French horsemen met the straggling hordes of the Prussian main army, which had gone to pieces at Auerstädt.

While the Prussian right and centre were thus engulfed, their left, under the personal command of the King, his aged field-marshal, the Duke of Brunswick, and General Mollendorf, were engaged by Davoust's division. The loss of the Prussian supplies at Naumburg had left most of the troops without provisions. Many of the soldiers had eaten nothing for the last two days, and Blücher's cavalry had to go without fodder. Early in the morning, while Napoleon was attacking at Jena, General Schmettau was sent forward to secure the mountain passes of Koesen. The Prussian squadrons found they were too late. Fighting began at Hassenhausen. Hidden under a heavy mist, the French vanguard appeared as a formidable army, the more so since the French infantry, forming in squares, fought off the first fierce onslaughts of the Prussian cavalry. In the fog and confusion, several batteries of Prussian horse artillery were ditched. The main body of the Prussian cavalry under Blücher now tried a general assault, but in the haze their horses were hindered by the roughness of the country. The incessant fire of the French

skirmishers created havoc among them. They never got within sabre-reach of the French. In the confusion some squadrons came under the fire of the Prussian batteries posted on their flank. They raised a cry of treason and galloped to the rear.

On the extreme right the Prussian dragoons succeeded in flanking the French, but the Prussian infantry was so slow to follow that Davoust had time to throw his reserves under Morand into the intrenched village of Hassenhausen. Here the French held off the Prussian infantry. At last the fog lifted and the generals on both sides could see how the battle stood. The Duke of Brunswick brought some field batteries into action, but their scanty ammunition gave out. In exasperation, the aged field-marshal ordered a general assault, and himself took the lead. Riding at the head of the famous regiment of which the late Prince Louis had been the colonel, the old general could be seen by the entire battle front charging into the French. The whole Prussian line followed. Their vanguard got into the village, but were shot to pieces in the churchyard. In the thick of the charge the Duke of Brunswick fell, shot through the head. At this point, Davoust made a counter-attack with all his cavalry. The Prussians broke and fell back under a heavy artillery fire. At Auerstädt they came to a standstill, and the reserves were called into battle. It was nearly noon. The King of Prussia himself assumed command. As he rode through the lines the Prussian ranks raised a cheer and rallied.

Davoust's third division, under Friant, was trying to outflank the Prussians on the left near Poppel. Past this village ran the highway to Weimar, the Prussian line of retreat. The King took alarm and threw his reserves under Arnim in the direction of Poppel. This weakened the Prussian line at Auerstädt. Davoust drew his two remaining divisions together, and, shattering the Prussian brigades, seized their

position at Auerstädt. The centre of the battle shifted to Poppel. Here the Prussian rearguard stood its ground, while the bulk of the army retreated toward Weimar. The French tried to storm the hills on the other side of Auerstädt, but were repulsed by a murderous fire from the heights. The Prussians followed up their success by a bayonet charge and threw the French back into Auerstädt. But the King was anxious to reach Weimar, hoping there to join forces with his centre and right under Ruechel and Hohenlohe. Of their terrible fate he knew nothing. So orders were given to retreat, and fall back on Weimar. At Weimar, the Prussian battalions, fleeing from two battlefields, were mixed up in inextricable confusion. Darkness came. It brought no relief to the vanquished. From both sides the French pursuers were upon them. Marauders from their own ranks seized the transport wagons and increased the horror of the night by their drunken excesses. The Prussian King with his staff narrowly escaped Murat's dragoons. He fled in the gloom of the night, plunging through forests and rivers, until, utterly worn out, he found a safe retreat at Charlottenburg. From there he fled toward the Russian frontier.

In this disastrous twofold battle, the Prussians lost 20,000 killed and wounded, and 30,000 prisoners, with 260 guns. Twenty-six of their general officers were taken. The Duke of Brunswick and General Schmettau were killed. Prince Henry of Prussia and General Ruechel were severely wounded. The French losses, according to their official reports, were 1,100 killed and 3,000 wounded. Among their killed were one brigadier-general and nine colonels.

Napoleon raised Marshal Davoust to the rank of Duke of Auerstädt. To honor him still more, he made a public promise to him that he and his troops should be the first to

enter Berlin. Davoust rejoined: "Sire, the soldiers of the third corps will always be to you what the tenth legion was to Cæsar."

While the shattered divisions of the Prussian army were driven along the Elbe, to fall a prey to their pursuers one by one, Napoleon established his headquarters at Weimar. Weimar, with the other Saxon States, was spared. To the captive Saxon officers, Napoleon said: "I wish to see your country rescued from its humiliating dependence upon Prussia. I am ready on my part to give you a pledge of my disposition toward you by setting you all at liberty, and by sparing Saxony. All I require of you is your promise no more to bear arms against France."

October 28 General Mollendorf, with his fleeing corps of 16,000 Prussians, surrendered to Murat. Among the prisoners were Prince August of Prussia, the Prince of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and General Tauenzien. Later the prisoners were liberated by a bold charge of hussars led by Lieutenant von Hellwig. On the same day Berlin was taken. Napoleon, riding in his faded gray cloak at the head of his resplendent marshals, made a triumphal entry into the city. He established himself at the royal palace, where the apartments of Queen Louise had been left in disorder. He visited the tomb of Frederick the Great. The sword of Frederick, suspended above the tomb, was placed in his hand. Napoleon regarded it thoughtfully and said: "I would not exchange this sword of Frederick for millions. I will send it to the Invalides. My old soldiers will regard with religious reverence a trophy which has belonged to the most illustrious captains of history." General Rapp suggested that Napoleon keep it himself. The Emperor gave his aid a look, and said haughtily: "Have I not a sword of my own?" All the memorial standards taken from the French and Austrians in the Seven Years' War were shipped to France, together with

the stone column that commemorated Frederick's victory over the French at Rossbach.

While Napoleon was at Berlin, Count Hatzfeld, the governor of the city, got into trouble through clandestine correspondence with the absent king. Napoleon ordered him to be shot, but pardoned him when the condemned man's wife threw herself at his feet. Heinrich von Buelow, who had counseled against the war, was delivered to the Russians, whom he hated, and was beaten to death by his Cossack escort.

A fortnight later the 13,000 Prussian reserves were scattered by Bernadotte at Halle, and were driven into the strong city of Magdeburg. There Von Kleist capitulated to Ney. The town of Erfurt surrendered next with 14,000 men. The stronghold of Kustrin fell without a blow. Blücher and York at Lübeck and Radkan, after sustaining a fierce siege until hand-to-hand fighting occurred in the streets, were forced into submission. Of the Prussian army of 150,000, only L'Estocque's division of 15,000 remained. They crossed the frontier to join the Russian army approaching through Poland.

Northern Germany, from the Rhine to the Oder, lay at the feet of the conqueror. Napoleon called for a war indemnity of 150,000,000 francs from Prussia and her German allies. The dominions of Hanover, Hesse, and Brunswick were forcibly annexed to France. From Berlin, Napoleon issued a decree prohibiting all intercourse with Great Britain. Englishmen and English property wherever found were to be seized. The harsh provisions of this decree, so Napoleon declared, "should be regarded as a fundamental law of the French Empire and her allies, till England recognized the law of war to be one and the same by sea and by land, and in no case applicable to private property or to individuals not bearing arms, and until she consented

to restrict the right of blockade to fortified places actually invested by a sufficient force." The issue of this decree caused consternation in the commercial centres of the Continent. Deputations were sent to Napoleon from Hamburg and other seaports. They informed Napoleon that "these measures would involve them in universal bankruptcy and banish commerce from the Continent." He replied: "So much the better. The bankruptcies in England will be more numerous and you will be less able to trade with her." As it turned out, the decree could not be enforced sufficiently to make it effective. The world owes to this decree the extraction of sugar from beet-root, invented by a Frenchman, to take the place of the cane sugar grown in the British colonies. The decree of Berlin was followed by another authorizing the levy of 80,000 new conscripts in France, to form a national guard. On November 25 Napoleon hastened to the province of Posen to arouse Poland against the Russians. Some 60,000 Polish peasants rose in arms. Russia issued a formal declaration of war. At the same time the Sultan of Turkey, inspired by the French ambassador, sent a Turkish army as if against Russia to the Lower Danube. The Russians had to detach 80,000 men to meet the new danger, and the Austrian army of observation likewise turned eastward. Austria had reason to feel concerned, for the Ottoman Empire then, as so often after this, seemed on the verge of dissolution. The Russians, under Michaelson, were overrunning Moldavia, Bessarabia, and Wallachia, after they had occupied Bucharest. The Servians, under Czerny Georgos, had driven the Turks from their land and laid siege to Belgrade. Egypt was in a state of anarchy. Mecca and Medina were in the hands of the Wachabees. Bagdad had become independent. A French army lay in wait in Dalmatia, and a British squadron of seven men-of-war under Admiral Louis

was cruising in the Dardanelles. In Constantinople the Janizaries were so discontented over the introduction of European tactics in the Turkish army that a palace revolt was regarded as imminent. Yet Turkey somehow managed to survive.

During the last days of November, Napoleon began his advance against the Russians. Bennigsen's column of 60,000 was pushed back on Pultusk. Ney and Bernadotte's divisions moved eastward over the river Weichsel or Vistula. Davoust and Lannes occupied Warsaw and swung their divisions northward. In the centre, the divisions of Soult and Augereau advanced amid constant skirmishes as far as Golymin. Lannes's corps pushed on to Pultusk to cut off the Russians from the Narev. Soult and Bernadotte were to intercept a possible Russian retreat on Ostrolenka. On Christmas Day the Russian right wing became engaged with Bernadotte's forces at Moehrungen and was pushed back under heavy losses on both sides. Bernadotte's attempt to outflank the Russians failed.

The next day Lannes attacked Bennigsen's centre at Pultusk, thirteen leagues north of Warsaw. Simultaneously Napoleon sent the divisions of Augereau with Murat's cavalry against the Russians under Buxhovden at Golymin, six leagues away. The Russians stood their ground so well that the fight at Golymin lasted all day, with heavy losses on both sides. General Rapp, Napoleon's aide-de-camp, was severely wounded. In the end the Russians retreated in good order. At Pultusk equally bitter fighting on both sides only resulted in a drawn battle. For eight long hours Lannes's veterans had to sustain the murderous fire of the Russians while standing in a deep morass. Lannes himself succumbed to the strain and had to relinquish the command. At nightfall Bennigsen took the Russian army across the Narev without serious hindrance from the French. After this double disap-

pointment, Napoleon's army went into winter quarters. The closing days of the year brought famine and wretchedness to the French soldiers camping on the frozen marshes. Bad weather made the roads impassable for the transport wagons. The Russians had destroyed everything for miles around, so that food and provender were very scarce. The distress was so great that a number of the starving soldiers committed suicide. Napoleon betook himself to Warsaw. There the Polish nobles and patriots gave him an enthusiastic welcome as their deliverer. One of the first to greet him was Countess Valevska, a Polish beauty. Her efforts to win the French Emperor to her country's cause ended in a love affair. She was induced to follow Napoleon from camp to camp, and finally to Paris. Later she bore him a son, Alexander, who distinguished himself under the Second Empire. Yet Napoleon gave a deaf ear to all entreaties for Poland. "I like the Poles," he said; "their enthusiasm pleases me. I should like to make them an independent people; but when the match is kindled who knows where the conflagration may stop? My first duty is toward France. I must not sacrifice her interests for Poland. In short, we must refer the matter to the universal sovereign—Time." It is doubtful, at best, whether Napoleon ever intended to free Poland. At that time he could not afford to arouse the enmity of Austria, with her army of observation in his rear.

EVENTS OF 1807

England Retaliates upon France by Restricting American Commerce with Her and Her Allies—And Estranges America—Internal Development of the United States—Abolition of Slave Trade by Congress Reveals Strength of Slave-Holding Sentiment—Burr is Acquitted of Treason—Sanhedrim Aligns Jews in Civil Matters with Modern Progress—Napoleon Defeats Russia at Eylau and Ostrolenka—British Squadron Driven from the Bosphorus—Dantzic Capitulates—Sweden is Forced to a Truce—Hard Fought Campaign for Possession of the Fortress of Koenigsberg is Won by Napoleon in Crushing Defeat of Russians at Friedland—Peace of Tilsit Attaches Russia to France as Ally and Crushes Prussia—Hard Times in France—Literature and Trade Flourish in England—Canning Fights Napoleon with His Own Weapons—America Humiliated by the Forcible Search of the "Chesapeake"—Denmark Humiliated by Bombardment of Copenhagen—British "Orders in Council" Cause America to Prepare for War—Fulton Exhibits Submarine Torpedo with Partial Success in America, England, and France—His Steamboat "Clermont" a Thorough Success—Garnerin Successfully Inflates Balloon with Hydrogen Gas—Minister Stein Effects Great Reforms in Prussia—Napoleon Intrigues with Spain against Portugal—He Conquers Portugal—American Congress Passes Non-Importation and Embargo Acts in Retaliation for French and English Blockades.

THE new year opened with international commerce at the mercy of the two most powerful nations—France and England—now locked in deadly conflict. On January 7 the British Ministry responded to Napoleon with a retaliatory measure. The bill related that King George "felt himself bound to retort upon the French the evils of their own injustice, and therefore has ordered that no vessel shall be permitted to trade from one port to another, both which ports shall belong to or be in possession of France or her allies." This bill proved a blow to American commerce. It deprived American ships of the right to sail from one European port to another. The bill, though drafted by a Whig Minister, was really a concession to King George and Tory prejudices. It was the last important measure of Grenville's so-called Ministry of "all the talents"

—a Ministry on the whole more liberal than England was destined to see for a generation.

As an immediate result of this bill, the United States, which, because of the many points of common interest and racial affinity had been drawing close to England, were estranged from her. Jefferson repudiated the new treaty concluded by Monroe and Pinckney without even submitting it to Congress. For the moment, however, he was too engrossed in internal affairs to take any decisive act. "The present administration," said he, "has taken up a new system of defence—it is that of saving the public money. This system is new and was not known in Federal times. We have not gone on increasing taxes like our predecessors." This was the truth. With the help of Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, the administration had succeeded in paying off twenty-four millions of debts. Still the revenues grew. Eppes, of Virginia, the President's son-in-law, said in Congress, "If there is any principle which ought to be hooted at in a Republican government, it is that to preserve peace we should be prepared for war. Sir, it is this very principle which is the source of all the miseries of Europe."

In his message to Congress, Jefferson called for a broad system of internal improvements, a national system of roads and canals, a national university, and the organization of a national militia to replace the regular army. The most striking feature of his message was the proposed abolition of all slave trade. "I congratulate you, fellow-citizens, on the approach of the period when you may interpose your authority constitutionally to withdraw as citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of human rights which have been so long continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation, and the best interests of our country have long been eager to proscribe."

It was a reform worthy of the new spirit of the age. In England, Parliament at this very time was debating a bill to put a stop to all slave trading with Africa. In Russia, Emperor Alexander freed the Russian serfs in the Baltic provinces. Jefferson's proposed prohibition of the slave trade threw a vivid light on those sectional differences in America, which were destined to lead to secession and civil war. Under the act, a cargo of a forfeited vessel was to be sold on behalf of the United States Government. The cargo of a slave ship consisted of negroes. Rather than see this done, Sloan of New Jersey offered an amendment in Congress that every forfeited negro should be entitled to freedom. Upon this amendment a debate arose which waxed exceeding hot. The Southern representatives, almost to a man, opposed it. It was further embittered by a motion of Smiley of Pennsylvania to make the importation of negroes a felony punishable by death. "All the people in the Southern States are concerned in slaves," retorted Early, the chairman of the committee in charge of the bill. "By them it is not considered as criminal. I will tell the truth—a large majority of the people in the Southern States do not consider slavery as even an evil." The Quaker amendment was rejected by a majority of ten. Bidwell of Massachusetts next moved, "That no person shall be sold as a slave by virtue of this act." On this amendment the House of Representatives tied, and the Speaker by his vote threw out the amendment. When other similar amendments were proposed, Randolph of Virginia made this significant statement in behalf of the South: "Lest, at a future period, it might be made a pretext of universal emancipation, I had rather lose all the bill, I had rather lose all the bills of the session, I had rather lose all the bills passed since the establishment of the Government, than agree to the provisions contained in this slave bill. If ever the time of disunion between these States should arrive, the line of sev-

erance will not be between Eastern and Western, but between slave-holding and non-slave-holding States. All that I ask is that the North shall remain neutral, that it shall not erect itself into an abolition society." Yet the bill prohibiting the slave trade went through. President Jefferson approved the measure.

The opposition against Jefferson's administration was largely strengthened by this. The proceedings against Burr, now pending in the United States courts, helped to place Jefferson in an awkward position. The conspiracy of Burr had been a mere episode amid many more vital questions that stirred the American people. While New Orleans was convulsed by Burr's attempted *coup d'état* in that city, the rest of the country refused to believe that the former Vice-President was so insane as to expect a dissolution of the Union. For this general apathy Jefferson himself was largely responsible. He had long belittled the importance of Burr's conspiracy and he permitted General Wilkinson to remain in command of the American army after it had become evident that this general suffered himself to become involved in Burr's schemes. Wilkinson saved himself by turning against Burr. By supporting Wilkinson, Jefferson lost the last support of such men as John Randolph and Chief Justice Marshall. From the first arraignment of Burr in January, until the last day of his trial at Richmond in October, the proceedings against Burr seemed a matter of secondary importance compared with the discomfiture of the President of the United States. Burr, who was himself no mean lawyer, was defended by the ablest counsel of the American bar, led by Edmund Randolph, Washington's Attorney-General. From the very outset Chief-Justice Marshall decided against the Government. In one of his early opinions he blamed the administration for neglect of duty: "To the Executive Government is intrusted the important power of prosecution of those whose

crimes may disturb the public repose or endanger its safety. Several months have elapsed since this attempt occurred—if it did occur. More than five weeks have passed since the opinion of the Supreme Court has declared the necessity of proving the fact if it exists. Why is it not proved?" Jefferson's reply to this censure from the Supreme Bench gives a glimpse of the general condition of the country in those days. "In what terms of decency can we speak of this? As if an express could go to Natchez or the mouth of the Cumberland and return in five weeks, to do which has never taken less than twelve!" Chief-Justice Marshall's ruling, that the President of the United States could be subpœnaed in court as a witness, stung Jefferson to the quick. He wrote to the District Attorney: "The leading feature of our Constitution is the independence of the legislative, executive, and judiciary of each other; and none are more jealous of this than the judiciary. But would the executive be independent of the judiciary if he were subject to the commands of the latter and to imprisonment for disobedience?" The judge upon the bench retorted cuttingly: "It is apparent that the President's duties as chief magistrate do not demand his whole time and are not unremitting." Justice Marshall appointed John Randolph, Jefferson's political opponent, as clerk of the grand jury. Randolph made every effort to fasten Burr's guilt on Wilkinson, but failed. The motion to indict Wilkinson was lost in the grand jury room by a bare majority of two. Randolph wrote in a letter: "Perhaps you never saw human nature in so degraded a situation as in the person of Wilkinson before the grand jury. And yet the man stands on the very summit and pinnacle of executive favor, while James Monroe is denounced." Throughout the trial feeling ran very high, especially in Richmond and the South. "As I was crossing the court-house green to the Eagle Tavern," wrote an eye-witness, "I heard a great noise

of haranguing some distance off. Inquiring what it was, I was told it was a great blackguard from Tennessee, one Andrew Jackson, making a speech for Burr, and damning Jefferson." Finally Judge Marshall struck the prosecution dumb by a ruling which excluded the testimony of Blennerhassett against Burr: "Because such testimony, being in its nature merely corroborative and incompetent to prove the overt act in itself, is irrelevant until there be proof of the overt act by two witnesses." After this ruling of the court, the prosecution abandoned the case and the jury entered a verdict of not guilty.

Jefferson made elaborate preparations to impeach the Supreme Court, but, in truth, nothing was to be feared. The days of Jefferson's power and glory were passing, while Marshall was only at the threshold of his illustrious legal career.

In Paris, questions of lasting importance were settled by the great Sanhedrim, a convention of seventy-one Jewish rabbis and notables which sat for over a year under the leadership of David Sinzheim and Furtado. As a result of their deliberations they issued a rescript for Jewish guidance in the spring of 1807. The Mosaic dispensation, while recognized as absolute in religious matters, was declared inapplicable to mundane affairs, since the Jews had ceased to exist as a nation. Polygamous marriage as practiced by the patriarchs was forbidden. Marriages between Christians and Jews were recognized. Jews called to military service were exempted from religious observances conflicting with military duty. Usury, in particular, was denounced as a crime against law and religion.

Napoleon had been held in check in his winter quarters on the distant Vistula. His soldiers found themselves in a worse situation than ever before. The winter was severe and the wretched state of the impoverished country made campaigning atrocious. All supplies had to be brought from in-

terminable distances and over roads that were all but impassable. In Silesia, the Prussian strongholds of Breslau, Brieg, and Schweidnitz had to be reduced by long sieges. The Russians under the command of Bennigsen held their ground tenaciously. By the end of January, Marshal Ney's corps had suffered so severely that he resolved to strike northward for better winter quarters at Koenigsberg. A Prussian division of 10,000 under L'Estocque stood in his way. At the news of Ney's movement, Bennigsen marched his whole army out of cantonments. He hoped to overwhelm Ney's 12,000 men with his 56,000 Russians. Napoleon at once broke up his winter quarters at Warsaw and marched, with his guards and the divisions of Soult, Augereau, and Davoust. Bernadotte, who stood at Elbig, received his marching orders too late to fall into line. The corps of veterans, hitherto commanded by Lannes, was left behind to cover the banks of the Narev. Bennigsen, finding his flank threatened, had to give up his pursuit of Ney, nor could he prevent the latter from getting in touch with the French main army. The Prussian column, engaged with Ney's forces, remained detached. On February 7 Bennigsen gathered all his available forces to withstand the French at Eylau. The first to arrive were Murat's cavalry and some of Soult's mounted squadrons. Together they attacked the Russian line and captured Prussian Eylau. At nightfall a solid mass of Russian infantry stormed the town with the bayonet and sent the French squadrons flying. Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg tells in his memoirs how hideously the raucous battle cry of the Tobolski regiment rang in his ears during that night. Under cover of the darkness the main army with Napoleon came up and ranged itself in battle line. The divisions of Ney and Soult formed the left wing, while Augereau with the guards and Murat's cavalry behind them held the centre. Davoust's columns marching overnight were to form

the right wing. It was a dark night and bitterly cold. Eylau lay on a slight rise of land extending two or three miles, skirted by a vast bleak plain on which the snow blew in drifts. Upon the ridge the Russians posted all their artillery and the bulk of their infantry, 80,000 strong. Before them in the plain 70,000 Frenchmen bivouacked in the snow. At midnight Napoleon snatched an hour's sleep on a camp-stool. Before dawn he made his last dispositions.

The battle opened on both sides with prolonged artillery fire at pointblank range. The effects of this cannonade were fearful. Whole regiments of St. Hilaire's corps were mowed down by grape-shot. The Twenty-fourth French regiment of the line, consisting of 3,600 veterans under Colonel Semèle, was wiped out. Napoleon and his guard established themselves in the churchyard of Eylau. From there Napoleon ordered the corps of St. Hilaire and Augereau to lead the advance against the Russian left. Marshal Augereau, shaking with fever, had himself strapped to his horse and galloped up the slope at the head of his division. In the face of a blinding blizzard the French standards were lost to sight among the whirling snowflakes. During the storm, which lasted three-quarters of an hour, Augereau's columns missed its objective. Napoleon ordered Murat to ride to their rescue with some of his squadrons. Suddenly there was a rift in the storm. From all sides the Russians fell upon Augereau's stray columns. The Frenchmen were shot down with grape and canister and fell a prey to the spears of the Cossacks. Marshal Augereau went down with his horse, and his troops fell all around him. The Fourteenth Regiment of the line, rallying to its standard, was cut down almost to a man. Through the struggling mass dashed the yellow hussars of Novgorod. They cut their way up to the very wall of the graveyard in which Napoleon stood watching the battle through his field-glass. "Save the Emperor!" cried the mem-

bers of his staff as they scrambled on their horses. But Napoleon did not stir. At an order from him, the Old Guard, under their colonel, Dorsenne, threw themselves between their Emperor and the Russians and broke the force of the cavalry attack. At the same instant Napoleon's scarlet horseguards swooped down on the Russian hussars and carried them down the hill in a running fight. General Corbineau was killed by a shell while he was receiving orders from the Emperor.

At this point Murat thundered into the breach with eighty squadrons of cavalry. Colonel Hautpoul, who led the charge, was the first to fall. This assault of 10,000 troopers in full career has remained one of the famous traditions of the French army. As a strategic manœuvre it can not be pronounced a success. All it did was to bring the battle to a standstill! At least such is the verdict of Prince Alexander of Wurtemberg, who saw it with his own eyes. In and about the town of Eylau, the fighting was so fierce that the Russians used the bodies of the dead for barricades. Marshal Murat and his chief lieutenant, Count Lasalle, had to fight for their lives, sabre in hand. Fighting from street to street and from house to house, the French at last succeeded in retaking Eylau.

On the right, Davoust drove the Russians from Serpallen to Saussgarten, and thence as far back as the village of Kuschitten. There he was stopped short by the sudden appearance of a division of Prussians under L'Estocque, who had succeeded in rejoining the Russian main army despite Ney's diversion. With bugles blowing and drums beating, the Prussians threw themselves into the fight and drove back Davoust's division. At nightfall Ney's detachments came up on the road from Schmodetten just in time to stop the retrograde movement of the French right wing. It was dark, and the snowy plain was strewn with the dead and dying. As

Marshal Ney rode upon the battlefield he shuddered and said: "What a massacre—and without any issue."

It was in truth a drawn battle. The French army had suffered so fearfully that Napoleon could not have kept his positions any length of time before a resolute foe. As it turned out, he prevailed by dint of sheer tenacity. General Bennigsen, in disregard of the entreaties of General Knorring and Tolstoy, who wished to renew the fight on the morrow, fell back during the night. In the face of this voluntary retreat of the enemy, the weakened French forces were yet in a mood to fall back across the Vistula. On the day after the battle, Napoleon wrote: "It was a very bloody affair. The field of battle remained in our hands. Though a great many men were killed on both sides, our situation renders my loss the more sensible. . . . It is possible that in order to get quiet winter quarters I shall remove to the left bank of the Vistula."

Some idea of the frightful loss of human life on both sides can be gained from the official report of Chief Surgeon Larrey of the French army. In the space of one square league, the surgeons counted more than 10,000 dead soldiers and the carcasses of 5,000 horses. Forty-eight hours after the battle, there were still upward of 5,000 wounded Russians lying unattended on the snow. The wounded had to be carried on long trains of sledges to the field hospitals at Thorn. The French surgeons observed with astonishment that long exposure to cold did not seem to affect the wounded Russians. The extent of the losses was never accurately stated. A German historian estimates them at 40,000, including subsequent deaths from wound fever. At the time, both Bennigsen and Napoleon issued misleading bulletins to bolster up their claims to victory. One of Napoleon's bulletins assigning the credit for the victory to the Emperor's brother-in-law, Marshal Murat, gave rise to much discontent

in the French ranks. Marshals Lannes and Augereau, the sorely wounded, dared to give voice to these murmurings, and were sent to the rear in disgrace.

One week after the battle of Eylau there was another bloody fight at Ostrolenka between the Prussian General Von Essen on one side and Generals Suchet and Oudineau on the other. Thanks to their better manœuvring, the French won and drove the Prussians back from the banks of the Narev. Here, too, the losses were out of all proportion to the gain. General Suvarov, a brother of the famous Russian field-marshal, was killed, and the French lost General Campana and two colonels. The Cossacks, under their fiery hetmans, rescued a number of their wounded, and were in turn taken prisoners. When Napoleon learned of the combat and the casualties it entailed, he ordered the fifth army corps to cease active operations. The Russians retreated in good order to Koenigsberg, though Murat's cavalry followed them almost to the walls of the city. Under stress of the severe winter weather, both armies went into cantonments and waited for spring.

The ninth and tenth corps of the French army alone continued their operations in Silesia. With the aid of the Poles, the Prussians were driven into their strongholds. The French invested Sweidnitz, Kosel, Neiss, Graudenz, Colberg, Stralsund, and Dantzig. Had Bennigsen been equal to a diversion with his Russian army at Koenigsberg, effective siege operations against these cities would have been impossible. Without such interference, Marshal Lefebvre was able to concentrate 30,000 men around Dantzig. At the same time Napoleon ordered new levies of troops from Poland, Germany, Holland, Spain, and France. Little Switzerland even had to furnish 16,000 men under pain of forfeiture of all her treaty rights. An excuse for these additional armaments was furnished by the attitude of England. The suc-

cessful resistance of the Turks to Michaelson's Russian army on the Danube induced England to make a demonstration in that direction. Admiral Duckworth's fleet was called from the coast of Spain to the Dardanelles to give weight to the remonstrance of Ambassador Arbuthnot in Constantinople. On February 28 Arbuthnot insisted on the dismissal of General Sebastiani, Napoleon's envoy to the Sublime Porte. On the Sultan's refusal, Arbuthnot joined the British fleet, and war was declared. Duckworth sailed through the Dardanelles and anchored off the Sultan's palace in the Bosphorus. The British admiral was held off by pretended negotiations inspired by Sebastiani. Presently he found that heavy batteries had been mounted against him, under the fire of which he was compelled to leave the Bosphorus and sail once more through the Dardanelles. The British squadron had to sustain a heavy fire from the strong shore batteries at the Straits, aided by Turkish ships anchored there. The Turks lost one line-of-battle ship, four frigates, three corvettes, and one brig. The English suffered only in their rigging and complements. Altogether, forty-two British sailors were killed and two hundred and thirty-five were wounded. The British squadron sailed to Egypt and took the city of Alexandria.

It was now the immediate object of Napoleon to secure complete command of the countries he had overrun. To do this he had to reduce the Prussian fortresses that still held out on the Vistula and the Oder. The Russians, determined to harass the French in every way, engaged them in a series of sharp actions. On February 26 a Russian detachment of 10,000 marched against Braunsberg, the most advanced of the French cantonments. General Dupont of Bernadotte's division met the Russian attack. At the point of the bayonet the Cossacks were repulsed and thrown over the river Parsarge. Two thousand of them were taken prisoners, with sixteen guns. On February 24 Baron Korff next occupied the

town of Peterswald with a Russian column. General Leger Belair, hastening thither, attacked the town at daybreak and defeated the Russians in a sharp fight. General Korff surrendered with his staff and a full battalion of his guard. After the affairs of Peterswald and Braunsberg, Napoleon moved his headquarters from Osterode to the Castle of Finckenstein, that he might be nearer to Graudenz and Dantzic. Some idea of the hardships of the winter there may be gathered from this letter of Napoleon to his brother Joseph at Naples: "The officers of our staff have not undressed for these two months, and some not for four months past. I myself have been a fortnight without taking off my boots. We are amid snow and mud. Without wine or bread, eating potatoes and mule flesh, making long marches and countermarches without any kind of comfort, we fight in general with bayonets and under grape. The wounded have to be carried in sledges, exposed to the cold, two hundred miles away." While thus engaged, Napoleon received the news of the death of his little nephew, Charles Napoleon, a son of Louis and Hortense, whom he had wished to make his heir. The siege of the Prussian cities was pursued with relentless vigor. Troops were brought from as far as Spain, and heavy artillery was dragged over hundreds of miles. Graudenz and Colberg, under the gallant command of L'Homme de Courvière, a French refugee, and Gneisenau, an old-fashioned Prussian soldier, held out until the bitter end. Count Kalkreuth, with the flower of the Prussian army at Dantzic, showed himself less sturdy. The old Hanseatic city was defended by double rows of fortifications, ditches, and inundations, with the Fort of Weichselmunde on the other side of the harbor. The garrison numbered 18,000 men. On March 8 the siege was begun, and was conducted through sixty-five days under the skilful leadership of the French military engineers Chasseloup and Larevoisiere. On April 24 the

French, having assembled all their artillery, commenced the bombardment. After sustaining a heavy fire for several days, the garrison made a sortie, but were beaten back in three successive attempts to rush the French parallels. King William of Prussia and Grandduke Constantine determined to relieve the city by sea. Accordingly, two Russian divisions embarked in a fleet of sixty-six transports at Pillau. Napoleon, hearing of this, sent his reserves under Lannes to reenforce Lefebvre before Dantzig. By a forced march from Marienburg, the French managed to arrive on the day that the Russians were landed at Weichselmunde. On May 15 the Russians attacked a French detachment of General Schramm that was holding a fort opposite Weichselmunde. In a hard fight lasting several hours, the Russians were thrown back into Weichselmunde by a combined attack of the French forces under Marshals Lefebvre and Lannes. Simultaneously with this stroke at Dantzig, the whole length of the Russian line facing Napoleon demonstrated against the French outposts stationed on the Alle, Parsarge, Vistula, Narev, Boug, and at Ostrolenka. They were repulsed at all points. The British brigantine "Dauntless," which attempted to sail into the harbor of Dantzig with Russian and Prussian officers aboard, came under the fire of the French batteries and musketry, and had to surrender. An attack on the strong French post at Pultusk, undertaken by a column of 6,000 Russians under General Turkov, likewise failed. On April 19 the French proceeded with all their forces to make a combined assault on Dantzig. In the face of this movement, General Kalkreuth agreed to capitulate the city on condition that the whole garrison be paroled with all the honors of war. On May 27 the Prussians marched out of the city 9,000 strong, with General Kalkreuth at their head. All the rich stores and eight hundred pieces of artillery fell to the French. Napoleon was able to distribute one

million bottles of wine among his soldiers. The Russian garrison at Weichselmunde followed suit with a surrender at discretion. The fleet that had brought them escaped to Pillau with General Kaminskoi, the Russian lieutenant-general. Owing to the advance of a Swedish army under General von Essen, and an English expedition under General Clinton, the siege of Stralsund had to be raised by the French. They were forced to evacuate Swedish Pomerania. During their retreat the French lost 3,000 prisoners, among them twenty officers. The Swedes pursued so hotly that they extended their line too far, and were caught at a disadvantage after crossing the river Pirne. Marshal Mortier suddenly turned on them with his division and seized the bridges. Two Swedish posts were overthrown and a third column under General Cardell was cut off. General Kronfeld, a Swedish commander-in-chief, was wounded by grape-shot. The next day a detached column was overwhelmed at Neckarmunde, and another Swedish post at Demnin was captured. Seventeen hundred prisoners were taken, together with seven guns. The Swedes had to fall back over the Pirne. General Kronfeld, finding himself at the mercy of the French, entered into an armistice, by which the Swedes bound themselves not to give further succor to the allies. On April 29 it was agreed between Von Essen and Marshal Mortier that the truce should hold for one month. The King of Sweden, on news of this, hastened to Stralsund. General Kronfeld, who concluded the first truce, had to resign his commission. But General Von Essen was made Governor-General of Pomerania and the terms remained in force.

After the opening of spring, when the ice of the rivers had melted, and the roads became passable, Bennigsen grew restless in his intrenched camp at Heilsberg, near Koenigsberg. He gave up his wise policy of harassing the French advance lines and took the offensive. As once before, he

could not resist risking a descent upon Ney's exposed position. Ney's corps occupied an isolated advance post at Gutstadt in the midst of screening forests. On June 5 the Russians suddenly advanced on several points at once. Two of these attacks, at Spandau and Lomitten, were only feints to hold off the detachments of Bernadotte and Soult but the third at Bergfried was a bold manœuvre to cut off Ney's corps from the rest of the French army. The Russian columns under Sacken and Gortshakov did their part so clumsily that Ney was able to beat a steady retreat, contesting point by point until he reached Deppen. There, in a masterly rear action, he made his way across the Parsarge.

Having lost this battle, the Russians had to retrograde in their turn. The bulk of the French army was marching to drive them back, and their right was already outflanked. Bennigsen fell back on his camp at Heilsberg, where he lay strongly intrenched on both sides of the Alle. Here he resolved to give battle. On June 10 the advance troops of Soult, Lannes, Davoust, and Murat's cavalry debouched before the camp. They did not advance to the attack until late that evening. Soult's corps was the first to assail. It was beaten back by a murderous fire from the Russian trenches. The successive assaults of Murat and Lannes fared no better. General Le Grand, who threw one of his regiments into a redoubt, was so overwhelmed with grape that he had to give up his advantage. The fight lasted far into the night. At last the French gave it up. The next morning it was found that nearly 10,000 Frenchmen had fallen before the Russian trenches. Soult's corps in particular suffered enormous losses. The Russian casualties were comparatively light. Napoleon abandoned further frontal attacks on Heilsberg, and started to outflank Bennigsen and make a rush for Koenigsberg. To do so he had to risk seeing his communications cut off, but he reckoned rightly, for when Bennigsen learned that the

French were streaming past his flanks, he burned all his bridges over the Alle and broke up camp at Heilsberg. Both armies made for Koenigsberg, descending the river on either bank. For three days they marched thus in parallel columns. The Prussians under L'Estocque reached Koenigsberg first, though harassed on their flank by the vanguards of Murat and Davoust. Behind these marshals came the divisions of Soult and Lannes, followed in turn by the corps of Mortier, Ney, and Napoleon's guard. Bernadotte's division, under the temporary command of General Victor, brought up the French rear. Napoleon's only desire was to take Koenigsberg before Bennigsen could find refuge there. The prospect for this was fair, since the Russians, on the other side of the Alle, were marching on a road that followed all the windings of the river. Bennigsen, on the other hand, could count on reaching Koenigsberg in time to prevent a premature capitulation of that city by the Prussians. Napoleon felt no apprehensions that his long-drawn-out column might be attacked en route, since the Russians to do so were bound to cross the river. Yet Napoleon took the precaution to order Lannes's troops to cover Friedland and Wehlau, the only points at which the Russians could cross for an attack. Bennigsen, too, had his eye on those points. He feared that the French, in their turn, might there attack his left flank and cut him off from the Pregel and Koenigsberg. By crossing first, he hoped he might catch the long-extended French line unawares, and roll up Lannes's vanguard upon the rest of the army.

On the evening of June 13 a strong detachment of Cossacks crossed the river, and riding into Friedland drove out an advance outpost of French hussars, who had ridden into the town. At three o'clock in the morning the Russians crossed the river. So much time was spent in marching the various columns over the bridges that half of the Russian

artillery was left behind. As a consequence, Bennigsen's first attack, instead of overwhelming Lannes's detached division by one stroke, was carried out but feebly. A fraction of the Russian army only came into play, and Lannes was able to prolong the fight. The French veterans hastily intrenched themselves at Posthenen, and fought like lions against overwhelming odds. Marshal Lannes, recognizing the danger of the position, sent despatch after despatch to the Emperor, ten miles away. Napoleon thought, at first, that the attack on Lannes was merely a Russian demonstration to safeguard the river crossing against the French. He could not believe Bennigsen capable of jeopardizing the whole of his army in such a place. Yet he sent orders to all the nearest columns, marching parallel with him, to press on to Friedland. While he hastened to the scene with the Old Guard, Ney's division and Mortier's corps, with Grouchy's Polish cavalry, had already come to Lannes's assistance and established themselves at Heinrichsdorf. There they were hard pressed. The Russians bore in on the French at every point. It was afternoon when the Emperor with his staff galloped into Posthenen. General Oudinot, his face black with powder, rode up on his bleeding horse and cried, "Make haste, sire! My grenadiers are at the last point." Napoleon rode up to the crest of the hill and overlooked the field. When he saw the Russians hemmed in by a bend of the river, and thought of his own divisions marching up on every side, a gleam of joy lighted up his features. "This is the 14th of June," he said; "the anniversary of Marengo." Then he dictated his dispositions for the battle as he would have done at the beginning of the combat. It was in reality a second battle that was about to begin. One of his officers ventured to suggest a postponement of the attack until all the French troops had arrived. "No, no!" retorted Napoleon, "one does not catch an enemy twice in such a scrape." Lannes and Mortier were ordered

to retain their central position, with Murat and Bessières's cavalry divisions on their left. Ney's corps pushed up on the right, supported by General Victor and the imperial guards. As Marshal Ney wheeled on his horse to assume command of the French right flank, Napoleon grasped him by the arm. "There is the goal," he said, pointing to Friedland. "Make for it without a look behind you. Break into that Russian mass, whatever the cost. Seize the town and hold the bridges. Never mind what happens on your right, on the left, or in the rear; I and my army will attend to the rest."

Ney went to carry out his desperate attack. In plain sight of the army he led his men straight into the Russian centre. As Napoleon caught sight of him galloping proudly at the head of his troops, he exclaimed, "Behold, there goes our lion!" Ney's vanguard was first engaged by a horde of Russian Cossacks, but Latour-Maubourg rushed in with his dragoons and drove them back. At a mill-pond close to the walls of Friedland, Ney's advancing column was met by a corps of Alexander's imperial guards, the choicest troops of the Russian army. They charged the French with their bayonets and crumpled up Brisson's division. His regiments fell back on the other brigades, and Ney's entire column wavered and fell back. General Dupont saw the danger, and rushed his reserves through Ney's broken lines. The Russian guards were stopped in their onslaught and driven back on Friedland. Ney rallied his troops, and with his united forces stormed the flaming town. The Russians were cut down or thrown into the river, and the bridges were burned. Prince Gortshakov, commanding the Russian right, now found himself between the victorious French troops at Friedland and the divisions of Lannes and Mortier in the centre. Retreat across the bridges was cut off. Fighting desperately all the way, he led off his troops along the bank of the river, while his Cossacks hunted for fording places.

At the moment of Ney's assault upon Friedland, Napoleon ordered thirty-six guns of Sernarmont's artillery to cover the French advance with a steady hail of grape and canister. He led the second line at the head of his guards and Victor's division. Murat's cavalry with Bessières's cuirassiers charged into the Russian columns and utterly overwhelmed them. Several thousand Russians were caught on this side of the river, and found themselves at the mercy of the French crossfire. Others were trampled under foot by the rush of the cavalry squadron, or were drowned in the river. Several regiments surrendered. When night fell the French had won at all points. Napoleon had achieved another decisive battle, worthy not only of Marengo, but of Austerlitz and Jena as well.

The Russians lost at Friedland nearly 20,000 men in killed and wounded. The French lost scarcely half that number. Napoleon's bulletin was in his best vein: "Soldiers, on the fifth day of June we were attacked in our cantonments by the Russian army. The enemy mistook the cause of our inactivity. He perceived too late that our repose was that of the lion. In a campaign of ten days we have taken a hundred and twenty guns, seven flags, and have killed, wounded, or taken prisoners 60,000 Russians. We have taken from the enemy all his magazines, his hospitals, ambulances, the fortress of Koenigsberg, with 300 vessels, which were in that port laden with all kinds of military stores, and 160,000 muskets, which England was sending to arm our enemies. From the banks of the Vistula we have come with the speed of the eagle to those of the Niemen. At Austerlitz you celebrated the anniversary of my coronation. At Friedland you have worthily celebrated the battle of Marengo."

After the battle General Victor was elevated to the rank of Marshal. Koenigsberg was occupied by the troops of

Marshal Soult. The strongholds of Neisse, Glatz, and Kosel capitulated, one after another. Only Graudenz and Memel still held out for Prussia. The war was over.

On his entry into Tilsit, a little town on the river Niemen, Napoleon received a letter from the Czar of Russia. Alexander proposed an armistice until he could arrive for personal conference. Marshal Kalkreuth, on behalf of the Prussian army, asked for the same. The truce was granted. The first interview between the Emperors was appointed for June 25.

On the appointed day Napoleon ordered three rafts, richly carpeted and surmounted by splendid pavilions, fluttering with flags, to be moored in midstream. The two armies were drawn up on the shores of the Niemen. At the stroke of one, cannons roared and regimental bands played, as each Emperor, accompanied by a few officers, stepped into a boat on his own side of the river. The imperial suites, gorgeously appareled, followed in other boats. The main raft was intended only for Napoleon and Alexander. Napoleon reached the raft first, and immediately crossed it to receive Alexander stepping from his boat. In the sight of the armies the two Emperors embraced. A multitudinous shout arose from the soldiers drawn up on either bank. The first words which Alexander uttered were: "I hate the English as much as you do. I am ready to second you in all your enterprises against them." "In that case," replied Napoleon, "everything will be readily arranged and peace is already made." So much for Napoleon's own account of the interview. It lasted two full hours. Certain it is that Napoleon, by his charm of manner, fascinated the youthful Czar. In later years Alexander said: "Never did I love any one as I loved that man." It was agreed between them to neutralize the town of Tilsit, so that they might meet frequently and at their leisure. As Napoleon wrote to Alex-

ander in one of his notes at that time, it was his intention "to pass in one moment from open war to the most friendly relations." Accordingly the two Emperors met, dined together, entertained one another, and reviewed the French, clad in each other's insignia. William III of Prussia hastened to Tilsit, anxious to plead the cause of his own country. He was regarded as something of a marplot. Queen Louise, who came later, cut a very different figure. "The Queen of Prussia," said Napoleon, "in spite of my address and utmost efforts, constantly led the conversation. She returned at pleasure to her subject and directed it as she chose, but still with so much tact and delicacy that it was impossible to take offence. Had she arrived earlier, it might have had much influence upon the result of our negotiations. Happily she did not make her appearance until all was settled. It is plain that she has been the real sovereign of Prussia for the last fifteen years." Queen Louise made a strong effort to have Napoleon withdraw some of the hard conditions imposed upon Prussia. When she found that she had failed, she said to Napoleon: "How much I should admire you, Sire, were you as magnanimous as you are powerful." Later, when he had handed her into the carriage, she burst into tears.

Napoleon's report of the Czar's confession of resentment against England was not inherently improbable. There was ground for resentment, for the reason that the British Ministry had failed to pay Russia the subsidy of £6,000,000 which it had granted to Austria. Apart from this there was a well-defined movement in Russia for the annexation of Finland, then possessed by the King of Sweden, one of England's allies. Napoleon readily entered into this, and also agreed to leave Russian Poland under the yoke of Russia. Only Prussian Poland, with Warsaw and Posen, were incorporated into the federation of the Rhine, while Russia acquired the former Prussian province of Bialistok. With

the exception of dismantled Prussia, all Germany entered into the alliance with France. The King of Saxony, as a reward for his complete change of front, received the new duchy of Warsaw, and was elevated to the rank of king. Hesse, Brunswick, and all former Prussian provinces west of the Elbe were molded into the new kingdom of Westphalia, which was given to Napoleon's brother Jerome. Prussia retained only one-half of her former territory, with but six million subjects. She had to agree to pay an indemnity of twenty million francs. Her army was restricted to 60,000 men. Under the new arrangement her frontier lines left her a prey to French invasion from the west. The city of Dantzic benefited by the rearrangement in so far as it was restored to the rank of a free city. Alexander lost practically nothing. He agreed to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia, and gave formal recognition to the new-fledged royal titles of Napoleon's three brothers. For the future the two Emperors made some sweeping secret arrangements. Turkey was to be despoiled of Montenegro and the Ionic Isles. Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal were to be treated as enemies if they did not agree to join the continental blockade against England. In case the King of Sweden clung to England, as was to be foreseen, Finland was to be wrested from him forthwith and incorporated as a Russian province. Alexander bound himself to act as an ally of France against England if peace were refused by that power. The peace of Tilsit was fully ratified on July 9, in a final convention at Koenigsberg. Peace with Prussia was formally declared and terms were made for a French evacuation of Pomerania and Silesia, after Prussia should have begun the payments of her war indemnity.

Napoleon returned to France. He was received with the roar of cannon, and once more became the object of the most extravagant adulation. The President of the French

Court of Appeals delivered an address of welcome, in the course of which he said: "Our victorious Emperor has never desired anything but peace. He has ever presented the olive branch to those who have forced upon him the laurels of victory. Napoleon is above human history. He belongs to the heroic age. He is above mere admiration." Napoleon in turn said: "Let us now turn to trade and manufacture. I have had enough of the trade of General. I shall now resume with you that of First Minister. I will recommence my great reviews of affairs, which it is time to substitute for my great reviews of armies." The state of public affairs in France warranted such an utterance. The new armaments called for by Napoleon's prolonged campaign in Prussia had caused consternation among the French peasants. The expense of the war had sapped the resources of the country both in products and in men. The stoppage of commerce by the continental blockade struck all branches of production sterile. Public credit was shaken and French consols were at an alarmingly low ebb. Napoleon called a Council of State to inquire into the causes of the evil and the proposed remedies. The suggestion to refurnish the palaces of bishops and prefectures, so as to give work to the poor, did not commend itself to Napoleon. Yet he ordered his apartments in the Tuileries to be refurnished, and cautioned his wife and sisters to confine their purchases to the public workshop for military supplies. He decreed that 500,000 francs a month should be advanced to the manufacturers who were in difficulties, on condition that they should continue in operation. The launch of this loan drew attention to the country's need of commerce, for the goods thus acquired spoiled on the hands of the State and had to be got rid of. On the other hand, not enough was manufactured in France to clothe even the army. Thus Bourrienne, Napoleon's private secretary, records in his diary that the bulk of the French

army was supplied with shoes and clothing smuggled into France from England. The financial distress spread to the neighboring countries. Holland was hard hit. Louis Bonaparte, reigning there as king, sided with his stricken subjects and declined to raise 50,000 Dutch conscripts for his brother. On the other hand, he was quick to raise money for the sufferers of Leyden, when a powder ship blew up in the harbor of that city and destroyed 200 houses and killed 150 men, among them the celebrated Professors Luzac and Kleit. At this Napoleon was moved to wrath: "A prince who passes for good in the first year of his reign is a prince who will be ridiculed in his second. The first thing that you ought to do, and that I require of you to do, is to raise a subscription for me."

After the peace of Tilsit came a sharp change for the better. Confidence was restored in Paris, and French consols rose to a higher point than ever before.

While things stood thus in Europe, the people of England were comparatively tranquil. The danger of a foreign invasion once removed, they experienced a relief very similar to that which followed the destruction of the Armada, two hundred years before. As in Elizabethan times, colonial conquest, commerce, and letters flourished side by side. While Coleridge, Wordsworth, Moore, Crabbe, and Charles Lamb were giving their best works to the world, Byron, then still a lad, was stirred to attempt his first poetic flight. During his leisure hours at school and college he had written occasional verses, which appeared at Newark in 1807, in a little volume entitled "Hours of Idleness." Boyish and weak as these verses were, they scarcely deserved the weighty scorn with which the "Edinburgh Review" pounced upon them. Stung in his pride, Byron retorted with his "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," a scathing satire against such poets of the day as Southey, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Scott, and Moore.



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QUEEN LOUISE

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For British commerce, the recent annihilation of Spanish trade with the West Indies and the acquisition of the rich Dutch colonies at Curaçoa and at the Cape of Good Hope opened a flourishing field. Lord Petty's finance reform, undertaken early in the year, brought about a total redemption of £152,348,529 in national debts. The daily purchase of £96,000 of floating stocks alone amounted to a redemption of £17,422,000, or a sum but little short of the whole loan for the public service during the preceding year. These financial successes made Sir Spencer Percival, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the leader for the nonce of the new Portland Ministry which had replaced "all the talents" in April. Sir Spencer's mouthpiece was George Canning, the foreign secretary, who soon overshadowed his rival, Lord Castlereagh. Canning had turned from an ardent revolutionist into a rabid anti-republican. This change of mind, coming so early in his life, gave rise to a Whig sarcasm that "men had often been known to turn their coats, but this was the first time that a boy had turned his jacket."

Canning held that Napoleon's course absolved England from ordinary rules of morals. To fight Bonaparte with his own weapons had become the rallying cry of Englishmen. The first acts of the new administration showed what was meant by this famous phrase. Weak neutral powers, which yet were England's rivals in commerce, were the first to suffer. Such were Denmark and the United States.

Early in 1807 the British squadron happened to lie off Hampton Roads, in Virginia, watching for some French frigates that had taken refuge at Annapolis. In spring a whole boat's crew of the British sloop-of-war "Halifax" deserted and made off to Norfolk. The commander of the "Halifax" was informed that his men had enlisted on the American frigate "Chesapeake," then preparing for a cruise to the Mediterranean. The British Minister at Washington

at the same time made complaint that three deserters from the British frigate "Melampus" had enlisted on the "Chesapeake." The Secretary of the Navy instituted an inquiry, and found that these men were native Americans who had been improperly impressed into British service, and were, therefore, not subject to reclamation. Admiral Berkeley, commanding the British North Atlantic Squadron, issued an order to all his captains to search the "Chesapeake" for British deserters whenever they might meet her outside of the three-mile limit. The "Chesapeake," owing to various delays, did not drop down the Potomac until June. When she tried to fire the customary salute while passing Mount Vernon, it was found that her ammunition would not fit her guns. At Hampton Roads, Captain James Barron, the newly appointed commodore of the Mediterranean Squadron, assumed command, and on June 21 the "Chesapeake" started on her cruise. Sailing under a fair wind, she passed the British cruisers "Bellona," "Melampus," and "Leopard" at Lynnhaven Bay. The "Leopard" stood out to sea after the "Chesapeake." Overtaking her, and manœuvring his vessel to windward, the captain of the "Leopard" sent Commodore Barron a written copy of the British admiral's order respecting the alleged deserters on board the "Chesapeake." Commodore Barron, after some reflection, wrote out the following reply: "I know of no such men as you describe. The officers that were on the recruiting service for this ship were particularly instructed by the Government through me not to enter any deserters from his Britannic Majesty's ships, nor do I know of any being here. I am also instructed never to permit the crew of any ship that I command to be mustered by any other but their own officers." The British gig pulled away, and Commodore Barron, after consultation with Captain Gordon, gave orders to have the gun deck cleared. The captain of the "Leopard," as soon as he had received

Barron's reply, edged nearer and hailed the "Chesapeake": "Commodore Barron, you must be aware of the necessity I am under of complying with the orders of my commander-in-chief." It was plainly seen that the British crew were at quarters. Barron repeated the order to clear for action without drumbeat. The men were hurried to their quarters. To gain time Barron shouted through his trumpet: "I do not hear what you say!" The British captain repeated his hail, and Barron again replied that he did not understand. For answer, Captain Humphreys fired a shot across his bow. Another shot followed. A few moments afterward the "Leopard" poured her whole broadside into the "Chesapeake" at pointblank range. Commodore Barron was wounded where he stood on the gangplank, but continued to hail the "Leopard" while his own men were getting their guns ready. The "Leopard's" fire lasted fifteen minutes. In all there were seventy discharges, three American sailors were killed, eighteen wounded, all three masts badly injured, and twenty-two round shots entered the hull of the "Chesapeake." Then Commodore Barron, bleeding from his wound, ordered his flag to be hauled down. As it touched the taffrail, the third lieutenant of the "Chesapeake" managed to fire one gun by means of a live coal which he brought from the galley in his fingers.

The boats of the "Leopard" came alongside and the crew of the "Chesapeake" were mustered by the "Leopard's" officers. The three American deserters from the "Melampus" were taken, and one, Jenkin Ratford, the ringleader of the British deserters from the "Halifax," was dragged out of the coal-hole. The three American deserters from the "Melampus" were sentenced to receive five hundred lashes each. Jenkin Ratford, the British deserter, was hanged from the foreyard-arm of his own ship, the "Halifax." The British captain refused to receive Commodore Barron's surrender

of his frigate as a prize of war. "Having fulfilled the instructions of my commander-in-chief," he said, "I have nothing more to desire."

Without a flag, disgraced and humiliated, the "Chesapeake" returned to Hampton Roads, with her crew smarting under an insult that was never forgotten or forgiven by Americans. The American people were thoroughly aroused. The United States cruiser "Revenge" was sent to England with despatches demanding a complete disavowal, the restoration of the impressed seamen, and the recall of Admiral Berkeley. Minister Monroe was instructed to communicate the incident to Russia. Congress, as the only body empowered to make war, was called into session. In regard to the unfortunate commodore, who was involved in this disgrace, an immediate court of inquiry was ordered on the "Chesapeake." Among the judges sat Captain Decatur, one of Barron's harshest critics. Commodore Barron was court-martialed for neglect of duty in failing to prepare his ship for action, and for surrendering without having fired a shot. He was convicted and sentenced to suspension from rank and pay for five years. In later years he was refused an active command. In the end Commodore Barron challenged Captain Decatur for his vindictive attitude toward him and shot him dead in a duel.

In England the people warmly approved Admiral Berkeley's measures. Thus the "Morning Post," the chosen mouthpiece of the British Foreign Office, published this comment: "America is not content with striking at the very vitals of our commercial existence, she must also, by humbling our naval greatness and by disputing our supremacy, not only lessen us in our own estimation, but degrade us in the eyes of Europe and the world. . . . It will never be permitted to be said that the 'Royal Sovereign' has struck her flag to a Yankee cock." The London "Times," in a

similar vein, declared that "The Americans could not even send an ambassador to France—could hardly pass from New York to Staten Island without British permission." In view of this temper of the English people, the British Foreign Office, while expressing regret for the occurrence, preferred to put off Mr. Monroe's demands for redress until popular feeling should have subsided.

For the present Mr. Canning had a far more pressing enterprise on hand. As soon as the British Ministry had been informed of the portent of Napoleon's negotiations with Alexander at Tilsit it was decided to despatch a large naval expedition to Copenhagen. Denmark was to be forced away from an alliance with France. On July 26 a fleet commanded by Lord Gambier sailed from the Downs. The expedition consisted of some twenty ships of the line and forty frigates and transports, carrying 27,000 men under Lord Cathcart. A diplomatic agent went along, with instructions to require the surrender of the Danish fleet as a temporary security for England. The unfortunate Danes, by reason of their enterprise as shippers and traders, found themselves between two millstones. Denmark was the only neutral power the control of whose shipping was necessary for the success of Napoleon's designs against English commerce. On August 2 he sent orders to Bernadotte at Hamburg: "If England does not accept the mediation of Russia, Denmark must declare war on England, or I will declare war on Denmark." Bernadotte was ordered to hold his troops ready for an instant invasion of Denmark. Great Britain's ugly message to Denmark was intrusted to Jackson, the former British Minister to Berlin, a man of notorious ill-temper. In obedience to his instructions, Jackson sought out the Danish Prince Royal at Kiel, and had a stormy interview with Bernstorff. The Danish Prime Minister treated the British demands as a direct insult to Denmark. The Prince Royal

likewise refused to countenance British interference with Denmark's international relations. As a result of Jackson's threats of coercion, Prince Christian sailed immediately for Copenhagen, whither Jackson followed him. On August 13 Jackson was informed that the Prince would not see him again, and that his Ministers had no authority whatever to conclude any arrangement upon terms at all compatible with Jackson's instructions. The British envoy at once got his passports and joined the fleet lying outside Copenhagen. Two days later the British transports landed 20,000 soldiers at Vedvec and the city was invested on the land side. Copenhagen was utterly defenceless. Outside of Elsinore Castle there was not a battalion under arms in all Denmark. Not a gun was mounted on the ramparts. To man the defences, volunteers had to be raised among the populace. The ships in the harbor lay at anchor without a sail flapping. On September 2 the bombardment of Copenhagen was begun. For three days the field batteries on land and the British fleet in the harbor poured an unceasing fire into the helpless city. In a very short time several blocks of houses were on fire. At the end of a three days' bombardment half of the city was in ashes and nearly 2,000 non-combatants lay buried in the smoking ruins. The British took possession of eighteen Danish ships of the line and all the war frigates, and stripped the dockyards of their stores. Denmark lay prone before England. All Danish merchant vessels that happened to be in English waters were confiscated with their cargoes to the value of £10,000,000. In distant India the flourishing Danish factory at Bengal was swept into England's pouch.

The bombardment of Copenhagen affected Europe as did Napoleon's execution of the Duke Enghien. The King of Denmark at once addressed a proclamation to all friendly powers. These were the most striking passages: "All Europe

is acquainted with Denmark's unceasing neutrality during this period of disturbance and war. This state of peace and tranquillity is suddenly annihilated. The Danish Government saw the English ships of war on its coast without even a conjecture that they were to be employed against Denmark. The English court then declared to the court of Denmark in the most overbearing manner that Denmark was to deliver up all her ships of war to the British Government. This opening, as offensive in the manner of presentation as in the demand itself, left no room for negotiation. Placed between danger and dishonor, the Danish Government had no choice. Cut off from all means of defence, we were forced into the unequal contest. Let impartial cabinets judge of the results. Even in England every noble and generous mind must disown this act of violence which deforms the character of a virtuous sovereign, and will ever remain a scandal in the annals of Great Britain."

Denmark immediately entered into an alliance with Napoleon. Emperor Alexander of Russia revived the northern embargo against English shipping. England's high-handed acts at sea left her without a friend save Portugal. Her policy of retaliation was enforced all the more relentlessly. Following upon the attacks on the "Chesapeake" and Copenhagen, the British cabinet issued its famous "orders in council," which prohibited all neutral trade along the entire European seacoast from Copenhagen to Trieste. Only the Baltic ports were left open. No American vessels should be allowed to enter any port in Europe from which British vessels were excluded. After November 11, 1807, any American vessel carrying any cargo was liable to capture if it sailed from any port not under British control. American commerce was to be forced into exclusively English channels.

America, like those other hapless neutrals, Denmark and Portugal, was caught between the two grinding millstones of

England and France. Only her greater distance from Europe saved her from a fate similar to that of the others. Napoleon sharply reproved the United States for supinely permitting Great Britain to search her vessels. To General Armstrong, the American Minister at Paris, who protested against the condemnation of an American cargo that had been wrecked off Morlaix, Napoleon responded sharply: "Since America suffers her vessels to be searched, she adopts the principle that the flag does not cover the goods. . . . Why should Americans not equally suffer their vessels to be searched by French ships? France recognizes that these measures are unjust and subversive of national sovereignty, but it is the duty of nations to resort to force and to declare themselves against things which dishonor them and disgrace their independence."

The American people, aroused as they were over the "Chesapeake" affair and the West Indian blockade, were coming to the same conclusion. Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, began making his economic preparations for war. Congress, at the behest of President Jefferson, voted \$1,854,000 for additional gunboats, harbor fortifications, and shore defences. The navy was left as weak as before.

Among the various proposals for the national defence was one for building submarine torpedoes. It came from Robert Fulton of New York. On July 20, 1807, Fulton, with one of his torpedoes, blew up the hulk of a large brig in New York harbor. This exploit did not produce a favorable impression on the Government, as the torpedo locks missed fire several hours after the time announced to the spectators crowding the New York water front. The torpedo in this instance was a copper case two feet long, charged with one hundred pounds of gunpowder, with clockwork to set it off. Previous to this Fulton had offered a submarine boat to Napoleon and to the British admiralty.

Napoleon commissioned Fulton to blow up some British cruisers outside of Brest. When Fulton failed in the attempt, Napoleon lost interest in the project. Then the Earl of Stanhope, the inventor of the Stanhope printing press, who had been interested in Fulton's inventions of a flax-spinning machine and cast-iron aqueducts, persuaded Lord Sidmouth to call Fulton to England. A naval commission was appointed to examine Fulton's scheme for floating mines and torpedoes. On October 15, 1805, Fulton blew up the hulk of a Danish brig in Walmar Roads. The experiment proved a complete success. An attempt to blow up some French gunbrigs in the roads of Boulogne proved a failure. The torpedoes exploded alongside of the Frenchmen and did no harm. Fulton left England in disappointment and returned to America. Here he perfected his model of a steamboat which he had first exhibited before the members of the French Academy on the waters of the Seine. In Paris, Chancellor Livingston of New York had become deeply interested in Fulton's steamboat. He entered into active partnership with the inventor and had a bill passed through the Legislature of New York granting to Livingston and Fulton the exclusive right of navigating steam vessels in the waters of New York. For a long time this steamboat bill was a standing subject of ridicule among the legislators of Albany. Upon his return to America, Fulton and Livingston began in earnest to build their steamboat. The engine was furnished by Watt and Bolton in Birmingham, who but five years before had constructed an engine for the first working locomotive in England. In August, 1807, Fulton's steamboat was finished and steamed out of the shipyard of Charles Brown in the East River. She was named the "Clermont," but the people of New York called her "Fulton's Folly." The "Clermont" was a schooner-rigged boat of a hundred and sixty tons, and had a cylinder measuring

twenty-four inches in diameter with a four-foot stroke. The paddlewheels revolved amidships, with no box or covering. Dry pine wood was used for fuel, which sent forth thick black smoke with flames and sparks leaping high above the single funnel. This gave the ship a terrific aspect, and spread terror among the superstitious watermen of New York harbor. On August 11 the "Clermont" made her maiden trip up the Hudson River to Chancellor Livingston's country-seat near Albany. It was a voyage of a hundred and ten miles, and took twenty-four hours, without a mishap. Fulton wrote to his friend Barlow in Paris: "The power of propelling boats by steam is now fully proved. The morning I left New York there were not thirty persons in the city who believed that the boat would ever move a mile an hour, or be of the least utility. While we were putting off from the wharf I heard a number of sarcastic remarks. This is the way in which ignorant men compliment what they call philosophers and projectors. I feel infinite pleasure in reflecting on the immense advantages my country will derive from the invention." Soon the boat was running as a regular packet between New York and Albany. The river men grew to hate her, and several attempts were made to sink the "Clermont." The New York Legislature finally passed an act declaring all combinations to destroy her, or wilful attempts to injure her, public offences punishable by fine and imprisonment. Next the courts were asked for an injunction to restrain Fulton from using his new machine on the Hudson, but with Daniel Webster for a pleader, Fulton won his case. Other steamboats were soon built by Livingston and Fulton, and, in the end, Fulton furnished the city of New York with steam ferries. The newspapers of the time gave scarcely any attention to Fulton's steamboat. Much was said on the other hand about the experiments of M. Garnerin with a newly-invented balloon filled with hydrogen

gas, the great invention of Lavoisier. After his first ascension in Milan, Garnerin addressed a letter to the newspapers of Paris, in which he disposed of an earlier aeronaut's contentions that the sun and moon lost their brilliancy and gravity in force at high altitudes.

While science and inventions were thus progressing in other countries, the Prussian people, chastened by war, were catching up their lost place in the march of civilization. At the recommendation of Napoleon, who disliked Minister Hardenberg for his steadfast resistance to French encroachments, Stein was summoned to the head of the Prussian Ministry. To Napoleon he was known only as a skilful financier who was likely to succeed in raising the money for the heavy war indemnities exacted by France. Stein entered into office on September 4, 1807. Four days later his first great legislative measure was launched. It was the abolition of serfdom in Prussia, and of all feudal distinctions between the nobles, burghers, and peasants. The family estates were freed from entail. Stein appointed Scharnhorst as president of the military commission, which did away with the enforced military service of the former peasant serfs, and created in its stead a system of universal service with the colors. To comply at least outwardly with Napoleon's demand for a restriction of the Prussian army to 40,000 men, Scharnhorst devised a short-service system, with various reserves, by means of which all citizens could be made to serve their time with the colors. Stein likewise planned to give to Prussia a Constitutional Parliament, modeled after that of Great Britain, with municipal home rule, but succeeded only in establishing the last. Stein's reforms aroused so much opposition on the part of the Prussian nobles, besides incurring the jealous suspicions of Napoleon, that his Ministry was not destined to endure. While it lasted the way was prepared for Prussia's resurrection from the political

degradation and gloom to which she had sunk through the events of the last few years.

Toward the end of the year war clouds once more gathered over Europe. England's uncompromising attitude determined Gustavus IV of Sweden to carry on the war in the North, which had lapsed after the defeat of the Russians and Prussians, and his own armistice at Shlakkov. Outgeneraled by Marshal Brune, the Swedes lost Stralsund and Rügen, and had to withdraw into the interior. This ended the campaign in the North for the nonce.

The only remaining neutral in Europe was Portugal. The Regent, placed between the alternative of losing his ancient kingdom or his vast new possessions across the sea, leaned toward England. Napoleon saw his opportunity in Spain by making a bold stroke against Portugal. Portugal's refusal to confiscate all English property set the ball rolling. On October 17 General Junot marched from Bayonne with 27,000 men headed for the Pyrenees. Ten days later a secret treaty for the spoliation of Portugal was concluded at Fontainebleau between Talleyrand and Godoy, the Prime Minister of Spain. The King of Etruria was to exchange his kingdom for a Portuguese province, and Godoy was to receive the sovereignties of Algarvez and Alentejo, in Portugal. All Portuguese colonies were to fall to Spain, and King Charles IV of Spain was to be recognized as Emperor of both Americas. Neither the Spanish Minister, nor the Crown Prince, who intrigued with Napoleon against Godoy, realized the danger of the projected French invasion of Spain.

General Junot, with his army of the Gironde, marching across Spain at the utmost speed, was welcomed by both Government and people. At the Portuguese frontier no resistance was encountered. The French troops swarmed over the mountains and concentrated rapidly upon Lisbon. At

Lisbon, the royal Princes of Braganza were still deliberating what to do when they received a copy of "Le Moniteur," printed on November 13, in which was published Napoleon's decree: "The House of Braganza has ceased reigning in Europe." After consultation with the British ambassador, the Regent of Portugal resolved to maintain the independence of his family by flight across the Atlantic. As the French troops appeared before Lisbon, the Regent with his family embarked on a fleet of sixteen ships. Accompanied by four British convoys under Sir Sydney Smith, and saluted by British guns, the fleet dropped down the Tagus and put to sea for Rio Janeiro. Marshal Junot, a few hours later, occupied the royal palace. The French troops were in wretched condition from their prolonged rapid marches. Cannon were placed in all the streets and the inhabitants were disarmed. Heavy contributions were levied for the support of the French troops. The flower of the Portuguese army was sent to France. The island colony of Madeira was occupied by a British garrison to be held for the Portuguese princes until better days.

In Madrid, Godoy, the Prime Minister, looked forward to receiving his share in the spoil of Portugal, but Napoleon had another end in view. Not only Portugal, but Spain, too, was to be his prey. For more than a year he had contemplated some such project—since the day in 1806 that Godoy had dared to prepare for war against France, by calling the Spanish people to arms. Godoy's attempt to propitiate Napoleon after the French victories at Jena and Auerstädt, by sending 14,000 Spanish auxiliaries against Russia, proved a mere sop to the conqueror. Under the circumstances, Godoy's chosen title, the "Prince of Peace," acquired by his successful negotiations for peace with France in 1794, partook of ironical significance. Latter-day historians have come to regard this man as the prince of evil for Spain.

In the meantime, the Spanish king's eldest son Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, who was virtually banished from court by the disfavor of his mother, carried on a plot of his own with Napoleon. He entered into a secret understanding with Empress Josephine's relative, De Beauharnais, the French ambassador at Madrid. Godoy, through his spies, had been fully informed of Ferdinand's plotting with Beauharnais, and furthermore of his disposition to seize the reins in case of his father's death, before Godoy might use his powers to place on the throne his own reputed son, Prince Francisco. On October 29 Ferdinand was suddenly arrested and brought before his father on charges that he had plotted against his mother's life. King Charles ordered Ferdinand to be cast into prison and wrote an indignant letter to Napoleon in which he announced his intention to deprive his eldest son of the succession.

This was a misstep. Ferdinand was very popular with the mass of the Spanish people, chiefly because he was known to be an enemy of Godoy, who was hated by all. On the Prince of Asturias were fixed all Spanish hopes of reform. There were threatening indications of the popular feeling on the subject, and Godoy was further alarmed at Ferdinand's revelations of the French ambassador's complicity in his plans, and Ferdinand was finally set free.

Napoleon, while receiving the confidences of both father and son, had no idea of doing anything for either, for that would not further his own interests. The imbroglio at Madrid fitted admirably into his plans. While the Emperor strove to lull Spain into security by making an aimless journey to Italy, his generals at Bayonne received orders to prepare for a sudden march on Madrid.

During the interval many things happened to divert the attention of Europe. On December 1 the King of Prussia, at the behest of Napoleon, cut off all relations with England.

A few days afterward, Napoleon's brother Jerome formally ascended the throne of his new kingdom, Westphalia. On December 10 the kingdom of Etruria was relinquished by the Bourbons and French troops occupied the country. On December 17 Napoleon issued a decree at Milan, in reply to the British note of November 11, in which he declared any ship that touched at an English port or yielded to England's demands thereby lost the protection of her neutral flag, and should be seized as a prize. A blockade was declared against all British possessions. In anticipation of what was coming, the American Congress had already passed a Non-Importation Act, which now went into force, despite the protests of American and English merchants. British trade was seriously affected. Among the forbidden articles were all products of leather, silk, hemp, glass, silver, paper, pictures, prints, woolen hosiery, ready-made clothing, millinery, malt liquors, and so forth. The intention practically was to punish England by a fine of several million dollars for her interference with American transatlantic trade. Under the stress of new restrictive measures threatened by France and England, the United States and France went even further. On December 17, simultaneously with the new French and English decrees, President Jefferson issued a proclamation to Congress calling for a general embargo of all American trade with Europe. In his message he said: "The whole world is laid under interdict by Great Britain and France, and our vessels, their cargoes and their crews are to be taken by one or by the other, no matter to what place they may be destined, out of our own limits. If therefore on leaving our harbors we are certainly to lose them, is it not better as to vessels, cargoes, and seamen to keep them at home?"

Within four or five hours after the message had been read, the Senate sent the Embargo Act to the House. The House passed it on December 21 by a vote of 82 to 44. The

President signed the bill the next day. For most Americans, this embargo, disastrous as its effects were on American commerce, brought premonitions of the impending war with England.

In Spain, during these same days, the curtain rose on a war that is known to English-speaking men as the War of the Peninsula; to Spaniards, as the War of Independence. General Dupont's French army corps crossed the Pyrenees in the last days of 1807. The French troops were received with acclamation by the Spanish populace. Spaniards still believed that Napoleon had espoused the cause of Ferdinand and meant to free Spain from the detested rule of Godoy. The French in turn proclaimed themselves as the friends of Ferdinand and protectors of the true Catholic faith.

EVENTS OF 1808

French Invasion of Spain—Godoy is Mobbed and Disgraced—King Charles Abdicates in Favor of His Son Ferdinand—Ferdinand is Entrapped into the Hands of Napoleon—The Mob of Madrid Rises against the French—French Occupy Rome—Napoleon Annexes Certain Papal States in Answer to Pope's Threat of Excommunication—Russia Wars on Sweden and Annexes Finland—Napoleon Makes His Brother Joseph King of Spain—General Uprising of Spanish People—England Sends Them Troops and Money—French Defeated Disastrously at Baylen, Valencia, Saragossa, and Gerona—French Abandon Madrid and Evacuate Portugal—In Denmark Marquis Romana Deserts with 10,000 Spanish Troops to England—Spirit of Revolt Stirs in Spanish America—Jefferson Preserves American Neutrality—His Embargo Ruins American Commerce and Impairs English—Napoleon Humbles Prussia Further by Indemnity, Seizure of Forts, etc.—Napoleon Meets Czar and Other European Royalties at Erfurt—He Talks with Goethe and Wieland—Letter of Czar and Napoleon to England to End War by Lifting Blockade—England's Reply, Including Spain in the Peace, is not Accepted—Union of Spanish Generals under Castaños—Napoleon Concentrates His Armies in Spain—Wins Victories of Espinoza, Burgos, Tudela—Polish Lancers Gallantly Capture Mountain Battery—Madrid is Taken—Inquisition is Abolished—French Win Victories Near Barcelona—Napoleon Fails to Prevent Embarkation of English.

ON New Year's Day Napoleon returned to Paris to execute his designs against Spain. At the outset of the struggle in the peninsula, Great Britain's military power consisted of more than a thousand warships—to wit, 250 sail of the line, 261 frigates, 258 brigs, and 300 sloops-of-war. The British army, numbering some 200,000 men, was held in small esteem by the French. The French navy, what little was left of it, in landlocked harbors, was despised by the British. Of French soldiers there were nearly a million under arms. By a new decree of January 21 another levy of 80,000 men was added to this. Spain, at this time, had a population of about thirteen millions. The Spanish soldiers had been distributed by Napoleon in different parts of the world, some serving under Junot in Portugal, others in Germany, and some on the frontier of Sweden.

At the opening of 1808 two French army corps had entered Spain in the wake of Junot's first army of the Gironde. They numbered 53,000 men. The second army of the Gironde, under Dupont, advanced to Vittoria and thence to Valladolid, while Marshal Moneys's column, called the army of the seacoast, marched along the road from Bayonne to Madrid. Together they cut off the northern provinces from Madrid and put themselves in possession of the upper Spanish strongholds. A fourth division, under General Duhesme, crossing the Eastern Pyrenees, marched for Barcelona.

In Madrid the advance of the French aroused great alarm. King Charles wrote to Napoleon in a tone of friendly inquiry. He received a vague reply that was anything but reassuring. On February 20 Marshal Murat left Paris to assume command in Spain. On March 1 he entered the country with no instructions, but to reassure all parties and commit himself to none. It was now that the Spanish court, expecting to see the French in front of Madrid before another fortnight, resolved to follow the example of the Prince of Braganza, by flight to Mexico. Preparations for the preliminary journey to Seville were in progress when Prince Ferdinand's grooms spread a report that Godoy was about to abduct the King in order to continue his own misgovernment. The people of Aranjuez rushed out of their houses and cut the traces of the royal carriage. Quiet was restored when the King gave his word that no journey was intended. That evening he issued this proclamation: "My beloved subjects, calm your perturbed spirits. Know that the army of my dear friend the Emperor of the French is marching through my States with sentiments of peace and amity. The object is to protect the points threatened by the landing of an enemy on the coasts of Spain. My guards have not been called either to defend my person or to escort me on a journey, as some malignant spirits have told you." The next

day a mob marched from Madrid to Aranjuez, and called for the blood of Godoy. The soldiers of the royal guard joined them. Godoy's palace in Madrid was sacked. The Prime Minister himself, after lying hid for thirty-six hours, was dragged forth and hurried to the barracks amid blows and curses. On the 19th the riots recommenced in Aranjuez. The terrified King first issued a decree depriving Godoy of all his dignities, and then abdicated in favor of his son Ferdinand. On March 20 the new king was proclaimed in Madrid. Two days later Murat rode into Madrid with a vanguard of cavalry, followed by Monecy's corps of infantry. Dupont's division occupied Aranjuez and the Escorial. Here as elsewhere the French soldiers were welcomed by the populace as the deliverers of Ferdinand. The next day Ferdinand himself made a solemn entry into Madrid. During the festivities it was noticed that the French troops paid scant attention to the royal pageant. Marshal Murat, while presenting a claim for the famous sword of Francis I of France, abstained from according any formal recognition of Ferdinand. Murat himself entertained secret hopes that he might be placed on the throne of Spain, as he had longed before to become King of Poland. The enthusiasm of the populace quickly turned into suspicion and ill-will. There was constant friction between Murat's soldiers and the people of Madrid. The late King wrote to Murat that his abdication had been forced and was therefore void. Ferdinand had a conference with Savary, Napoleon's special emissary, to obtain the French Emperor's recognition in person. He was led to believe that Napoleon would meet him half way at Burgos. Accordingly he journeyed northward in company of Savary and his suite. At Burgos they found the Emperor. From all sides Ferdinand received warnings not to proceed. Some of his noblemen offered to carry him out of danger by sea. At Vittoria the people held up the horses and implored

him not to leave the country. Ferdinand was obdurate. Beguiled by a letter from Napoleon, who had proceeded to Bayonne with Josephine, he crossed the Pyrenees and sought out the Emperor there. After a reception and a dinner at a neighboring château, Ferdinand was informed by Savary that he was expected to exchange his crown for that of the defunct kingdom of Etruria. For several days the tricked prince held out. Virtually, he was a prisoner in the hands of Napoleon. He was joined presently by his father and mother, who had come in their turn to sue for favors from Napoleon. Godoy, who had been liberated by Murat, also came to Bayonne. All three overwhelmed Ferdinand with reproaches.

Things were at this pass when the population of Madrid, exasperated by the events of the last few weeks, rose against the foreign invaders. Before this, anti-French riots had already broken out in Toledo. On May 2—the famous *Dos de Maio*, which has since become a Spanish holiday—the people of Madrid went wild at the sight of a carriage in front of the royal palace which was intended to carry the infant prince, Don Antonio, the last member of the royal family, to France. The horses were taken out of the traces and the little prince was snatched from the carriage. At this moment Murat's aide-de-camp galloped up. He was dragged from his horse and roughly handled till the French guards of the palace came to the rescue. In an incredibly short time the commotion spread through the whole city. French soldiers were struck down on every street, and the military hospital was attacked. Squadrons of cavalry were called in from the suburbs. The great thoroughfare of Alcala, *Puerta del Sol*, and the central square were the chief scenes of slaughter.

At the commencement of the conflict Murat ordered a detachment of 200 men to take possession of the arsenal. Two officers happened to be upon guard there, by name Daoiz

and Velarde. They pointed a cannon down the street and with the help of their gunners succeeded in sweeping the street with grape-shot. Two battalions of French soldiers had to be ordered up, and finally the small band was killed. Several regiments of infantry were marched through the city in detachments, firing volleys into all cross streets. Many of the rioters were shot, others were taken prisoners, and finally order was restored with the help of the Spanish garrison which had been confined in its barracks during the tumult. But at nightfall the peasants from the suburbs beset the gates. As many as sixty were shot during the night. On the morrow it was found that more than five hundred Frenchmen had been killed. In exasperation the French shot eighty of their prisoners on the Prado. Others were shot to death in the barracks.

Such was the news from Madrid that reached Bayonne in the midst of the royal family supplications for their lost throne. Napoleon curtly informed Ferdinand that if he withheld his abdication for another day he would be treated as a rebel. The bearer of this message was Savary, who had played so prominent a part in the memorable execution of the Duke of Enghien. With the fate of that luckless prince thus recalled, Ferdinand hesitated no longer. His father, Charles, likewise renounced the throne. The crown of Spain was yielded to Napoleon by both father and son. They were dismissed with a couple of country houses near Paris, and a life annuity of seven and a half million francs.

About the same time that French troops were seizing the Spanish citadels in Pampeluna, Barcelona, Figueras, and San Sebastian, French soldiers were marched into Rome. Their avowed object was to eject from the Vatican the emissaries of those countries that still maintained hostility to France, to wit: England and Sweden. Pope Pius VII threatened to excommunicate Napoleon. In a papal bull of

March 27 the grievances against Napoleon were recited: "For a long time the Holy See has been burdened by the enforced sustenance of the French troops, which have consumed nearly five million scudi. You have deprived us of the duchies of Beneventum and Ponte-Corvo. Now you have invaded the capital itself, and have made us a prisoner in our own apostolic residence." Napoleon replied to the Pope's threat of excommunication by a decree announcing the annexation of the papal provinces Ancona, Urbino, Macerata, and Camerino to the kingdom of Italy. The King of Naples, Joseph, was summoned to serve as King of Spain, since his brother Louis had declined that honor.

In northern Europe, too, there was a lively interchange of state papers. Russia declared war on Sweden and seized Finland as per agreement with Napoleon. In a proclamation to the Finns the Czar pledged his imperial word that all the internal affairs of their country should pursue their usual course and be managed according to their ancient laws and customs. The payment of taxes, freedom of religious worship, as well as all other privileges guaranteed by the constitution of Finland, were to remain on the same footing. Denmark and Prussia followed suit with declarations of war against Sweden. The King of Sweden answered in kind, General Armfeldt at the head of the Swedish army occupied Norway. Great Britain engaged to assist Sweden with a monthly subsidy of £100,000, beginning with January, 1808.

Napoleon, during this interval, collected a body of Spanish notables at Bayonne, composed mainly of the courtiers that had come into the suite of the dethroned king and queen. Joseph was hurried from Naples by the following peremptory letter: "I desire immediately on the receipt of this letter that you will give the regency of the kingdom of Naples to whomever you like, the command of the troops to Marshal Jourdan, and then start for Bayonne. You will receive this

letter on the 19th. You will leave on the 20th, and be here on the 1st of June." Joseph unwillingly complied. Murat, who had set his heart on the throne of Spain, sickened with chagrin and nearly died.

In every part of Spain the people were arming to expel the foreign intruder. On May 20, the same day that Tuscany, Piacenza, and Parma were wrested from another Bourbon prince, the abdication of the Spanish Bourbons was announced in the "Gazeta" of Madrid. Napoleon, through this medium, thus addressed the Spanish people: "I have watched your sufferings; I shall remedy them. Your princes have ceded to me their rights to the crown of Spain. I do not wish to reign over your provinces, but I would earn a title to your eternal love and the gratitude of your descendants. Your monarchy is old; my mission is to rejuvenate it. Be full of hope and confidence, therefore, and your descendants will preserve my memory, and say, 'He was the regenerator of our country.'"

The effect of this pronunciamiento was magical. The whole country, as by one impulse, rose up in arms. Cartagena rose against the French on May 22. Valencia, on the next day, proclaimed Ferdinand as the only rightful ruler of Spain. Two days later the mountain district of Asturias, with a population of 500,000, declared war on Napoleon in the name of the royal house. On May 26 Seville and Santander, on opposite sides of the peninsula, joined the movement. The feast of St. Ferdinand, on May 30, was selected as a fitting day for most of the remaining provinces to declare war against the French. Granada, Corunna, and Badajoz took up arms, and national juntas were formed. The junta of Asturias sent emissaries to England to ask for aid. One of them was Viscount Matarosa, better known as the Count of Toreno, who has left one of the most faithful records of these events. The junta of Asturias issued a

declaration warning Spaniards that their native country, their king, their property, laws, liberties, religion, yea, even their hope for a better world, were at stake. At Valencia every Frenchman seen on the streets was killed at sight. In Valladolid the people erected a gibbet before the residence of the Governor of Leon and gave him the choice whether he would join their movement or be hanged. In the country frightful excesses were committed on straggling French soldiers. The fourteen Spanish provinces all rose against France. The four Basque provinces alone, being overrun by French soldiers, did not join the movement. On June 6 the junta of Seville issued a proclamation in the name of Spain and of Ferdinand. Napoleon was charged with the criminal abduction and terrorization of their king and nobles. His announced intention to impose the French king upon Spain was denounced as the worst "perfidy," fraud, and treachery that was ever committed against any nation or monarch by the most barbarous and ambitious kings." "War should not cease," declared the junta, "until Ferdinand and the rest of the royal family be restored to their throne and Spain relieved of the last French soldier." Andalusia was the province that contained the most Spanish troops. They joined the insurrection at once. That circumstance, with the fact that the Sierra Morena, a wild mountain range, runs through that region, made Andalusia the most formidable centre of the rebellion. The Marquis of Solano, commanding a Spanish auxiliary force at Cadiz, was ordered by the junta to seize the French squadron there. He refused and was put to death. His successor ordered Admiral Rosily to surrender, but the French sailed to the middle of the wide harbor, where they were out of reach of guns, and awaited aid from Dupont. Before a week had passed the British ministry, through Canning, sent assurances to Spain that troops and money would be furnished. Three hundred

thousand pounds in Spanish dollars were sent at once, with a huge quantity of arms and ammunition. The speedy despatch of a fleet with a strong landing force was promised at Gijon. Sir Charles Cotton, commanding the British naval forces off the coasts of Spain, was ordered to render all possible aid. Within a month, a treaty for offensive and defensive alliance was signed in Oporto between the emissaries of England and Spain. "Hitherto," cried Sheridan, leader of the Whig opposition, "Bonaparte has contended with princes without dignity, numbers without ardor, or peoples without patriotism. He has yet to learn what it is to combat a people who are animated by one spirit against him." Tory and Whig alike held that "never had so happy an opportunity existed in Britain to strike a bold stroke for the rescue of the world." On June 15 Napoleon's Assembly of Notables was convoked at Bayonne, and accepted a constitution modeled on that of France. All privileges of nobility were abolished. The Catholic religion was declared to be the only one permitted in Spain. Joseph Bonaparte received royal homage from the notables, and hastened to cross the Pyrenees. On July 12 he arrived at Vittoria with a guard of 8,000 Italian soldiers. His best protection was the forces of General Verdier posted along his route in Spain. At Vittoria an attempt was made to stop Joseph's progress, but his guards quickly suppressed the riot. All over the country, in fact, the French were engaged in suppressing uprisings against them. The trained veterans of France easily worsted the insurgents wherever they met them in the open. General Verdier defeated the rebels without trouble at Logrono, Frère at Segovia, Lasalle at Torquemada, at the bridge of Cabezon, and before Valladolid, where Gregorio della Cuesta made his troops fight with their backs to the river. The Aragonese bands were scattered at Tudela and Mallen. In all these engagements the French losses were

insignificant, while the peasants were butchered right and left. In the east and south of Spain, on the other hand, the French were checked. Monecy, who was to subdue Valencia, had to come to a halt half-way. General Duhesme found himself blocked in Barcelona, and Lefebvre-Desnouettes was held in check before Saragossa by Palafox. In Andalusia, Dupont had to retreat to Andujar before the armies of Castaños and Granda. The sack of Cordova by his troops and the pillage of the churches there was resented on the part of the Spaniards by acts of unexampled ferocity against the French. Every soldier found at large was killed by the peasants and the sick and wounded were mutilated. The wells around the French camps were poisoned. The French grew to realize that they had to do with an enemy who neither asked nor gave quarter.

Such was the state of affairs when Joseph entered Madrid. He was proclaimed king on July 20.

On the same day, as it happened, the Janizaries in Constantinople deposed Sultan Mustapha. When they called for their former Sultan Selim, his dead body was flung before them. His cousin Mahmoud was made Sultan.

In Naples, Murat was crowned King of both Sicilies in Joseph's stead. During Joseph's journey from the Pyrenees the scales had dropped from his eyes. To his brother he wrote: "No one has hitherto told you the truth. The fact is that not one single Spaniard comes forward to take part with me. Fear does not make me see double. Since I have been in Spain, I say to myself every day, 'My life is of little value.' I am not frightened by my position, but it is unique in history. I have not a single partisan." The warning was lost on Napoleon. In all this affair with Spain he gave little evidence of the great genius which had hitherto distinguished his public conduct. His wonted perspicacity and ability to cope with the situation in advance of the actual

event changed into a blindness of which history offers but few examples. From the start he misunderstood the character of the Spanish people and of their peculiar warfare. Instead of centralizing his forces for a master-stroke, as he had always done in the past, he scattered them over the whole country in isolated detachments. So purblind was he that he undertook to direct all military movements from home, a thing which he himself had so often denounced as one of the capital errors of war.

Instead of flying to his eagles when they were hard beset in Spain, the Emperor started on a leisurely tour of inspection through the southern provinces of France. In the face of the alarming information which he had lately received from his brother and hard-pressed generals, he dictated a long despatch, in which he reviewed the military situation as it appeared to him from afar. To each general he pointed out the line of conduct he should take. Bessières was praised for his brilliant defeat of 25,000 Spaniards under Cuesta and Blake at Medina del Rio Seco, on July 14. With no more than 20,000 men, Napoleon felt sure General Dupont could take the offensive and overthrow everything before him. The chances in Dupont's favor were estimated at more than eighty in a hundred. The whole situation was summed up in these confident words: "There is nothing to fear on the side of Marshal Bessières, nor in the north of Castile, nor in the kingdom of Léon. There is nothing to fear in Aragon. Saragossa will fall some day, sooner or later. There is nothing to fear in Catalonia, there is nothing for the communication from Burgos to Bayonne." To his brother Joseph, Napoleon wrote: "Be courageous and gay. Never doubt of complete success."

On the day these despatches were dictated in France, Napoleon's favorite, Dupont, whom he had selected for the next marshalship, suffered a disastrous defeat at Baylen,

and capitulated with his whole army of 20,000 men. The battle of Baylen was the worst reverse suffered by French arms on land in all the many campaigns waged since 1792.

After Dupont's troops had pillaged Cordova for three days, they fell back to Andujar before an army of 8,000 Spanish regulars and 20,000 peasants led by Castaños. Castaños was despondent of success until he intercepted a letter of Dupont to Madrid in which the French general asked for reinforcements and medicines. Then Castaños took heart and determined to intercept all reinforcements. A detachment of 500 Frenchmen, which was sent to make a junction with the relieving column, was cut off to a man by the smugglers of Granada. Dupont saw the Spanish forces growing daily in numbers, while his own raw recruits dropped under the summer sun of Spain. Of his men, 600 lay sick with no medicines or ambulances in sight. After severe fighting on July 16, in which the French found themselves hampered by their immense wagon trains containing the loot of Cordova, Dupont determined to fight his way through. On the 19th of July, at three in the morning, the French army moved out from the ferry of Mengibar over the Guadalquivir River. They numbered 20,000 men. The Spaniards facing them had a division of 9,000 under Lieutenant-General Reding, a Swiss, and 25,000 more under Castaños, De Compigny, La Peña, and Jones. One-half of their fighting men were peasants. The brunt of the engagement that ensued fell on Compigny and Reding. The first shock of the French was so furious that the Spanish vanguard suffered fearful losses. But the infantry of the line held its ground and its artillery was so well served that forty French guns were dismounted. The French advances in the face of a galling fire were renewed throughout the forenoon, and in the end Dupont himself led a general assault on the Spanish batteries. At this point, another Span-

ish division under General La Peña arrived and bore in on the French from another quarter. The Swiss regiments serving under the French colors went over to the Spaniards. At noon, Dupont, wounded and despairing, sent a request for an armistice wherein to arrange for a capitulation.

While the generals on both sides were conferring, Vedel brought a French division from Guaroman, where he had halted for several hours within hearing of the roar of battle. Coming upon the Spanish rear, he attacked Reding's division and captured two guns with about fifteen hundred prisoners. Then an aide-de-camp from Dupont ordered him to cease firing. Surrender of all the French troops was demanded. Vedel expressed his preference for a joint attack on Reding, and like counsel was given by General Privé. Dupont suggested, by way of compromise, that Vedel give up his Spanish prisoners and retire out of their reach. Thereupon the Spanish generalissimo, Castaños, threatened Dupont with a general massacre if Vedel were not recalled. Under orders from Dupont, Vedel came in and surrendered. Eighteen thousand Frenchmen laid down their arms on a Spanish promise that the officers were to be paroled and their baggage left undisturbed, while the common soldiers were to be returned to France. Villontreys went into the Morena, and gathering up the French detachments as far as Toledo, brought them in as voluntary prisoners. The capitulation, shameful in itself, was shamefully broken. The French troops, instead of being returned to France, were either imprisoned in galleys or exported to the desert island of Cabrera. A number were so maltreated that they died. At Labrixie more than eighty of the paroled officers were shot down on the market-place. Dupont himself, with all his staff, was allowed to return to be court-martialed in France, but General Privé, who had protested against the surrender, was left in the hands of the Spaniards.

Marshal Money was no more successful in Valencia than Dupont in Andalusia, though he escaped capture and succeeded in reaching Madrid after heavy losses. His attempt to take Valencia by storm had resulted disastrously. Of his division of 15,000 men, only 10,000 returned, with 150 wagons carrying the wounded. The Spaniards sent 1,500 of his men to Carthagena.

The campaign of Aragon was equally glorious for the Spanish patriots. Saragossa, then a city of 50,000, had risen against the French two hours after Napoleon's proclamation was read aloud by the town crier. Palafox, an officer of the guards and one of Ferdinand's retinue who had escaped from Bayonne, assumed command. He was aided by Tio Jorge and Tio Marin, two simple citizens.

Surrounded by a low brick wall, Saragossa presented no regular defences and possessed very few guns, but the houses were massively built and the great monasteries and convents, forty in number, served as citadels. The Convent of San José, covered by the torrent Huerba, and Monte Torrero, a high hill, served for towers. Palafox was beaten in a succession of preliminary fights in front of Saragossa, when Lefebvre with his French army was marching on the heroic town. By the middle of July the French drove Palafox from the olive groves and country houses between the convents of San José and Monte Torrero. The city was closely invested. Two French companies penetrated into the street of Santa Engracia. The French could have taken the town had the soldiers not feared an ambush and retired. During the night the citizens threw up defences and put the whole city in condition to withstand assault. In the meanwhile Palafox recrossed the Ebro at Pina, and joining Baron Versarge at Belchite, gathered some 8,000 scattered Spanish insurgents. With them he gained the Xalon in the rear of the French and made an attempt to relieve Saragossa by a

diversion from that quarter. While still on the march his forces were routed by two French regiments. Lefebvre, during the interval, took Monte Torrero by assault. Palafox with his beaten troops hastened back to Saragossa and entered the city just in time to see the French storm the convents of San José and of the Capuchins. Both convents, though occupied and fortified by the French, were again relinquished by them. Presently Lefebvre received orders to Join Bessières on the Ebro with one of his brigades. General Verdier remained in command with 10,000 French soldiers. This general, though harassed by small bodies of insurgents all around him, pressed the siege more closely. During July the French made several successful assaults on the gates of El Carmen and the Portillo. It was on one of these occasions that Augustina Saragossa, a young woman of twenty-two, is said to have leaped on a cannon and to have discharged it in the face of the enemy, after which she recorded a vow that she would serve the battery until the bitter end, be it her own death or the relief of Saragossa. She was decorated with a medal and henceforth received the full pay of a regular gunner. Shortly after this the besieged Spaniards tried to retake Monte Torrero. Nearly one thousand Spanish regular soldiers succeeded in fighting their way into the city. The French, too, were increased to 15,000 by the arrival of two veteran regiments. On August 3 the city was bombarded by all the French batteries from morning to night. The Spanish powder magazine was blown up. The next day the Convent of Santa Engracia was stormed by the French. A detachment of French soldiers got into the old Moorish quarter and terrible fighting ensued in its narrow streets. Soldiers, citizens, monks, women, and children took part in the hand-to-hand struggle, and the French were cut to pieces. During the tumult the hospital for the insane was set on fire and the maniacs rushed out into the thick of

the fight. In another part of the city the French had been victorious, but lost all by stopping to plunder. The people set fire to the convent of San Francisco and drove the scattered French into the fire. At close of day the French still held one side of the Cosso, one of the great thoroughfares of Saragossa, while the citizens were barricaded on the other side. Here the most murderous fighting was carried on. The contending forces shot at each other across the street with muskets and cannon, and gutters were filled with dead bodies. After several days of this the French sent a summons for surrender. They received the laconic answer: "*Guerra al cuchillo*—War to the knife!" Slowly the French were making headway when orders came to General Verdier to raise the siege and to fall back on Laroná. The French retired, pursued by Palafox's forces as far as to Navarre.

In Catalonia the small town of Gerona defended itself with equal success against Duhesme. After a siege of a fortnight, during which 400 bombs and hand grenades were dropped into the town on one single night, the French were forced to retreat by a sortie of the Geronese. Duhesme had to fall back on Barcelona, leaving his artillery and ammunition behind him.

At Madrid the news of these disasters caused consternation. Joseph called a council of war. It was proposed to concentrate all the French force at Madrid to fall upon the Spanish armies one by one as they advanced to the capital. But Joseph had enough. He left Madrid on July 29, just nine days after his entry into the city.

A proclamation was published that "the French army would seek healthier quarters, where the air was better and purer drinking water could be obtained." On the same day that Madrid was abandoned an English army of 16,000, under Arthur Wellesley (afterward Wellington), landed in Portugal at the mouth of the Mondego, and marched to

Leirra, sixty miles from Lisbon. King Joseph in the meanwhile retreated over Vittoria and Segovia to Burgos. This town was made the rendezvous of the whole French army. Before leaving Madrid the French plundered the public treasury and carried off all the crown jewels of the royal family. Thence arose a Spanish saying: "The crown of Spain was too big for Joseph's head, so he put it in his pouch."

In Portugal, Marshal Junot was unable to bring more than 13,000 men into the field against the English. Aware that General Wellesley would shortly be reenforced from the sea, Junot determined not to await a joint attack on Lisbon. He advanced to Vimeiro. There a pitched battle was fought, at the end of which the French retired in good order. Junot's forces could scarcely escape capture, but at this point General Wellesley was replaced by Sir Harry Bourrard. This commander entered into negotiations for a peaceful evacuation of Portugal. In the convention of Cintra, signed August 30, it was agreed that the French troops should be shipped to France at the expense of the British Government. A Russian fleet under Admiral Siniavin, riding at anchor in the Tagus, fell a prey to the British. The French, during their embarkation, had to be protected by British bayonets against excesses on the part of the enraged people of Lisbon. Special protests were made against letting the French carry off the rich loot they had gathered while in Portugal. Yet Junot succeeded in carrying away with him the famous manuscript Bible of Belem, which had been presented to the monastery of the Hieronymites by Pope Julius II. In later years these precious volumes were bought back by Portugal at the price of 80,000 francs.

The convention of Cintra afforded little glory for either side. When on the point of court-martialing Junot for his capitulation, Napoleon learned that the British military had ordered their own generals, Bourrard, Wellesley, Moore, and

Dalrymple, to be brought to trial for permitting Junot to escape them.

While Junot's troops were embarking for France, another famous embarkation was made in Denmark. There 10,000 Spanish soldiers, enrolled under the French eagles of Bernadotte, with their captain, the Marquis of Romana, revolted against the French and seized the islands of Nyborg and Langland. Having established communication with the English, they embarked on a British cruiser. By the middle of August they were transported to Spain, with arms and ammunition, to join the cause of their countrymen. Of the entire Spanish forces in northern Europe, 8,000 had to be left behind. Romana's exploit won him a generalship in Spain, but in French annals it has gone down as the treason of Romana.

The consequences of the French reverses in Spain were far-reaching. It broke the spell that the arms of Napoleon, hitherto invincible, had cast over the spirit of his cowed enemies. In Austria the Ministry of Stadion, aided by Archduke Charles, pushed forward the new armaments with fresh vigor. The peasants of the Tyrol, oppressed under the new Bavarian rule, grew restive. In Prussia the younger elements of the nation began to seethe. "I do not see," said Blücher, "why we should not think ourselves as good as the Spaniards." Stein's Ministry adopted a policy of resistance to Napoleon, and Scharnhorst infused the same spirit into the army. The Sultan of Turkey, apprehensive of new French and Russian aggressions, showed inclination to throw in his lot with England. Even the Dey of Morocco, Ali Mahomet, felt called upon to issue a proclamation of sympathy with the Spanish cause.

In England the Tories joined with the Whigs in cheering the Spanish revolution. It was resolved to make the most of the foothold gained in Spain by placing a strong

army under the command of Sir John Moore. For America the upheaval in Spain meant corresponding upheavals throughout Central and South America. The United States caught the fever. President Jefferson saw in this an opportunity to offset the serious consequences of his policy of non-intercourse with Europe. Negotiations were set on foot to obtain the Floridas from Spain. Napoleon, treating all Spanish possessions as if they were his own, offered to cede Florida to the American Union, on condition that the United States join in his war with England. "War exists in fact between England and the United States," declared Napoleon, in a famous letter, transmitted by Champigny. "It was declared practically when England published her decree against American commerce." General Armstrong, at the American legation in Paris, was informed that "should England make any movement against the Floridas, Napoleon would not take it ill if the United States moved troops there for their defence." When Napoleon suffered disaster in Spain, Jefferson at once saw a new opportunity for America. On August 9 he wrote to one of his Cabinet Ministers: "Should England make up with us while Bonaparte continues at war with Spain, a moment may occur when we may, without danger or commitment with either France or England, seize this country to our limits of Louisiana as of right, and the residue of the Floridas as reprisal for spoliation. It is our duty to have an eye to this in stationing our new recruits and armed vessels so as to be ready, if Congress authorizes it, to strike in a moment." Shortly afterward the Cabinet debated the subject. Jefferson recorded this memorandum of his attitude toward the Spanish colonies in America: "If you remain under the dominion of the kingdom and family of Spain, we are contented; but we should be extremely unwilling to see you pass under the dominion or ascendancy of France or England." Here is

to be seen the germ of the famous American attitude toward the Old World, enunciated in later years by Monroe. The independence of the Spanish colonies from European rule in any form was Jefferson's steadfast ideal. Throughout South America, in Mexico, Cuba, and in the Floridas, meanwhile, the Spanish patriots were eager to do their part for the mother country. The French settlers were driven out of Porto Rico, Deseada, and Maria Galante. In Cuba the Spanish governor had difficulty in preventing a massacre of the French at Havana and Santiago de Cuba. All Florida was seething. Jefferson's non-committal attitude toward this movement gave rise to a suspicion in America that the President was secretly leagued with Napoleon. This lost him many supporters in the North. The New England conscience declared itself with fervor for the Spanish cause. Northern opposition to the continued immolation of American trade on the altar of Jefferson's embargo grew exceedingly bitter. A young New England poet, William Cullen Bryant, then barely in his teens, published "The Embargo: a Satire against Thomas Jefferson," in which he stigmatized Jefferson as

"the scorn of every patriot name,
Thy country's ruin and her council's shame."

Bryant's verses reflected the spirit then prevailing in certain parts of America. The cost of the embargo to the nation had been fearful. At a moment's notice, President Jefferson and his followers in Congress had bidden all ocean commerce to cease. Every ship was withdrawn from the sea and merchants closed their doors. American products sank in value. Wheat dropped from two dollars to seventy-five cents a bushel. Other produce became unsalable, such as cotton, tobacco, rice, and timber. Artisans ceased working, laborers dropped their tools, and wages stopped. Every imported article rose in price. Thousands of sailors hung

idle around the wharves. In the South the effects of the embargo were felt the worst. Tobacco, rice, and cotton were almost worthless, yet 400,000 negro slaves had to be supported. Jefferson's own State, Virginia, sunk into stagnation. The President's private family fortune was involved in the general ruin.

By the time Jefferson was ready to hand over the reins of power to his chosen party successor, Madison, the political consequences of the embargo act made themselves felt. New England was lost to Jefferson's party. After the spring elections and during summer Massachusetts declared for Federalism. Gallatin, who, as Secretary of the Treasury, knew best the difficulties created by the embargo, began to despair. He wrote: "If propositions from Great Britain or other events do not put it in our power to raise the embargo before the 1st of October, we shall lose the Presidential election. I think that at this moment the Western States, Virginia, South Carolina, and part of Georgia, are the only sound States." Nothing saved Jefferson's party but the fact that the opponents of the Government divided their forces between three candidates—Clinton, Monroe, and Pinckney. James Madison was elected President and George C. Clinton, as the second strongest candidate, was reelected to the Vice-Presidency. The Federalist votes had risen from fourteen to forty-seven.

The consequences of the embargo, while by no means so disastrous in England, were serious enough to be made the subject of Parliamentary inquiry. The Ministry was driven to admit that "loss to America was loss to Great Britain, just as the prosperity of the United States had meant prosperity for the mother country." Napoleon took the same view. In his report on foreign relations, September 1, 1808, he expressed approval of the embargo: "The Americans—this people, who placed their fortune, their prosperity, and

almost their existence in commerce, have given the example of a great and courageous sacrifice. By a general embargo they have interdicted all commercial exchange, rather than shamefully submit to that tribute which the English pretend to impose on the shipping of all nations."

The aspect of other foreign affairs appeared less satisfactory to Napoleon. The new military reforms that were under way in Austria and Prussia gave rise to serious apprehension. The alliance with Russia likewise seemed shaky. To Emperor Francis of Austria Napoleon wrote a remonstrance against all attempts at further hostility, with this threatening conclusion: "All that you have now, you have solely through my good-will." On September 8 he concluded a new convention between France and Prussia. The Prussian army was reduced from 60,000 to 40,000. The war indemnity still due to France was declared to be 145,000,000 francs. This, in the face of the Prince of Prussia's protest that 19,000,000 only remained to be paid! Until the final payment of the indemnity, Prince William of Prussia undertook to remain in France. The Prussian strongholds of Glogau, Stettin, and Kustrin were to remain in French hands, garrisoned by 10,000 men at Prussian expense. Such were the hard conditions imposed at a time that the Prussian revenues amounted to 386,000 thalers, while the public expenses ran up to two and a half millions. Besides this, Napoleon exacted that seven military roads were to run through Prussia, and the region around Magdeburg was to be ceded to France. After this convention had been duly signed at Paris, the resignation of Stein's Ministry was only a question of time.

For Napoleon much depended now on the attitude of Russia. To clear up the situation, he arranged for a personal interview with the Czar, to be held at Erfurt, on September 27. "*Die tollen Tage*" (the mad days) at Erfurt,

as the Germans called them, lasted three weeks. Among those who attended were the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg, the Prince Primate, the Archduke of Baden, the Dukes of Saxony, and many other minor princes. Emperor Francis of Austria was not invited. Nor did Napoleon heed the hints of Metternich, the Austrian Ambassador in Paris, that he be bidden to attend. To gain some information of what went on, Emperor Francis sent Baron de Vincent, a friend of Talleyrand, to deliver an ostensible letter of good-will to both the emperors. Erfurt was so filled with notables that a French officer of the guard, so the story has it, once stopped a drum-beat salute to a passing German prince with the words: "Be quiet, it's only a king." For the benefit of the invited guests the entire Comédie Française played classic dramas to a pit full of royalties.

One of the most interesting events of those days was the meeting of Napoleon and Goethe early in October. The great German poet had just finished the first part of his "Faust." Unlike his contemporaries, Fichte, Schleiermacher, Koerner, Rueckert, and Von Arndt, whose writings at this time were all intensely patriotic, Goethe was an open admirer of Napoleon. Bonaparte in his turn admired Goethe. When Bonaparte sailed to Egypt, Goethe's early masterpiece, "The Sorrows of Werther," had accompanied him. In later years the same book served to lighten Napoleon's solitude at St. Helena. The two men, standing each in his way on the pinnacle of genius and of egotism, met as equals. Napoleon's suggestion to Goethe to write a new drama on Julius Cæsar, which might be an improvement on Shakespeare's tragedy, flattered the German poet.

A week later, at a court ball in Weimar, Napoleon met another famous German poet, Wieland. An interesting record of their meeting has been given by Wieland: "In all my life I never saw a more simple, quiet, gentle, and

unassuming mother's son of a man. From his utterances on poetry, it was clear to me that he was without deep feeling—our German *Gemüth*. . . . Though the man was uncommonly friendly and affable with me, it yet appeared to me at times as if Napoleon wore a mask of bronze.”

Napoleon's most important interviews, of course, were with Alexander, as were the meetings of Talleyrand and De Champigny with Count Romanzov, the Russian Prime Minister. The Czar, in return for a free hand in Finland and in the Balkans, acknowledged Napoleon's brother Joseph as King of Spain, and agreed to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with Napoleon in case France were the first to be attacked. Napoleon, at the Czar's request, remitted 20,000,000 francs from the amount to be paid to him by the King of Prussia. Talleyrand, at one of his frequent audiences with the Czar, first broached the subject of the possible divorce of Josephine. With this contingency in view, he voiced Napoleon's suit for the hand of Alexander's sister, but Alexander begged to be excused. Talleyrand improved the occasion by obtaining the hand of the Princess for his nephew, Egmont de Perigord.

Before leaving Erfurt the two emperors issued a joint letter to the King of England. It opened thus: “Brought together at Erfurt, our first thought is to yield to the wish and the wants of every people, and to seek a speedy pacification with your Majesty, the most efficacious remedy for the miseries which oppress all nations. . . . The cause is to be found in the state of agitation and misery in which the stagnation of maritime commerce has placed the greatest nations. We unite in entreating your Majesty to listen to the voice of humanity silencing that of passions.”

England's answer declared: “If the cause of much misery is to be found in the stagnation of commercial intercourse, although his Majesty can not be expected to hear

with unqualified regret that the system devised for the destruction of the commerce of his subjects has recoiled upon its authors or its instruments—yet it is neither in the disposition of his Majesty nor in the character of the people over whom he reigns to rejoice in the privations and unhappiness even of the nations which are combined against him. In the progress of a war, begun for self-defence, new obligations have been imposed upon England in behalf of Powers whom the aggressions of a common enemy have compelled to make common cause with his Majesty. . . . With Spain his Majesty, though not bound by any formal instrument, in the face of all the world has contracted engagements no less binding than the most solemn treaties. His Majesty therefore assumes that in overtures for general peace Spain is understood to be a party to any negotiations in which England is invited to engage.”

The upshot of the new peace overtures was that France and Russia declined to admit the Spanish “insurgents” to any part in the negotiations. George III of England issued a formal proclamation announcing the continuance of the war: “We deeply lament an issue by which the sufferings of Europe are aggravated and prolonged. But neither the honor of the crown nor the generosity of the British nation would sanction the abandonment of a brave and loyal people, who are fighting for all that is dear to man; and whose exertions in a cause so unquestionably just we have solemnly pledged ourselves to sustain.”

England's interference in the affairs of the Peninsula was at first resented by Portuguese and Spaniards alike. When Sir Arthur Wellesley brought the first British expedition to Spain his services were declined in one port after another, until he betook himself to Portugal. After the Convention of Cintra the Portuguese junta recorded an emphatic protest against the manner of its conclusion. It ap-

peared for a while as if fears of too permanent a British lodgment were almost as strong as hatred of the French. A late instance of this occurred when Colonel Doyle organized the Spanish prisoners at Portsmouth and sailed with them for Coruña. The prisoners, who had been armed and clothed by England, mutinied and carried the transport to different ports of Spain, whence they went to their homes.

After Joseph's retreat from Madrid, the insurrection of Spain may be said to have ceased as a spontaneous popular movement. Thenceforward it became a war for the military control of the Peninsula, conducted between France and various organized bodies of men, now Spaniards, now Portuguese, now Englishmen. The most picturesque accounts of this warfare may be found in such books as Galdos' "Episodios Nacionales," Blackmore's "Alice Lorraine," or Lever's "Charles O'Malley." When the Convention of Cintra opened a way for operations in Spain, Sir Hugh Dalrymple sent Lord William Bentinck to Spain to arrange a plan of cooperation with the Spanish generals.

A council of most of the generals was held at Madrid in the autumn. Castaños, Llama, Cuesta, Infantado, and others came. They could not agree upon a general-in-chief, but decided to unite their forces in the so-called army of the centre. Even this movement was carried out but partially. Owing to the factional intrigues and corruption existing among the Spanish juntas, Castaños declared he would no longer serve under them. In the end a central government was vested in the Assembly, and by the advice of Lord Bentinck and Mr. Stuart, who were authorized to supply the government with British funds, Castaños was to be appointed generalissimo. His appointment, however, was deferred on the characteristic ground that when the enemy was driven over the frontier he might then have leisure to assume command. Yet the condition of the Spanish soldiers, ill fed,

poorly armed and half naked, was declared by Mr. Stuart to be "neither calculated to inspire courage nor to increase enthusiasm."

Napoleon, during the interim, had not been idle. While he was conversing with poets and princes at Erfurt, and dangling the olive branch before the eyes of Englishmen, his armies were marching southward from the banks of the Vistula, Elbe, Danube, and Rhine—northward from Italy and Dalmatia and from all points of France. Denmark was evacuated and 100,000 soldiers of the Empire were withdrawn from the Prussian States. The French garrisons left in Germany were concentrated on the side of Austria. The army in Italy was placed under Prince Eugene de Beauharnais and Masséna. Murat in Naples was directed to raise a Neapolitan army wherewith to threaten Sicily. In France 80,000 new recruits, called to arms before their time, were sent to support the veterans in Spain, while 80,000 more beardless youths were called to the colors as reserves. The march of the multitude was incessant. As the soldiers poured through Paris, Napoleon addressed them: "Soldiers, I have need of you. This day, without a moment of repose, I command you to traverse France. . . . Let us bear our triumphant eagles to the Pillars of Hercules. There we have injuries to avenge."

At the opening of the Corps Legislatif, October 20, the Emperor declared: "In a few days I go to put myself at the head of my armies, and with the aid of God to crown the King of Spain in Madrid—to plant my eagles on the towers of Lisbon." On the same day Sir John Moore left Lisbon with his British force to march for Madrid.

Napoleon arrived in Bayonne on November 3 and crossed the Pyrenees at once at the head of 12,000 troops. Within two days he joined his brother Joseph at Vittoria. By this time the French troops immediately available numbered

more than 90,000. They were distributed at various points under Marshals Momy, Ney, Bessières, and Generals Saligny, Dorsienne, Menthon, La Grange, and Dunat. The Spaniards numbered 76,000. Dissatisfied with his brother Joseph's dispositions, Napoleon at once took command.

The Spanish forces had at last been united under Castaños. They crossed the Ebro at three points, and took possession of Lerin, Viana, Caboroso, and other French posts on the left bank of the Ebro. The French did not oppose Castaños's advance toward Pampeluna any further than was necessary to mask their own operations. Marshal Momy decoyed Castaños well beyond the banks of the Allagon and Ebro. Then, suddenly, Marshal Ney, dashing across the river in three separate columns, took the Spanish posts of Lagrona and Colchora. He threw the whole army into confusion and cut off communication between Castaños's main army and Blake's corps.

In a series of actions during the first week of November, the Spanish right wing under General Blake was driven south from Durango to Guenas, from Guenas to Valmesda, and from there to Espinoza. In the strong position there the Galician army made a stand in order to save its magazines and artillery, but was routed after two days of fighting. Most of the guns were captured by the French. General Blake, with the remains of his broken army, retreated to the mountains of Asturias. Marshal Soult occupied Santander on November 16. The Bishop of St. Anderos took refuge in an English frigate. Napoleon made his headquarters at Burgos. This town was sacked under his eyes. An eye-witness has told how he saw a bivouac fire under Napoleon's windows fed all night with musical instruments.

The Estremaduran army, under Count Belvidere, was lured to a weak position near Burgos, where the French fell upon it in overwhelming numbers. After an all-day

fight, this whole army was all but annihilated. The Spanish commander fled to Aranda. The north of Spain was thus laid prostrate. All the year communications of the French army were safeguarded to Napoleon's generals. Having disposed of these two armies, the French combined their forces against a central army under Castaños. The Spanish vanguards were drawn on to Tudela, and there, on November 23, the main army stood battle. The outcome fixed the fate of the whole campaign.

A concise description of the whole affair was given in the eleventh bulletin of the grand army of the empire in Spain: "On November 23, at break of day, the general of division, Lefebvre, at the head of the cavalry, and supported by the division of General Morlat, forming the advance-guard, met with the enemy. His army was found to be in seven divisions, consisting of 45,000 men under arms, with its right before Tudela, and its left spread over a league and a half—a disposition altogether faulty. Forty pieces of artillery covered the enemy's line. The Duke of Montebello (Marshal Lannes) caused the centre to be pierced by the division of General Matthews. The general of division, Lefebvre, with his cavalry, immediately passed on the trot through this opening, and, by a quarter wheel to the left enveloped the enemy. The moment when half the enemy's line found itself thus turned and defeated was that in which General Lagrange attacked the village of Cascante and overthrew Castaños's line. They abandoned the field of battle, leaving behind their artillery and a great number of prisoners. The cavalry pursued the remains of the enemy's army to Mallen, in the direction of Saragossa, and to Terragona, in the direction of Agreda. Seven standards, thirty guns, twelve colonels, three hundred officers, and five thousand troops of the line were taken. No quarter was given to any of the peasants found in arms. Four thousand Spaniards

were left dead or plunged into the Ebro. Victory was thus struck home as with a thunderbolt and the league of our enemies is dispersed."

As a matter of fact, Tudela fell short of Napoleon's expectations; for, thanks to the carelessness or stubbornness of Ney, who rejected Jomini's suggestions to advance at once upon Calatyud, Castaños was able to rally 20,000 of his men at that place. By the battle of Tudela the road was laid open to Madrid. On November 29 the French advance-guard reached the foot of the Somosierra. In the strong pass of El Puerto, 11,000 Spaniards, under Don Benito San Juan, were judiciously posted. A battery of sixteen guns planted in the neck of the pass swept the steep road. The Spanish infantry lay in the mountain ridges, one line above the other, with intrenchments at all open parts. A French detachment, sent to attack the advance post of Sepulveda, was beaten back with loss. Yet the Spaniards retired. At daybreak the French swarmed over the mountainside in skirmish order. Their fire was well returned, and the central column waited at the foot of the pass, unwilling to expose itself to the frowning batteries mounted on the crest. At this moment Napoleon rode into the mouth of the pass, through the halting ranks of his infantry. The blue smoke of musketry hung over the road. In sudden inspiration he ordered the Polish Lancers of his guard to charge up the mountainside and take the Spanish guns. Three squadrons dashed up the steep road. As the mass of crimson-clad wild horsemen swept past the Spanish sharpshooters on both sides, the Spaniards discharged their muskets and ran toward the summit of the pass. The first platoon of the Lancers went down, but the others galloped over them, led by Kraszynski and Montbrun. The foremost ranks of the Poles were mowed down by grape-shot, but before the gunners could reload the Lancers were upon them. Leaping their horses over the in-

trenchments, they took the battery. The Spanish infantry, drawn up on both sides, took to their heels.

This wild charge, rash and almost hopeless from a military point of view, is one of the most glorious exploits of French and Polish annals. It could have been stopped by two good companies of infantry. As it was, an almost impregnable position, defended by 12,000 men, was abandoned to a few hundred horsemen. Madrid was now uncovered. On the news of Napoleon's passage of the Somosierra, the central junta left Aranjuez and committed the defence of the capital to the people. Barricades were erected and volunteers enrolled in Madrid. But without any leadership but that of Tommaso di Morla, the former Governor of Cadiz, everything went topsy-turvy. Sand having been found in a number of cartridges and in a powder magazine, the mob lynched the Municipal Administrator, Marquis de Perales. On December 2 the French army appeared in force before the gates. Napoleon called for a surrender. His summons was ignored. The next day French batteries played on the Buen Retiro, commanding the town, while assaults were made on the gates of Alcala, Reccollets, Atocha, and Fuen Caril. A breach having been opened, the French division of Villate stormed the Retiro. The Madrileños fell back behind their barricades. Again Napoleon called for a surrender. Morla, with Yriarte, replied by asking for an armistice. The next day Madrid capitulated. Napoleon with his army made a triumphal entry into the capital. The inhabitants shut themselves up in their houses, and not a voice was raised in welcome of the French. After some excesses of the mob against the French soldiers, Napoleon canceled all the terms of his capitulation. He notified the paroled Spanish officers that they were prisoners. Sentences of imprisonment were likewise imposed upon the Prince of Castelfranco, the Marquis de Santa Cruz, Count d'Altamira, and the Mar-

quis de St. Simon. Other decrees abolished feudal rights, the Inquisition, internal customs regulations, and one-third of all the convents existing in Spain. Napoleon issued a proclamation announcing that if Spain refused recognition to King Joseph he would himself place the crown on his head.

Another decree was in regard to Prussia. The evacuation of Berlin by the French troops was sanctioned, but one Stein, the fallen Prime Minister of Prussia, was declared to be an outlaw and enemy of the Empire. His property was confiscated and he was ordered to be apprehended at sight. Stein escaped across the border to Bohemia. As a crowning humiliation to the King of Prussia, he was compelled to pursue with his police, as a criminal, the wisest counselor he had ever had. While at Madrid, Napoleon learned of the recent palace revolution at Constantinople. The Janizaries had risen again and had strangled Mustapha, the Grand Vizier. Baraiktar blew himself up with his guards.

During the latter part of December the French won several handsome victories. At Cardeda, or Llenas, near Barcelona, General Saint Cyr attacked the army of Catalonia. The French troops, though unprovided with artillery or ammunition, routed the Spaniards with the bayonet. On December 21 General Saint Cyr, in a threefold battle at Llobrigat, San Felice, and Molino del Rey, near Barcelona, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Spaniards and took all their artillery and ammunition. Sir John Moore, marching into Spain, learned at Salamanca of the disasters that had overtaken the Spanish army. His own artillery and cavalry did not rejoin him until December. Moore at first decided to retreat to Portugal, leaving an order for Sir David Baird to return to Coruña. At the entreaties of the Spanish general, and of Frere, the British envoy to the central junta, Moore agreed to march to Valladolid, thereby sacrificing his

communications with Portugal. Henceforth his base must be Coruña. On December 20 he effected a junction with Baird at Majojorga, which brought his forces up to 25,000 men. Marshal Soult fell back before them beyond Sahagun.

Napoleon divined the significance of Moore's movement. "Everything leads me to believe," he wrote to Joseph, as he left Madrid, "that they are evacuating Portugal, and directing their line of operation on Coruña. In making this retrograde movement, they may hope to inflict a check on Marshal Soult's corps." Late in December he wrote to Josephine: "I am starting this moment. I am going to outmanœuvre the English. They appear to have their reenforcements and now wish to play the swaggerers." That evening he crossed the Guadarrama in a fearful storm. The snow was so thick that all had to dismount and plod on foot, with Napoleon leading the way. On Christmas Day the Emperor was near Valladolid, in hourly expectation of catching the English between his own forces and those of Soult. Sir John Moore, who was about to engage Soult, learned through the Marquis of Romana of Napoleon's rapid advance and prudently fell back. The road to Coruña was encumbered by the Spanish transports, and the British had to go by the way of Benevento toward Astorga, blowing up the bridge over the Ezla. General Lefebvre, with an advance guard of cavalry at Medina del Rio Seco, was so eager to catch up that he swam his squadron across the river. There they were met by Lord Paget's rearguard of cavalry and were put to the sword. Lefebvre himself was made a prisoner while struggling in the water. Napoleon pursued the British until the end of the year, amid wretched weather and over muddy roads. When he reached Astorga, he saw that he was no longer able to prevent Moore from embarking at Coruña. Abruptly he turned the command over to Soult and Ney, and returned to Valladolid.

EVENTS OF 1809

British Embark at Coruña—Death of Sir John Moore—Duke of York Disgraced for Selling Army Commissions—Napoleon Returns to Paris—Punishes Fouché and Talleyrand for Alleged Plot to Replace Napoleon with Murat—Second Siege of Saragossa—It Capitulates after Heroic Resistance—St. Cyr Conquers Catalonia—Soult Conquers Portugal—Hard Times in England—Inauguration of President Madison—England Promises to Renew Trade with America—Gustavus Adolphus IV of Sweden is Forced to Abdicate for Continuing Disastrous War against France—Christian XIII, His Successor, Makes Armistice—Russians, Beaten in Battle by Finns, Win Strongholds by Treachery—Prussia and Austria Prepare for War with France—Napoleon Takes the Offensive—Concentrates His Armies by Brilliant Tactics—Tyrolese Take Innsbruck from French—At Thann, Abendsberg, Landshut, Eggsmuehl, and Regensburg, Napoleon Wins Five Battles in Five Days by the Greatest Military Manœuvres of His Career—Costly Victory of Ebelsberg—Capture of Vienna—Napoleon Deposits the Pope—Death of Haydn—Lords Gambier and Cochrane Destroy French Squadron at Aix—Wellesley Drives Soult from Portugal—Beauharnais and Macdonald Drive Austrians Back in Italy—Lefebvre Recaptures Innsbruck—Russia Declares War on Austria and Occupies Poland—Conspiracy of Brunswick, Dörnberg, and Schill in Prussia against Napoleon is Crushed—By Drawn Battles of Aspern and Esslingen French are Held South of the Danube—Death of Lannes—Revolt is Crushed in Tyrol—French Army in Italy Enters Austria—Pope Excommunicates Napoleon, who Imprisons Pope—Suchet Defeats Spanish Army under Blake at Belchite—Lauriston Conquers Hungary—Napoleon Crosses Danube—Wins the Great Victory of Wagram—Armistice—English Take French Possessions in West Indies and Africa—Wellesley Wins Battle of Talavera—Is Made Viscount Wellington—Retreats before Combined French Armies—Cordova and Seville Taken by French—Heroic Resistance of Spanish at Third Siege of Gerona—Augereau Replaces St. Cyr—Sir John Stuart Fails to Take Naples—British Invade Holland, but are Driven Home by Sickness—Canning is Wounded in Duel with Castlereagh—He Repudiates Compact with America—Madison Revives Non-Intercourse Act—Staaps Attempts to Assassinate Napoleon—Peace is Made between France and Austria—Napoleon Returns to Paris—Quarrels with Josephine—Divorces Her.

ON the first of January Sir John Moore's rear-guard quit Astorga. Next day Napoleon, having received new despatches from Paris, in his turn left Astorga and hastened back to Valladolid, en route for Paris. Marshal Lannes, who had just caught up with him, having been summoned from a sick-bed, was placed in charge of the second siege of Saragossa. Immediately after his

departure, the British cavalry beat off their pursuers in a sharp skirmish at Calcabeles. At Prieros a Spanish division laid down their arms. By January 6 the British rear-guard, having thrice checked the French pursuit, rejoined the main body at Lugo. For two days the exhausted British troops lay at rest there in battle order. When they crossed the snow-covered mountain ridge between Villafranca and Lugo their provisions had failed them. Then the men had to live by pillage; horses were slaughtered for food, and stores of all kinds had to be thrown away by the exhausted soldiers. Thousands of stragglers were left to freeze to death or fall a prey to the French. By the time Lugo was reached the whole army, excepting the rear-guard, was in a state of dissolution. Marshal Soult neglected to press his advantage by a pitched battle at Lugo, and the English slipped out of their position during the night of the second day. The night march from Lugo to Batanzas cost the British in stragglers more than double the number of men lost in all preceding operations. The troops got to Batanzas on the 10th of January. By a forced march next day they reached Coruña. In nine days of marching they had covered 150 miles. Napoleon, during the early part of his pursuit, had covered 164 miles over worse roads in seven days.

At Coruña the British to their dismay found no sign of their fleet. Nothing remained for Moore but to prepare for a last stand. With their backs to the sea, the British soldiers were lined up for battle. Happily for them the French were slow in coming up. At last, on January 14, the British squadron hove in sight off Coruña. Then Marshal Soult woke up and made a determined effort to prevent the British from embarking. All day long, on the 16th of January, the battle raged, but the English held all their positions. Their two commanding generals, Moore and Baird, were struck down in battle. Moore, while in the midst of

the fight, received a cannon ball in his breast. The wound was so gaping that the hilt of his sword got entangled in it. When an officer tried to remove it Moore stopped him, saying: "It is well as it is. I would rather have my sword to go out of the field together with me." Sir John Moore died in the knowledge that his men were saved. With his eyes on the transports, he expired in the arms of his friend, Colonel Anderson, murmuring: "You know that I always wished to die thus—I hope the English people will be content." That night the whole British army embarked to the last man. Next morning they put to sea.

The end of the first English expedition to Spain was followed by a burst of feeling in England. As it happened, a terrible storm off Coruña scattered the transports. Many ships were wrecked, and the others driving up the Channel were glad to put in wherever they could. The soldiers were thrown on shore from Land's End to Dover in a pitiable state. Their tales of the sufferings they had undergone were harrowing. A Parliamentary inquiry was called for, and severe strictures were passed on the conduct of the campaign. Moore's character was vindicated even by his enemies. Napoleon, in later years, both at Elba and St. Helena, affirmed that Moore's talents and firmness alone had saved the English army from destruction.

The most famous tribute to the memory of Sir John Moore was Charles Wolfe's poem on his burial, which has become a classic:

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 "Slowly and sadly we laid him down
 From the field of his fame, fresh and gory;
 We carved not a line, we raised not a stone—
 But we left him alone in his glory."

During the acrid Parliamentary discussions that followed the unfortunate campaign in Spain, an opportunity was afforded to clear the reputation of Sir Arthur Wellesley for

the part he bore in ratifying the Convention of Cintra. Sir Arthur, who strongly condemned the inaction of his superior officers after the battle, agreed with them that when the enemy had once been permitted to escape, the evacuation of Portugal was the best result the English could obtain. Accordingly the King of England, while approving the verdict of the board of inquiry, formally announced his disapproval of the convention itself. By way of consolation for Sir Arthur's enforced inactivity during these proceedings, Parliament gave him a vote of thanks, and he was promptly appointed to another command in Spain. The wrath of the people turned against the Duke of York, the commander-in-chief of the British army, who was found to have carried on a corrupt traffic in military commissions through the medium of his mistress, one Mrs. Clarke. At the end of the sensational trial the matter was so plain that the Duke of York had to resign.

Across the Channel, at the same time, equally high functionaries of the French Empire found themselves in trouble. Napoleon had left Valladolid on January 17, without waiting to learn the outcome of Soult's operations against the English. He contented himself with leaving instructions to reoccupy Portugal, to send the best masterpieces of Spanish art to the Louvre, and to hang a score or so of Spanish malcontents in Madrid. From Valladolid he sent a warlike circular note to the princes of the Germanic Federation, bidding them beware of Austria. He announced to them that he was ready to move into the valley of the Inn with 150,000 men without withdrawing a single soldier from Spain. From Valladolid to Paris Napoleon traveled at such speed that all his suite were left behind at various stages of the journey. In the first five hours he rode eighty-five miles, by means of saddle horses posted along the route in relays of nine horses for every ten miles. At Bayonne he took a coach and trav-

eled thence to Paris by equally rapid relays of post horses. On the 23d of January he arrived in Paris. Marshal Berthier was despatched at once to Germany to assemble the French forces of the Danube. From the scenes that followed in the Tuileries it was clear that the Emperor had returned to his court in a very ill humor. Acting on the reports of his spies, who informed him of the recent reconciliation of Talleyrand and Fouché, and of their alleged plans to make Murat Napoleon's successor, he summoned each in turn before him. Unable to prove the truth of these allegations he took occasion to overwhelm Fouché with public censure at the first meeting of the Imperial Council. Talleyrand was called to account for some of his reported comments on Napoleon's dealings with the Bourbons, in particular those with the princes of Spain and the Duke of Enghien. The Emperor became very violent during the interview, and once or twice threatened to strike Talleyrand with his fist. Talleyrand received his master's reproaches in silence. When all was ended he made a low bow and retired. Next day he attended the Sunday levee at court as usual. Napoleon pretended not to see him. He deprived Talleyrand of his dignities as Grand Chamberlain at the imperial court. One of Talleyrand's royalist friends, Madame de Chevreuse, for her refusal to act as lady-in-waiting to the deposed Queen of Spain, was banished from Paris. Murat, at Naples, was informed that his presumption in bestowing Sicilian orders on some of his friends was "supremely ridiculous." Louis of Holland was sharply reprimanded for his benign toleration of the smuggling trade that flourished between England and Holland. The social atmosphere of Josephine's imperial court, never too free from apprehension, was full of gloomy forebodings. Several former favorites were exiled from court. Since the day that Talleyrand had broached the subject of a possible divorce for Napoleon

at Erfurt, the position of Josephine had been precarious. At the Elysées, the new palace, which the Emperor had taken over from Murat, Napoleon did not hesitate to vaunt his latest love affairs before Josephine.

While at the Elysées the Emperor was informed of the progress of the second siege of Saragossa. This city, though still unfortified, put up a more gallant defence even than during its first siege. At this period the city had a population of barely 50,000, together with the remnants of the Spanish army that had been scattered at Dudela. As before, Palafox was in command. He had taken an oath to bury himself beneath the ruins of the city rather than surrender to the French. Gibbets were raised in the market-place for those who should dare to speak of capitulation. The siege was begun on December 20, 1808, when Mortier's and Moncy's divisions arrived before Saragossa. Next day the French assaulted the place. Monte Torrero was stormed and the city was entered through the canal sluices. The French were beaten off with a loss of 400 men. Then engineering tactics came into play under the direction of Chief Engineer Lacoste. By the end of December the French were ready for a general assault from their earthworks, which now completely encircled the city. A summons to surrender was sent, in which the recent example of Madrid was cited. Palafox replied: "If Madrid has surrendered, Madrid has been sold. Saragossa shall neither be sold nor surrendered." The French attacked at three points at once, but were beaten off again with heavy losses on both sides. Moncy's place was now taken by Junot. An epidemic of cholera, together with famine, rendered the sufferings of those within almost intolerable. Yet they harassed the French by sallies almost every day. On January 10 the city was bombarded by thirty-two siege guns, and the convent of St. Joseph was battered to pieces. Next day the

French stormed the convent, and a few days after succeeded in seizing all the bridge works in front of Santa Engracia. Strong batteries of fifty guns, reaching the bridge over the Ebro, cut off the city from all intercourse with the suburbs. Withal, the condition of the French army was unenviable, for its ranks, too, were wasted by famine and fever. From the rear, the French were worried by various bodies of Spanish insurgents eager to relieve Saragossa. On January 22 Marshal Lannes arrived and the siege was pressed with more vigor. The Spaniards, too, became more aggressive as their situation became more desperate. In one sortie Mariano Galindo succeeded in penetrating through the French lines and in spiking a mortar battery behind the second parallel trench. In the hand-to-hand fight he was cut down with all his followers. January 29 the French attacked at four points, and three chosen columns leaped upon the ruined walls of Saragossa. They did not get further than the first large cross-street. Some of the stone houses along this street had to be stormed no less than three times by successive bodies of Frenchmen. Finally the French lodged themselves within the city walls, and street fighting became general. During the first day's onslaught 600 Frenchmen and nearly that number of Spaniards were killed. Chief Engineer Lacoste was killed during the fight, and so was San Genio, one of the foremost Spanish colonels. From then on, fighting grew so fierce that every house had to be assaulted in turn, while mines were laid under it as if it were a fort. On the last day of January the convents of Santa Monica and Santa Engracia were blown up by the French sappers, but the Spaniards fought on in their ruins. Whenever the French succeeded in taking a house, the Spaniards, having previously saturated it with oil, would set it on fire. In this manner the fight was carried on from street to street until February 7, when the French got a firm lodging all along the Cosso.

Under that great thoroughfare they dug six galleries and made mines to be exploded simultaneously with those under the university. By this time the siege had lasted fifty days. Half of the fighters on both sides had succumbed to sword and fire, or to sickness from pestilence and hunger. Those that were left carried on the struggle underground among the heaps of the dead and dying. On February 18, having completed all preparations, Lannes ordered a general assault. Three thousand pounds of powder were sprung under the University of Saragossa, and the walls of the ancient edifice fell in a heap. Even in the ruins the French were beaten off, but finally got a foothold. A score of similar explosions all around the city made the French masters of the remaining fortifications between the Convent of St. Augustine and the Ebro. The concentrated fire of fifty cannon opened a breach in the Convent of St. Lazarus, and Baron Versarge with nearly a thousand of his followers were put to the sword. Three hundred beat their way into the inner city across a burning bridge. This success for the French was followed on the 19th by another attack on the right bank of the Ebro, where a whole row of buildings was blown up by a series of mines. At last Palafox, who lay sick in his bomb-proof, sued for terms. Most of the other leaders of the siege lay dead. The simultaneous explosion of 45,000 pounds of gunpowder, together with the bombardment of 16,000 bombshells, had shaken the city to its foundations. Thousands of dead bodies lay about the streets and in the vaults. Throughout the last month the daily deaths among the besieged had been five hundred, and the living were too weak to bury the dead. Yet the people of Saragossa wanted to kill Palafox when they learned of his offer to surrender. Only by abandoning the citadel to the French could the Spanish generals make the populace come to terms. According to French writers, Saragossa surrendered at discretion;

but, judging from Brandt's memoirs and the Spanish records, the garrison was permitted to march out with all the honors of war, while the peasants were returned to their homes, and the property of the citizens and church was guaranteed against the French plunderers.

The story of the twofold siege of Saragossa, together with the three sieges of Gerona, has justly taken foremost rank among the most famous sieges of history. Even Napoleon, who had watched the siege from afar, as soon as he learned of the capitulation, gave orders to have a special work prepared giving a full record of this siege, "to serve as a model for all cases where an open city is attacked, and the inhabitants wish to defend themselves."

In Catalonia, during the same winter, the French were likewise beset with difficulties, but were victorious in the main. Gerona had to be besieged again and so had Rosas, but these annoyances were offset by St. Cyr's victories over the Catalonians at Cardadeu, Molino del Rey, Capelladaes, and Valls. The last battle, fought on February 25, finished the regular campaign in Catalonia for a time. Coming so closely after the fall of Saragossa, the defeat of Valls spread dismay far and wide in Spain. It looked as if the backbone of Spanish resistance had been broken. Yet St. Cyr's campaign, though costing great efforts on the part of all troops concerned in it, remained without corresponding advantages. St. Cyr attributed this to the wretched condition of his soldiers, "destitute and neglected because the Emperor disliked their chief and therefore wished their ruin." In this St. Cyr was prejudiced.

Napoleon, indeed, had been watching the operations of his scattered divisions in Spain with constant anxiety. This is attested by the great number of records containing his military instructions to his various generals. After the fall of Saragossa, with the dispersal of the Catalonians, and after

Marshal Soult's second invasion of Portugal had been successfully accomplished, Napoleon breathed more freely. Cuesta's defeat at Medellin, on March 28, settled it. Now he could turn his attention to another point. He did so with that singleness of view which his secretaries, Bourrienne and Ménéval, have characterized as one of the most striking features of his genius.

There was enough to distract the attention of a statesman. In England it looked as if the Government were falling to pieces. The old king, nearly blind, and mentally unbalanced, was in no condition to bear the scandal of his son's disgraceful resignation from the command of the army; nor did the Prince of Wales stand in better repute. In the Ministry, Canning was arrayed against Castlereagh, the new Secretary of War, and each took pleasure in foiling the other's projects. Regular commerce was upset by the conditions brought about by the continental blockade and the American embargo. English credit stood at a low ebb. The public funds were shaken by the constant drain of money for the British expeditions and financial subsidies to Spain. In the absence of specie, discounts at long date became the rule, and doubtful joint-stock speculations were rampant. At the close of 1808 gold coin had risen at one leap from the prevailing rate of 103 to a steep premium of 113. A financial crash seemed close at hand. In Holland and France public finances, if possible, were in a worse condition.

Such was the state of affairs in Europe when Thomas Jefferson relinquished control in America. Reviled by his political opponents, and beset by private creditors, he passed out in gloom. His debts amounted to \$20,000. This practically ruined him as a grand seigneur of Virginia. He returned to Monticello alone on horseback, as he had come to Washington. To a deputation of his townsfolk welcoming him home he said: "Of you, my own neighbors, I may ask

in the face of the world, Whose ox have I taken or whom have I defrauded? Whom have I oppressed, or from whose hands have I received a bribe to blind mine eyes therewith? On your verdict will I rest."

On March 4 Madison was inaugurated as President. George Clinton of New York went in as Vice-President. Most of the former members of the Cabinet held over. Immediately after the change of administration had been accomplished, both America and England took mutual steps to remove the embargo so harmful to both nations. On March 6 Parliament entered into a debate of this subject, and the British press voiced the public discontent. The London "Times" went so far as to say: "If America will withdraw her Embargo and Non-Importation Acts, so far as they relate to England, provided we rescind the Order-in-Council, we can not consider this as a disgraceful concession on our part." On March 15 the American Cabinet agreed to remove the embargo, but commercial intercourse between England and the United States was still prohibited. On April 7 Canning sent instructions to the British Minister at Washington, Erskine, to settle up the "Chesapeake" affair and the commercial relations between the two countries at one stroke. The attack upon the "Chesapeake" was disavowed, and some impressed American sailors were returned. Admiral Berkeley was to be recalled. The American demand for a court-martial of the British Admiral was not entertained. President Madison accordingly withdrew the demand, but added that he was "none the less persuaded that to grant the American demand would best comport with what is due from his Britannic Majesty to his own honor." It was an unfortunate sentence, destined to breed trouble. Erskine further offered the withdrawal of the late British Orders-in-Council if the President would issue a proclamation renewing trade intercourse with Great Britain. Within two days President

Madison's proclamation to this effect was published in the "National Intelligencer." Erskine in a few lines declared that he was authorized to state that "His Majesty's Orders-in-Council of January and November, 1807, shall have been withdrawn, as respecting the United States, on the 10th of June next." The American people hailed this outcome with delight. Without waiting for June, the merchants along the seacoast began to hurry ships and merchandise to British ports. For the time being everything seemed plain sailing in America.

Not so in Europe. In Sweden the people were so aroused by the disastrous consequences of the King's antagonism to Napoleon, the reverses of the army in Norway, and the loss of Finland, Stralsund, and Rügen, that they rose against their King. Young Gustavus Adolphus IV drew his sword on the deputation that came to protest against a further continuance of the war. One of his nobles disarmed him, saying: "Sire, your sword was given to you to use against the enemies of the country, not to be drawn on your own subjects. We desire nothing but your happiness and the prosperity of Sweden." The King was confined under guard, and his uncle, the Duke of Soedermanland, assumed the regency. Within ten days Gustavus Adolphus abdicated, to be succeeded by his uncle as King Christian XIII. Napoleon congratulated Sweden on having got rid of "the supremacy of a fool." An armistice was granted by Bernadotte, but the war with Russia went on.

The aged General Klercker commanded a Finnish army at Tavastehus, where Klingspor arrived with his royal orders, which were for retreat and evacuation of the country. The troops were deprived of their hopes of a battle and forced to make a retreat of nearly 600 miles, suffering from cold and hunger. The retreat continued without interruption for two months, until the army in April found itself between

Brahestad and Uleoborg. A battle was fought at Siikajoki, April 18, the sub-commander, General Adlercreutz, receiving instructions to make a stand against the enemy until the safety of the army supplies could be ensured. After five hours of fighting the Finns won a glorious victory over the Russians, but royal orders for a continued retreat arrived. Siikajoki and Sveaborg, the Gibraltar of the North, were treacherously surrendered to the Russians.

The German people in Austria and Prussia were likewise seething. In Prussia secret patriotic organizations, like the Tugendbund and Father Jahn's Deutsche Turner, were preparing young Prussia for the inevitable conflict, while in the army such men as Scharnhorst, Blücher, and Schill had their hearts set on another trial of strength with France.

In Austria the preparations for war were quite open. Since the Austrian Emperor had been left out of the Conference of Princes at Erfurt, the attitude of his government had grown almost defiant. Count Stadion, Prime Minister since the Peace of Pressburg, had become convinced by the proceedings in Italy and Spain that Napoleon had designs on all the thrones of Europe. Special suspicions were excited concerning the French and Russian intentions as to Turkey and the Balkans. Stadion accordingly encouraged Archduke Charles in bringing the army to a greater strength and efficiency than ever before. By the beginning of March, 1809, Austria had 260,000 men ready. Prince Schwarzenberg was sent to St. Petersburg to try to win over Russia. Alexander, with his mind set on Turkey, thought that he had more to fear from Austria than from France, and therefore held fast to Napoleon. So strong were the hopes of a general national rising in Prussia and other parts of Germany, however, that the Austrian generals based the plans for their campaign on such an event. The original intention was to take the offensive against the French in central

Germany, where they were weakest. With this plan in view, the troops were massed in Bohemia. Early in the spring Count O'Donnell, the Austrian Finance Minister, found that the resources of the Empire no longer sufficed for a continued maintenance of the army on a war footing.

France, too, was bleeding to death. By a new levy of 180,000 men from the conscript class of 1810, Napoleon had forced up the French deficit to nearly one hundred million francs. No relief was in sight from any internal fiscal measures. In brief, the strain for both nations was growing unbearable, yet neither could afford to disarm. War had become only a question of time.

On March 2 Metternich, the Austrian Ambassador at Paris, complained to Champagny that the measures adopted by Napoleon had forced Austria to place Germany on a footing of war. A few weeks later Metternich coolly answered Napoleon's question: "Why does your Emperor want so large an army?" with the remark, "To make his ambassador respected by you." Henceforward it was merely a race in the completion of mutual military preparations before actual hostilities should commence. Marshal Berthier, at Strasburg, received urgent orders to draw together all remaining French garrisons at Regensburg. Davoust was to advance a corps from Wuerzburg to Regensburg. Lannes was despatched to Germany to concentrate an army corps at Augsburg. In Italy Murat was ordered to fall upon Rome with the speed of lightning, to seize the papal dominions, and replace the French troops hurried northward. Nothing restrained the French from taking the offensive but the Czar's conditional agreement with Napoleon to aid him against Austria only in case France should be first attacked. Had Austria struck then and there, the advantage might have been on her side. Unluckily for her, Archduke Charles at the last moment upset the excellent plan of a quick advance into

North Germany, and, instead of that, marched his troops down to the Danube to safeguard Vienna.

Early in April things were brought to a point by mutual acts of aggression. A French diplomatic courier between Vienna and Munich was arrested on Austrian ground and despoiled of his despatches. A day or so later Davoust's outposts violated the territory of the Austrian Empire. On April 10 Metternich demanded his passport. On the same day the peasants of the Tyrol from one end of the mountain ranges to the other rose to shake off the yoke of Bavaria. In anticipation of probable hostilities by the middle of the month, Napoleon had fixed April 15 as the day when he would join his armies on the Danube. On the night of April 12 he received a transmitted semaphore message that Archduke Charles had crossed the Inn, and that his troops were even then marching on Munich. The next morning, on April 13, Napoleon left the Elysée, and driving night and day reached his headquarters at Donauwoerth on the fifth day. At Ludwigsburg and Dillingen he stopped for a few hours of the night to meet the kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg.

As the Emperor stepped out of his carriage at Donauwoerth, on April 17, he learned that the Austrians, turning to the right, were slowly marching on Regensburg. "That's a lost army," was his first remark. Napoleon then learned for the first time that Berthier had failed to carry out his instructions to combine the French armies. Davoust was still north of the Danube, cut off from the French main army. The ruin of Davoust's corps appeared imminent. Napoleon on the instant changed his plans and hastened to Eggmuehl with three corps to intercept the inevitable advance of the enemy against Davoust. For Berthier he left this sharp note: "What you have done appears so strange that, if I were not aware of your friendship, I should think

you were betraying me. Davoust is at this moment more completely at the disposal of the Archduke than of myself." To Masséna, at Augsburg, he wrote: "Descend toward the Danube at once. Leave all your sick and stragglers behind. Never have I had more need of your devoted zeal, activity, and speed!" To Davoust he sent a despatch rider with this order: "Quit Regensburg at once, leaving one regiment behind! Break down the bridge there so that it can not be repaired! Manœuvre carefully between the river and the Austrians! Beware of running any risk of an engagement before joining me near Abendsberg!" These various manœuvres, by which Napoleon concentrated his army in the face of threatening disaster, have ever been considered a remarkable demonstration of the very highest skill in war.

The forces which Napoleon had at his command were thus given by Chauvent: In Poland, 18,000 commanded by Bernadotte; in Saxony, 12,000 under Gratien; in Westphalia, 15,000 under King Jerome. The main army consisted of the division of Lannes, 25,000; that of Davoust, 45,000; that of Masséna, 30,000; Lefebvre's 30,000, and 30,000 more under Vandamme. The Confédération of the Rhine furnished 12,000 men besides those serving in Spain. Prince Eugene Beauharnais, Viceroy of Italy, had 45,000 at his disposal. Marmont had 15,000 in Dalmatia. Altogether there were 287,000 men under arms with 560 guns, besides the 200,000 still in Spain. Under the immediate eye of Napoleon, 150,000 Frenchmen were now arrayed against the enemy, numbering about 200,000, in ten army corps. One corps under Archduke Ferdinand occupied Warsaw. Another corps under Archduke John covered northern Italy and the Tyrol. Two army corps marched from Bohemia straight for Regensburg. One remained at Linz for the protection of the capital, while the main body, comprising seven corps, zigzagged between Linz and Regensburg, so as to effect

a junction with either at short notice. As one of Napoleon's most ardent biographers has said: "The mind that could grasp such interests and guide such enormous combinations must have been one of extraordinary mold."

While the allied troops on the Danube were skirmishing on all sides Napoleon issued this address: "Soldiers, I was surrounded by your bayonets when the Emperor of Austria arrived at my bivouac at Austerlitz. You heard him implore my clemency and swear me eternal friendship. Conquerors in three wars, we granted everything to Austria in our generosity. Three times has she perjured herself. Our former victories are our guaranty for future triumphs. Onward, men, and let the enemy see the faces of his conquerors!"

In the Tyrol, meanwhile, the peasants had chased the Bavarian garrisons from their mountain seats, and seized the capital, Innsbruck. A French detachment under Brisson, marching for Innsbruck from Italy, was caught unawares and had to surrender. The captives numbered two generals, ten staff officers, 100 field officers, and 1,000 men. In Italy Archduke John defeated the French at Pordenone and again at Sacile.

By April 18 Napoleon, while urging Masséna to do his utmost to reach Pfaffenhofen on the next night, gave this *précis* of the situation on the Danube: "One word will explain to you the urgency of affairs. Archduke Charles, with 80,000 men, debouched yesterday from Landshut on Regensburg. The Bavarians skirmished all day with his advance-guard. To-morrow (April 19) all the troops that can be mustered at Pfaffenhofen, with the Wurtembergers and our cuirassiers, should be in condition to fall upon the rear of Prince Charles. A single glance must show you that never was there more pressing need for diligence than now. I consider Prince Charles ruined without resource if Oudinot and your three divisions are on his rear before daybreak on

the 19th. On the 18th, 19th, and 20th the whole affair of Germany will be decided."

On the night of April 19, after the Austrians had been outmanœuvred in a sanguinary encounter at Abendsberg, Napoleon learned of the safe arrival of Davoust at Neustadt. In great elation he mounted his horse and galloped along the entire line of his bivouac fires. Next morning he pushed his main army between the Austrian forces under Archduke John and Hiller. The French divisions of Lefebvre and Masséna, operating together, overthrew Hiller's corps and drove the Austrians back to Landshut. Davoust cleverly extricated his detached army from the immediate vicinity of the Danube, and joined Napoleon's main body on the left. On the 22d Archduke Charles made a rapid advance southward, hoping to overwhelm Davoust. Instead of that, he came upon Napoleon's main army united to Davoust's strong division at Eggmuehl.

The battle that followed was waged in modern style; that is, by different bodies of troops, extended over a large area, manœuvring against different positions. The Austrian centre under Rosenberg was overthrown by Vandamme's division. The hottest fighting, that on the left, fell to Davoust's men. The most decisive part of the complicated battle was Lannes's successful flanking movement toward Regensburg. Napoleon made his headquarters on a rise in the ground, and there received a constant stream of aides-de-camp, bringing the bulletins from the various corps commandants. One officer, while pointing out the position of his command to Napoleon made his headquarters on a rise in the ground, and afterward, General Cervoni, while in the act of opening a map before Napoleon, was killed by a shell. The officers of the Old Guard tried to drag the Emperor away, but he waved them off impatiently: "What is the use? I must see how matters are going."

Late in the afternoon, when the belated Austrian cavalry rode into battle line, the Emperor had recourse to one of those magnificent cavalry charges which were carried so far in the Napoleonic campaigns. At sundown he ordered the imperial cavalry, which had been held in reserve all day, to charge the massed squadrons of Austrian cavalry riding into the firing line. As the cuirassiers of Bessières, incased in glittering breastplates, and helmets surmounted by plumes, cantered to the crest of the slope, a mighty shout arose from the French infantry below. The soldiers felt sure that a blow was now to be struck that would prove decisive. With a wild battle cry of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" the imperial cavalry charged into the plain. The Austrian cuirassier squadrons, led by Prince Lichtenstein, galloped forth to meet them. With sabres flashing the contending hosts of horsemen fell upon each other and fought it out in plain sight of the infantry, until darkness spread over the battlefield. In the hand-to-hand struggle the Austrian horsemen, though better mounted, were no match for the French cuirassiers, since they were armed only with breastplates, while the French cuirass incased the body all around. Whenever an Austrian trooper was caught in the rear, he was doomed, and even in face-to-face fencing the French swordsmen soon learned to rely on side thrusts. At length the Austrian squadrons, having lost nearly two-thirds in killed and dismounted, wheeled in dismay and rode for life. Napoleon's imperial guards followed in mad pursuit. The French infantry heard the shout of their conquering comrades and charged the wavering enemy with the bayonet. The Austrians fell back in the darkness and retreated during the night to Regensburg.

Next morning, April 23, the Austrians at Regensburg recrossed the Danube by two pontoon bridges. The French did not force their way into the town until nearly all the Austrians had crossed. A small portion of the rear-guard was

captured. The fighting of the last five days—at Thann, Abendsberg, Landshut, Eggmuehl, and Regensburg—had changed the doubtful backward movement of the French into a victorious advance. Never had strategic difficulties of such an extremely awkward character been solved with greater coherence or despatch. At St. Helena Napoleon said of this campaign: "The greatest military manœuvres I ever made, and those for which I give myself most credit, were executed at Eggmuehl. They were infinitely superior to those at Marengo, or to any other of my actions."

As the French were advancing on Regensburg, Napoleon was wounded in the foot by the bullet of a Tyrolese sharpshooter. The news that the Emperor had been shot spread through the French ranks. It caused such a commotion that Napoleon remounted his horse and rode along the lines until loss of blood made him faint. In its effects the wound proved trifling, and the Emperor continued in active command at Regensburg. The Austrians retreated down the Danube. Archduke Charles marched for Bohemia, hoping to threaten the French advance on Vienna from their flank and rear. Hiller tried to cover the capital by recrossing the Inn, but had to deviate from his march at Linz, when he found that Masséna's pursuers were outflanking him. At the river Traun he made a stand in the little stronghold of Ebelsberg. Had the French possessed themselves with patience, Marshal Lannes could have made the enemy's position on the Traun untenable, by flanking the Austrians at Steyer. As it happened, General Coehorn, a Corsican hot-head, commanding the so-called "infernal legion" of Corsicans and Bersaglieri, arriving prematurely, wildly dashed his men against the overwhelming forces of the Austrians. A wooden bridge, some 600 feet long and protected at each end by bastions, surmounted by a citadel with 100 pieces of cannon, was stormed by the frenzied Italians. Colonel Clapareda,

in the face of fearful losses, led his men to the assault again and again, and at last succeeded in breaking down the city gate. Other French troops entered into the fight, and a detachment of Legrand's division got a foothold in the little town. At last Masséna brought up his whole division, yet the Austrians held firm until after nightfall, and then evacuated the place in good order. Napoleon, who arrived next day, was dismayed to find that nearly 5,000 of his men had fallen before Ebelsberg, and that Clapareda's brigade was practically wiped out. Masséna was censured for countenancing a frontal attack when flanking manœuvres were possible, but the Corsican leader Coehorn was patted on the back as "a man of great worth." The pursuit of the Austrians was kept up with vigor. Neither Hiller's division nor Archduke John's forces were able to get a foothold in front of Vienna. By the middle of May they barely succeeded in joining forces at Krems, on the other side of the Danube, many miles beyond Vienna.

On May 10 the French appeared before Vienna. The old part of the city, containing some hundred thousand inhabitants, was still encircled by the ancient walls that had once kept out the Turks. In the city Archduke Maximilian had 15,000 regulars with 10,000 militia. He sacrificed the suburbs with their population of nearly 200,000, and tried to defend the city from behind the old ramparts.

Captain Marbot, bearing Napoleon's summons to surrender, was struck down in the street. Next day Old Vienna was bombarded. For thirty-six hours 3,000 shells were dropped into the city. Toward evening a flag-of-truce bearer from the Archduke begged Napoleon to spare the imperial palace, where the Princess Marie Louise had been left behind on account of illness. She was Napoleon's future bride. As one historian has said of the incident: "It was by the thunders of artillery and the flaming light of bombs across the sky

that Napoleon's first addresses to the Archduchess Marie Louise were made." Archduke Maximilian after the second day gave up the struggle, and burning the great bridge of Tabor behind him crossed the Danube. His successor in command capitulated within a short time. Napoleon entered the city just one month after he had left the Elysée. General Andreossy was appointed governor of Vienna.

Two days after his entry into Vienna Napoleon issued the famous decree deposing the Pope. In his proclamation he said: "Since the time of Charlemagne the union of spiritual and temporal power has been and still is a source of dissension. The Popes have but too frequently availed themselves of the one to support their pretensions to the other." All the papal dominions were united with the French Empire. Rome was declared a free imperial city. The Vatican was reserved for the use of the Pope without restrictions, and a pension of 2,000,000 francs was accorded him. Pope Pius VII launched his long-threatened bull of excommunication against Napoleon. After that the Pope's fate was but a question of time.

During the siege Joseph Haydn, "the favorite of the Austrian people," lay dying. After the occupation a French officer, a passionate admirer of Haydn's music, visited the dying composer and played to him a selection from his "In Tempore Belli." On May 26 he called his family around him, and having himself carried to the piano, solemnly played his great national anthem, "Gott erhalte unseren Kaiser." A short time after this he died. Mozart's requiem was performed in his memory, and his funeral was attended by many French officers and a French guard of honor. In Paris a sacred cantata by Cherubini, written on a previous false report of his death, was given in his honor.

Haydn's rank in the history of music is of the first importance. The foremost among his contemporaries, such as

Mozart and Beethoven, called him Father Haydn. All his works, multitudinous as they were, are characterized by lucidity, perfect form, and rich development. To him the world owes the evolution of the two finest phases of the sonata form, the orchestral symphony and the quartet.

During the last decade of his life Haydn wrote his greatest works, "The Four Seasons," and his stupendous "Creation," inspired by Milton's "Paradise Lost."

At the time that Haydn died, Napoleon had already removed his headquarters from Schönbrunn to the island of Lobau, where the Danube branches below Vienna. There the French established themselves with a view to crossing the river to give battle to the Austrians on the northern shore. The strength of Austria's remaining forces, and the threatening situation elsewhere, made a decisive battle a political necessity for Napoleon.

The British fleet under Lords Gambier and Cochrane, on April 11, had destroyed a French squadron in the roads of Aix. Four French warships were blown up and seven were driven ashore. In the south the second French occupation of Portugal, after the successful seizure of Oporto, ended in failure; when Craddock, commanding the weak British forces there, had been superseded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, the fortunes of war turned against the victor Soult. The British crossed the Douro in spite of French resistance, and drove the enemy back to Vallonga. Soult was so hard pressed that he had to burn his wagons, stores, and ammunition. By May 19 he finally got his army out of Portugal, having lost 6,000 men and all his guns. Still the retreat was conducted in so masterly a manner that Soult's reputation as a general was undiminished.

In Italy there was similar sharp fighting between the Austrians under the Archduke John and Prince Eugene Beauharnais. On the part of the French, the opening of the



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NAPOLEON AT WAGRAM

PAINTED BY JACQUES-LÉONARD HOUDON

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Italian campaign was badly mismanaged by Prince Eugene. His reverses did not cease until Napoleon ordered General Macdonald to supplement Beauharnais's faulty strategy with his more experienced counsels. With his help Eugene won his first point against Archduke John at Caldiero, near Verona, and passing the Piave inflicted a severe defeat on the Austrians. Trieste was occupied by the French. The headquarters of the French army of Italy were established at Villach, with advanced posts as far as Klagenfurt. In the Tyrol an expedition under Lefebvre gained some headway against the rebellious peasants, and recaptured their capital of Innsbruck. In the interval 700 Frenchmen and 1,800 Bavarians had been massacred in the mountain fastnesses of the Tyrol.

In northern Europe likewise public affairs bore a threatening aspect. The Czar of Russia, after his easy victories over the Swedes, displayed marked hesitation about living up to his part as the ally of Napoleon. Only when the French came out as victors, and the Austrian offensive had been seen to fail at every point, did Russia at last declare war on Austria and move an army corps into Poland.

In Prussia the failure of the Austrian generals to throw the campaign north of the Danube caused deep chagrin to those patriots who had counted on arousing Northern Germany. Some of the hot-heads still persevered in their plans. The leaders of this military conspiracy were the Duke of Brunswick, Baron Dörnberg, an officer in the service of King Jerome, Major Von Schill, a Prussian cavalry officer who had distinguished himself in the defence of Colberg, and Lieutenant Katt at Magdeburg. It had been agreed between them that Dörnberg should raise the Hessian standard in Westphalia, and turn Jerome's own army against him. Schill at the same time was to march from Berlin with whatever troops he could collect, and try to arouse the people by pro-

claiming war against the French in defiance of the government. At the last moment, Dörnberg was transferred from his own regiment to the command of other troops on whom he could not rely. He placed himself at the head of a band of peasants, and raised the standard of insurrection. King Jerome's household troops dispersed the rioters with a volley, and Dörnberg had to flee for his life. He took refuge with the Duke of Brunswick. The revolt in Hesse was ended. In the meanwhile, Schill blindly did his part. On April 28 he led his battalion out of their barracks in Berlin and marched his men out of the city, as if for some routine exercise. Outside of the city he was joined by a small detachment of cavalry raiders who had been let into the secret. He addressed his troops and offered to lead them against the French. The proposition was received by the soldiers with shouts of approval. The march to Westphalia was begun. On the way, many volunteers joined the movement. The Elbe was crossed, and Schill prepared to fall on the communications maintained by the French with their forces operating on the Danube. On reaching Halle, Schill learned of Napoleon's victories near Regensburg, and of the failure of Dörnberg's coup d'état in Westphalia. Henceforth his raid became hopeless. The only chance for Schill and his compromised troops was to escape either to Bohemia, where they might effect an ultimate junction with the retreating Austrians, or to fight their way to the sea in the hope of rescue from British cruisers. After many purposeless marches, Schill chose the latter course. On May 5 he was overtaken by a detachment of Westphalian troops from Magdeburg, and successfully fought his way clear of them. A price was set on his head. Late in May the raiders fell in with 3,000 Poles and Mecklenburgers, commanded by the French governor of the province. Schill's 1,800 men fought their way through the French brigade, and suddenly appeared before Stralsund,

just as the French gunners on the ramparts were firing a salute in honor of Napoleon's entry into Vienna. The garrison was surprised, and a short hand-to-hand fight put Schill in possession of the town with all its stores. Until the arrival of an English fleet, Schill hoped to make a second Saragossa of Stralsund. But, on the last day of May, 8,000 Danes and Frenchmen moved on the town. Capitulation was out of the question for the rebels. In overwhelming numbers the French stormed the town. Fighting in the streets, Schill split open the head of Carcaret, the Dutch general. He was himself killed by a cannon ball. With him fell one-third of his men. Five hundred of his followers under Lieutenant Brunow cut their way out and escaped. Of the prisoners taken, all officers were shot at Wesel, and fourteen subalterns at Brunswick, while the common soldiers, about 500 in number, were sent to the galleys at Tunol. Only 120 survived the treatment there. Schill's head was cut off and sent to the library of Leyden.

Less tragic, if no less unfortunate, was the young Duke of Brunswick's raid. Of his duchy nothing was left but the family seat of Oels. To avenge his father's death he raised 2,000 volunteers. His followers, known as the Black Brunswickers, on account of their coal-black uniform with a silver death's-head on the helmet, beat off several detachments of Westphalian troops, and finally fought their way through a strong force under General Ochs. At the mouth of the Weser they were picked up by British cruisers, and were finally enrolled as an auxiliary brigade under Wellington in Spain.

Such were the threatening diversions which prompted Napoleon to risk a decisive blow. His secretary, Méneval, who was attached to his headquarters at the time, recorded this memorandum: "If the ill-arranged enterprises of Dörnberg, Schill, and the Duke of Brunswick had taken place

somewhat earlier and simultaneously, French domination in the North would have been seriously jeopardized." On the night of May 20 Napoleon's light cavalry under Count Lasalle crossed the Danube. They were followed next day by the divisions of Masséna, Lannes, and the Imperial Guard, 40,000 strong. Next night the same troops laid pontoons and crossed the second branch of the Danube to the north bank. Early in the morning the villages of Aspern and Esslingen were occupied by the French. The Austrian army encamped within easy striking distance. At noon a number of heavy rafts and river barges loaded with stones were suddenly cast loose by the Austrians above Lobau, and came sweeping down the river headed for the French pontoon bridge between Lobau and Oberstorf. At the same time the whole Austrian army advanced upon the French from Bisamberg. Fighting began at once and soon grew hot. From their fresh intrenchments at Aspern and Esslingen, the French repulsed all the first onslaughts. The bridges were repaired in a hurry, and the French reserves of heavy cavalry and artillery had a chance to get over the river. By nightfall the French, who had been holding out against the Austrians all the afternoon, were almost as strong as the enemy. For Napoleon, much depended on the timely arrival of Davoust's division in Oberstorf. That marshal was ordered to cross over to Esslingen from the island of Lobau, to support Lannes's division in his attack on the Austrian centre, while Masséna engaged the enemy at Aspern. By noon next day Napoleon had word of Davoust's arrival. His reserves could be counted on for the afternoon. In the meanwhile the river had swollen, and the Austrians took advantage of this to launch whole barns, boathouses and burning mills to be swept down against the French bridges by the flood. Lannes received orders to advance forthwith from Esslingen. He did so with his two veteran divisions of grenadiers, sup-

plemented by the Young Guard and thirty-two squadrons of horse under General Lasalle, one of the most brilliant of French cavalry leaders. The Austrian centre was pushed back, so that the Archduke's battle line became almost concave, but his regiments held their own manfully. The officers encouraged their men by personal example. The Archduke himself snatched a flag from one of his Zach grenadiers and led the regiment forward. Suddenly the French attack slackened. Lannes, who perceived himself unsupported, gave orders to fall back. The backward movement was covered with cavalry attacks by General Lasalle. The whole French cavalry was ordered to advance. The combined cuirassier regiments galloped forward with sabres and breastplates flashing. The Austrian dragoons could not sustain the shock. Together with their horse artillery, they were driven back between the Austrian infantry massing in squares. The French cuirassiers swept down upon these in solid squadrons. The Austrian musketeers and gunners held their fire until the heavy cavalymen were nearly upon them. When the white of the horses' eyes could be seen, the gunners fired at pointblank range with grape and canister, while the squares volleyed. The foremost horsemen went down in whole platoons, while those that followed wheeled in panic, so as to make the French battle line revolve upon itself. At all points the attack had been repulsed. Prince Lichtenstein's dragoons pursued the fleeing cuirassiers, and the French line of infantry was made to waver. Napoleon himself, who had ridden out of Aspern to watch the success of the cavalry charge, had to take refuge within a square of his guards. Members of his suite and the chief equerry of the Empress Josephine were taken captive. The Austrian infantry renewed its attack on the village of Aspern, and at Esslingen the struggle became desperate. Marshal Lannes, while conducting the retreat across the Marchfeld, was struck by a

cannon ball which carried away both his legs. When Napoleon heard of this, he left his post of observation, and hurried to the litter of the dying general. There he threw himself on his knees, and with a choking voice said: "Lannes, do you know me? It is your friend, Bonaparte." The dying marshal languidly raised his head and murmured incoherent words. According to Cadet Gassicourt, who attended the fallen hero, Lannes said: "I am dying for you, like so many others. You will not mourn my loss any more than the rest. Make peace before it is your turn." General Petit, on the other hand, has recorded that Lannes's words were these: "I am dying for you and for my country. Do not mourn my loss. May you live and save the army." Whatever may have passed between the two, Napoleon did mourn the loss of Lannes most keenly. In later years he wrote at St. Helena: "At the period of his death, Lannes had reached the highest point in his profession. He was a most able commander. I found him a dwarf, but I lost him a giant."

In the meantime the great pontoon bridge had again given way before the flood, and had been rent asunder by the floating rams of the Austrians. An emergency bridge was hastily constructed, and to Masséna was assigned the difficult task of covering the French retreat over it. The Austrians made assault after assault on the two intrenched river towns, and with the help of incessant artillery fire succeeded in setting fire to both. The French were driven from Esslingen into a narrow peninsula, where they brought up at the brink of the river.

At last, at the personal request of Napoleon, General Mouton headed his famous fusilier guard in a bayonet charge against the Austrians, and pushed them back to the further end of Esslingen. For this exploit the Emperor gave to Mouton the new title Count of Lobau. Long after nightfall the last French detachment returned safely over the impro-

vised bridge to Lobau. As soon as they had marched over the bridge, the pontoons were cast loose. Meanwhile the Emperor sat on the river bank angrily switching his boot with a riding-whip. "Are you satisfied, Little Corporal?" cried one of the wounded guards, as they marched by him. Later in the night Napoleon was ferried across the river in a small boat. With him were an aide-de-camp and Lieutenant Field-Marshal Von Weber of the Austrian army, a mortally wounded prisoner. "How is it with you, General?" asked Napoleon, as he heard the wounded man groaning. "It is well," said the dying hero. "Have I not seen you tremble?" Napoleon said no more. On the other shore the Emperor held a council of war. Masséna, Davoust, Bessières, and Berthier joined him. Savary, who was present, has recorded that all the marshals advised further retreat across the other branch of the Danube and thence to Vienna. Napoleon would not have it. "If we retreat it will not be a retreat to Vienna, but to Strasburg. Our allies, dismayed and made treacherous in their weakness, would turn against us. The good fortune of the Empire would be at an end and the grandeur of France destroyed. You, Masséna and Davoust, can save the army. Come! show yourselves worthy of your own past." Napoleon had his way. It was decided to remain on the island of Lobau, and to intrench it against all attacks.

The drawn battle of Aspern and Esslingen was found to be one of the most bloody affairs of the century. In its fearful losses and lack of result to both sides it can only be compared to the battle of Eylau. On the French side, the casualties were four general officers, five hundred other officers, and at least 18,000 soldiers. The Austrians reckoned their losses at 16,000 killed and 42,000 wounded. Both sides claimed a victory, but Napoleon got his couriers out first, and so, producing the first impression, weakened the effect

of the Archduke's bulletins. He claimed but 1,100 dead and 3,000 wounded. Only "General Danube," he avowed, prevented him from profiting by his victory.

While holding the Austrian main army in check on the Danube, Napoleon and his generals made the most of their breathing space. The Island of Lobau was made impregnable. The Tyrolese revolt was put down without mercy. General Wrede, commanding the Bavarians, succeeded in driving the Austrians out of Salzburg. The greater part of the Tyrolese occupying the valley of Strub, having quit fighting on Ascension Day to go to church, were overpowered and butchered. The stronghold of the Scharnitz was taken, and the Bavarians under Arco penetrated into the country from that side. The news of Napoleon's defeat at Aspern spurred the Tyrolese to new activity. The Austrian Emperor encouraged them with this statement: "My faithful county of Tyrol shall henceforward ever remain incorporated with the Austrian empire. I will agree to no treaty of peace save one forever uniting the Tyrol with my monarchy." The Tyrolese besieged General Deroy in Innsbruck. Hofer, Eisenstecken, and the brave Speckbacher assembled their peasants on the mountain of Isel. The fighting lasted three days. In the forefront of the battle-line could be seen Hofer's little boy Anderl, who brought the men their ammunition, and Haspinger, a red-bearded monk who led his parishioners gun in hand. The Count of Stachelburg from Meran, who fought as a volunteer among the peasants, fell on this occasion. The fortress of Kuffstein was likewise besieged by a detachment under Speckbacher. Finally, General Lefebvre led a strong column of 30,000 Frenchmen, Bavarians, and Saxons into the Tyrol and ended the revolt, amid general bloodshed.

General Macdonald, commanding the right wing of the French army of Italy, compelled 4,000 Austrians under Gen-

eral Meerfelt to surrender at Laybach, in Carinthia, shortly after the battle of Aspern. On May 25 Prince Beauharnais, by a series of successful manœuvres, pushed his main army through to Loeben in Steiermark, and overcame the major portion of Jellalich's Austrian corps. Goerz, Klagenfurt, and Trieste opened their gates to the French. Next day the advance outposts of the French army of Italy came in touch with those of the grand army at Bruck, south of Vienna. This event had been anxiously awaited by Napoleon, who sent his aide-de-camp Lauriston to cut his way through to the viceroy. As soon as the French joined forces, Archduke John had to fall back into Hungary. The French occupied the whole of Tyrol and the region of Salzburg, Vorarlberg, Carinthia, Frioul, and Istria. General Marmont, marching up from Dalmatia, penetrated through Croatia as far as Fiume. Prince Beauharnais presented himself at Napoleon's headquarters on the Danube by the end of May.

In the north, Napoleon's Russian allies made so threatening a demonstration against Poland that Archduke Ferdinand felt constrained to withdraw his Austrian forces from Warsaw and to commence his retreat southward. On the other side, Russia was relieved of embarrassment by the conciliatory attitude of the new King of Sweden, Charles XIII, who, having failed to drive the Russians from west Bothnia, speedily reversed his nephew's warlike measures.

Napoleon's star was once more in the ascendent. It was at this moment that Pope Pius VII, incensed by the French occupation of Rome, launched his bull of excommunication against Bonaparte: "Let the Sovereigns of the world learn once more that they are subject by the law of Jesus Christ to our throne and our commands. For we too hold sovereignty, and a sovereignty far more noble; for it shall not be said that spirit must yield to flesh, nor the things of heaven to those of the earth." Napoleon did not suffer him-

self to be distracted by such things. He simply issued orders to Murat to have the Pope seized in person to be sent as a prisoner to Savona. This done, he devoted himself to the completion of his military campaign with accustomed ardor. The pursuit of Archduke John's forces by the army of Italy carried them well beyond the borders of Hungary to the banks of the Danube. At Raab, Archduke John tried to join forces with the Archduke Palatine. Beauharnais attacked him and was aided in his advance by General Grenier. General Macdonald with the right and General Lauriston with a detachment of the Grand Army came up toward the end of the day. Together they defeated the Austrians with great loss. The town Raab was invested.

Within a day or so of this success it so happened that General Suchet at Belchite in Spain utterly routed a Spanish army under General Blake. The Spaniards, though largely outnumbering the French, ran away without firing a shot, and threw down their arms. Their own general denounced them as cowards. Wellington wrote to his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley: "I am of the opinion that an effort should be made immediately for clothing the Spanish troops in a national uniform. This would put a stop to the custom, which I am sorry to say so generally prevails, of their throwing down their arms and accoutrements and betaking themselves to flight on pretence of their being not soldiers, but simply peasants."

A few days after this the stronghold of Raab in Hungary capitulated to General Lauriston. This threw Hungary open to the French. Napoleon called upon the Hungarians to secede from Austria; but no one responded. Then he ordered the advance on Pressburg. When the news of these various victories had been spread far and wide, Napoleon thought the time was right to try for another decisive blow on the Danube. In response to his brother Jerome's clamors

for help in Westphalia he wrote a reassuring letter: "Take things quietly. You have nothing to dread. The English are not to be feared. All their troops are in Spain and Portugal. They can do nothing in Germany. Even so, it will be time enough when they come. I always wait until an affair is ripe and I understand it well. Then I act."

In three weeks' time the Island of Lobau had been transformed into a bristling fort. Material had been amassed for crossing the river at short notice. Under Napoleon's directions General Bertrand had constructed two bridges on piles, 800 yards long. Both were protected against floating rafts and fire-ships by a breakwater and stockades. Marines in boats guarded the waterway day and night. The big bridge was wide enough for three artillery trains to pass abreast. The other, but eight feet wide, was intended for the infantry. Napoleon grandiloquently compared his work to that of Cæsar. "Cæsar's bridge over the Rhine," he said, "was thrown across in eight days, to be sure, but no carriage could pass over it."

On July 2 Napoleon issued his orders for the crossing of the Danube. Everything was regulated down to the most minute details, and the exact time was fixed for every man to act. That same night a feint movement was made on Mill Island, where the first crossing had been made. On the night of July 4, during a heavy rainfall, a flying bridge was floated from Alexander's Island and was swung in place. At the same time six pontoon bridges were strung across the Danube, while a flotilla of ferryboats made incessant trips to and fro laden with troops. A sham attack at Aspern and Esslingen diverted the Kleinau grenadiers, who guarded the Austrian position on the water-front. The first French detachments as they got over immediately deployed in skirmish order and engaged the Austrians in regular battle at Essendorf, five leagues from Vienna. The rest of the army crossed

the Danube during the night, marching as if on a solid road. The Austrians knew something was under foot, but did not realize the extent of the movement. The Emperor of Austria in his anxiety sought out his brother Charles where he stood on the river-bank looking out into the darkness. The Archduke reckoned that twenty-four hours at least would be needed to effect a crossing in force. "The French vanguard has indeed crossed the Danube," he admitted to his brother, "and I am letting some of the rest come across."—"Very good," said Emperor Francis, "but don't let too many of them come over." This remark subsequently became a byword in the army.

Before daylight 200,000 French soldiers—infantry, cavalry, and artillery—had crossed the Danube. At sunrise the whole army was ranged in battle line. Oudinot commanded the centre, Masséna the left, Davoust the right. In the second line were the forces of Beauharnais, Bernadotte, and Marmont, with the Bavarian corps. They were supported by the Guards, and the heavy cavalry and artillery.

Archduke Charles was caught at a woful disadvantage. Of his available forces 20,000 were in Hungary, 12,000 were at Vienna under Prince Roess, 6,000 at Nussdorf, and as many more before Krems. This left him weaker than the French by 40,000 men. The result could only be a foregone conclusion.

It was a magnificent sight when Napoleon's army moved to the advance. The slanting rays of the morning sun shone on the serried lines of warriors clad in all manner of colors and equipments, as befitted their cosmopolitan commands. Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, Dutchmen, Poles, and Dalmatians, marching under their respective colors and standards, surged forward against the white-clad lines of the German Austrians, Magyars, Roumanians, Czechs, and Slavonians. The French Emperor on a white charger galloped

along the front of his battle line, and repeated his last instructions to his marshals. The artillery opened the battle from the heights. The Austrians received the French advance with a hail of grape-shot and musketry. The first attack of Masséna's corps was repulsed. The whole left wing of the French army was outflanked at Süssenbrunn and pressed back toward Wagram and the Danube. On the French right wing, on the other hand, Davoust outflanked the Austrians at Markgraf-Neufchâtel. It was the greatest flanking manœuvre of all the Napoleonic campaigns. The Austrian corps of Rosenberg was overthrown, and Montbrun's squadrons of chasseurs-à-cheval were sent out to intercept a possible support from Archduke John. The Austrian centre swerved over to the rescue of Rosenberg's left wing. In the meanwhile, Masséna's men, fighting stubbornly, had been forced back as far as the bridge of Aspern. Several officers of his staff were cut down at his side. Masséna himself suffered severely from a fall with his horse. In desperation he despatched his aide-de-camp, the Margrave of Baden, to the Emperor. The young prince galloped to the very centre of the square of guardsmen, where Napoleon was crouching on the ground sticking pins into his map of battle. He reported that Masséna could no longer hold his lines, and held the battle for lost. Napoleon looked up and said: "What time is it, Berthier?" That marshal, resplendent in the yellow uniform of his ducal bodyguard of Neufchâtel, looked at his watch and said: "Twelve o'clock, Sire." "Tell the Prince of Rivoli," replied Napoleon, "that the battle is won. It is noon and Archduke John has not yet come." Dumfounded, the young prince rode off.

Napoleon gave instant orders to Beauharnais to advance his strong corps on Wagram with those of Marmont and Grenier, while Oudinot was to advance between Wagram and Neufchâtel. The Emperor's guards swung in behind

the central advance. Napoleon himself mounted his white charger and galloped over to the left wing, followed by all the reserve cavalry and artillery. He arrived in time to encounter the regiments of Bernadotte's shattered divisions retreating from Aderklaa. Masséna was found sitting in a field wagon desperately holding his own. Napoleon climbed into the wagon beside him. Here he gave orders for an unprecedented manœuvre: the junction of three entire divisions under Macdonald, Gerra, and Wrede with Beauharnais's army in one solid column. While these four corps were welded into one irresistible whole, their movements were masked by an impetuous cavalry attack led by General Lasalle. He had not ridden a hundred yards before he was killed by a cannon ball. His squadron wheeled before the murderous fire of the Austrians and came streaming back upon the French infantry. Bessières was ordered to charge with all the cavalry reserves, so as to pierce the Austrian centre. Riding through a tempest of grape and chain shot, Bessières led his cuirassiers into the thick of the fight. Suddenly he was seen to pitch headlong to the ground, where he lay as dead. A wail went up from the Old Guard. The Emperor averted his eyes, and, spurring his horse onward, shouted: "Let us go! I have no time to weep." Bessières, who had only been grazed by a passing cannon ball, revived and clambered into the saddle again. The Emperor sent Savary after him. When next he saw him, he said: "The ball which struck you down, my dear Bessières, drew tears from all my Guard. It ought to be very dear to you." By this time Lauriston had brought up the reserve artillery and had unlimbered his batteries close to the Austrians. Macdonald had advanced his infantry far into the wedge opened by the French cavalry. Over three miles of ground his corps advanced, fighting steadily. Then it got wedged under a murderous cross-fire from the Austrians. His men were

mowed down by whole companies. Of his sixteen thousand soldiers he lost nearly ten thousand. Napoleon, watching Macdonald, grew anxious. Several times he exclaimed, "Brave man!" The death gaps in Macdonald's corps were filled by men from the divisions of Wrede and Beauharnais. At last the artillery of Davoust was seen to pass the tower of Neufchâtel, where one wing of the Austrian army was cut off by Macdonald. Napoleon's face lighted up. "The battle is gained!" he exclaimed. The French cavalry was ordered to wheel around and charge into the right wing of the Austrians. Under the combined shock of the threefold attack, the Austrian line wavered and broke. Beauharnais's and Marmont's columns stormed Wagram. Masséna burst his bonds at Aspern and threw his adversaries back to Süssenbrunn. At three in the afternoon, Archduke Charles ordered a general retreat. Emperor Francis, watching the course of the battle from a high tower in Wolkersdorf, mounted his horse and sought the protection of his retreating columns. Not till then did Archduke John's vanguard come up to the main army. His corps had to be withdrawn without a chance to strike a blow. While the battle was still raging in the distance, Napoleon, burning with fever, had his Mameluke orderly spread a bearskin on the ground and went to sleep on the battlefield under a pyramid of bayonets. The Austrians withdrew in good order. The rear-guard fought off the French pursuers, and their retreat was covered by a well-directed artillery fire. The French cavalry, though ordered to harry the retreating Austrians, for some unexplained reason did so but languidly. During the pursuit, Oudinot's brother, who had just been promoted to a generalship by Napoleon, was shot dead. Masséna, Davoust, Friant, Mortier, and brave Gudin were wounded. Late in the evening Napoleon rode over the battlefield. Over a distance of nine miles the ground was covered with the bodies of the dead and wounded.

The advance of Macdonald's corps in particular could be traced by the heaps of his slain. Presently the Emperor met Macdonald. A coldness had existed between Bonaparte and the Scotch Jacobite since the Emperor's persecution of Moreau, the hero of Hohenlinden. After that Macdonald refused all preferments from Napoleon. Now the Emperor offered his hand and said: "Accept it, Macdonald! Let there be no more ill-will between us. From this day we must be friends. I will send you as a pledge your marshal's staff, which you have so gloriously earned." Macdonald gave in. Oudinot and Marmont were likewise made marshals.

It proved a dearly won battle. The French had 27,000 killed and wounded, while the Austrians lost 25,000. Three general officers fell on either side. The disparity in casualties was due to the fact that the French had been forced to advance in compact formation under a long-sustained artillery fire. Both sides lost heavily in prisoners, guns, and standards. Oudinot's corps alone, according to that marshal's report, lost 8,946 men, while Gerot's division suffered so severely that it had to be disbanded. Bernadotte's beaten corps was likewise disbanded, and their commander was sent back to France in disgrace. In later years, Napoleon told Admiral Cockburn, while on his way to St. Helena, that it was the biggest battle of his entire career. After the battle, the Austrians went to pieces. The French under General Marmont pursued so impetuously that by July 10 they suddenly found themselves in the midst of the enemy at Znaim, twenty-six leagues from Wagram. There was no available support. Davoust and Masséna were full two marches away. Perceiving his danger, Marmont showed a bold front and ordered a mad attack on Znaim, as if confident of support. The Austrians contented themselves with a mere repulse of his forlorn attack and suffered him to hold his own until nightfall. Thus the Archduke lost a splendid chance to

avenge his defeat by the destruction of one of Napoleon's finest divisions. On the following day Masséna came to the rescue. Fighting had recommenced when Prince Lichtenstein presented himself with powers to conclude a general armistice. This put a stop to hostilities.

The Emperor of Austria at first refused to ratify the armistice, but after five days he gave in. Until the final conclusion of peace the French occupied Vienna, and Napoleon established himself at Schönbrunn. For fifteen long days the ambulances rattled through the streets of Vienna. Twenty-three hospitals had to attend to them. Without waiting for further pourparlers, Napoleon called for a war indemnity of 237,860,000 francs.

On the day that the armistice went into effect the English seized the French colony of San Domingo with the help of the Spanish colonists. Martinique, and Senegal in Africa, also fell into the hands of the English. The time had come for the British to strike nearer home. In the Peninsula, Sir Arthur Wellesley, after his return from the pursuit of Marshal Soult, had remained long inactive in the vicinity of Lisbon. At last a plan for combined action was agreed upon between him and the Spanish generals, particularly Don Cuesta. Both began from different points to march on Madrid. A junction of their armies was effected on July 20. The main body marched toward Ollala, where the French were encamped under Marshal Victor. Within a week the advance skirmishers were engaged near Torrijos. Both sides prepared for a general battle. General Wellesley, by virtue of his greater aptitude, took command. He had 19,000 British and Brunswickers with thirty guns. Cuesta had 33,000 Spaniards with seventy guns. Against this combined army the French opposed not quite 50,000 veterans with eighty guns.

The position taken up by Wellesley's troops at Talavera extended over two miles. The right wing of the allied army

was held by Cuesta's Spaniards, immediately in front of Talavera, down to the Tagus. The ground was very rough and covered with olive trees. On July 27 the French attacked and drove General Mackenzie's vanguard back on the allies. The attack was covered by heavy artillery fire. At night the French were driven back in a bayonet charge, and were likewise repulsed on their right wing. A famous cavalry charge was made by the Twenty-third Light Dragoons over a sunken chasm, in which two-thirds went down before reaching the enemy. The rest were killed off by Victor's Polish lancers. The German hussars only escaped. On the 28th the British attacked in force, and the French gave way all along the line. Their losses were twenty cannon and 10,000 in casualties. Among them were General Lapisse and a brigadier-general. The British lost nearly 6,000 men. Among their killed were Generals Mackenzie, Langworth, and Becket. The Spanish troops, having been but partially engaged, lost only 1,200. The victory was not completed, owing to the oppressive heat and the great fatigue of the British soldiers, who had covered sixty-two miles in twenty-four hours. The Spaniards, when called upon to press the defeat home, did not respond. For the victories of Oporto and Talavera Sir Arthur Wellesley was raised to the peerage, with the title Baron Douro of Wellesley and Viscount Wellington of Talavera. The title was chosen by his brother William, then in the Ministry, to minimize the change of name. Napoleon, when he heard of Victor's defeat at Talavera, remarked: "He seems to be a man, that Wellesley."

The British joy of victory was of short duration. In the first days of August word was received that Soult, Ney, and Mortier, having joined forces, were advancing through Estremadura to fall on the rear of the British. In Wellington's words, "the allied army could only be saved by great celerity of movement." Wellington and Cuesta separated

their forces so as to present a front either way. By August 2 the French, 30,000 strong, had pushed in between the British and the bridge of Almaraz. The allies moved off in haste. The British crossed the Tagus on August 4 at Arzo Bispo, and retreated toward Deleytosa and Badajos. The Spaniards under Cuesta followed in the same direction, leaving all the British wounded behind. This circumstance, in connection with the fact that the British retreated in advance of the Spaniards, became the subject of caustic comment. In England a parliamentary vote of thanks to Lord Wellington only went through after much opposition. The retreat of the allied army was pressed so hard by the French that the English were forced far up the course of the Tagus. The Spaniards, thus isolated, were surprised at Arzo Bispo and lost all their artillery. Cuesta was replaced by General Eguia as generalissimo. At the same time a strong Spanish army under General Venegas was routed by General Sebastiani at Almaraz in Old Castile. Shortly afterward the same forces under General Arizaga were routed again at Ocaña on the side of New Castile. The Spaniards lost 4,000 killed and wounded, with 10,000 prisoners. The defeat of Ocaña was quickly followed by the reduction of Cordova and Seville. In Catalonia the event of the year was the third heroic siege sustained by the little town of Gerona with a garrison of scarcely 2,800 men. The siege lasted from midsummer to the end of the year. As during the preceding sieges, priests, monks, and women fought on the ramparts with the peasants and soldiers. To utter the word capitulation meant death. While the garrison defended itself behind its wretched earthworks, General Blake with a force of Spanish regulars made numerous diversions from without. The frequent repulses of the French so displeased Napoleon that St. Cyr and Verdier, the two commanding generals, were recalled, and Marshal Augereau appointed in their

place. Not until Alvarez, the Spanish commander, went mad under the long strain did the Geronese give in. Finally they surrendered with all the honors of war. Alvarez died in an ambulance while on the way to France. Some idea of the desultory character of the military operations in the Peninsula this year may be gathered from this estimate of the situation, given by Lord Wellington to his brother in 1809: He calculated the disposable forces of the French in Spain as 122,000 men, well provided with cavalry and artillery, without including the troops in Pampeluna, Barcelona, and other garrisons. There was the Catalonian corps under St. Cyr and Suchet, amounting to 32,000 men. The other 90,000 were distributed in Castile and Estremadura. Of the aggregate forces, 70,000 men were actually in the field, namely, the divisions of Victor, Soult, Ney, Mortier, and Sebastiani. The rest were distributed in Madrid, the Escorial, Avila, Valladolid, Toledo, and other convenient centres. To these forces the Spaniards could only oppose two corps under Venegas and Eguia. Blake, in Catalonia, had about 6,000 men. The Marquis of Romana had 15,000, but having neither artillery nor cavalry, he had to keep to the mountains of Galicia. There was also a stationary Spanish garrison of 9,000 at Ciudad Rodrigo. The English numbered from 20,000 to 25,000 in Portugal. Toward the end of the year all the Spanish fortresses had fallen into the hands of the French and most of the patriot armies had been practically dispersed.

In other quarters, British military operations were carried on against Napoleon. In early summer, Sir John Stuart, who commanded the British army in Sicily, embarked with 15,000 troops to capture Naples and Calabria. The expedition was joined by a body of Sicilian troops. On June 6 the French garrisons of Procida and Ischia surrendered to the British. By this stroke 1,500 regular troops,

one hundred guns, and forty gunboats fell into British hands. After considerable fighting for the possession of the castle of Scylla, which was taken and retaken several times, the British were forced to abandon the attempt.

Another British expedition of a more formidable nature was intended to create a diversion in favor of Austria by invading Holland. Toward the end of July, troops were collected to the number of 40,000, with 150 siege guns, supported by forty ships of the line, thirty-six frigates, and a fleet of gunboats and transports. The whole expedition numbered about 100,000 sailors and soldiers. The fleet was commanded by Sir Richard Strachan, while the Earl of Chatham led the land forces. The departure of the expedition at the end of July was a great event. On the arrival of the troops at Walcheren and South Beveland, it was found that the French had evacuated their position, to concentrate at Antwerp. The French squadron likewise took refuge in the harbor of Antwerp. Resistance was encountered only at Flushing. By the middle of August, Flushing was bombarded for thirty-six hours. The next day General Mounet surrendered with his garrison of 6,000 men. Napoleon was incensed at the news, and had Mounet court-martialed and condemned to death while still a prisoner in British hands. Instead of pushing straight on to Antwerp, the British lay a long time idle at Flushing. They were quartered in a marshy region, which was so notoriously unhealthy that Napoleon had forbidden any French troops to be garrisoned there. Thousands of the soldiers fell ill with malignant fever. All idea of pushing up the Scheldt to destroy the arsenal and dockyards of the French at Antwerp and Terneuse was abandoned. At last, by the middle of September, Lord Chatham returned to England with the greater portion of the troops. Only the island of Walcheren was retained by a British force to maintain a blockade on the Scheldt.

The ignominious failure of this expedition stirred up bad blood in England. The Ministry was rent by factions. Percival, Castlereagh, and Canning were at cross-purposes. For some time the Duke of Portland and Castlereagh had been at odds—ever since Canning had privately stipulated that he would not remain in the Cabinet unless Castlereagh were removed from the War Office. The unfortunate Walcheren expedition, a pet project of Castlereagh, brought matters to a head. The Marquis of Wellesley had wished the troops to be sent to Portugal, where his brother was fighting. Canning supported him in this, but said nothing to Castlereagh. When Castlereagh was finally brought to resign, and Wellesley was selected for his place, Castlereagh charged Canning with double dealing. On September 22 they fought a duel on Putney Heath. Canning was shot in the thigh. The Duke of Portland resigned from the Ministry, and a few days afterward he died. Thus ended the first part of Canning's ministerial career. Walter Scott, who had interested Canning in the founding of the "Quarterly Review," advised him to take his own ground in Parliament and hoist his own standard. This Canning did.

Canning's conduct of the Foreign Office had given much umbrage. This was especially true of America. All the rejoicing over the termination of the hurtful embargo was turned to wormwood when Canning disavowed the promises and negotiations entered into by his Minister, Erskine. Upon Erskine's remonstrances Canning wrote: "I must signify to you the displeasure which his Majesty feels that any Minister of his Majesty should have shown himself so far insensible of what is due to the dignity of his sovereign as to have consented to receive and transmit a note in which such expressions were contained." To others Canning justified his repudiation of the compact with America by the single reason that the United States Government could not

be trusted long enough to prove its good faith. For Erskine's place, Canning selected Jackson, whose conduct at Copenhagen had made him notorious. Jackson himself complained that Canning had sent him on an errand which he knew to be impossible to perform. On July 1 Jackson received his instructions. Their wording showed them to be conceived in the spirit of arrogant intolerance which did so much to arouse the United States to war with Great Britain. Erskine's compact was repudiated with a charge of bad faith against President Madison, founded on the "publicity so unwarrantably given by the American Government."

The news of Canning's disavowal did not reach America until July 21, after three months of unrestricted trade with England. The first effect was general bewilderment. "The late conduct of the British Ministry," commented the "National Intelligencer" of July 26, "has capped the climax of atrocity toward this country." President Madison was away from Washington on his Virginia plantation. Gallatin, in temporary charge of affairs, realized at once that a crisis was at hand and advised the President to return. "I will only observe," he wrote in his letter, "that we are not so well prepared for resistance as we were a year ago. . . . We have wasted our resources without any national utility, and, our treasury being exhausted, we must now prepare for resistance with considerable and therefore unpopular loans." Madison wrote to Jefferson: "I find myself under a mortifying necessity of setting out for Washington to-morrow (August 4). The intricate state of our affair with England, produced by the mixture of fraud and folly in her conduct, . . . requires that I should join my Cabinet." Upon his arrival in Washington, without waiting for the authorization of Congress, Madison issued a proclamation reviving the non-intercourse act against Great Britain. Madison saw no reason why he should remain in Washington to receive

the British Minister upon his arrival, the more so since he agreed with Gallatin that Jackson's disclaimer was likely to be neither operative nor agreeable. When the President returned at last, in early autumn, he received the British Minister in frock-coat, "as one gentleman another, in strong contrast," wrote Jackson, "to the audiences I have had with most of the sovereigns of Europe." When Jackson failed to make any oral propositions to the Secretary of State, the President requested him to submit proposals in writing. Jackson wrote a letter of remonstrance, beginning with the assertion, "there does not exist, in the annals of diplomacy, a precedent for stopping verbal communication within so few days after the delivery of credentials."

Madison replied *in extenso*, reminding him at the outset that only in the previous year Canning had put an end to oral communications after two interviews with Pinckney on the subject now under consideration. The rest of the letter drove the awkward position of the British Minister home to him. Jackson wrote to Canning: "Madison is now as obstinate as a mule. Until he gets the absolute surrender of the Orders in Council, he will not even accept satisfaction for the affair of the 'Chesapeake,' which has now for the third time been offered to him in vain." A few days after this, Jackson received a third note, requesting him to show his full powers, as an indispensable preliminary to further negotiations. In reply to Jackson's insinuation that the American Government had connived with Erskine, when the latter exceeded his instructions, Madison wrote sternly: "The view which you have presented on the subject makes it my duty to apprise you that such insinuations are inadmissible in the intercourse of a foreign Minister with a government that understands what it owes to itself." This communication placed Jackson in a difficult position. To defend himself, he asserted that his charge was based on fact.

The President's reply to this note came on November 8. It was short and to the point: "Sir—Finding that, in your reply of the 4th inst., you have used a language which can not be understood but as reiterating and even aggravating the same gross insinuations, it only remains for me, in order to preclude opportunities which are thus abused, to inform you that no further communications will be received from you."

On Napoleon's foreign policy the effects of America's dealings with England were various. Napoleon was in Vienna, preparing for the battle of Wagram, when the news reached him that America and England had settled their commercial disputes. Fearful of forcing the United States into the coalition against France, he sent to Champagny the draft of a new commercial decree. It declared that since the United States, by their firm resistance to the arbitrary measures of England, were no longer obliged to pay imposts to the British Government, the Milan Decree of December 17, 1807, should not longer be applied to the United States, and neutral commerce with America should be restored. Before this change of policy could be effected, the battle of Wagram was won. At the same time Canning repudiated the new American arrangement, and the United States and Great Britain were once more at odds. These events were followed by a corresponding change in the tone of the French Emperor. On August 22 Champagny informed the American Minister that France would not revoke her retaliatory decrees on commerce until England should raise her blockades.

While residing at Schönbrunn Napoleon was beset with other problems beyond the remote vexation of commercial non-intercourse with America. The peace negotiations with Austria were dragging, and in the meanwhile the Tyrolese insurgents refused to be pacified. The rebellion, secretly fomented by the Austrian Government throughout the armistice, had to be put down with fire and sword. A thousand

Saxons were massacred in the valley of the Eisach, and the Bavarians lost 1,200 men in the Pusterthal. The peasant leaders caught were shot. Speckbacher escaped to Vienna after great suffering. Andreas Hofer, the soul of the Tyrolese insurrection, was betrayed by an unfrocked priest. He was dragged off to Mantua to be tried by drum-head court-martial. It was at this time that Staaps, a young German student from Erfurt, tried to kill Napoleon. He approached the Emperor, during a military review at Schönbrunn, with a paper in his hand; but General Rapp stopped him, and, finding his answers suspicious, had him arrested. On his person was found a large kitchen knife. Later, Napoleon had Staaps called into the drawing-room, where he was receiving his marshals. The young man declared that he wished to free Germany in freeing Europe. Napoleon delayed his execution in the hope that the young man would express repentance. Staaps remained three days without eating; then he walked to the place of his execution, crying: "Long live Germany! Death to the tyrant!"

Peace between France and Austria was at last concluded on October 14, 1809, a few days after Napoleon had called for a new levy of troops in France. Count Stadion resigned from the Ministry, and Metternich took his place. The treaty of Vienna, the last which Napoleon signed as a conqueror, took from the Austrian Empire 50,000 square miles of territory and nearly five million inhabitants. Austria, which at the beginning of the Napoleonic wars possessed territory from the Danube to the Rhine, with the greater part of Italy, now found herself cut off from Germany and from the sea. The dominion of Napoleon extended without a break from the North Sea to the borders of Turkey. Bavaria and Saxony were increased at the expense of their once powerful neighbor. Salzburg and upper Austria, in addition to the Tyrol, were ceded to Bavaria. Austrian Poland

was transferred to the Grandduchy of Warsaw, under the control of the King of Saxony. This was a direct slight to the Czar, intended as a punishment for Russia's lukewarm conduct as an ally. Part of Carinthia, and the whole of the country lying between the Adriatic and the Save, as far as Bosnia, were annexed to the French Empire as the Illyrian provinces. Napoleon appeared to have gathered richer spoils than ever before, but in truth his position had grown worse rather than better. The continued revolts in Spain and the Tyrol held out a hope to northern Europe, while the estrangement with Russia involved new dangers from that quarter. The maritime war with England, with the resulting stoppage of foreign trade in France and Holland, had stricken a hidden wound which weakened the internal resources of the French Empire. Yet Napoleon was confident of ultimate victory. At Vienna he wrote another decree revoking his conciliatory attitude toward American trade. It called for confiscation of American merchandise, in retaliation for penalties imposed on French ships for violating the American embargo. Furthermore, Napoleon declared that American merchandise was English property in disguise, and should be treated as such. Peace was finally concluded between France and Denmark as well as Sweden. In return for a promise to close all Swedish harbors against English ships, Pomerania was returned to Sweden. In the treaty between Sweden and Russia, signed at Fredericshamm on September 17, Sweden had to cede Finland, the archipelago of Aland, and a part of Swedish Bothnia. So it came that the great national singer of Finland, John Ludvig Runeberg, who was to become the greatest poet that ever wrote in the Swedish language, was born a Russian subject.

Immediately after signing peace Napoleon left Schönbrunn. As a parting measure, he gave orders to raze the Vienna fortifications to the ground. After a short visit to

the Bavarian court at Nymphenburg, he arrived at Fontainebleau on October 29 without having been announced. Empress Josephine was not there to receive him. Napoleon made this a pretext for a violent scene. It served to foreshadow the divorce which had long been arranged by Fouché. At the imperial palace the doors were closed between the apartments of Napoleon and those of Josephine.

It was on December 16 that a *senatus consultum* announced the dissolution of the marriage of Napoleon with Josephine. The act read as follows:

“Article I.—The marriage contracted between Emperor Napoleon and Empress Josephine is dissolved.

“Article II.—Empress Josephine will retain the titles and rank of a crowned Empress.

“Article III.—All arrangements which may be made by the Emperor in favor of Empress Josephine, on the funds of the civil list, must be observed by his successors.”

After the decree was entered Napoleon gave orders to conduct Josephine to Malmaison, and went to say farewell. Ménéval, who was present, thus describes the scene: “When it was announced that the carriages were ready, Napoleon took his hat and said, ‘Ménéval, come with me!’ I followed him up the little winding staircase from his study to the Empress’s apartments. Josephine was alone, and appeared wrapped in the most painful reflection. The noise we made in entering aroused her. Springing up, she threw herself on the Emperor’s neck, sobbing and crying. He pressed her to his bosom, kissing her again and again; but in the excess of her emotion she had fainted.”

The rest of the month, until the close of the year, was spent by Napoleon in solitude, at Trianon. By an odd coincidence, it was at this same time that the King of Prussia and Queen Louise made their joyful entry into the old royal palace at Berlin, after an absence of three years.

EVENTS OF 1810

Continental Blockade Causes Universal Hard Times—Napoleon Woes Marie Louise of Austria—Execution of Hofer, Patriot of the Tyrol—Death of Cavendish, the Scientist—Press Wins Fight to Report Debates in Parliament—Spanish Cortes is Formed—French Take Malaga—Wellington Fortifies Portugal—French Invest Cadiz—King Joseph's Commission to South America to Secure Allegiance Causes Simon Bolivar to Lead Successful Revolt in Venezuela—Example is Followed Throughout Continent—Hidalgo Establishes Independent Government in Mexico—Western Florida is Turned Over to United States—Fouché, French Prime Minister, is Dismissed for Plotting to Conquer United States—Napoleon Weds Marie Louise—Good King Louis of Holland Abdicates Rather than Enforce Napoleon's Oppressive Commands—France Annexes Holland—Hard Times in England—Bernadotte is Chosen King of Sweden—Ney Takes Ciudad Rodrigo—Wellington Devastates Portugal as Defence against French—French Take Almeida—Masséna is Repelled by Wellington's Fortifications, the Torres Vedras—Prince of Wales Made Regent because of King's Insanity—University of Berlin is Founded—France Annexes Hanseatic Free Towns—King Murat Invades Sicily and is Defeated by Sir John Stuart—Turks Driven from Russia, Bulgaria, and Servia—The Czar Breaks Blockade.

NAPOLEON had reached a point in his career when he was more bent on holding fast what he had already acquired than on making new conquests. He was satisfied, therefore, to leave the active prosecution of the war in Spain to his marshals, while he trusted to the effects of his continental blockade to bring England to time. The retroactive effect of commercial stagnation on the Continent itself was not yet realized by Napoleon. Yet the French peasants had to extract sugar from beet root, and substituted chicory for coffee. In Germany and the Netherlands smokers had to forego their tobacco and took to canaster. But for a flourishing smuggling trade, Holland would have been ruined. In Scandinavia, likewise, the inclusion of Sweden and Denmark in the continental union made smugglers out of the hardy seamen of the North. In Russia, where there was no such outlet, the ruin of trade was com-

plete, and public finances went from bad to worse. All this was lost on Napoleon. For the present he was bent on securing his Empire as a dynasty by a personal alliance with one of the oldest reigning families in Europe. Having failed in one of his matrimonial advances on the side of Russia, he turned to Austria. Before Napoleon divorced Josephine, Prince Metternich had already been sounded on the subject. Metternich wrote to Prince Schwarzenberg, the Austrian Ambassador in Paris: "His Majesty, the Emperor [Francis], to whom nothing is repugnant which can contribute to assure the well-being and tranquillity of the state, far from rejecting this idea, authorizes you, Sir, to follow it up, and to refuse no overtures which may be made on the subject. . . . You will also try to determine, so far as possible, the advantages that France will offer to Austria in case of the conclusion of a family alliance."

Josephine herself in the interests of Napoleon broached to the Princess Metternich the subject of the projected marriage. She said: "It must be represented to the Emperor of Austria that his ruin and that of his country is certain if he does not consent. It is perhaps the only means of preventing the Emperor from making a schism with the Holy See."

Metternich replied to his wife:

"I regard this affair as the greatest which could, at this moment, occupy Europe. . . . This consideration led me, from the first moment I was informed of the probability of a divorce, to turn to the Princess, who might be called to take this part. The Archduchess is ignorant, as is only right, of the views concerning her, . . . but our princesses are little accustomed to choose their husbands from affection, and the respect due to the wish of a father from a child so good and well brought up as the Archduchess makes me hope that there will be no obstacle on her part."

Definite arrangements for the marriage were concluded on February 7. Metternich wrote to Schwarzenberg:

“At a distance it would be difficult to judge of the sensation generally produced here by the news of the marriage. The first effect on the exchange was such that the rate to-day would have been at three hundred, and even less, but that the Government had interest to hold it higher. It was only by buying a million of gulden in specie within the limit of two days that we were able to fix it at three hundred and seventy. Count Shuvalov [the Russian Ambassador] was terrified at the news.”

Metternich forthwith set out for Paris to add to the splendor of the imperial wedding. The celebration was set for April, and was to be modeled closely after the ceremonial used when Marie Antoinette was married to Louis XVI.

While Metternich was thus employed in serving his imperial master according to his lights, another faithful servant of the Austrian Emperor was abandoned to his fate. Andreas Hofer, the leader of the Tyrolese peasants, who had been betrayed into French hands after the abandonment of the Tyrol by Austria, was court-martialed as a bandit. Some of the judges stood out for acquittal, but a peremptory order arrived from Napoleon by the heliograph from Milan, fixing Hofer's execution within twenty-four hours. He was shot on the morning of February 20, on the bastion of Mautua. His last words were: “Good-by, wretched world, this death is easy!”

Scarcely a fortnight after Hofer's execution came the death of Lord Henry Cavendish in England, one of the greatest scientists of the time. With Watt, Black, and Priestley in England, and with Laplace, De Luc, and Lavoisier in France, Cavendish had conducted a series of experiments in chemistry which determined the true character of air and water. His observations on the action of light, and on spe-

cific and latent heat, prepared the way for the more important scientific discoveries in these subjects later in the century. Cavendish also anticipated several of those great facts in common electricity that were subsequently made known to the scientific world through the investigation of Coulomb. It was Cavendish that first computed the density of the earth at 5.45.

After the death of the Duke of Portland Mr. Percival became Prime Minister. He formed a cabinet, with the Marquis of Wellesley as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. On the meeting of Parliament, late in January, the opposition, headed by Canning, Grenville, and Grey, immediately called for a censure of the Government for its conduct of foreign affairs, involving the military expeditions to Holland and Spain. Lord Chatham had to resign his master generalship of ordnance. The Ministry yet prevailed by a majority of ninety-six, and finally obtained a parliamentary vote of thanks for Lord Wellington and his army in the Peninsula. During the parliamentary debates over the course of the war all gazetteers were excluded from the House. Sheridan objected to this in a great speech on the liberty of the press, and was supported by Cobden, but their motion was defeated. This outcome was severely censured by a London debating club called the "British Forum." For this insult to Parliament, John Gail Jones, the president of the society, was haled before the House and was committed to Newgate jail. The editor of the "Morning Chronicle," who pleaded his own case, and likewise his printer, were let off. Sir Francis Burdette objected to such summary measures as an infringement of the right of all Englishmen to jury trial, as secured by Magna Charta. His motion to liberate Jones was overwhelmingly defeated. Sir Francis Burdette repeated his arguments in an open letter to his constituents, in which he denounced the action of Parliament.

For this infringement of parliamentary privilege Burdette was committed to the Tower by a vote of 190 against 152 of his colleagues. Burdette's house was surrounded by a mob, and the warrant for his arrest had to be executed by a large force of constabulary and soldiers. Riots occurred around the Tower and in Piccadilly. In the street fighting that followed a number of persons were killed. Remonstrances and petitions about the matter were sent to Parliament from all over England. Sir Francis Burdette brought an action in law against the Speaker of the House and the sergeant-at-arms, but lost his case. When he was finally released at the prorogation of Parliament, his supporters in great numbers paraded London with placards bearing such inscriptions as "Magna Charta," "Trial by Jury," etc. At night all the lower districts of London were illuminated. The episode served to establish the custom of newspaper reports of parliamentary debates as a public privilege.

While the mistakes of the British Ministry were thrashed out in Parliament the Spanish situation became ever more complicated. The national struggle for independence in Spain had produced a political revolution there unforeseen by Spaniards, Frenchmen, or Englishmen. The threatening attitude of the various provincial juntas, and of the old royal councils, induced the Supreme Junta, itself an irregular and revolutionary body, to convoke the Cortes or National Parliament for March 1, 1810. According to old Spanish usage, there were three chambers in which three estates were entitled to representation: to wit, the clergy, nobility, and the people. The Spanish Liberals now demanded a single chamber for all three estates, while the Junta, headed by Jovellanos, declared for a double chamber, with an Upper House for the clergy and nobles, and a House of Commons for the representatives of the people. Writs of election had already been issued when the advance of the French drove

the Junta from Seville to Cadiz. Here the Junta found itself divided among its own members, and fell into such execration that by the end of January, 1810, it resigned its powers into the hands of a fivefold regency. On January 20 and 21 the French forced their way over the Sierra Morena, and marched on Beylen, Cordova, and Seville. Soult sent a division under Sebastiani against Granada. The French defeated ten thousand Spaniards under Ariesaga and Frere, and captured all the artillery. Granada opened her gates to the French, and a battalion of Swiss who had deserted to the British eagerly returned to French allegiance. Sebastiani left a strong garrison at the Alhambra and pushed on to Malaga. There he defeated a large body of insurgents. On the battlefield some fifteen hundred dead bodies were found, among them many peasants, priests, and monks. The capture of Malaga was of great importance to the French, since it cut off communications between the maritime provinces of Spain on the east coast and the region of Cadiz and Gibraltar. The whole peninsula was cut in two parts by a military cord stretching from Bayonne through Burgos and Valladolid to Madrid, and thence by Toledo, Andujar, and Jaen to the Gulf of Malaga. In Portugal Wellington prepared for another French invasion by establishing a cordon of his own along the line of the mountain ridges, running from the Tagus to the sea. While the English army wintered near Almeida, Wellington, with the help of thousands of Portuguese, turned this mountain tract into an impregnable barrier by a double serried line of fortifications. No rumor of the work was allowed to reach the French or even the babbling newspapers at home.

On the first day of February Seville surrendered to Marshal Victor. The Supreme Junta, on the approach of the French army to the Guadalquivir, fled to the Isle of Leon. Of the eighty-six members of the Junta, most betook

themselves to Cadiz, some went over to the French, while others fled to England and America. Thus Count Tilly found means to reach Philadelphia with a round sum of three million dollars. By the middle of February Cadiz was invested by the French, with King Joseph acting as commander-in-chief. The French forces before Cadiz were about fifty thousand, while the Spaniards, Portuguese, and English numbered twenty thousand, with a fleet of eight sail-of-the-line and a dozen smaller ships. In anticipation of the siege, the South American loyalists sent large contributions of money; and flour in great abundance was brought from the United States. The siege went on but slowly. About the middle of March a terrific storm wrecked half of the Spanish fleet and drove the ships ashore. Later a party of two thousand French prisoners succeeded in escaping from the bay of Cadiz on board of their prison ship. It was a notable exploit. During this interminable siege, as at Saragossa and Gerona, Spanish women figured in the fighting on the ramparts. The French during this same time made attempts at Valencia and Hostalrich. From Valencia they were beaten back with great loss. At Hostalrich the Spanish column under O'Donnell tried to relieve the garrison, but was beaten back after a desperate battle at Vich, in which thirty-five hundred Spaniards were taken prisoners, with almost as many killed and wounded. On the night of May 12 the garrison of Hostalrich made a desperate attempt to escape from the city, but they were caught in the act and slain almost to a man. General Suchet captured Lerida with all its stores by refusing to let the women and children escape, and he also took Mequinez, the key of the Ebro. Valencia and Tortosa were invested in turn. Ney's corps settled down to besiege Ciudad Rodrigo.

While matters stood at such low ebb in Spain the tide of revolutionary spirit rose in South America. Early in the

year the Junta at Seville granted direct representation to the South American colonists, proclaiming them to be an integral part of the Spanish nation. The regency at Cadiz, while confirming this measure, granted to the South American colonists but one deputy for every million inhabitants. Spain had one representative for every hundred thousand, regardless of the fact that the greater part of the peninsula was under French dominion. At the same time French commissioners arrived in South America to demand the oath of fidelity to King Joseph. The arrival of the hateful "afrancesados," as they were called, was like a spark in a powder mill. All South America was ripe for revolution, and as of one accord the colonists rose in the north, south, east, and west to throw off the yoke of Europe. The movement had already started in Mexico, when the viceroy, Don José de Iturrigaray, was deposed by the people and superseded by a marshal of the army. After a few months of his rule the central Junta in Spain ordered him superseded by the archbishop in Mexico. The archbishop was replaced in turn by the regency of Cadiz, who appointed General Vinegas as viceroy. In these rapid changes of rule the people discovered how easy it was to overturn a government. The doctrine, that on the disappearance of a monarch his sovereignty reverted to the people, found an enthusiastic advocate in Hidalgo, a Mexican curate, who had already been disciplined by the Inquisition for maintaining dangerous opinions. In Venezuela there was Don Simon Bolivar, who had sworn to free his country years ago on the Monte Sacro of Rome, after he saw Napoleon place the iron crown of Lombardy on his own head. Bolivar had just returned to his country after a personal study of republican institutions in the United States. On April 18, Wednesday of Holy Week, the Spanish commission arrived in Caracas, and demanded adherence to the regency in Cadiz. Bolivar spoke the word which set

South America aflame. "This power," he said, "which fluctuates in such a manner in Spain and does not secure itself, invites us to establish a Junta of our own and to govern ourselves." The next day the Municipal Council of Caracas invited Emperan, the Spanish governor of the colony, to attend their session, with the intention of offering him the presidency of the Junta. José Cortez Madriga, a Chilian, rushed into the council room and exclaimed: "Beware what you do. You are blind if you put yourselves at the mercy of the representative of Spain." Emperan fled to the balcony and addressed the crowd below: "Are you content with me?" he asked. "No," shouted the crowd, "we don't want you!" "Then I don't want you!" retorted Emperan, and gave up his governorship. That day the Junta of Caracas was proclaimed. It refused to recognize the regency of Cadiz, and banished the former governor to the United States.

The success of the revolution of Caracas inspired the other colonists to follow Bolivar's example. The viceroy of Nueva Granada was exiled to Cartagena. In Buenos Ayres an assembly of six hundred natives rose against Portugal, and deprived the viceroy, Balthazar de Cisneros, of power. The Portuguese soldiers were beaten and retreated to Montevideo, but here, too, as in all other provinces of upper Peru, the revolution prevailed, and an independent Junta was established. In lower Peru the colonial government of Lima was able to hold the revolutionists in check. Chili likewise rose in 1810 and succeeded in throwing off the Spanish yoke, though the Creoles, who fought for independence, had nothing but the most primitive arms. In Mexico the new viceroy Vinegas's demand of money for the support of the Spanish cause was met by Hidalgo's Grito de Dolores, "The Cry of Wrongs." It was taken up by a couple of hundred insurgents. They succeeded in seizing the stronghold of Guanajuato. Driven from there, Hidalgo established an independ-

ent government on Guadalajara, where he maintained himself for the rest of the year. In western Florida, filibusters from the United States assaulted the Spanish fort at Baton Rouge. Louis Grand Pré, the commandant, died as its sole defender. Western Florida was turned over to the United States. Even Cuba became uneasy.

It was confidently asserted by European statesmen that South America would have to revert either to France or to England as soon as one of these two great contestants should prevail over the other. Otherwise nothing but barbarism was expected. That South America did not fall into British hands at this time can be ascribed only to the forbidding attitude of the United States. Already an English fleet but a few years before had seized Buenos Ayres and Montevideo, only to be ousted again by the native settlers. Both ports then had to sustain a long and formidable blockade on the part of British cruisers. During the course of the year 1810 the British also seized the French colonies of Guadeloupe and Isle de Bourbon. Finally Java and Isle de France fell into the hands of the British, who thus were made absolute masters of the sea.

Napoleon's new Prime Minister, Fouché, conceived a fantastic plan to offset this loss of French prestige beyond the seas. Early in the year he sent a secret agent named Fagan to suggest that if Great Britain would yield Spain, France would join in creating out of the Spanish-American colonies an empire for Ferdinand VI of Spain. From Louisiana it was suggested a monarchy might be created for the French Bourbons. Fouché was instigated to this in a measure by Aaron Burr, who had betaken himself to Paris and there presented a memoir to the French Government, showing that the destruction of the United States could be accomplished by a combined attack of French troops from Canada and from Louisiana. Fouché's proposals were con-

temptuously dismissed by the British Ministry. Napoleon learned of Fouché's secret correspondence by an accident, as he was about to set out with his new empress on their wedding journey to Holland. "Fouché," said the Emperor, "is always thrusting his ugly foot into other people's shoes." The overzealous Minister was dismissed and was exiled to Italy as Governor of Rome.

The marriage between Napoleon and Marie Louise had been first solemnized at Vienna, on March 11, without Napoleon.

When Marie Louise left Vienna, the people rioted on the streets. She was conveyed in triumph through southern Germany and through France. It was arranged that she was to meet her husband for the first time at the Château of Compiègne, in the presence of all of his court. To save her from embarrassment, Napoleon set out from Compiègne with no other escort but Murat. He entered her carriage and embraced her cordially. Marie Louise, who was then but eighteen years old, was agreeably surprised by his youthful appearance. "Your portrait, Sire," she said, "has not done you justice." Later she confessed that she had looked forward to her union with Napoleon in terror. How Napoleon was regarded in the imperial household in Vienna may be gathered from the fact that the young princes used to burn him in effigy, a game which they called "roasting the monster." The repetition of the marriage ceremony in France, though a mere formality, was made a state occasion. Napoleon gave a dowry of 725 francs to each of six thousand young girls who on the day of his French nuptials should marry a soldier of his army. On April 2 the Emperor and Empress, seated in the coronation carriage of glass and gold, with a train of a hundred equipages following behind them, entered Paris by the Arc de Triomphe. Three hundred thousand persons thronged the Champs Elysées. Hand in

hand Napoleon and Marie Louise passed into the Tuileries through the long gallery of magnificent paintings which connects it with the Louvre. In the evening, amid brilliant illuminations, they received the nuptial blessing. From her retreat at Navarre, Josephine wrote: "Your Majesty shall never be troubled in your happiness by any expression of my grief." Napoleon said to his friends: "Josephine is indeed the best woman in France." At St. Helena Napoleon freely recognized that his divorce was a mistake. He then said: "A son by Josephine would have completed my happiness, not only from a political point of view, but as a source of domestic happiness. As a political result it would have secured to me the possession of the throne. The French people would have been as much attached to the son of Josephine as they were to the King of Rome [Napoleon's son by Marie Louise], and I should not have set my foot in an abyss covered with flowers."

From Paris Napoleon set out on his wedding journey to Holland. Napoleon's brother, there, King Louis, had come under extreme disfavor by his lenient attitude toward his Dutch subjects, who carried on their commerce in spite of the continental blockade. To help out the French deficit of fifty millions, much to the disgust of Louis, Napoleon gave orders to seize all American ships that should enter Dutch ports in violation of his Milan Decree. To the Prussian Government Napoleon wrote at the same time: "Let the American ships enter your ports! Seize them afterward! You shall deliver the cargoes to me, and I will take them in part payment of Prussia's war debt." To the American Minister Napoleon thus explained his attitude: "If American ships have been sequestered in French ports, France only imitates the example given her by the American Government. The American Act of Congress of March 1, 1809, which orders in certain cases the sequestration and confisca-

tion of French ships, that are excluded from American ports, practically interdicts France to Americans. In the ports of Holland, of Spain, of Italy, and of France, American vessels have been seized because the Americans have seized French vessels." Napoleon's official orders in that sense, known as the Decree of Rambouillet, were issued in March. The total amount of the American seizures was then estimated by Napoleon at six million dollars. The American consul at Paris reported that between April, 1809, and April, 1810, fifty-one American ships had been seized in France, forty-four in Spain, twenty-eight in Naples, and eleven in Holland. Had Louis carried out his brother's orders, the seizures in Dutch ports would have been far more numerous. Louis was summoned to France, and by way of punishment was compelled to sign the Dutch treaty of March 16, in which he ceded the provinces of Brabant, Zeeland, and a part of Guelders to France. All Dutch commerce with the outside world was to be suppressed. When Louis returned to Holland he could not bring himself to carry out these humiliating pledges. He tried to evade the surrender of the American ships to France, and objected to the invasion of his kingdom by French troops. During riotous public proceedings in Amsterdam Louis publicly expressed sympathy with the cause of the Dutch against his brother. Napoleon wrote to Louis: "They who do not love France do not love me. Your Majesty will find in me a brother if I find in you a Frenchman. But should you be unmindful of the sentiments which attach you to our common country, you must not take it amiss if I disregard those which nature formed between us." In private Napoleon said angrily: "Louis has been spoiled by reading the works of Rousseau." A French army of occupation was sent into Holland. The Exchange at Rotterdam was turned into a stable for French cavalry. About the middle of June a French column of 20,000 moved on Amster-

dam. At this Louis left his capital and abdicated the throne of Holland. In a farewell address to the Dutch people he said: "I have the cruel satisfaction, yet now the only one that is left me, that I have fulfilled my obligations to Holland. . . . I should be much to blame if I consented to retain the title of King, being no longer anything but an instrument, no longer commanding in my own capital, and perhaps soon not even in my own palace. By doing so I should betray my conscience, my people, and my royal duty." Louis went to Toeplitz in Bohemia without a single attendant. Savary relates that when Napoleon received the news of his brother's abdication and flight he sat silent for several minutes. After that momentary stupor he became greatly agitated. "It can not be denied," adds Savary, "that his brother's conduct seriously affected the Emperor's cause in public opinion." Napoleon made matters worse by first refusing to recognize Louis's abdication as not authorized by him, and next by his annexation of all the Netherlands, "as a mere affluvia of the rivers of France." Amsterdam was made the third city of the Empire. Of the effect of these measures, Napoleon said in after years at St. Helena: "My annexation of Holland produced a most unfavorable impression throughout Europe, and contributed greatly to lay the foundation of our misfortunes." While Louis Bonaparte went into voluntary exile to Bohemia, Lucien, Napoleon's other refractory brother, prepared to ship his family to America. The vessel was intercepted by British cruisers on the way, and Lucien was taken to England, where he remained in like voluntary exile.

In England Napoleon's continental system wrought havoc in all commercial enterprises. Financial failures became alarmingly frequent as the common people fell into pauperism. Many eminent merchants committed suicide, among them Francis Baring and Abraham Goldschmid.

Paul Benfield, the East Indian millionaire, died in extreme poverty. Napoleon, observing these effects, gave another turn to the screw. He issued a decree that all English manufactures found in France, Holland or the German States should be burned. Another blow for England was the absolute accession of Sweden to the continental system. Late in spring the Crown Prince of Sweden had died suddenly. During a parade of troops at Qvidinge he suddenly dropped dead from his horse. Reports of attempts to poison him had been in circulation before his death. A post-mortem examination by the celebrated chemist, Berzelius, favored this supposition. The people became greatly excited. At the funeral of the Prince in Stockholm the mob killed Count Furzen, marshal of the realm, who was suspected of complicity in the death of the Prince. Sweden was once more without an heir-apparent to the throne. Those in power were anxious to see a good soldier put in charge, who could recapture Finland. Count Otto Moerner, who had been a prisoner in Jutland when Marshal Bernadotte commanded that province, conceived the original scheme of placing him on the throne. Bernadotte consented in a guarded manner, and so did Napoleon, though privately he declared himself averse to the project. Count Moerner's act was disavowed by the Swedish Ministry, but Moerner carried on his agitation with so much success that the Swedish Riksdag selected Bernadotte. Bernadotte landed in Sweden on October 10, 1810, and was declared heir-apparent as Prince Charles, or Charles Johann, as he called himself henceforward. Thus Bernadotte, though by no means among the most brilliant of the military adventurers produced by the French Revolution, found himself at the goal of all, on as high a plane as the Bonapartes and their immediate relatives, Murat and Eugene Beauharnais.

As military governor of Jutland and Pomerania, Bernadotte had shown himself an able administrator, and his

treatment of the Swedish captives, who were then under his charge, was so humane that he endeared himself to them forever. It was to this that he owed his elevation to the Swedish throne. By his politic conduct and diplomatic manners he soon gained such an ascendancy that the throne of Sweden fell to him as by right.

Those Swedish politicians, who had thought by their selection of Bernadotte to please Napoleon and gain a strong point with him, were mistaken. Napoleon revealed his true motives in consenting to their choice in a private conversation with Metternich. To him he said: "For my part I am delighted to be rid of him; I ask nothing better than his removal from France. He is one of those old Jacobins with his head in the wrong place. . . . Yet a French marshal on the throne of Gustavus Adolphus is one of the best tricks that could be played on England."

Other measures to hurt England were not neglected. Throughout this time the war in Spain and Portugal had been carried on with obstinate vigor. On the day after the French flag was hoisted over Amsterdam, Ciudad Rodrigo, at the end of a long siege, was compelled to surrender to Marshal Ney. His troops were about to storm the last breach. Half a year had passed since the French had resumed the offensive in Spain. Battle on battle had been won, and stronghold after stronghold had fallen. Portugal alone remained unsubdued. To hold Portugal, Lord Wellington called for reenforcements to bring the British fighting force up to 30,000 men. He also asked for a financial subsidy of several million pounds sterling, wherewith to keep 60,000 soldiers on their feet. The British Ministry, though startled at these figures, granted Wellington's demand, and undertook to pay an annual subsidy, £1,000,000, to Portugal. Wellington had himself made marshal-general of Portugal, independent of the Portuguese Regency. By virtue of this authority

he revived the ancient military laws of the kingdom, by which he brought 56,000 Portuguese to the colors, and forced them to devastate their own country along the entire line of the invasion, four hundred miles long. The French forces available for the invasion numbered over 80,000. The famous triple line of defence of the Torres Vedras was Wellington's own idea. Between the lines lay a wasted country in which no invader could maintain himself for any length of time. The innermost line of intrenchments was thrown up in case disaster should make sudden embarkation imperative. For the same purpose, an English fleet was held in readiness. As the ravages of the war increased, all Portugal had to be fed by England.

During the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo the English lines of outpost under General Craufurd were gradually forced back on the banks of the Agueda. Wellington felt himself too weak to succor Ciudad Rodrigo, and had to see the place fall, though within easy striking distance. On July 24 General Craufurd, having kept on the other side of the Coa against Wellington's express orders, was overwhelmed by Ney's whole army. His forces were thrown across the river in great confusion. At the bridge of Castillo Boin the British made a stand, and successfully held up the advancing columns of the French. A thousand Frenchmen fell in trying to force the passage. Ciudad Rodrigo furnished the French with a good base of supplies, and Wellington's situation soon became embarrassing. The corps of Ney and Regnier were too strong to be attacked by the British, and on the other side Masséna was approaching with the Spanish army. The Spanish generals, discontented with Wellington's abandonment of Ciudad Rodrigo, grew restive, and undertook operations on their own responsibility. Romana and Ballesteros, in a joint action at Benvenida, were routed by Mortier. Their defeat was a serious matter for the defence of Portugal. It

might have proved disastrous had an English expedition landing at Moguer not drawn Mortier's forces rearward. Still more serious for Wellington was the fall of Almeida and the accidental explosion of the British powder-magazine at Albuquerque, which killed four hundred men. In September Masséna's forces at last invaded Portugal for the third time. Masséna, now grown cold with age and honor, was in complete ignorance concerning the strength of the lines of Torres Vedras. Even the English officers and soldiers generally believed that their unpropitious campaign, like that of Sir John Moore, would end with embarkation for England. Indeed, the British Ministry was prepared for such an event. Lord Liverpool, writing to a friend in Lisbon about this time, opened his letter thus: "As it is probable, the army will embark in September." Deceived by imperfect reconnaissance, Masséna threw the main column of his army, numbering 61,000 men, on the worst road in Portugal, on the right bank of the Mondego. The British and Portuguese retreated all along the line. They concentrated their forces in a formidable position on the Sierra Busaca in front of Coimbra. Masséna's slow approach gave Wellington a chance to rally his retreating troops. Before daybreak on September 29 the columns of Ney and Regnier stormed the heights. They were driven from the crest again by the countercharge of British reserves. By nightfall the French gave up the attempt to gain the Sierra. They had lost two generals and forty-five hundred men, while the British and Portuguese lost thirteen hundred. Though Wellington won his battle, he had been compelled to fight it at too great a risk. He himself in later years characterized it as a political battle and therefore a mistake. On the part of Masséna it was a still worse mistake, as his army was not in a condition to fight. Napoleon, while commenting on this battle, said of Masséna that his dispositions for battle were always bad.

The French reached Coimbra on the first day of October, just as their fortnight's supply of bread was exhausted. Three days afterward Masséna pushed on. The next day Colonel Trant, operating with a detached column in the neighborhood, galloped into Coimbra with several squadrons of yeomanry and seized the French stores and hospitals in Masséna's rear. Nearly 5,000 prisoners fell into the hands of a small British force. The brilliance of the exploit was tarnished by acts of barbarous atrocity.

Masséna did not let this deter him from pushing on. By the middle of October he came up to the line of the Torres Vedras. The first line stretched from the Alhandra on the Tagus to the mouth of the Zizandro on the seacoast, twenty-nine miles away. The next line, about ten miles further back, extended from Quintello on the Tagus to the mouth of the St. Lorenzo, twenty-four miles away. An innermost short line, intended to cover the possible embarkation, ran from the Passo d'Arcos on the Tagus to the Tower of Junquena, a distance of three miles. Altogether the three lines included fifty miles of fortifications, a hundred and fifty separate forts, with six hundred mounted guns, commanding good ranges. Here the combined British and Portuguese armies were reenforced by Romana's force of 6,000 Spaniards. In all, 120,000 fighting men were stationed between the lines behind ramparts of stone walls and crossed trees twenty feet in thickness. As Napier, the great historian of the Peninsular war, has remarked: "Not even the Romans ever reared greater works in their time."

Masséna, when he realized the strength of the Torres Vedras, sat down with his army at Santarem. The war thenceforth was reduced to a blockade. For the Portuguese this proved a severe trial of endurance, and 10,000 men of their line deserted before the end of the year. The generals on either side were loath to risk a battle without distinct ad-

vantage, and therefore preferred to wait for reenforcements. Thus the war in the Peninsula dragged itself out with the French besieging Cadiz on one side, and Wellington holding them in check before the Torres Vedras on the other. Late in November the French forces in the north had to fall back on their base, and Wellington descended from the Torres Vedras to harass their retreat.

In England there was great reluctance to reenforce Wellington, largely on account of the King's incapacity for public affairs. The spell of insanity from which he had suffered in 1788, and intermittently since that time, returned during the continued illness of his youngest daughter, Amalie. When she died in the autumn the old King grew unmanageable. Parliament appointed a commission of inquiry preparatory to appointing the Prince of Wales regent of the kingdom. During this period of political depression the arts and sciences flourished in an unusual degree. The end of this year was made signal in literary annals by the first appearance of Shelley's early lyrics, and by the simultaneous publication of Southey's "Curse of Kehama" and Walter Scott's "Lady of the Lake."

From a politico-economical point of view, gloom at this time seemed to hang over a large part of Europe. Austria passed through a financial crisis, worse than ever before, aggravated as it was by an issue of spurious government bonds that had been printed by Napoleon before the conclusion of the peace of Schönbrunn. An affliction fell on the royal house and people of Prussia by the death of Queen Louise, the idol of her country. This sad event in a measure spoiled the popular rejoicings over the long-deferred foundation of the University of Berlin, which began its academic career under the leadership of Wilhelm von Humboldt. From the start this university, like the older universities of Germany, became a hotbed of patriotic agitation against



THE KING OF ROME

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Napoleon and the aggressions of the French. By the students of the universities, Napoleon's high-handed annexation of the three Hanseatic cities, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, at this time, was openly resented as a national affront.

In the south of Europe great preparations were made during this period by King Joachim Murat of Naples for an invasion of Sicily. To this end 37,000 troops and a flotilla were collected. Early in the summer Murat had declared he would be in Palermo by the middle of August. The people of Sicily were called upon to throw off the British yoke. Sir John Stuart gathered together a Sicilian army and his own 1,500 troops, and encamped them along the coast from the Straits of Messina to the Faro Pont. A strong British squadron cruised up and down the coast of Sicily. A debarkation of 3,500 Neapolitan and Corsican troops was effected only by September 18. After a sharp encounter they were driven back to their boats with a loss of 800 prisoners. On October 3 Murat gave up the attempt with a proclamation to his soldiers that the expedition had been adjourned.

In spite of the armistice supposed to exist in the Balkans, the Russian troops there continued their encroachments against the Turks. When the Sultan refused to countenance their aggressions the war recommenced. The Russians conquered nearly all the forces on the Danube, but were defeated in Bulgaria by the Grand Vizier. The Russians took Vidin, Custov, Georgioi, but their progress was arrested at Rustshuk, Shumla, and Varna, with heavy losses on both sides. Field-Marshal Kemenski reconquered Bulgaria as far as the Balkans and gained a brilliant victory at Batyma. The Servians, too, were successful in almost all their operations against the Turks. Pressed as the Sultan was by these troubles in the Balkans, he was able to send troops into Syria to suppress the rebellion of the Wachabites, and he also sent

a fleet into the Black Sea, as a demonstration against the Crimea. At last the imminence of a rupture with France forced the Czar to withdraw several divisions of his army from the Danube.

The estrangement between Alexander and Napoleon was gradually becoming more acute. Napoleon vented his discontent at the lukewarm support of Russia during his war with Austria, by favoring the growth of the Duchy of Warsaw, and by his abrupt abandonment of the project of his marriage with a Russian princess. It was at this time that Lésur published the famous book entitled: "The Progress of the Russian Power," in which we meet for the first time with the apocryphal "Will of Peter the Great," enjoining upon his descendants never to lose sight of Constantinople. To the personal bitterness of feeling between Alexander and Napoleon was added the increasing rivalry of the two nations on the Danube, and the commercial distress occasioned in Russia by Napoleon's continental blockade. The ruble, which was worth sixty-seven kopeks in 1807, was worth not more than twenty-five kopeks in 1811. When Napoleon, emboldened by his easy annexation of the Canton of Vallis, in Switzerland, without further warning announced the annexation of the Duchy of Oldenburg in the north, the patience of Alexander was exhausted. First he issued a formal protest against this spoliation of his kinsman, the Duke of Oldenburg. He followed this up by an imperial decree breaking up the continental blockade as far as Russian ports were concerned. While all colonial produce was to be admitted, he forbade the importation of such luxuries as silks, porcelain, wine, etc.—in fine, the chief products of France. After the pattern of Napoleon's latest measure, all contraband goods were ordered to be burned. This struck France in a tender spot. Napoleon said to the Russian Ambassador: "I would rather have received a blow on the cheek."

EVENTS OF 1811

Badajos Surrenders to Soult—Masséna Retreats—British Vandalism—Masséna Deprives Ney of Command for Insubordination—English Victory of Sabougal Ends Invasion of Portugal—French are Invested at Badajos and Escape from Almeida—Birth of Heir to Napoleon—Napoleon's Double Dealing with Poland and Russia—Napoleon and Alexander Bluff Each Other in Game of War and have to Play Out the Hand—Napoleon Levies upon Prussia for Troops—Bernadotte Refuses Aid to France—The Khedive Massacres His Mameluke Guards—Miranda and San Martin Join Bolivar's Movement—Venezuela becomes a Republic—England Protests against Our Annexation of West Florida—United States Frigate "President" Fires on British Corvette "Little Belt"—Madison Refuses Redress till British Restrictions on Trade are Withdrawn—War with England Begins with Indian Uprising—Harrison Defeats Tecumseh at Tippecanoe—Congress Authorizes Vessels to Arm.

THE campaign in Portugal had by this time taken a turn distinctly favorable to the English. Masséna, with his French army, lay in a devastated country remote from all sources of supply, whereas Wellington was among a friendly people, with Lisbon for a base of supplies and a harbor accessible to all the vessels that the power and wealth of England could freight. For a while brisk fighting continued. During the month of January Marshal Suchet took Tortosa and Santo Filipe de Balagnier in Catalonia. The important stronghold of Olivenza likewise fell into French hands after a short siege. Soult now marched on Badajos. The untimely death of the Marquis of Romana, who commanded the Spanish forces in that region, proved a great loss to the allies. He was succeeded by General Mendozabal, who imprudently shut himself up in Badajos with 6,000 men. The siege of the French was enlivened by constant sallies and skirmishes beyond the works. On February 19 Marshal Soult crossed the Gebora and beset Mendozabal's fortress with such fury that the Spaniards were routed early in the forenoon. The Spanish general

escaped with difficulty. Nearly 800 Spaniards were taken, with all their stores. The rest got into Bajados. Near Cadiz, in the meanwhile, the English landed reinforcements and marched on Victor's forces at Barosa. The French attacked first and routed the Spanish auxiliaries under General La Peña. The British, under Graham, made a counter-attack, and in a brief but hard-fought action overcame the French. The French lost 2,500 men, two general officers, six guns, and one eagle. The British casualties were 1,200 soldiers and five officers. General Graham, who won this battle, was so embittered by the attempt of La Peña to claim the victory as his own that he fought a duel about the matter, and then relinquished his command, to join Wellington's army in Portugal. Then Imas, the new Spanish commandant of Badajos, misled by false reports of the French numbers, weakly surrendered the town to Soult. When the place fell Mortier marched against Campo Major, and Latour-Maubourg seized Albuquerque and Valencia d'Alcantara. Great as were the successes of Soult, he was compelled to fall back into Andalusia when he heard of Masséna's retreat from Santarem. Masséna claimed that Soult's delay before Badajos, instead of coming down the Tagus, was the chief cause of his failure. The more obvious reason lay in the inability of the French to maintain communications. The arrival of British reinforcements early in March, before the promised reinforcements from France could reach Masséna, compelled the latter to fall back. The French retreat was conducted in a masterly manner. A full week passed before the English got into touch with the French rear-guard under Ney. In a brilliant rear action, at Redinha, Ney foiled his pursuers. At this point Masséna could have seized Coimbra, but a demonstration of British cavalry in his rear scared the French into a belief that British reinforcements had come by sea to the Mondego. Thereafter the retreat of the French

became ever more hurried. At Fontecoberta, Masséna, having lingered too long, only escaped himself by plucking the feathers off his hat and making a dash for life through the lines of pursuing cavalry. At Castelnova Marshal Ney was nearly captured by the Fifty-second British Infantry, which, advancing through a mist, found itself detached in the midst of the French rear-guard. By a general engagement only did Wellington succeed in extricating this regiment from its dangerous predicament. In the face of heavy losses, Ney held the entire British line until the end of the day, and thus saved Masséna's retreat. During this retreat all the resting-places of the French were burned down by the Spanish peasantry, and the country was ravaged for miles around. Colonel Napier, who was an eye-witness of some of the miseries of those days, has thus summed up the general impressions: "Every horror making war hideous attended this dreadful retreat. Distress, conflagration, death in all modes—from wound, from fatigue, from water, from the flames, from starvation; on every side unlimited ferocity. Even the body of John I of Spain was wantonly exhumed from its tomb in the convent of Batalza and was pulled to pieces by British officers."

When Masséna opened communications with the town of Almeida his retreat was practically at an end. To retrieve his fallen fortunes, he determined to countermarch through Sabougal, thence to resume communications with Soult across the Tagus, and, by the valley of the Tagus, with Joseph. At this point long-standing quarrels between him and his marshals broke out afresh. Ney refused to march his division to Coimbra and was deprived of his command. The absence of so able a fighter as Ney was felt by the French at Belmonte, where a sharp action drove them back on Sabougal. Here the premature attack of a solitary British brigade brought on a general action. The brigade led

by Beckwith took the nearest hill and held it against 15,000 Frenchmen. Around the hill the fight raged for hours. The crest was stormed several times by both sides, and several notable exploits were performed. When the French were finally driven down the slope, three hundred dead bodies were found heaped up around a howitzer that stood on the top of the hill. It was no exaggeration for Wellington to report: "This was one of the most glorious actions British troops were ever engaged in."

The defeat at Sabougal spoiled Masséna's plans. He felt compelled to continue his retreat to Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca. On April 5, accordingly, the French crossed the frontier of Portugal and reentered Spain—a beaten army. The third invasion of Portugal had cost them 30,000 men. Wellington once more invested Almeida and Badajos.

Another brilliant two days' battle was fought at Fuentes Onoro on May 5 and 6, during which a British battery of horse artillery cut its way out of a squadron of French dragoons. After the battle a French soldier named Tillet dashed singly through the British lines to Almeida and brought them orders to evacuate that city. Bernier de Morano, the French commandant, destroyed all his guns and most of his fortifications, and then, with his garrison of 1,500 men, broke through the investing lines of the British, numbering 45,000. Stung by this event, Wellington issued a severe rebuke to his officers.

The French reverses in Portugal were a serious matter for Napoleon. Already he had determined to bring matters to a point with Russia. For a successful invasion of Russia, as he well knew, he would need all the military resources of his Empire. Further reinforcements to Spain, therefore, were out of the question. It became desirable, on the contrary, to withdraw some of the best French troops from the peninsula.

During this interval the purpose which Napoleon had in marrying Marie Louise was realized. On March 20 she was delivered of a son. Napoleon presented the infant to the marshals of his Empire, saying: "Here is the King of Rome!" France was wild with delight. All the poets of the country were invited to write something on the occasion. Excepting Chateaubriand, most of them responded promptly. Gerard painted a charming half-length portrait of the baby, and Prud'hon portrayed the imperial child asleep in the shrubbery.

Among those who came to congratulate Napoleon in person were Prince Poniatovski of Poland and King Joseph of Spain. Both had more serious matters to bring to the attention of the Emperor. Joseph told Napoleon that if the military government of Spain and the annexation of several of its provinces were not repudiated, he would feel constrained to abdicate. Napoleon was induced thereby to promise relief. Joseph was advised to convoke the Cortes. Poniatovski came to enter into a full discussion of Napoleon's plans for the coming invasion of Russia through Poland and the part that was to be played in the affair by the Poles. With Poland, Napoleon, so far, had played a double game. He had promised Alexander not to favor any enterprise which might tend to the reestablishment of Poland. On the other hand, he won Poniatovski by his plans for the reconstruction of Poland to serve as a buffer state against Russia. The loss of Galicia to Austria was to be made up by the restitution of the Illyrian provinces, while the King of Saxony was to be consoled in some other way for the loss of Warsaw.

By autumn, 1811, it was plain to most men that war with Russia was on the cards. Napoleon thus commented on the situation in later life: "Alexander and I were in the condition of two boasters, who without wishing to fight were

trying hard to frighten each other. I should most willingly have maintained peace, surrounded and overwhelmed as I was by unfavorable circumstances. All I have since learned convinces me that Alexander was even less desirous of war than myself." Financially considered, the war was the worst thing that could happen to both countries, yet neither sovereign could bring himself to back down.

With two world powers thus inevitably drifting into war, nothing remained for the other nations but to take sides quickly and fall into line. The various States of Lower and Middle Germany had long ago thrown in their lot with Napoleon. For Austria, Metternich struck a bargain that she was to aid France only as an independent ally, on Napoleon's promise that the Illyrian provinces should be restored to her. Prussia wavered for a while between Russia and France, but Russia had little use for a foreign alliance, since it was intended from the start to fight a purely defensive campaign on Russian soil. Napoleon, on the other hand, was in no mood to bargain for something which he could obtain by force. Late in 1811 he moved an army from the Rhine toward the Prussian frontier, and at the same time he raised the strength of the French garrisons on the Oder. With Prussia thus at his mercy, Napoleon dictated the terms of his proposed alliance, which meant, in short, unqualified submission and the despatch of an auxiliary force of 20,000 Prussians to be incorporated in the French army.

When it was suggested to Bernadotte that he should furnish a quota of 8,000 Swedish soldiers to Napoleon, the temper of the new-made king was early shown. "Sweden, not being a member of the Rhenish confederation," he replied, "is under no obligation to furnish troops. She maintains no more than are necessary for her own security."

Napoleon forthwith moved an army corps northward to threaten Scandinavia.

While western Europe was thus once more drifting into a general war, an extraordinary act was perpetrated in the East. The reigning Khedive of Egypt, Mohammed Ali, had made his peace with the Mamelukes on the stipulation that the whole corps should serve as his household cavalry at his palace in Cairo. The greater part of them did so, but nevertheless they connived with the Pasha of Acre to overthrow Mohammed Ali should he fail in his war with the Wachabites. The plot was discovered by the Khedive and was foiled in a manner characteristic of the Orient. The Mamelukes were bidden to attend a solemn festival on the day when the Khedive's son was invested with the command of the expedition against the Wachabites. The Mamelukes were placed between the vanguard of Turkish infantry and a rear-guard of household cavalry. At the instant when the infantry had entered the citadel, and the Mamelukes were passing between the inner and outer ramparts, the gates were suddenly closed. The Turkish troops fired on the helpless horsemen until most were slain. Those that surrendered were beheaded. Thus the flower of the Egyptian cavalry was destroyed, and Mohammed rested more secure on his viceregal throne.

In America, during those days, a new spirit was abroad. Two men had come to South America to help the patriot cause. One was Francisco Miranda, the old conspirator who had served with Lafayette under Washington, and had commanded a regiment under Dumouriez in the campaigns of Valmy and Jemappes. He soon made common cause with Bolivar in Venezuela. The other was San Martin, an Argentinian, who had likewise learned the trade of war in Europe, and who has been styled by the foremost South American historian as the "greatest of the Creoles of the New World." When San Martin returned to Argentina in 1811 he was entrusted with the task of raising a squadron

of cavalry. This was the origin of the famous South American regiment of mounted grenadiers which fought in so many battles of the South American war of independence, and which gave to America nineteen generals and more than two hundred officers. San Martin and his friend Alvear founded the secret society of the Revolution known as the Lautaro Lodge.

In Caracas, similarly, Bolivar was the leading spirit of a patriotic society, which, like the Jacobin Club of France, practically controlled the destinies of the Revolution. The society held its first meeting on July 4, 1811. In a fiery speech Bolivar called upon them to lay the foundation stone of South American liberty. The next day the Congress of Caracas adopted Bolivar's resolution and Venezuela was declared a republic. The declaration of independence was modeled on that of the United States of North America. On the same day the Congress adopted the tricolor flag of Miranda as the emblem of new liberty.

About the same time that Venezuela was declared a republic, a new British commissioner, Mr. Foster, arrived in Washington to settle up the "Chesapeake" affair and enter a formal protest against the American seizure of West Florida—"as an attempt contrary to every principle of public justice, faith, and national honor." His remonstrances were received with indifference. On July 5 Foster wrote to Wellesley: "It was with real pain, my lord, that I was forced to listen to arguments of the most profligate nature: to wit, that other nations were not so scrupulous, that the United States showed sufficient forbearance in not assisting the insurgents of South America, and looked to their own interests in the present situation of the country."

Unfortunately for any settlement of the "Chesapeake" affair, another similar outrage had just occurred on the high seas in which the Americans were the aggressors. On May

16 Commodore Rodgers of the American frigate "President," carrying forty-four guns, overhauled the British corvette-of-war "Little Belt," carrying twenty guns. She was believed to be the "Guerrière," and was approached for the purpose of ascertaining whether an American sailor named Digio was on board. At nightfall the two ships came within hail, with the American coming to, close to windward, a manœuvre which British captains were disposed to resent. After an ineffectual hail both ships fired upon one another, each claiming afterward that the other had fired first. A series of broadsides from the "President" disabled the British corvette. Thirty-two men were killed and wounded, among whom was the master. The "President's" loss was one boy wounded and some damage to the rigging.

So it came that Foster found himself compelled to demand redress for the "Little Belt" affair rather than to offer such for the "Chesapeake" outrage. President Madison showed himself little inclined to enter into a discussion of either, unless the British restrictions on American shipping were withdrawn. The more Napoleon played fast and loose with his own promises to suspend operations of the continental blockade in favor of the United States, the firmer was the stand of the American Government toward England. At last, when Napoleon issued a decree admitting American ships to French ports, though holding to the American seizures already made, President Madison and his new Secretary of State, Monroe, turned completely against England. As in former times, a petty fight against Indians, far in the American wilderness, began a convulsion which was to end in full-fledged war. It was a favorite saying of General Harrison, Governor of the Indian Territory of those days, that "the conduct of the Indians was a sure thermometer for the chances of war or peace between Englishmen and Americans."

William Henry Harrison had been appointed Governor of the "Indian Territory" in 1800. It then consisted of two tracts, one on the Ohio and the other at Vincennes on the Wabash, and between these there was a hundred miles of wilderness. The population grew from 2,500 in 1800 to as many thousand in 1811. Westward and northwestward stretched the Indian country to the lakes and the Mississippi, broken only by military posts at Fort Wayne and Chicago, over which roamed 5,000 Indians.

Tecumseh, the great one-eyed leader of the Indians, aimed to build up an Indian confederacy which should assume joint ownership of all Indian lands. With his brother, the "Prophet," he established his warriors on the Tippecanoe Creek where it joins the Wabash. From this point they could by water reach Vincennes, Fort Dearborn (Chicago), Fort Wayne, and Detroit, and the waters of the Ohio and Mississippi.

Then they turned to the British for help. Harrison saw that an Indian war was inevitable, and that his safety lay in crushing the Indians before the British could come to their aid. On August 12 Tecumseh, at Harrison's request, came to Vincennes for a conference. Tecumseh said: "You are constantly driving the red people, and at last you will drive them into the great lake, where they can not either stand or walk."

Later in 1811 Tecumseh, with 200 warriors, came to Vincennes for another interview, and spent two days expostulating with Harrison. A few days afterward Tecumseh passed down the Wabash on his diplomatic errand with the Indian tribes in the south. Immediate action before his return was urged on Harrison and he spent the next week raising troops. In September Harrison sent his force, consisting of 300 of the Fourth Regulars and six or seven hundred volunteers, to a point in the new purchase, sixty-five

miles above Vincennes, where he built a small wooden fort, called after his name. His outposts were fired on and the war was begun.

On October 28 Harrison broke camp and marched up the river, fifty miles from Tippecanoe, to the mouth of the Vermilion, within one and one-half miles of the Indian town. There the soldiers encamped. Early the next morning a shot was heard from the sentinel at the furthest angle of the camp. In an instant came the Indian yell, and the soldiers were shot down by their camp-fires. The Americans received the attack in good form. At the broken angle the Indians had not strength to follow up their advantage, and the Americans at daybreak drove them into the swamp. The fight lasted two hours. Harrison's total loss was 188, of whom 61 were killed, and the bodies of 38 Indians remained on the field. The number of Indians in the battle was probably not more than 400. Tecumseh, when he learned of it, deplored the encounter. The battle of Tippecanoe gave great satisfaction throughout the West. Harrison received the official thanks of Kentucky, Illinois, and Indiana, but in New England the aggressions against the Indians were deprecated.

When a deputation of eighty Indians with Tecumseh visited Harrison at Vincennes, and asked leave to go to Washington, permission was readily granted, but Tecumseh's Indian braves could not be held in check. Hostilities broke out all along the border, settlers were shot at Fort Dearborn, at Fort Madison on the Mississippi, at Vincennes, and within a few miles of the Ohio. Harrison reported: "Most of the citizens of the country have abandoned their farms and taken refuge in temporary forts." Yet the American Government was slow to act. Tecumseh, on the other hand, waited for the inevitable outbreak of hostilities with Great Britain to throw his lot in with the Englishmen.

EVENTS OF 1812

Wellington Storms Ciudad Rodrigo—Badajos—And San Sebastian—Perceval, English Prime Minister, is Assassinated—With Liverpool, His Successor, an Era of Reform Begins—American Privateers Take Many Prizes—Congress Declares War on England—Napoleon Declares War on Russia—Statistics of Contending Forces—Russians Retreat, Devastating Country before French—Terrible Plight of French—Outburst of Russian Patriotism—Russians Win Battles of Drissa and Kobrien—Neverovskoi's Famous Retreat—Barclay Evacuates Smolensk after Heroic Defence—Parthian Battles of Valentina and Politsk—Horrors of War Described by the Painter Adam—Napoleon Presses on to Moscow to End the War—Barclay's Fabian Policy is Disapproved—He is Replaced by the Aggressive Kutusof—Napoleon Wins Dearly the Battle of Borodino—Kutusof Abandons Moscow—It is Fired by the Russians—Peasants Rise against the Invaders—Wellington Storms Salamanca—French Evacuate Andalusia—Wellington Wins Battle of Arapilez—He Enters Madrid—Successful Cruise of Rodgers's Squadron—Of the "Essex"—The "Constitution" Outsails a British Squadron—It Captures the "Guerrière"—The American "Wasp" Captures the "Frolic," and Both are Taken by the "Poictiers"—The "United States" Captures the "Macedonian"—The "Constitution" Captures the "Jena"—Hull Surrenders Detroit and with it Control of the Lakes—Scott is Defeated in Attack on Fort George—Harrison Takes Command of Army of Northwest—Dearborn's Raid into Canada Proves a Fiasco—Napoleon Invites Peace Proposals in Vain—He Evacuates Moscow—Buys Dearly the Victory of the Lugea—Retreats to Borodino—Rear-guard Harassed by Cossacks—Army Decimated by the Cold—French Arrive at Smolensk to Find Stores Destroyed—Ney's Magnificent Retreat Across the Dniepr—Napoleon Crosses the Beresina at Terrible Cost—Leaves Army and Hastens to Paris—Retreating Fight of French to Kovno—Russian Victory of Koenigsberg—Napoleon Stamps Out Malet's Conspiracy—Prepares for the Inevitable War against Europe.

WHILE the prospect of war between the United States and Great Britain held public attention in America, the minds of most Englishmen were fixed on Spain and the war with France. The French armies of Marmont and Soult, 67,000 strong, lay within touch of each other, barring Wellington's entrance into Spain. The allied forces under Wellington numbered 35,000, badly wasted from sickness and insufficient supplies. In this extremity Wellington was meditating a leap upon the great frontier fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo, the French base of supplies in the prov-

ince of Salamanca. Siege guns were collected for the ostensible purpose of fortifying Almeida, but the guns were secretly transhipped and brought to the mouth of the Douro. Early in January, when the French had been lulled into security, Wellington, to use Napier's expressive phrase, "instantly jumped with both feet upon Ciudad Rodrigo."

The siege began on January 8 with the storming of the redout that crowned the Great Teson. The accidental discharge of a French hand-grenade burst the gate open, and the attacking party swept through it. The fight lasted only twenty minutes, but at the end of it every Frenchman within the redout was killed, wounded, or a captive. For ten days a desperate artillery duel was kept up, the English making two breaches in the walls. The French brought fifty of their guns to bear on the English lines, and thus held them off until Marmont, with his relieving forces, came within four marches of the besieged city. On the eve of January 20 the fortress was assaulted from all four sides at once.

Craufurd, with whom George Napier, the brother of the historian, was a favorite, gave to that officer the command of the assault on the lesser breach. Wellington himself came to the trench and showed Napier and Colborne, through the gloom of the early night, the exact position of the breach. A staff officer, looking on, said: "Your men have not loaded. Why don't you make them load?" Napier replied: "If we don't do the business with the bayonet we shall not do it at all."—"Let him alone," said Wellington; "let him go his own way!" Picton had adopted the same grim policy with the third division. As each regiment passed him, filing into the trenches, his injunction was, "No powder! We'll do the thing with the *could* iron."

Half-way up, Napier's right arm was smashed by a grape-shot. As he lay bleeding he shouted: "Push on, my men, and give them the bayonet!" Craufurd, the famous

leader of the light division, was killed, and so was Mackinnon, the leader of the Highland brigade that stormed the great breach. With them fell seven hundred officers and men. At last, near midnight, Ciudad Rodrigo was won, when the French commandant had to hand his sword to the beardless British subaltern, who, bleeding from a staggering wound, had brought his forlorn hope into the heart of the citadel.

Allison has said in his "History of Modern Europe" that "with the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo began the fall of the French Empire." As a matter of fact it was the first of that swift following series of strokes which drove the French eagles out of Spain, while Napoleon was facing disaster in Russia. From the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, Wellington pushed on to Badajos, the rocky fortress standing on the last spur of the Toledo range, which twice already had been assailed in vain by the English. It was now held by a resolute garrison of five thousand men under General Phillipson, a Scotch Jacobite with a genius for defence. Even without such defenders, Badajos was an all but impregnable stronghold. The river Guadiana, five hundred yards wide, served as a natural moat on the north, with the river Rivilla on the west. On their banks towered five great fortified outposts—Christobal, Saint Roque, Picarina, Pardeleras, and a fortified bridge-head across the Guadiana. Wellington brought up 18,000 men for the siege. Most of them were veterans led by young officers. The siege was begun in March, and lasted three weeks. It was waged in the stormiest weather, with the rivers steadily rising, and under a continuous cannonade from the ramparts. The losses on the British side averaged 250 men for each day. On the eighth night of the siege Wellington ordered a night attack on the Picarina.

Napier tells how "the axmen of the light division, compassing the fort like prowling wolves," discovered the gate at the rear, and so broke into the fort. The engineer officer

who led the attack declared that the place would never have been taken had it not been for the coolness of these men in absolutely walking round the fort to its rear, discovering the gate, and hewing it down under a tempest of bullets. The assault lasted an hour, and in that period, out of the five hundred men who attacked, no less than three hundred, with nineteen officers, were killed or wounded!

Then followed two weeks of furious trench fighting, during which the British lost almost as heavily as in the actual assaults. On the night of April 6 Wellington, who had a fondness for night attacks, ordered a general assault from seven sides. On the extreme right, Picton, with the third division, had to cross the Rivilla and scale the high walls of the citadel. On the side of Badajos, the fifth division, under Leith, was to attack on the strong bastion of St. Vincente, where the glacis was mined, the ditch deep, and the scarp thirty feet high. At ten o'clock the assault began. Five ladders were raised, the troops swarmed up, an officer leading; but the first files were at once overwhelmed by cannon fire, and the ladders slipped into the angle of the abutments. With but one ladder left standing, the British scaled the battlements of the citadel, one by one, in a hand-to-hand fight against heavy odds.

On the other side of the city the French garrison succeeded in beating off their assailants from the open breaches. Every time the British renewed the attacks their ranks were mowed down by hundreds. The baffled British soldiers became so stubborn that they would not obey the bugle call from the reserve line, blowing to the retreat, and they struck their own buglers who tried to repeat it. At last the sullen soldiers discovered a likely spot in the ramparts, and by a couple of ladders swept into the bastion. Swarming through the streets, they met the men of Picton's division descending from the citadel. Caught between two fires, the French

poured from the ramparts and were carried through the rear gates. In the wild night assault more than five thousand men fell on both sides—but Badajos was won.

Even more sullen, though unrelieved by such brilliant exploits as marked the dash of Badajos, was the siege of San Sebastian, the fall of which finally cleared the way for Wellington's famous march through Spain. Spurred on by this victory, the British army crossed the Agueda and marched for Salamanca three days before Napoleon crossed the Niemen on his way to Moscow.

In England, during this time, the assassination of Perceval by a maniac named Bellingham, in the House of Commons, had brought about a change of Ministry, though not of parties. Another Tory Ministry was returned under the guidance of the Earl of Liverpool, a leader of uncertain strength, but well qualified to hold discordant colleagues together. Green says in his "History of the English People":

"The death of Perceval marked more than a mere change of Ministry. From that moment the development of English life began to take its natural course again. The increase of wealth was indeed enormous. In spite of the serious blow which commerce received from the quarrel with America, English exports had grown to be nearly double what they were at the outbreak of the war. Manufacturers profited by the great discoveries of Watt and Arkwright, and the consumption of raw cotton in the mills of Lancashire rose during the same period from fifty to a hundred millions of pounds. . . . So long as Perceval lived efforts at reform had been vain, but under Lord Liverpool the advancing strength of a more liberal sentiment in the nation was brought to a head by Canning. Catholic emancipation became an open question in the Cabinet itself, and was adopted in 1812 by a triumphant majority in the House of Commons."

The extension of privateering rights to American merchant vessels practically had the effect of a declaration of war with England. Early in the spring four British barges in Hampton Roads were taken as prizes with all their crews by the American cutter "Jefferson," supported by the United States frigate "Constitution." A few weeks later, on April 25, Captain Cotthell, of the privateer schooner "Surprise," captured the British brig "Kutous," 12 guns, and brought her into port. Next, Captain David Porter, of the United States ship "Essex," sailed off on a cruise against the British with a flag bearing the motto, "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." On April 10 Castlereagh's note defining Great Britain's measures of retaliation was received. President Madison immediately convened his Cabinet and recommended open war. On June 1 he sent his recommendation to Congress. In it he charged that British cruisers had been "in the continued practice of violating the American flag on the great highway of nations, and seizing persons sailing under it; that British cruisers also violated the process of the courts, and harrowed entering and departing cruisers; that British coercive measures, consisting of pretended blockade without the presence of an adequate force, were mere means by which our commerce had been plundered on every sea; and this had culminated in the fourth grievance, the sweeping system of blockades known as the Orders-in-Council." On June 18, after a fortnight's secret discussion, the American Congress passed the bill declaring war.

On June 22, but four days after the American declaration of war, Napoleon opened war on Russia—the "second Polish war," as he designedly called it in a curious declaration ending with the phrase: "Russia is swept downward by her destinies; her fate must be fulfilled."

Since the days of Xerxes no invasion of war had been prepared on so gigantic a scale. Napoleon's grand army

alone numbered 610,058 men, with 182,111 horses. With them lumbered 1,300 pieces of artillery and 20,000 commissary wagons. Of the soldiers, 200,000 were Frenchmen; the rest were Germans, Italians, Poles, Swiss, Prussians, Austrians, and Bavarians. These troops were divided into five great masses. The first, 220,000 strong, was under the immediate orders of the Emperor; the second, 75,000 strong, was commanded by his brother Jerome; the third, under the Viceroy Eugene, numbered also 75,000; the right wing, under Schwarzenberg, consisted of 30,000 men, and the left, under Macdonald, also of 30,000. Seventy thousand more followed the corps, ready to support any division. Among the marshals were Victor, Murat, Davoust, Ney, Oudinot, Regnier, St. Cyr, Vandamme, Schwarzenberg, and Poniatovski.

The Russian forces actually in the field at the commencement of hostilities did not exceed 215,000 men; of whom 127,000 were commanded by Barclay de Tolly, 48,000 by Prince Bagration, and 40,000 by Tormasov. In addition to these, 35,000 men were assembled in the interior provinces, and 50,000 were in Moldavia, all of whom eventually aided in the war, and raised the total strength brought into action during the campaign, though never all collected together at one time, to 300,000 men.

On the 23d of June Napoleon approached the Niemen, and the numerous columns of the grand army converged toward Kovno. This town, at the extreme point of a salient angle where Prussia projected into Russian territory, seemed a favorable spot for commencing operations. As Napoleon rode along the banks of the river his horse stumbled and threw him upon the sand. Some one exclaimed: "It is a bad omen: a Roman would retire."

Characteristic of the whole subsequent campaign was the final banquet which Napoleon gave to his marshals just

before the outbreak of hostilities. In contrast to other similar functions all the generals sat grim and silent. At last Napoleon exclaimed angrily: "What, my brave men, you don't seem to enjoy the prospect of more glory?"—"How can we," answered one of them, "since we have everything to lose and nothing to gain?"

During the next few days the Niemen was crossed by the whole army, marching in three parallel columns. As Napoleon's army advanced, the inferior Russian forces fell back, leaving a ravaged country devoid of food and fodder. The resulting distress to the marching columns of the French was aggravated by the sultry summer heat, followed by drenching rain-storms, which spoiled the supplies. The horses fell by thousands and the raw recruits straggled from the ranks until a mass of 30,000 marauders in the rear gave almost as much trouble as the Russian Cossacks swarming in front. When the French army had been on Russian soil but six days, and before the first general engagement had been fought, more than 25,000 men were invalided in the field hospitals at Vilna.

The first action was fought between retreating Cossacks on one side and the extreme vanguard of Murat's cavalry. On June 26 Murat brought his Polish lancers and ten picked regiments of the French cavalry to bear on Count Ostermann's extended division of Cossacks, and there was fighting all along the line. In the main the various actions were desultory and undecisive, serving no other purpose than to give each side a chance to bring up their main columns. On the eve of June 29 Napoleon had brought forward 180,000 of his men, ready to fall upon Barclay's army of 82,000 drawn in at Vitepsk.

As Napoleon retired into his tent his last words to Murat were: "To-morrow at five the sun of Austerlitz!" The next morning the Russians were gone. Nothing had been left be-

hind but their smoldering watch-fires. Murat's skirmishers, riding far in advance, could not determine whether the Russian army had taken the road to Moscow or that to St. Petersburg. Baffled in their hopes of a decisive conflict, the French marshals fell to quarreling among themselves, while their various commands became an unwieldy mass, as difficult to move as to keep on its feet. The transport service fell into confusion, and the suffering of the soldiers grew in proportion. Among the allied Germans and Austrians the officers and men alike showed such apathy that they could scarcely be reckoned upon for the prompt execution of any movement. While Napoleon's army was thus coiled up at Vitepsk, the Russians executed their retreat to Smolensk without molestation.

At last Emperor Alexander had been induced to leave his army, where the memories of Austerlitz counted against him, and hastened to Moscow to arouse his nobles there. On July 27 they were all summoned to a banquet at the Imperial palace, and, toasting their Emperor, unanimously voted to raise and equip at their own expense a levy of every tenth man in the population. The merchants contributed two million rubles on the spot. Amid the burst of enthusiasm that followed the proposal, Alexander swore on his sword that he would "exhaust the last resources of the crown rather than give in." Thus the *opoltschenye*, a powerful reserve of bearded peasants, were created in sixteen interior provinces of the vast empire, while the Russian army at the front, falling back step by step, was steadily drawing the invaders further away from their supplies.

Wise as this policy proved in the event, the continued retreat of Barclay exasperated most Russians at home and many of the young hot-heads serving in the army. The feeling among his officers grew so that Barclay at last detached Wittgenstein with 25,000 men to make an offensive movement on the Dwina, while Tormasov, on the other flank, was

permitted to demonstrate against the Austrians and Germans under Schwarzenberg and Regnier. Kutusof, commanding Wittgenstein's vanguard, got into action with Oudinot's corps on the last day of July. In spite of heavy losses he held out until heavily reenforced and then succeeded in throwing Oudinot back over the river Drissa. Four thousand Frenchmen fell in the fight. At the same time Tormasov, finding Schwarzenberg unwilling to do anything serious, fell upon the Saxon corps stationed at Kobrien and captured a whole brigade of Regnier's best troops. This double disaster so weakened Napoleon's ends that he had to deprive himself of his reserves to strengthen his flanks. Yet Barclay continued to draw in his front and fell steadily back until he succeeded in effecting a junction with Bagration's corps of 40,000 men at Smolensk. Here the Russians resolved to make a stand. On August 8 a determined attack was made on the French right wing under Murat, but only a drawn fight ensued. Napoleon responded in force. Within a week he suddenly pushed 200,000 of his men over the Dniepr and thus entered the soil of Old Russia. The Russians promptly fell back on Smolensk. The French vanguard under Murat and Ney overtook the Russian rear-guard under General Neverovskoi. Murat sent eighteen cavalry regiments to detach and capture the slow-moving column of Russian infantry, but though outmatched three to one, the Russians, marching in square formation, withstood assault after assault and fought their way through to Korytnia. This fight is cherished as one of the proudest traditions of the Russian army. It lasted all day, and during its course forty distinct cavalry attacks were launched against the column by Murat. Neverovskoi lost 1,100 men and five guns, more than one-fifth of his force, but he reached Korytnia with unbroken ranks, and the next day joined forces with 12,000 men under Raeffskoi, and so succeeded in gaining

Smolensk. The two generals threw themselves into the old town, resolved to hold it until the last extremity. The next day Napoleon drew up before the city with the main body of the army. Marshal Ney, leading the first corps, tried to take the place by assault, but was repulsed with great loss. While the fight was on the Russian main column under Barclay arrived and regained Smolensk from the rear. Napoleon now felt sure of his prey and ordered a general assault on the morrow.

Barclay, realizing the weakness of his position and the danger of being cut off entirely from his rear, ordered Bagra-tion and the main army to quit the city under cover of the night, while he remained with a rear-guard of 25,000 to hold the enemy in check. The next day Napoleon, as yet unaware that he had been foiled once more, assailed Smolensk with his whole army, but the Russians fought so well that the fight lasted all day. At seven in the evening Napoleon at last gave up the attempt for that day, having lost 15,000 men. Of the Russians nearly 10,000 had fallen. Too weak to face another day of such frightful losses, Barclay during the night set fire to the ancient city and retired in safety from the flaming citadel with all his wounded and the town refugees. When Davoust with his vanguard scaled the smoking ramparts at three in the morning they found all the magazines and stores destroyed, the bridges over the Dniepr broken down, with nothing of value left behind save the brass cannons mounted on the outer fortifications.

Napoleon, bound to bring his elusive enemy to bay, drove his army headlong in quick pursuit. During the same day Ney's cavalry overtook Barclay with his rear-guard at Valentina. Undismayed by the enemy's strong position, Ney attacked him along the whole fighting line. The losses of the French were fearful, but they kept up the fight until their main body came up and the engagement became general.

The Russians, thanks to reenforcements from Bagration's main column, stood their ground, and thus effectually covered their comrades' retreat. During the night they once more made good their own retreat. When Napoleon advanced to renew the attack next morning he found nothing but a desolate battlefield strewn with 15,000 dead and dying men from both armies. In front of Politsk, during these same days, another Russian corps under Wittgenstein fought two similar rear-guard engagements against Oudinot's corps and a division of Bavarians, after which Wittgenstein, too, retreated further into the interior.

Adam, the military artist, who accompanied the French general staff into Russia, has left a series of drawings which give a vivid idea of the depressing character of this campaign. The country was ravaged, the harvests trampled down, the wretched isbas of the moujiks in ashes. The carcasses of thousands of dead horses and half-buried bodies of men infected the air, and broken-down wagons and caissons obstructed the roads. Typhus fever and dysentery raged among the men and turned the military hospitals at Vilna and Vitepsk into vast charnel houses. Already the war, barren of glory as it was, had cost the army one-third of its original number. The total results of a week's protracted fighting since the middle of August were 21,000 corpses and the smoking ruins of a deserted city.

Napoleon, though face to face with disaster, yet trusted to some conclusive master-stroke:

"The condition of the army," said he, "is frightful; I know it. At Vilna one-half were stragglers; now they amount to two-thirds: there is not a moment to lose: we must grasp at peace, and it can be found only at Moscow. Besides, the state of the army is such as to render a halt impossible; constant advance alone keeps it together; you may lead it forward, but you can not arrest its movement. We

have advanced too far to retreat. If I had only military glory in view, I should have nothing to do but return to Smolensko, and extend my wings on either side, so as to crush Wittgenstein and Tormasov. These operations would be brilliant: they would form a glorious termination to the campaign; but they would not conclude the war. Peace is before us; we have to march only eight days to obtain it: when we are so near our object it is impossible to deliberate. Let us advance to Moscow."

On August 22 Napoleon set out from Smolensk on his march to Moscow. At St. Petersburg the feeling of dismay at the enemy's steady approach on the sacred city had reached such a pitch that Stein, Emperor Alexander's best counselor during these gloomy days, found himself unable to maintain Barclay de Tolly in chief command. Of foreign extraction, like Stein himself, the crafty Scotch general was execrated by the Slav party at court and in the army. He had to give way to Kutusof, the septuagenarian soldier, notorious for his pronounced Muscovite traits.

Kutusof took charge at Gyatsk and soon bade a halt to the general retreat at Borodino. This was on the second day of September. Redouts and trenches were thrown up and everything prepared for a strong stand. The Russians mustered 121,000 men, many of whom were Opoltschenye militia or raw recruits that had never been under fire. Within four days the French column came up. Murat's vanguard immediately threw themselves upon the first line of Russian redouts, the Chevaradino, held by 12,000 men under Gortshakoff. After severe fighting the redout was carried at nightfall and the Russians fell back on their second line of defences, the Raevsky battery between the Red Mount and the village of Borodino. Deep silence reigned in the Russian camp on the eve of battle; religious fervor and patriotic fury inflamed all hearts; they passed the night confessing and

communing; they put on white shirts as if for a wedding. In the morning 100,000 were blessed on their knees and sprinkled with holy water by their priests. The eikon of the Virgin of St. Vladimir, rescued from Smolensk, was carried around among the troops.

Napoleon next morning was elated to find the Russians still drawn up in the line of battle. The French officers and soldiers shared his enthusiasm; and even to the wearied allies the prospect of battle appeared to bring relief. At sunrise Napoleon, appealing for the last time to his "sun of Austerlitz," ordered all the bugles and drums along the French battle front to sound for the charge. The French artillery, posted on an eminence behind the vanguard, opened fire. Under cover of this the French right under Davoust charged into the Russian left, where three little redouts were held by Bagration. Davoust went down with his horse at the first shock. Generals Rapp and Campans were likewise struck down. When Rapp, wounded for the twenty-second time, was carried past Napoleon, the Emperor said impatiently: "Always Rapp!" After a hot hand-to-hand fight, the French, with superb dash, succeeded in taking the second line of redouts, but were almost immediately dislodged by the Russian reserves brought up by Bagration. Ney now threw himself into the fight with his entire corps and retook the redout; but Kutusof, seeing his left wing shaken, threw Baggovud's corps over from his right, and thus once more made himself master of the position. Ney returned to the attack again and again, but after a most stubborn fight of several hours found himself constrained to send for help to the Emperor's headquarters. The officers of the Old Guard clamored to be sent, but the Emperor refused them: "Eight hundred leagues from France, I will not risk my last reserve." Instead, he ordered up the Young Guard. A column of three full army corps thus combined

advanced to the attack, led by Ney and Davoust. The Russian batteries concentrated their fire on this mass. The French ranks were mowed down in platoons. When they still persevered, Bagration, staking all on this end of the battle, ordered his entire left wing out of the trenches and charged them into the French flank. He himself led the charge, and fell, mortally wounded, at the head of his troops. For more than an hour the battle was carried on with the utmost fury until nearly 80,000 troops on both sides were engaged in it. Only when the Russian centre under Barclay began to give way at Borodino and on the Red Mount, under repeated charges of the cuirassiers and a final bayonet charge of the Old Guard, did the Russians yield the battle. Fighting still, they withdrew slowly to a strong position behind the ravine of Semenevskoy at Psarevo. There they resolutely held their ground.

In this terrible battle the total casualties aggregated nearly one hundred thousand. In the French bulletins it was designated as the battle of the Moscova. The Russians know it as the battle of Borodino. There, in Tolstoy's pregnant phrase, "the beast was wounded to the death." The French lost 12,000 killed and 38,000 wounded. The Russians lost 15,000 killed, 30,000 wounded, and 2,000 prisoners.

In the face of such frightful losses Kutusof, heeding the counsels of Barclay, resumed the retreat toward Moscow, nor did he bid a halt until half a league in front of that city. On September 15 the Russian generals held a council of war on the hill of Fily, which overhangs Moscow, and determined in the end to abandon the ancient city to its fate. Bennigsen, Ostermann, and Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg were in favor of a last battle, but Barclay declared that after all Moscow was "only a city like any other." Kutusof, after listening to all, said: "Here my head, be it good or

bad, must decide. We will retreat." In justification of this tragic measure Kutusof wrote to the Czar that "it was indispensable to preserve the army until the new levies could be brought up, and, moreover, that it would *lead the enemy into a snare where his destruction would be inevitable.*"

The next day the Russian army defiled sorrowfully through the streets of Moscow, and marched for Kolomna, followed by an endless train of 300,000 refugees from the city. During the forenoon of the same day the advance columns of the French came within sight of the sacred city. As they beheld the rays of the sun glinting from the golden dome of the Kremlin and descried the many minarets of the old Russian metropolis, the soldiers broke into a jubilant shout: "Moscow!" Napoleon himself drew rein on an eminence to exclaim: "Here is the famous city at last!" But he added immediately: "It was high time."

When the French entered the city they marched through silent streets and found deserted quarters. No one appeared to present the keys of the city, and Napoleon asked impatiently: "Where are the Boyars?" On the great red staircase of the Imperial Kremlin palace he waited until late in the evening before Mortier's provost guards succeeded in getting together a deputation of nondescripts to present their submission. The next day, September 15, when the bulk of the French army had been quartered in the city, fire broke out in different parts of Moscow. No fire pumps were to be found. Many incendiaries were caught red-handed and were shot by the soldiers. No less than four hundred were court-martialed. At midnight the windows of the Kremlin were lighted up by flames leaping from the roof of the Governor's palace. Prince Rastopshin, a true Muscovite, combining the polish of a European with the savagery of a Tartar, had the torch put to his own palace. At the same time he ordered Voronenko to set fire to the public stores of

vodka and oil. Withal he took pains to spread the report that the fire was the work of the foreign invaders.

A veering wind spread the conflagration in Moscow. By the next morning the Tartar quarter, the "white town," and parts of the suburbs or "land town" were a sea of fire. Napoleon's guards worked hard to save the Kremlin, but at last the danger became too imminent and the Emperor had to abandon the palace. With some difficulty he made his way through the burning city to the Czar's summer palace at Petrovski. For four days the fire raged unabated, until by September 20 only one-tenth of the city's houses were left untouched.

The news of the burning of the sacred city aroused the mass of Russian peasants to a state of blind fury against the French invaders. The moujiks fell on foraging parties or single marauders and killed them with pitchforks. In the single district of Porovsk 3,500 soldiers were thus slain. Guerrilla war broke out wherever the French pitched their camps. The Czar, in St. Petersburg, exclaimed: "Now we shall make war in earnest." As if in token of these words the Russian commanders at Kolomna, wheeling their divisions around the French outposts, assumed an offensive position at Tarutino—a masterly move which served to secure them reenforcements and supplies from the richest provinces of the Empire, while at the same time it threatened the enemy's communications. Hordes of Cossacks skirmished in close vicinity of Moscow. At a loss what to do next, Napoleon bivouacked his army on the barren ground of what was left of Moscow, and waited for the Russians to give some sign of surrender. While he thus lost time his fate was accomplished in other quarters of the world.

The burden cast upon England by the maritime war with America, which had already cost the British navy some of her best cruisers, made the new Ministry the more anxious

to profit by Napoleon's troubles in Russia. After Wellington had taken the last French stronghold on the Portuguese frontier, Marmont, cut off from Soult's forces in Andalusia, found his position very precarious. He was forced back from the Tagus after General Hill with 15,000 men had taken the bridge of Almaraz. Unable to resist Wellington's march on Salamanca, Marmont withdrew first beyond the Tormes and then to the Douro. On June 28 Wellington, after a hot fight, stormed Salamanca. An Anglo-Sicilian army worried Marshal Suchet in Catalonia, and an English squadron, cruising on the Bay of Biscay, threatened the provinces of the north with a disembarkation. The siege of Cadiz had to be raised by the French, and Andalusia was evacuated. Marmont resolved to make a bold stroke. He crossed the Douro and met the steady advance of the British by a counter advance upon Salamanca. After a series of well-fought skirmishes, on July 22 Marmont took up a strong position opposite the hills of Arapilez, one league from Salamanca. The battle had barely begun when Marmont, perceiving weakness at the British right end, detached his left wing to outflank the enemy. Wellington, from the height of Arapilez, caught sight of the widening gap between Marmont's centre and his left, and exclaimed joyfully to the Duke of Alava: "Behold, I have them: Marmont is lost." The whole of the British main column was driven like a wedge into the gap and the French army was cut in two. General Maucune, commanding the French left, turned columns and bravely fought his way back to the village of Arapilez, but the French centre succumbed to the shock. While trying to save the day Marmont was wounded, and so was Bennet, his successor in command. Young General Clausel, who next took charge, found the odds too heavy against him and ordered a retreat. The loss of the French had been 14,000, whereas the allies lost 5,600 men. Returning in

good order, Clausel led his troops over the Douro, and fell back on Burgos. He was joined there by King Joseph and 13,000 men. It was too late. The campaign was over—lost to France.

At the continued approach of the British, King Joseph retreated first to the capital. Even Madrid had to be given up to retire to Valencia. Wellington triumphantly entered Madrid on August 12. Only after Soult and Jourdan had joined forces with Joseph and Marmont were the French able to regain control of Madrid, but so acute was the discord between the French commanders that they failed to bring their united columns to bear either on Wellington's main army, operating before Burgos, or on Hill's detached corps, which might have been cut off. The concentration of the three great French armies in Spain remained without result.

Great Britain's war with America, during the interval, had grown to serious proportions. The American navy, when the War of 1812 broke out, was but poorly prepared for service. The only vessels available were placed under the command of Commodore Rodgers. They were the "President," "United States," "Commodore Decatur," "Congress," "Constellation," and "Argus." The British ships stationed on the North Atlantic coast were neither many nor formidable. Their squadron in all numbered eight sail-o'-the-line and frigates bearing a total armament of 312 guns, not counting those mounted on the smaller corvettes and sloops-o'-war. Yet they were sufficient to render hopeless any naval attempt at Canada or the British West Indies. The war on sea, as it turned out, was fought as a series of single naval encounters—ship against ship—where all depended on individual seamanship and straight shooting.

Three days after the declaration of war Commodore Rodgers sailed out of New York Harbor with his squadron.

He reached Jamaica on June 23. Soon a sail was discovered, which proved to be the English "Blandina" with thirty-six guns. Rodgers himself fired the first gun. The first three shots were seen to do much damage. Then a gun on the "President's" main deck blew up, killing and wounding sixteen Americans, among the latter being Commodore Rodgers. The "Blandina" succeeded in wearing away and by midnight had run beyond danger. The chase took the "President" far out of her course, and so it came that the American squadron turned up at the Newfoundland banks early in July, cruising thence eastward nearly to the English Channel. Thence it returned to Boston, having made seven prizes and retaken one American vessel.

On July 23 the "Essex," Captain David Porter, insufficiently armed, set sail from New York. On July 11 she fell in with the "Minerva," then acting as a convoy to seven transports with 1,400 troops bound for Quebec. The "Essex" ran in and took one transport with 200 soldiers, but the captain of the "Minerva," by skilful manœuvring, kept in close touch with his other transports. Among the youngest midshipmen on the "Essex" was D. G. Farragut, then thirteen years old. On August 13 the "Essex" fell in with the British ship "Alert." Captain Porter handled the "Essex" in such a manner that the enemy was led to believe that he was trying to escape. Passing under the stern of the "Essex," the "Alert" sent in a broadside, doing no damage. Thereupon Captain Porter opened with all his guns. In less than ten minutes the "Alert" struck her colors, was boarded, and had her crew disarmed. On September 7 the "Essex" returned to New York, having made ten prizes.

The British frigate "Blandina," on escaping from Rodgers, carried the news of the war to Halifax. On July 5 Vice-Admiral Savage despatched a British squadron on a cruise for American vessels. It was commanded by Cap-

tain Broke of the "Shannon," with thirty-eight guns, and included the "Belvidera," thirty-six, the "Africa," thirty-four, and the "Æolus," thirty-two guns. After capturing the "Nautilus" on July 16, when the fleet was four leagues off Barnegat, they discovered the frigate "Constitution," Captain Hull commanding. The American ship escaped by out-sailing the enemy in a three days' chase. Thus the honors for superior seamanship, so highly prized by British sailors, fell to America.

On August 2 the "Constitution" stood out of Boston Harbor again and headed for Cape Race. Having turned southward, Captain Hull on August 19 made out a large sail which proved to be the "Guerrière." The English ship opened fire. For a full hour the two big ships exchanged broadsides. By six o'clock they came within half pistol shot and raked one another's decks with a furious cannonade. After twenty minutes of this murderous fire the "Guerrière's" mizzenmast came down. Then the ships got foul of each other and the Americans attempted to board. Captain Dacres of the "Guerrière" was severely wounded. At last the "Guerrière" got clear, but the loss of her mainmast and foremast left her a defenceless hulk. At seven in the evening the English ship struck her colors. Out of the crew of 272 men, the "Guerrière" lost 23 killed and 56 wounded. The ship itself was sinking and had to be blown up by Captain Hull, who forthwith returned to Boston to repair his badly battered ship.

The career of the "Wasp," an American sloop of eighteen guns, commanded by Captain Jack Jones, was brief and brilliant. Her first opponent was the "Frolic," a sloop-o'-war of one hundred feet. They ran parallel, sixty yards apart, for fifteen minutes. Drawing closer, they at last ran foul. The "Wasp" crossed the "Frolic's" bow. Her crew then clambered over the bowsprit of the "Frolic" and found

only twenty survivors aboard her. Of the "Wasp's" crew but ten had fallen. The fight was won by superior marksmanship. Before the smoke of the guns had cleared away the British ship "Poitiers," of seventy-four guns, came up, and, capturing both, took them as prizes to Bermuda.

Rodgers and Decatur sailed from Boston on October 8 with the frigates "President," "United States," "Congress," and "Argus." Rodgers, with two of these vessels, cruised far and wide. The "Argus" in particular made valuable prizes and escaped from a British squadron by excellent manœuvring. Decatur in the "United States" sailed eastward, and when near the Azores sighted a sail. It turned out to be the British man-o'-war "Macedonian," with thirty-eight guns. The Englishman came too close and was badly handled by a raking fire that cut her rigging to pieces. After a number of her guns had been dismantled she surrendered. Decatur apologized for the length of time spent in forcing the surrender, "by reason of a rough sea and the enemy's reluctance to come to closer quarters." The "Macedonian" was the only British man-o'-war brought in as a prize to an American port.

Before the year closed the "Constitution" took another cruise. She sailed October 25, with Bainbridge in command, in company with the "Hornet." By the middle of November she went into port at San Salvador. There she left the "Hornet," and soon after sighted the British frigate "Jena," of the same tonnage as the "Guerrière," with a crew of 426 men. Early in the afternoon the "Constitution" came within pistol shot, and ten minutes later the two ships were foul. Thereafter the conflict was a slaughter. In fifteen minutes the "Jena's" rigging was cut to pieces. At four in the afternoon she ceased firing. Her captain was mortally wounded, 48 of her men lay dead and 102 were wounded. The "Constitution" had 22 wounded and 12 killed.

Thus ended the first year of the naval war between the United States and England. The commerce of the United States had suffered almost total destruction. The contest so far hung not so much on the losses which were inflicted on England as on those which the people of the United States could sustain. On land the American operations contrasted dismally with the brilliant exploits won at sea.

One week after the declaration of war the American army was fixed at twenty-five regiments of infantry, four of artillery, and two of dragoons—making 36,700 men. The actual force was only 10,000, of whom nearly half were recruits.

Detroit claimed early attention. It was within gunshot of British territory and was surrounded by hostile Indians. William Hull, the Governor of Michigan, advised an increase of the naval force on Lake Erie. General Dearborn, of Boston, was given a command on the Ontario and St. Lawrence. Hull set out in the spring of 1812, having no understanding with Dearborn or the Secretary of War. The force destined for Detroit consisted of 1,500 men, and they were joined in June by 1,000 more men. Hull took command. Detroit was two hundred miles away, and the little army had to cut its way through wild forests and over unbridged rivers. Late in June, when he had advanced seventy-five miles, Hull received a despatch from Secretary Eustis urging haste, and he left his camp equipage behind and hurried to the Maumee River, thirty-five miles away. There he despatched his personal effects, including his papers, in a schooner, and within twenty-four hours received a despatch announcing the declaration of war. On the same day the schooner was seized by the British. Hull reached Detroit on July 5. The fort was a square enclosure of two acres, but did not command the river. The people of the territory numbered about 5,000, while the town itself contained 800

souls. On July 9 Hull received orders to invade Canada, and on the 12th he crossed the river.

Meanwhile Dearborn at Albany and Boston wasted time with details for two months. On June 22 he received news of the declaration of war. On July 9 he received orders to engage the enemy on Lake Champlain, at the same time that Hull's army crossed into Canada and challenged the British forces on the lakes. On July 19 and 24 American detachments were driven in by the British. Then came news that Mackinaw had surrendered, and that the Indians were gathering to fall on Detroit.

Upper Canada from Detroit to Ottawa contained 80,000 people. The political capital was York (now Toronto) on Lake Ontario. The British civil and military commander was Brock. He was a man of unusual power and of military training. During the winter vessels had been armed on Lake Erie, giving him command of the inland waters to Detroit. Hull's passage of the Detroit, on July 12, showed Brock where the first blow was to be struck. Brock's energy at once burst forth; he sent to Amherstburg all the force possible, and he ordered the seizure of Mackinaw. On August 5 he left for Lake Erie. Secure at Niagara, he took 300 picked men and coasted up to Detroit River. Early in August Hull awoke to the dangers of the situation. He made arrangements to send 1,000 men to the relief of Niagara. On August 15 Brock held a council at which there were 1,000 Indians, among whom was Tecumseh.

At noon on August 15 Hull was summoned to surrender and refused. Brock instantly ordered two armed vessels to move up the river, while a battery opened fire from the Canadian shore. During the night Tecumseh, with 600 Indians, crossed the river two miles below and cut off communication between the fort and McArthur and Cass. Brock crossed before daybreak. He came to close quarters within three-

quarters of a mile of the American 24-pounders. Nothing but the boldness of the enterprise rendered success possible. Brock formed his column for assault. The ships were firing into the fort. On the American side two companies of Michigan men deserted, and Hull sent a flag to surrender. The capitulation included McArthur and Cass. "The treachery and cowardice of Hull, like that of Arnold, can not be a matter of blame to our Government," wrote Jefferson to Lewis Cass on learning the story. At the same time Fort Dearborn in Chicago was in flames. Hull had ordered it evacuated, and on August 15 the garrison was attacked and murdered by a large body of Indians. With it went the last vestige of American authority on the lakes.

Lake Erie was lost to the Americans; but on Lake Ontario new supplies and troops were gathered, the ships were moved to Sackett's Harbor and became the nucleus of a fleet. On the night of October 8 Lieutenant Elliott of the navy, with one hundred men, cut out two British vessels under the guns of Fort Erie. Van Rensselaer formed a plan for a double attack, a part of which was to land boats in the rear of Fort George. He was successful. Captain Wood with a few hundred men climbed up an obscure path and found themselves thirty yards in the rear of a battery, from which Brock was watching the contest below. While leading the subsequent attack Wood was killed. Lieutenant-Colonel Winfield Scott volunteered to take command of Wood's forlorn hope. At two o'clock a scarlet line of British was seen advancing from Fort George, with a thousand Indians against the six hundred Americans on the heights. General Brock was killed in the action. The Americans were cut to pieces. Several hundred surrendered; the rest were scalped. Scott and his followers were pushed down to the river. Scott saved his life only by fighting his way through the Indians into the British lines.

The burden of defending the border between the Ohio and the lakes fell on Ohio, with its 250,000 people, and Kentucky, with its 400,000. Harrison's ambition drew him to lead a new crusade for the recovery of Detroit. Under the immediate advice of Henry Clay and others, command was given him, and he proceeded to organize a campaign. The news of Hull's surrender reached him at Frankfort. He was swept on far beyond where he thought it prudent to go by the current of Western enthusiasm. The President and Cabinet decided to give him the command of the Army of the Northwest with 10,000 men.

On September 27 he announced his plan of campaign, which was to concentrate at Maumee Rapids and to have 2,000 Kentucky militia destroy the Indian settlements. But he found himself unable either to advance or to retreat. He passed weeks searching in vain over two hundred miles of dry ridges. Throughout October and November his army stood still. Late in 1812 Harrison wrote to Monroe that Malden, rather than Detroit, should be the point of attack. An ill-conceived raid into Canada, led by General Dearborn, turned out an utter fiasco. The American troops fired into each other and then beat a precipitate retreat. The Army of the North went into winter quarters; thus bringing to a close the American land campaign for that year.

Napoleon, in Moscow, for some time nursed the illusion that the fall of the ancient Russian capital would be followed by a speedy peace. But Alexander made no move. In his extremity Napoleon even wrote to the Czar, opening the way for negotiations. By the advice of Stein the letter was unanswered. Stein wrote to Bernadotte, who, by this time, unreservedly cast the lot of Sweden with that of Russia: "Now, more than ever, shall we fight it out to the bitter end. Rather be buried under the ruins of the Empire than come to terms with this new Attila!"

After waiting several weeks in ill-concealed anxiety, Napoleon despatched Lauriston to Kutusof's headquarters. Lauriston's obvious errand was to arrange for the exchange of prisoners. Incidentally he was to bring up the topic of a possible peace, and thus smooth the way for it. Succeeding in this, he was authorized to ask for transports to St. Petersburg, there to conclude the final peace negotiation. Kutusof replied that the word "peace" figured nowise in his instructions, nor did he feel free to conclude even an armistice. By way of emphasizing this determination, Prince Kurakin captured the French convoys on the way to Smolensk, while Dorokhov, with his Cossacks, took the French stores at Vereiya by assault. Altogether the Cossacks, forever hovering about the French outposts, made no less than 15,000 prisoners. The most serious Russian move during this period was the junction of the Army of the Danube under Admiral Tchitchakov with Tormasov's corps on the Styr, and the accession to the Russian ranks of Platov's twenty-one fresh Cossack regiments, recruited from the Don.

Napoleon realized that the game was up. On October 13 came the first snowfall. To Napoleon and his veterans it recalled the horrors of their first winter campaign in Poland. Within an hour Napoleon gave his orders for the evacuation of Moscow. The advance columns had scarcely got to the valley of Vinkovo when they were attacked by the Cossacks, supported by Bennigsen's infantry. They came within an ace of being surrounded and cut off from the main army. Only the splendid dash of Murat and Poniatovski's Polish lancers saved the French from this disaster. As it was, they lost 1,500 men, 3,000 horses, and 38 guns. The leader of the Russian attack, General Baggovud, was killed in the first onslaught. Within two days after this misfortune Napoleon left Moscow with 107,000 men, 15,000 horses, and 605 guns, ostensibly "for the pursuit of the enemy."

The bitterness of his resentment found expression in his orders to Mortier, the Governor of Moscow, to destroy practically all that remained of the city. The final command was characteristic of his mood:

“He will be particular to remain in Moscow till he has himself seen the Kremlin blown up; and he will also set fire to the Governor’s two houses and to that of Rasomovsky.”

Napoleon, with his main column, advanced toward Kaluga, hoping to defeat Kutusof there and thus gain access to the rich inner provinces of Russia. Kutusof anticipated him by breaking up his cantonments to meet the French half way. Prince Eugene’s advance division penetrated as far as the Malo-Jaroslavetz on the Lugea, when they encountered the Russian vanguard. General Dorochof charged into the French and fell in the *mêlée*. A fierce all-day fight followed. Six times the town was stormed and lost again by the French, until at nightfall they finally remained victorious. They had lost nearly 10,000 men and seven generals. The Russian losses, too, were very heavy. When Napoleon arrived he was shocked at the heaps of the fallen soldiers around the ruins of the town. As he was reconnoitring along the banks of the Lugea, that evening, there was a sudden cry of “Here come the Cossacks!” and the next moment he and his followers were swept into the river, with hand-to-hand fighting all around them. General Rapp barely managed to extricate the Emperor. That evening Napoleon held a council of war amid the charred ruins of the village Gorodino. Murat, Berthier, and Bessières attended. In the face of their heavy losses, and the growing lack of horses, the three generals objected strongly to another battle, and advised the abandonment of Kaluga. After they had their say, the Emperor, with his head in his hands, sat mute for more than an hour, staring vacantly at a map spread over his knees. Then he sighed deeply and dismissed his marshals without announcing

his intentions. Late in the night he issued orders for a retreat to Moschaisk. This meant a march over the same barren stretch along which the French army had advanced to Moscow. The greater part of the stores forwarded from Moscow had been used up in the demonstration against Kaluga. As a result the retreat, from its very start, was attended by unusual hardships. Horses fell right and left and hundreds of ammunition wagons had to be blown up. In the wake of the army, along the stretch of forty-eight miles from Gorodino to Smolensk, Russian peasants found no less than 208 pieces of abandoned artillery. On October 27 the retreating army, now thoroughly discouraged, once more came within view of the battlefield of Borodino. There the troops were demoralized by the ghastly spectacle of 30,000 dead bodies rotting on the ground. The marching soldiers had to turn deaf ears to the heartbreaking plaints of their wounded comrades bedded on the stone floors of the Monastery of Kolotsov near by. Already the nights were bitterly cold. The Russian prisoners were stripped of their clothing and afterward murdered by the fierce hordes of stragglers. These, in turn, fell into the hands of the pursuing Cossacks, or were butchered by the enraged peasants if they ventured beyond the protection of the marching columns. Alternating snowfalls and thaws made the roads impassable. On November 3 the rear-guard under Davoust, having reached Viazma one day behind the main column, was attacked by Platov's Cossacks, and was all but cut off by a flank attack from Miloradovich's column. Davoust and his staff officers were driven headlong through the streets of the town by the leveled spears of the Cossacks. Six thousand Frenchmen fell in the fight. Previous to this the constant skirmishing on the rear had cost Davoust 10,000 men. Only the reluctance of the Russians to follow in force on the hunger-stricken route of the French army had saved the rear-guard from early annihilation.

Now Napoleon answered Davoust's despairing appeals for succor by relieving him of command and putting Ney in his place. It proved the severest task ever imposed on that hero of a hundred battles. On November 6 the Russian winter set in with a howling snowstorm. It became frightfully cold. Shoes and blankets were scarce, and there was nothing to eat but horseflesh. The soldiers perished by thousands from hunger and cold. All the bonds of discipline were relaxed. Henceforth the retreat became a rout. When the Emperor reached Smolensk, only his cherished Old Guard had preserved its entity. Of the 100,000 men who set out from Moscow, but 40,000 men remained under arms, with only 5,000 mounted men. There were 30,000 stragglers, and 350 field guns had been abandoned. Worse disaster awaited Napoleon at Smolensk. The stores had been pillaged, and nothing was left wherewith to feed the starving soldiers. The long-awaited reenforcements of the Ninth Corps, which Victor had been bringing from Germany, were summoned away to support Oudinot and St. Cyr's corps, which were threatened on three sides by three Russian corps under Wittgenstein, Tchitchakov, and the auxiliaries from Finland. Napoleon's Austrian allies, under Prince Schwarzenberg, as usual, showed themselves averse to serious hostilities, and Napoleon had to detach Prince Eugene to protect Vitepsk. In spite of all heroic attempts to reach there in time, the viceroy found the place already in the hands of the Russians. Wittgenstein had established himself in force. General Hilliers, who advanced along the Jelnia road, was surprised by the Russians and lost 2,000 men. Already the Russians were threatening the French base of supplies at Minsk and Warsaw. Worse than that, they were preparing to effect a junction between their armies at the passage of the Beresina, so as to bar the French from their only safe return to Poland.

Napoleon saw that there was not a moment to lose, and, leaving Smolensk, he marched at once for Vilna. His marshals were to follow with their respective corps in extended columns. Ney, who had been fighting incessantly since he took command of the rear-guard, received orders to blow up what was left of the ramparts of Smolensk, and to bury the remaining guns. By this time the French had only 1,800 horses left, all of which were intrusted to Latour-Maubourg, the leader of the cavalry. Napoleon and his staff marched on foot. When they reached Krasnoe they found the vanguard under Sebastiani, in a church, beleaguered by the enemy. Broussier's division had been all but annihilated. The village of Kutkovo had to be taken in the face of severe artillery fire, and there the fight was stubbornly maintained while Napoleon hurried up the other columns lagging behind. At last, finding himself more and more hemmed in, Napoleon was constrained to cut his way through without regard for the fate of Ney and his rear-guard. Luckless Davoust was ordered to do the impossible—to wit, keep in touch with Mortier's retreating columns and at the same time wait for Ney to come up. With the Cossacks closing in upon him, Davoust was finally compelled to fight his way along with Mortier's 5,000 men. Thus the remnants of the French army, under constant fire, advanced to Liady and Orsha.

When the French rear-guard was cut off, Tormasov and General Wilson, who had been sent to Russia by the British Government, urged Kutusof to drive his whole column of 50,000 men into the French flank, but they could not move him. "You think the old man a fool," he said. "You are young and don't understand. Napoleon is still terrible. If he turns back we shall all regret it. Let him proceed to the Bérésina, ruined and without an army, and I shall be satisfied."

Marshal Ney, in his extremity, proved himself the resourceful soldier he was known to be. Without warning of

his danger—for all despatch riders had been intercepted by the enemy—he came face to face with Kutusof's main army before Krasnoe at nightfall. A crushing repulse of his first attempt to fight his way through showed him how thoroughly he was cut off. Undismayed, he resolved to swerve his column sidewise toward the Dniepr, and to cross that river, so as to regain the main army by the right bank. "But if the Dniepr is not frozen, what shall we do?" said some of his officers. "It will be frozen," retorted the marshal. "Besides, frozen or not, we shall do as we can. But we shall cross." For an hour Ney drew his men back toward Smolensk. Then turning abruptly to the north, he marched at double quick for the Dniepr with a flying column of 1,000 picked men. At the village of Syrokenci his vanguard picked up a peasant who pointed out a place for crossing the frozen riven in safety. Under cover of the night Ney succeeded in moving 800 of his men over the ice, without horses or artillery. He even gave his stragglers three hours' time to come up, while he wrapped himself in his cloak and slept till the last man was over the river. Breaking the ice behind him, he made straight for Orsha. The remainder of his corps, 11,000 men in all, fell into the hands of the Russians. Altogether the Russians captured 26,000 French soldiers, 300 officers, and 28 guns. Ten thousand Frenchmen were killed. The total loss of the Russians barely exceeded 2,000 men.

At Orsha Napoleon mustered his waning forces. There remained but 6,000 effective men of the 35,000 Imperial Guards; Eugene had saved 1,800 out of 43,000; Davoust 4,000 out of 70,000, and Ney 750 out of 40,000. The situation was critical in the extreme. Tchitchakov, with 33,000 Russians, lay in front guarding the approach to the Bérésina, Wittgenstein's corps occupied an impregnable position on the right, while Kutusof's main army was coming up on

the left. Napoleon, after cleverly joining forces with Victor's and Oudinot's corps as well as with Dombrovsky's Poles, formed his troops into one strong column and demonstrated against the lower Beresina as if to join forces with Schwarzenberg. Tchitchakov speedily took alarm, and, drawing in his long-extended line on the other side of the river, counter-demonstrated against the apparent point of attack. In the meanwhile Napoleon sent all his engineers to the upper Beresina with orders to construct two bridges at any cost. On the night that they began work, as it happened, Tschaplitz's division, guarding that point of the river, was ordered to join Tchitchakov's main army on the lower Beresina. The next morning, thanks to this stroke of fortune, the French engineers, under General Eblè, finished the first bridge, and a French brigade, passing over, established itself in the deserted bivouacs of the Russians. Another bridge for artillery wagons was soon completed. Then Napoleon drew his columns together at that point, leaving but one division on the lower Beresina to hoodwink further the enemy. That same day the Russians, made aware of what was going on, attacked the French on both sides of the river. Wittgenstein opened the affair by intercepting the forlorn Partouneaux division which had been left below to fight it out alone. After standing his ground for twelve hours, General Partouneaux and 8,000 men laid down their arms. Tschaplitz's efforts to regain his lost position only brought him great loss. The next morning Tschaplitz renewed his attack, but during the night Ney's corps had crossed with the Imperial Guards and would have routed Tschaplitz's division if the whole of Tchitchakov's corps had not come up to his support. More than 10,000 men on both sides fell in the fight. During the same day Wittgenstein, on the other side of the river, signally defeated Victor's corps, and drove it down the slopes to the river's edge. While the men were

struggling to get across the bridges, the Russian batteries from the heights concentrated their force on this point. The artillery bridge broke down, and the horses and guns with their gunners fell through in an inextricable mass. Artillery, wagons, horsemen, and foot soldiers all commingled now rushed over the other bridge, and hundreds were crushed to death or pushed over the sides. Marshal Victor and his rear-guard had to fight their way through the struggling hordes of their own comrades at the point of the bayonet. A desperate throng of stragglers hung back on the shores of the river, wavering between the fears of capture and all but certain death in the frightful crush. These horrors continued throughout the night. When day broke at last, and the Russian Cossacks were seen charging down the hillside, Marshal Victor abandoned all those that had stayed behind to their fate, and burned the bridge down before the eyes of the wailing multitude. Sixteen thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the Russians. The loss of life during the passage of the Beresina was later estimated at 12,000. Twenty-five pieces of artillery had to be abandoned.

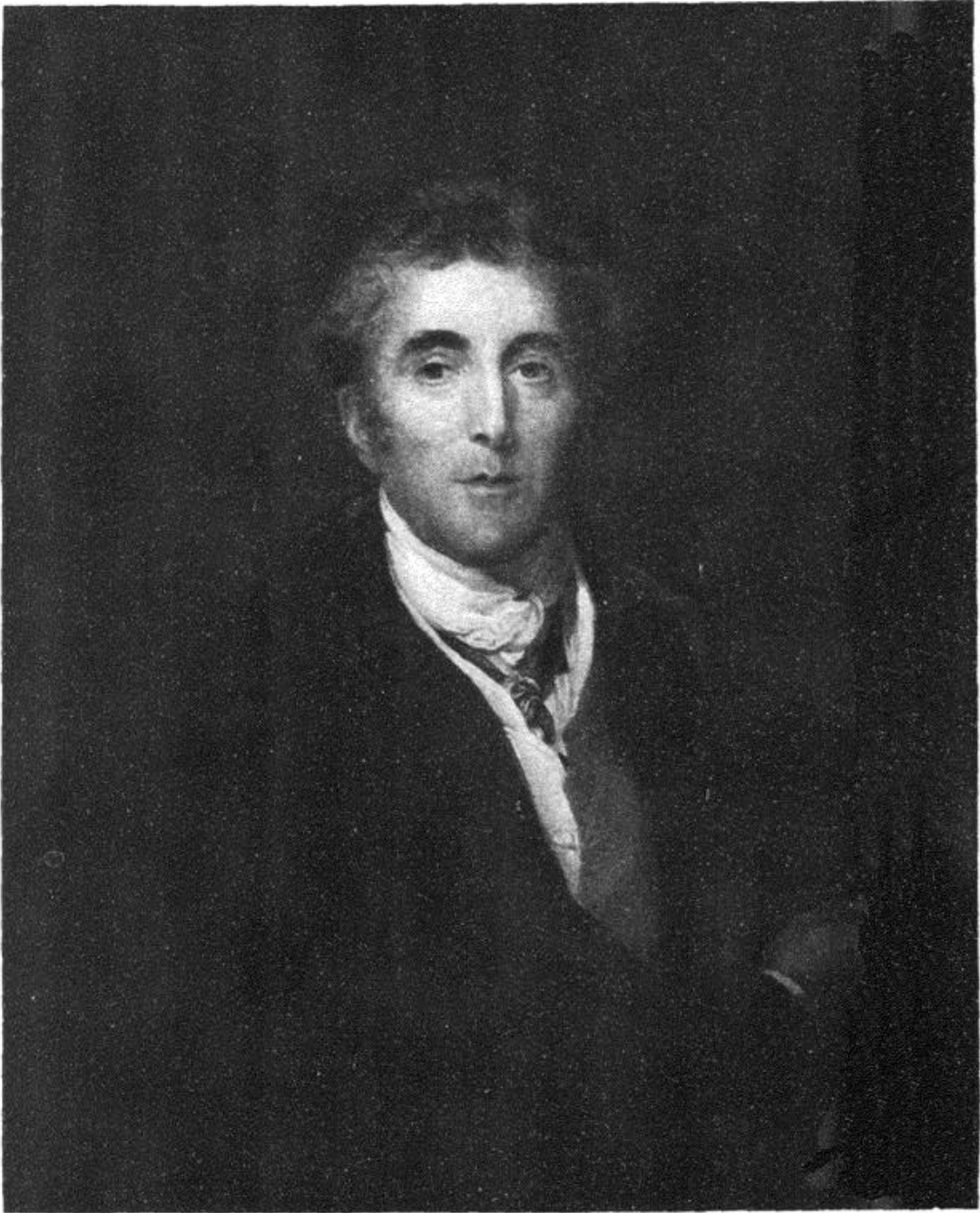
On December 5 Napoleon, dragging himself along with his ragged body-guard of officers, the so-called "Sacred Squadron," reached Smorgoni. There he received tidings of what was to him the most alarming thing of all. A conspiracy in Paris, working on a false report of his death, had shaken the foundations of his throne. Gathering his marshals around him, the Emperor explained the need of his immediate presence in Paris and bade them all farewell.

Napoleon never admitted the full extent of his losses in Russia. As he was flying homeward in a solitary sleigh a few days afterward, General St. Cyr, his companion, remarked. "We left 300,000 men in Russia." "No, no!" replied Napoleon, "not so many as that." Then, after a moment's reflection: "Ah! 30,000 men at the Moskova; 7,000

here, 10,000 there; and all those who strayed on the marches and have not returned. Possibly you are not far wrong. But then there were so many Germans!"

The Germans did not forget this remark! In one of the public squares of Munich stands a tall obelisk made from the bronze of cannon captured in France. On it are inscribed the words: "To the 30,000 Bavarians who perished in Russia."

On Napoleon's departure the conduct of the retreat was intrusted to Murat. He brought the wretched army as far as Vilna. Then he, too, found that important matters in Naples demanded his presence there. Platov's Cossacks made prolonged stay in Vilna impossible. In the flight from Vilna to Kovno even the French army funds, regimental eagles, and the flags taken from the enemy were abandoned by the roadside. Marshal Ney and old General Lefebvre were the only commanders resolute enough to hold the Cossacks in check while the others fled onward. On December 12 the panic-stricken soldiers arrived at Kovno on the Niemen. As the covering force under Ney entered the gate of the city it was seen that the remnant of the Imperial Guard consisted of but 300 men. The next morning the approach of the Russians drove the French out of Kovno. Pell-mell they crossed the bridge across the Niemen and thus quitted the soil of Russia. Before abandoning Kovno, Ney seized a musket, and, with a corporal's guard, held the bridge-head against the forerunners of the Cossack vanguard. When the last French column had retired in safety, Ney threw his musket into the Niemen and left the ramparts. He was the last combatant soldier of the Grand Army who left Russia. The next morning he walked into the last French outpost in the Prussian village of Gumbinnen, empty-handed, ragged, and unkempt. To the challenge of the sentry he replied: "Here comes the rear-guard of the Grand Army!"



PAINTED BY SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE

WELLINGTON

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At Koenigsberg the Russians, assisted by the friendly attitude of General York and his corps of Prussians, inflicted a last defeat on their fallen foe. This brought the total losses of the French army up to 552,048 men, 167,000 horses, 12,000 guns, and 12,000,000 francs in money. When Emperor Alexander arrived in Vilna on December 21, 15,000 dead bodies still littered the ice of the Niemen. "What frightful horrors!" exclaimed Von Arndt. "This is not the work of Kutusof or of Wittgenstein. It is the finger of God," said the Czar. But the Russians, too, had suffered almost corresponding losses. The long-drawn pursuit cost Kutusof's corps 62,000 men, of whom 48,000 lay in hospital. The total Russian losses were later estimated at 300,000 men.

In all it is safe to state that the Napoleonic wars of 1812 cost the lives of over a million men. But greater hecatombs were still to be demanded.

When Napoleon arrived in Paris his mere presence quelled the commotion caused by the disastrous news from Russia, and the all but successful coup d'état of Malet. The Emperor's first measure was to call for a new levy of 350,000 conscripts. Next he stamped out the last dying embers of the conspiracy aimed at his throne. Malet and the fourteen prisoners taken with him were condemned to death and executed. What alarmed Napoleon the most in the whole affair was that in the crisis of the attempted coup d'état his son seemed to have been overlooked by common consent. Every one took for granted that the Emperor's death, as falsely reported, would render a new election indispensable. "What!" exclaimed Napoleon, again and again, "did nobody think of my son, my wife, or the constitution of the Empire?" He took instant measures to secure his throne by additional decrees of the Senate with provisions for all contingencies. This done he threw himself heart and soul into preparations for the inevitable war of the coming year.

EVENTS OF 1813

The Prussian General York Deserts to the Russians—Treaty of Kalisch between Russia and Prussia—Russia Drives French from Berlin—Frederick William Declares War and Organizes Militia—Outburst of Prussian Patriotism—Napoleon Conscripts a New Army—He Fails to Hold Austria in Alliance—Wins Bootless Victories at Lützen and Bautzen—Armistice—Convention at Reichenbach of Napoleon's Enemies—French Alliance with Denmark—Meeting of Napoleon and Metternich Leads to Peace Congress of Prague—Wellington Wins Battle of Vittoria—Americans are Defeated at Frenchtown—Win at Elizabeth—American "Hornet" Takes "Peacock"—American "Hazard" Takes "Albion" and "Caledonia"—British "Shannon" Takes "Chesapeake"—Moreau Returns to Europe to Fight Napoleon—On Napoleon's Refusal to Restore Her Former Possessions Austria Declares War—Minor Battles Show Genius of Napoleon's Old Marshals now Leading His Foes—Moreau Defeated and Killed at Dresden—Blücher Wins Battle of Wahlstadt—Ney's Demoralized Foreign Troops are Routed at Dennewitz—Other French Defeats—Wrede Deserts with His Bavarians—Drawn Cavalry Fight at Wachau—French Repel Attack at the Pleisse—Retire at Möckern—Napoleon Sends Back Captured Austrian General with Proposal for Armistice—No Reply—Crushing Defeat of French at Leipzig—Napoleon Retreats—Defeats Wrede at Hanau—Dresden and Dantzic Surrender to Austrians—France's Allies Revolt—Americans Repelled at Fort Meigs—American "Enterprise" Takes "Boxer"—Perry Captures British Fleet on Lake Erie—Harrison Defeats British and Indians at Fort Malden—Wellington Drives French into Their Own Territory—Attacks Bayonne—Napoleon Resigns Spain—Orders New Levy of Troops—Dissolves the Corps Legislatif.

THE first ally lost to Napoleon was Prussia. From the first the Prussian force of auxiliaries under General York of Wartenburg had been a source of misgiving to the French. It is true the Prussian general distinguished himself in two actions against heavy Russian odds at Eckau and at Bauske, but when the tide turned against the French the attitude of the Prussians became a matter of solicitude to both sides. Napoleon offered the Prussian commander a marshalship, with a gratuity of 20,000 francs. On the Russian side, General Essen, Count Pelucci, and Prince Reppin, each in turn, made personal efforts to induce York to throw his Prussians into the balance against Napoleon. In December, 1812, when the ruin of the French cause was

plain, York asked permission of the King of Prussia to break off his allegiance to the French. At the same time, as the King well knew, Russian confidential envoys in Vienna were doing their utmost to induce Emperor Francis and Metternich to cut loose from France. Accordingly, York received word to accommodate himself to circumstances until the political atmosphere had cleared, and, above all, not to "kick over the traces." For York this was not so easy. When Macdonald with his corps fell back on Dantzic late in December, York and his Prussians brought up the rear. By a well-fought action before Tilsit the Russians succeeded in cutting off York's rear-guard from Macdonald's main body. The next morning Count Pelucci, the Governor of Riga, appeared with a personal letter of the Czar, in which Alexander promised to fight for the deliverance of Prussia as well as of Russia, if the Prussian troops fought on his side. After a moment of reflection York said quietly: "You have got me. To-morrow I shall enter your lines." York's officers and men received the news with wild joy. Next morning York and Dibitch met at the mill of Tauroggen, and signed a convention whereby neutrality was declared between Prussia and Russia. The Russians were privileged to move their troops through Prussia. In January York's troops, escorted by Russian Cossacks, entered Tilsit, and effected a junction with a detached body of Prussians under Massenbad. This practically delivered Koenigsberg over to the Russians. The German revolt against Napoleon had begun.

King Frederick William of Prussia, surrounded as he was by French troops quartered in Berlin, repudiated York. He declared the convention of neutrality null and void. York was summoned before a court-martial. Thanks to the vigilance of the Russian outposts, the King's couriers bearing these orders were not permitted to reach the Prussian general. Failing to receive any answer, York could only sur-

mise his predicament. As a soldier of the old school, who had once before been cashiered for criticising a superior officer, York took it hard. "With bleeding heart," he wrote, "I burst the bonds of obedience, and carry on the war upon my own responsibility. The army desires war with France; the nation desires it; the King himself desires it, but his will is not free. The army must make his will free."

Stein, Moritz, Von Arndt, and other Prussian patriots, returning from exile to Russia, hastened to Koenigsberg to strengthen York's resolution. Stein bore a commission from the Czar to assume the government of the Prussian province occupied by Russian troops, and raised a Prussian army for the war with France. Stein's powers were to continue until the Czar could come to some arrangement with the King of Prussia.

Armed with this commission, Stein appeared in Koenigsberg and boldly convoked an assembly of the people to take proper measures for the Fatherland independent of their King. York, though declining to act as chairman, was induced to give some countenance to the movement. On the promise of Stein's abstention from further Russian interference, he entered the house and spoke a few words. York's undisguised declaration of war was received with unbounded enthusiasm. Forty thousand Prussians flocked to arms from the province of East Prussia alone. Recruits began to arrive from all other parts of Germany. This unprecedented spectacle of the people working out their salvation without help from the crown decided the timid Prussian King and his councilor, Hardenberg. Moreover, the Russians were advancing toward the Oder. On January 25 the royal family removed from Berlin to Breslau. This put the King beyond the power of the French troops at Berlin, and York's defection was condoned. Warlike preparations began at once. Swarms of Prussian volunteers bound for East Prussia

passed through Berlin, shaking their fists at the French soldiers. On February 3 appeared a royal edict calling for volunteers. A week later all the Prussian men between the ages of seventeen and fifty were called to arms. One-fourth of the entire population responded to the call. General Knesebeck was sent to the headquarters of the Czar to arrange for military cooperation. The Czar sent Stein to Breslau with a Russian plenipotentiary to conclude the terms. On February 27 the treaty of Kalisch was signed. Russia undertook not to lay down her arms until the Prussian state should be restored to the same strength of area and population which it had before 1806. Russia reserved to herself the lost provinces of Prussian Poland, on a promise that Prussia should indemnify herself by an equal amount of territory taken from western Germany. This arrangement, though deplored by the foremost Prussian statesmen of the time, contained the germ of Prussia's coming leadership in German affairs.

Prussia's formal declaration of war was still withheld until her feverish military preparations could be perfected. The Russians, on the other hand, sure of popular support throughout Prussia, carried the war into Germany with undiminished vigor. The French rear-guard under Eugene Beauharnais had to abandon the strong line of the Oder and fall back to Berlin and the Elbe. On February 20 the first Russian Cossacks appeared before Berlin and fought in the outskirts. Within a week the French had to quit the capital, closely pursued by the Russian vanguard. Some days later Wittgenstein, who took command after the expiration of aged Kutusof at Bautzen, entered Berlin with the Russian infantry. On March 17 York and his Prussian corps made their appearance. They were received with tumultuous joy. On the same day came the King's long deferred declaration of war.

On the same day that Frederick William issued his proclamation to the people he decreed the formation of the great military reserves known as the Landwehr and the Landsturm. As the result of these measures and Scharnhorst's far-sighted military preparations, 100,000 men were joined to Prussia's standing army of 45,000. Scharnhorst, against the advice of York and others, gave to Blücher the chief command. A general feeling of enthusiasm swept through the country like unto that which created the armies of the French Revolution. Beardless youths and gray-haired men flocked to the colors. Clergymen, professors, and the students of the universities shouldered muskets. Even women found their way into the ranks. Other women contributed their jewelry and trinkets, receiving in turn delicately wrought ornaments of iron with the inscription: "I gave gold for iron; 1813." The King instituted the order of the Iron Cross, to be awarded for acts of bravery in battle. Thus a fresh impulse was given to the wrought-iron industry of Berlin, which has since been carried so far. Already the peasantry was rising against its French oppressors, and flying detachments of volunteers under Dörnberg and Lützow carried raids into the French districts. The poet Koerner, himself a soldier, appealed to the people in strains of patriotic ardor that have lived to the present day.

Other German poets joined in the chorus with the exception of Goethe, who said: "Well, well, shake your chains! That man Napoleon is too strong for you. You will not break them."

Napoleon, in Paris, faced the gathering storm with a bold front. In reply to a letter of warning from Davoust he wrote: "Pah! Germans never can become Spaniards." Yet he lost no time in gathering his new army of 350,000 conscripts and 27,000 fresh horses. Money was raised by floating paper currency. To allay the growing resentment

arising among the French peasantry, he went to conciliate the Pope in his prison palace at Avignon, greeted him by the name of Father, and set him at liberty, coming to an agreement with him in which both parties yielded some of their long contested points. On February 13 Napoleon opened the Corps Legislatif with a characteristic speech. After laying the blame for his Russian disasters on the premature winter, he dwelt upon England's machinations against France:

"The agents of England are propagating among all our neighbors the spirit of revolt against the sovereigns. England wishes to see the whole continent a prey to civil war and all the terrors of anarchy; but Providence has marked herself to be the first victim of anarchy and civil war."

He concluded: "I shall never make any peace except an honorable one—one suited to the interests and greatness of my Empire. So long as this murderous war continues my peoples ought to be ready for sacrifices of every kind; for a bad peace would cause us to lose everything, even hope itself; and everything would be compromised, even the prosperity of our grandchildren."

To Emperor Francis of Austria Napoleon wrote, permitting him to act for himself in the matter of making peace with Russia. It was too late. Austria was already being irresistibly drawn into the new coalition against France, for which England as heretofore had to furnish the money. In addition the British Ministry agreed to furnish 30,000 troops. For the nonce Austria remained neutral, but the hasty return of Schwarzenberg's corps and the mobilization of Austria's remaining troops revealed to Napoleon that nothing but a victorious campaign could keep his newly acquired father-in-law off his heels.

Blücher's new Prussian corps had not yet formed a junction with Wittgenstein when Napoleon returned to the fray

at the head of 160,000 men. He advanced over the familiar country of Erfurt and Merseburg, headed straight for Saxony; for the fate of Saxony hung in the balance. Already Blücher had entered Dresden at the heels of a retreating French garrison, and Wittgenstein, pushing forward to Magdeburg, had repulsed 40,000 Frenchmen at Mökern. Now Napoleon threw his 160,000 men into the path of the 80,000 allies and marched on Leipzig. On the first day of May Marshal Ney, with 40,000 men, overwhelmed Winzingerode's Russian vanguard at Weissenfels and forced him back. Marshal Bessières, the famous French cavalry chieftain, lost his life in this fight. Wittgenstein brought the Russian column up and fell on Ney's flank at Gross-Görschen. The fight lasted nearly all day, and gave the raw Prussian recruits a chance to measure their strength against the equally youthful new conscripts of France. Unfortunately for the Russians, the affair was dragged out by Wittgenstein, who ordered up one brigade after another instead of massing their attack at Lützen. Blücher's slowness in bringing up his Prussians, owing to the appearance of a despatch rider, gave Napoleon a chance to swing his long lines around the enemy's ends. The Russians would have been encircled had Blücher not arrived in time to interpose his Prussian reserves. Firing incessantly until after dark, the allies finally retired in good order. On the evening of the bloody engagement of May 2 the Prussian Hussars under Ziethen, supported by a Cossack brigade, tried to pierce the French centre with a fierce night attack, but were repulsed by Napoleon's well-concentrated artillery fire. They captured some guns, but suffered irreparable loss in the death of Scharnhorst. Further away a Prussian division, during this same time, stormed Halle, but had to fall back after the main army, lest it should be cut off. After a sharp rear action at Kolditz, the allies gained Dresden and made a stand at Bautzen. An attempted French

diversion against Berlin was frustrated by Barclay de Tolly and York at Koenigswarte and Weissig, and both armies drew in their reserves for the coming battle. The accession of two Bavarian and Saxon corps brought Napoleon's fighting force up to 150,000, whereas the allies had 90,000 men. On May 19 Napoleon advanced on Bautzen and delivered a determined attack on Blücher's right wing. It resulted in a drawn fight, with heavy losses on both sides. The next morning the engagement became general. During the battle the French crossed the river Spree under fire and made a combined attack on the centre. The fight was kept up as long as the French infantry could see to shoot, until Napoleon had accomplished his object of making the enemy strengthen his centre at the expense of his right wing. Under cover of darkness Ney's corps made a long night march to get around Blücher's right end. Early the next morning Napoleon made a sharp attack on the Russian left under Milarado-vitch, and, meeting with determined resistance there, followed it up by throwing Macdonald's and Oudinot's divisions against the Russian centre, where Alexander and his suite had their headquarters. While the battle was on, Napoleon listened anxiously for the sound of Ney's cannon on the extreme right. Ney's instructions had been to work around the enemy's flank and to attack in force no later than noon. At the early hour of ten the distant roar of artillery on the enemy's right flank and rear announced to Napoleon that Ney had carried out his difficult manœuvre. The Emperor immediately despatched a courier to Paris with a penciled note to Marie Louise proclaiming a sure victory. Then he galloped over to his left to press home Ney's success. Ney had Blücher surrounded on three sides, and beset the Prussians so fiercely that Blücher had to call for reinforcements wherewith to protect his retreat. As soon as these manœuvres had the desired effect of weakening the Russian

centre, Napoleon hurled his whole mass of 75,000 men into the centre of the enemy's line. The result was an almost instantaneous retreat all along the line. The Russians fell back on Hochkirch and Lobau, while the Prussians fought their way back to Wurschen and Weissenburg, holding that position through the night. The next morning the allies, in the face of Napoleon's continued advance, fell back steadily into Silesia, behind the strong line of the fortress Schweidnitz and the ridges of the Riesengebirge, where they could readily join hands with the Austrian forces massed on the frontier of Bohemia. Napoleon entered Breslau. The continued fighting of the last five days had cost him 25,000 men. The hospitals of Dresden were filled with 18,000 wounded men. Generals Bruyères and Kirchner were among the dead, and Marshal Duroc was killed close to the Emperor's side. They were buried without religious honors. "I will have no priest!" said Napoleon. When the pursuit came to an end, the Emperor exclaimed angrily to his surviving marshals: "What! No result after such a massacre? No prisoners, no guns, nor standards? They leave me not even a nail!"

The threatening presence of the Austrian troops caused Napoleon anxiety to ascertain the precise intentions of Austria before exposing his flank and long-drawn communications to an attack from that quarter. An armistice was proposed and gladly entered into by both sides. The convention was signed at Pleswitz on June 4 and all hostilities were suspended for six weeks. The struggle shifted instantly from the battlefield to the diplomatic chancelleries at Vienna. To win the support of Austria was alike the endeavor of Napoleon and of the allies. Even the British Ministry awoke to the exigencies of the situation. Shortly after the conclusion of the armistice, Sir Charles Stewart and the Earl of Cathcart appeared at the allied headquarters. A for-

mal agreement was reached by the convention of Reichenbach on the 14th of June. In this treaty Great Britain agreed to furnish to Prussia £666,000, on King Frederick William's promise to restore the *status quo* in Hanover. Russia obtained a subsidy of £1,333,000 and the continued maintenance free of cost of her fleet locked up in English harbors since the convention of Cintra, on the Czar's formal permission to keep 160,000 men in the field against Napoleon. Besides this the British Government guaranteed fifty per cent of an issue of Prussian war bonds amounting to £5,000,000. In fine, England, Russia, Prussia, and Sweden bound themselves not to conclude any truce, peace, or convention whatsoever otherwise than by mutual consent. Napoleon, on the other hand, entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Denmark, thereby securing a valuable hold on the mouth of the Elbe, where Davoust held Hamburg, besides the acquisition of 20,000 troops in that quarter. At Vienna, during the first three weeks of the armistice, all negotiations hung fire. Prince Metternich, rather than compromise himself with either party, chose the rôle of mediator. To the French ambassador he suggested a "suspension of last year's treaty of alliance between France and Austria." As Maret insisted that this was equivalent to a dissolution of the alliance, Metternich went to Dresden to have a personal interview with Napoleon. The two men met on June 28. Metternich at once demanded not only the return of Illyria, but the evacuation of Germany, Italy, Holland, Poland, and Spain. Napoleon cried in a rage: "How much has England given you?" At the same time he dropped his hat. When Metternich did not move to raise it, Napoleon turned pale, and, after striding past it several times, kicked it away.

"You are not a soldier, sir," he exclaimed. "You have not learned to despise the life of another man, and your own, when need be. What care I for 200,000 men?"

Metternich turned on him with unwonted emotion. "Let us open the doors, Sire!" he exclaimed. "And if the doors are not sufficient, open the windows, that the whole of Europe may hear you!"

When he at last left the Emperor's room he remarked to Marshal Berthier: "I declare to you solemnly that your master is out of his mind." The final upshot was that both Metternich and Napoleon agreed to postpone the settlement of terms to a Peace Congress to sit at Prague during the first week of July, while the armistice was to be prolonged until August 10.

While the delegates to this congress were convening, tidings came from Spain which quite offset the moral effect of Napoleon's latest victories. It was the news of Wellington's victory of Vittoria. Its immediate effect was to give England such an ascendancy in the impending negotiations that Austria ceased to waver. From that moment the sittings of the Peace Congress served no other purpose but to give either party more time wherein to rush the last reinforcements to the front.

The battle of Vittoria was the result of half a year's patient waiting and planning on the part of Wellington. After the campaign of Salamanca large reinforcements reached Wellington in Portugal. He made a hurried visit to Cadiz, and the Cortes invested him with the supreme command of the nation's forces in Spain. He set to work at once to restore the disorganized Spanish army to a state of efficiency. By the beginning of April the total forces arrayed against the French in Spain aggregated 185,000 men, 75,000 of whom were under Wellington's immediate direction. The French mustered altogether 230,000 men, of whom 100,000 lay in Central Spain. It was at this time that Major Shrapnel's new invention of explosive shells filled with small bullets came into use. The campaign began on April 11, when

Suchet, with a corps of 68,000 men, was foiled in an attack on Sir John Murray's and Elio's allied forces, numbering 36,000 men, at Castilla. Suchet retired in good order with a total loss of 2,000 men. A fortnight later a concentric movement on Madrid was begun by the army of reserves in Andalusia, followed by the Duke del Parque's march into La Mancha, and Wellington's southward advance from Portugal. Thanks to the demonstration in New Castile, the French failed to oppose Wellington in force, and he was thus enabled to drive them from Valladolid, and from the southern banks of the Douro and Carrion. On June 14 King Joseph abandoned Burgos. The ramparts of the stronghold had to be blown up in such a hurry that 300 Frenchmen were killed in the explosion. From Burgos the King with all his court and army retreated to Vittoria. Their flight was encumbered by an endless file of wagons and carriages loaded down with the accumulated spoils of five years. Rather than lose all this loot, the French army, on July 19, faced about in front of Vittoria. Wellington came up on June 20 with 78,000 Englishmen, Portuguese, and Spanish, supported by 90 guns. The next morning Wellington advanced all along the line. The Spanish division under Murillo led the attack, supported by a battalion of Highlanders. The colonel of the Highlanders was killed at the decisive moment when the French lines were swept back.

In the centre, meanwhile, Wellington had broken through into the plain of Vittoria; but the battle was not won until Graham, after a long fight on the left, drove the French from their strong position on the Heights of Arriaga. When the French gave way they left behind them 7,000 killed and wounded, and 151 guns, 451 caissons of ammunition, and a wagon train containing immense spoils, among them Jourdan's marshal's bâton, Joseph's private carriage, the military chest with twenty-two million francs, and private loot beyond

estimation. More than that, the victory of Vittoria meant the immediate expulsion of the French from all the north-western provinces of Spain. It was the most brilliant achievement of the Peninsular war.

The victory not only freed Spain from its invaders, and prepared the way for an early invasion of France, but it restored the spirit of England, sorely tried by the unsatisfactory progress of the war with the United States.

In America the campaign on land this year had opened with a British reverse at Frenchtown (Michigan), offset by the successful capture of General Winchester and his force of 800 Americans. The Indians afterward massacred 260 wounded Americans. A week later fortune again favored the American cause, when Captain Forsyth, with 200 volunteers, succeeded in surprising the British at Elizabeth (Canada), and took 68 prisoners. Then came the famous exploit when the American sloop-of-war "Hornet," commanded by Captain Lawrence, attacked and sunk the "Peacock," a British sloop-of-war of superior armament. This put an end to the oft-repeated boast of Englishmen that British sloops could lay alongside of American frigates and whip them. Next the "Hazard," an American privateer schooner, captured the British frigate "Albion" and her convoy, the cutter "Caledonia." In defiance of the blockade of Chesapeake Bay by a British squadron under Admiral Warren, the American privateer schooner "Adeline," on March 10, attacked and sank a British schooner in that same bay. Shortly afterward another naval action was fought out on the waters of the Chesapeake between four American vessels and seventeen British barges. An American ship was lost in the fight. The British blockade was now extended all along the Atlantic coast, and British men-of-war cruised outside of Boston. The captain of one of them, Broke, of the frigate "Shannon," challenged Captain Lawrence, of "Peacock" fame, to come

out with his new frigate, the "Chesapeake," and fight him. Stung by the challenge, Lawrence prematurely put out to sea and made for the "Shannon." The fight was watched by multitudes on the high shores. After a repeated exchange of broadsides the "Chesapeake" fouled with the "Shannon" and became unmanageable. As the British boarders were swarming over the side, Lawrence was shot through the body. He fell shouting: "Don't give up the ship! Fight her till she sinks!" The carnage on the two ships was dreadful. In thirteen minutes 252 men were killed.

On the same day with this encounter in Massachusetts Bay a British squadron chased Decatur into New London, with the "United States," the "Hornet," and the prize "Macedonia." None of these ships got to sea again while the war lasted. Decatur claimed that his movements were signaled to the enemy by means of blue lights. Hence the opprobrious term "Blue Lights" applied to the Federalists of New England. The news of Broke's victory was announced in the House of Commons, on July 7, just as Lord Cochrane was concluding a fierce denunciation of the Admiralty for the repeated naval defeats inflicted by the Americans. By way of defence, the Secretary of the Admiralty read aloud the news of Broke's victory. Amid wild cheers the Crown, then and there, created Broke a baronet and Knight of the Bath.

In Europe the end of Napoleon's armistice had been postponed to August 10. Within a few days of that date the Congress at Prague was still sitting, while both sides were preparing for the resumption of immediate hostilities. From Italy, from France, from the provinces of Germany, from Denmark, Sweden, and from Russia, reenforcements were hurrying to the theatre of war. General Moreau, the victor of Hohenlinden, who had lived in exile at New York since his trial and condemnation by Napoleon in 1804, was induced by the Czar to pit his military genius against that of

his former commander-in-chief. The old general consented to come only on condition that France should be maintained within the limits she had acquired under the Republic, and that the French people should be suffered to choose their own government. In the company of Bernadotte and Jomini, the great theoretical strategist, he arrived at the Czar's headquarters in time to put a final touch to the allies' plan of campaign.

On August 7 Metternich transmitted to Napoleon the ultimatum of the Austrian Cabinet. Metternich promised to procure peace if France would restore the provinces taken from Austria in 1809, the North German districts and free cities annexed in 1810, and the Polish territory wrested from Prussia and Russia during the last war. Independence was to be reestablished in Italy, in the papal dominions, in Holland, and in Spain. Napoleon was ill disposed to grant any of Metternich's demands. A new French army from Italy was marching straight for Austria. The appearance of these troops on the Austrian frontier, according to his calculations, would put the most effective stop to the warlike attitude of Austria. It was a game of intimidation, but, unfortunately for Napoleon, he was seriously misinformed concerning the strength of Austria's armaments. Maret's spies in Vienna had led him to believe that the whole force of Austria was but 100,000, whereas, in truth, more than 200,000 men were assembled on the frontier.

At the time that Napoleon received Metternich's ultimatum, his armies in Germany had grown to a total strength of more than 500,000 men. Of these, 235,000 were under his immediate command in Saxony; Oudinot had 80,000 at Torgau facing Bernadotte; 50,000 Frenchmen and Bavarians lay in upper Bavaria threatening the Austrian frontier, while some 150,000 men held the northern strongholds from Hamburg to Dantzic and along the Elbe and

Oder. The available forces of the allies aggregated 400,000 men, of whom 220,000 threatened the French flank and rear from Bohemia. Two more armies of 80,000 and 90,000 respectively pressed on Napoleon from the east and from the north. Behind them 200,000 reserves were on the march.

On August 10, twelve hours after the receipt of Austria's ultimatum, Napoleon returned a partial answer. He conceded some of the demands, but refused peremptorily to restore either Trieste or the middle German provinces. His terms were unacceptable—moreover, they did not reach Prague until August 11. By that time the armistice had terminated and the Peace Congress was dissolved. Before dawn of the next morning, the soldiers bivouacked in Silesia beheld the blaze of innumerable beacon-fires along the ridges of the Riesengebirge. It was the signal that hostilities would resume and that Austria had declared war on France.

Napoleon's plan was to descend first on the enemy's rear, from the heights of the Koenigstein, and to push him toward Dresden, to be caught between his armies on the Elbe under St. Cyr. This done he meant to make a dash for Prague. Berlin was to be taken by a concentric movement of the strong armies of Davoust, Girard, and Oudinot, advancing from Saxony, Magdeburg, and Hamburg. The plan of the allies was to let their main column of 128,000 Austrians and 70,000 Russians, under Schwarzenberg, push through the Erzgebirge to take Napoleon in the rear. The first engagement of importance was that of August 21, between Wallmoden and Davoust at Wellahn. It was in the skirmishing that followed this fight that Theodor Koerner, the poet, lost his life. He was struck by a stray bullet at Gadebusch. One hour before he had composed his famous sword song. On August 23 Oudinot, near Berlin, came in contact with his old comrade Bernadotte, at Blankenfeld. A general engagement followed at Grossbeeren. Without the aid of the Swedes,

whom Bernadotte held back, the Prussians routed the French. They captured 2,400 prisoners. Girard's division of 8,000 advancing from Magdeburg was turned back after a sharp encounter with the Prussian Landwehr (militia), under Hirschfeld. At the same time Napoleon, to free himself from the Prussians in Silesia, made a dash into Bohemia, and in a series of well-fought engagements forced Blücher back to the Katzbach River. The last fight cost Blücher 2,000 men. With Napoleon thus engaged, Moreau advised Schwarzenberg to make an immediate advance on Breslau. Napoleon had to abandon all further pursuit of the Prussians. Wheeling his columns in haste he countermarched for Dresden, while Vandamme, with his 40,000 men, was ordered to cut off the allies' retreat at the Koenigstein and Pirna. Had Schwarzenberg been alive to the situation the allies could have captured Dresden with comparative ease. As it was, the Austrians moved with accustomed slowness, and Dresden was not attacked until the 25th of August. Then the city was heavily bombarded and St. Cyr's outposts were driven into the suburbs. On the morrow the wellnigh frantic citizens of Dresden were overjoyed to see Napoleon ride into the city from the other side, followed by his strong army. He was received by the King of Saxony and King Murat, who had come from Naples at last to throw in his lot with the Emperor. The combined attack of the allied forces on that day was met with a murderous repulse. During the night Napoleon made all his dispositions for a master-stroke. At daybreak the French columns poured out of the city and attacked in turn. The Austrian left wing was drawn off into the valley of Plauen by Murat and Victor, and there succumbed to their combined attack. Vandamme, advancing from Koenigstein, drove the Prince of Wurtemberg into Pirna. Napoleon himself, with the bulk of his artillery, pierced the centre of the allies. Emperor Alexander's suite

at Racknitz came under a heavy fire. General Moreau at his side had just remarked: "It is rather warm here," when a cannon shot laid him low. "That Bonaparte is always lucky," remarked the dying hero as they dragged him from under his horse. His legs had to be amputated where he lay, and he died soon afterward. In great disorder the allies fell back into Bohemia. The French took thousands of prisoners. So signal a victory might have brought more decisive results for Napoleon, had Vandamme succeeded in intercepting the retreat of the allies. He was foiled in this by the gallant stand of the Russian rear-guard under Ostermann. Though over-matched as four to one, the Russians held back the French for a whole day at Kulm, until the first corps of their army came up. Ostermann's 8,000 men had been reduced to 2,000, and he himself lost an arm during the fight; but those who survived had the satisfaction of seeing Vandamme's division overwhelmed in turn by superior numbers. The French tried to escape through the mountains, but there fell into the hands of Kleist's Prussian corps retreating from Dresden. Vandamme and the bulk of his corps were taken prisoners. The victory of Dresden was further offset by a severe reverse of the same day inflicted on the French by Blücher in Silesia. After having drawn Macdonald's wide extended lines from the banks of the Bober across the Katzbach and foaming Neisse, Blücher suddenly turned about and shattered the French centre by a fierce attack with his whole column. Under a heavy thunder-shower the French were driven into the swollen rivers. When the wet firelocks of the Prussians put an end to their volleys, Blücher drew his sword shouting "Vorwärts!" and led a bayonet charge against the French over the ancient battlefield of Wahlstadt. The French were utterly routed. A part of their retreating troops under General Puthod fell into the hands of the Russians. In all, the allies captured 18,000 prisoners and 103

guns. Blücher lost but 1,000 of his men. For this action he was created Prince of Wahlstadt, but his soldiers surnamed him Marshal Vorwärts. Macdonald returned to Dresden and broke the melancholy news to Napoleon.

Oudinot reported a similar distressing disaster. Napoleon despatched Ney to take his place, but even that undaunted leader sent back discouraging reports of the demoralization of his foreign troops, both officers and men. On September 6 Ney risked a general engagement at Dennewitz and met with a crushing reverse. The Prussians under Von Buelow and Tauenzien, supported by two inactive corps of Russians and Swedes, utterly routed the French army and nearly annihilated their rear-guard of Wurtembergers. The Bavarian corps under Raglowich, which had remained almost inactive during the battle, retired in another direction, firing on their French allies whenever the fugitives came too near them. Ney lost 8,000 men, eighty guns, and three eagles. The loss of the allies was but 6,000, of whom nearly 5,000 were Prussians. Napoleon tried to offset these reverses by another dash on the Prussians in Silesia, but Blücher, after a series of exhausting marches and counter-marches amid torrents of rain, skilfully evaded him. "These creatures have learned something!" exclaimed Napoleon bitterly as he returned to Dresden to ward off another attack from that city. While the time consumed in these constant fights meant so many more marches for Bennigsen's reserves hurrying down from Russia, it meant nothing for Napoleon but an increasing consumption of men and stores. For the French army the situation became serious. Already orders had been sent to strengthen the Rhine fortresses along the line of retreat.

While Napoleon lay at Dresden a series of minor defeats were inflicted on his outlying marshals. As Davoust was retiring to Hamburg in the middle of September, his rear-

guard was cut off by Wallmoden on the Gorde. During the last days of September Platov's Cossacks captured 8,000 Frenchmen at Zeitz, and then descended upon Cassel and drove King Jerome from his dominions. Thielmann, a Saxon soldier of fortune now serving on the Prussian side, intercepted the French convoys at Leipzig, capturing 1,200 prisoners at Weissenfels and 2,000 more at Merseburg. Lefebvre's division was badly handled at Altenburg. On this occasion the French auxiliaries from Baden fired on their allies and helped to disperse them. Napoleon, while manœuvring incessantly around Dresden, felt the ground shaking under him. On October 7 he left Dresden, to demonstrate against Blücher's corps which had crossed the Elbe. The next day came the defection of the Bavarians. Wrede, an old-time favorite of the Emperor, united his forces to the Austrians and laid himself across the line of Napoleon's retreat. The King of Bavaria justified this change of front in an official note recalling the fact that he had been compelled to sacrifice 30,000 of his subjects in Russia "under punishment of felony." Napoleon spent the next four or five days in painful irresolution. Meanwhile, the allies were concentrating on Leipzig. At last Napoleon executed a few rapid manœuvres to overwhelm Schwarzenberg's main column, advancing from Bohemia, but it was already too late. On October 14 the flower of the French cavalry under Murat was engaged by Blücher's and Wittgenstein's cavalry at Wachau. The contest, which was the most important cavalry engagement of the campaign, lasted all day and resulted in a drawn fight. The next day a hurricane swept through the French camp, carrying away roofs and tents and drenching the soldiers.

At midnight two rockets were fired from Schwarzenberg's headquarters, on the south of Leipzig. They were immediately answered by blue and red lights from Blücher's camp

on the north. These signals told the allies that all was in readiness. On the morning of October 16, while Napoleon was riding forward to direct the attack on Schwarzenberg, the French were unexpectedly attacked by the Austrians on the right bank of the Pleisse. The attack was repulsed. Latour-Maubourg carried the French cavalry so far into the enemy's lines that the Russian Czar and the King of Prussia had difficulty in escaping. Only the fall of Latour-Maubourg's horse saved them from capture. Napoleon joyfully exclaimed: "The world turns for us!" and sent off couriers to Dresden and Paris announcing his victory. Unfortunately for him, a simultaneous attack from Neerveldt's division of Austrians across the Pleisse kept the French engaged until Blücher with the Prussians could throw himself upon the corps of Marmont at Möckern, and compelled him to retire with the loss of 6,000 men and forty guns. One single Prussian brigade in this fight lost all but one of its officers. On the other side Napoleon succeeded in repelling the troublesome Austrians. Neerveldt himself was taken prisoner. Napoleon summoned him to his headquarters and engaged him in conversation. Napoleon spoke of the possibility of an armistice.—"The allies want no armistice," said Neerveldt; "they reckon to go to the Rhine this autumn."—"To the Rhine!" exclaimed Napoleon. "Before they can get there, I must lose a battle!" Then he dismissed Neerveldt on parole to repeat what he had told him.

Neerveldt's report only strengthened the allies in their determination, the more so since Bernadotte's reserves and Bennigsen's reinforcements were expected hourly. Napoleon was weak enough to hold his army in leash throughout a whole day awaiting the results of Neerveldt's mission. When no answer came by nightfall, he reluctantly made his dispositions for a retreat through Leipzig. After a night spent in going over the whole ground, Napoleon returned to his biv-

ouac at Probstheyda at daybreak just in time to see three columns of the enemy advancing on re-formed lines of battle. From all sides the French, now numbering barely 190,000 men, were attacked by the united forces of the allies, mustering 300,000 men. "*Mes enfants*," said General Maison, "this is the last battle of France, and we must all be dead before night." Everywhere, throughout the French ranks, like despondency reigned. When Marshal Augereau rode up to the Emperor's headquarters, Napoleon chid him: "You are long in coming, my old Augereau. You are no longer the Augereau of Castiglione."—"I shall be the same old Augereau," replied the marshal, "so soon as you can give me back the soldiers of Italy." The Emperor himself was deeply discouraged. While the first cannon balls were striking into the French lines he still pondered over the map spread out at his feet. "What an intricate problem it all is," he sighed. "No one but myself can get me through it. But for luck, I, too, may find it too hard a task."

The German historian, Menzel, has admirably summarized the action: The Austrians, stationed on the left wing of the allied army, were opposed by Oudinot, Augereau, and Poniatovski; the Prussians, stationed on the right wing, by Marmont and Ney; the Russians and Swedes in the centre, by Murat and Regnier. In the hottest of the battle, a Saxon cavalry regiment, with two brigades of Saxon infantry, went over to Blücher with bugles blowing, and General Normann, when about to be charged at Taucha by the Prussian cavalry under Buelow, also deserted to him with two Wurtemberg cavalry regiments. The whole of the Saxon infantry, with thirty-eight guns, under Regnier, shortly afterward went over to the Swedes, 500 men and General Zeschau alone remaining true to Napoleon. The Saxons stationed themselves behind the lines of the allies, but their guns were instantly turned upon the French.

In the evening of this terrible day the French were driven back close upon the walls of Leipzig. Their losses were 40,000. On the certainty of victory the three monarchs, who had watched the progress of the battle, so it is reported, knelt on the open field and returned thanks to God. Napoleon, before nightfall, gave orders for a full retreat. But next morning he returned to the fight with a part of his army to save the retreat of the rest. At the last bridge remaining across the Elster the scenes of the Beresina were reenacted. The allies overwhelmed the fugitives with grape-shot. Under cover of the artillery, Blücher's cavalry charged into the French masses thronging through the streets of the suburb Halle. A French corporal of engineers, under orders to blow up the bridge at the approach of the enemy, deemed the moment come and exploded the mine. The bridge collapsed with 20,000 fugitives still on the wrong side. A cry of horror arose. While the rear-guard rallied for a last stand against the enemy, thousands of fugitives threw themselves into the water. Marshal Macdonald swam his horse across the river. Prince Poniatovsky, who tried to follow him, was drowned with his horse. Generals Regnier and Lauriston and a score of other generals, as well as the King of Saxony, were made prisoners with nearly 23,000 men. Thus ended the battle of Leipzig.

Napoleon with barely 100,000 men fell back precipitately to Erfurt and thence to Mainz. While passing through Weimar he sent a farewell message to Goethe. On the march nearly half of his raw recruits gave out under the strain. At Hanau Napoleon found his retreat barred by an Austrian-Bavarian corps under Wrede. By this time he could count on barely 20,000 men wherewith to oppose nearly 60,000 fresh troops. Napoleon was undaunted. As he surveyed the position of the Bavarians he exclaimed disdainfully: "Poor Wrede! I made him a count, but I could not make him a

general." Then he hurled his main column into the Bavarian flanks like a thunderbolt and utterly dispersed them. Wrede, while trying to save the day, was severely wounded. The French troops regained Mainz, after one more reverse at Hochheim. The allies occupied Frankfort. As Napoleon crossed the Bavarian frontier, he said significantly: "The King of Bavaria and I will meet again. He was a little prince whom I made great. Now he is a great prince whom I shall make little."

Germany as far as the Rhine was now completely freed from the French. St. Cyr, with his corps of 35,000 men at Dresden, was tricked into capitulation. In November 140,000 Frenchmen and 790 captured guns were in the hands of the allies. Next the French garrison at Dantzic surrendered with fourteen generals, among them Napoleon's aide-de-camp, Rapp. The allies, too, lost heavily. The Austrian casualties alone aggregated 80,000.

The French were no sooner driven across the Rhine than the whole of the Rhenish Confederation declared for the German cause. After King Jerome's ignominious flight from Westphalia, the exiled princes of Hesse, Brunswick, and Oldenburg returned to their domains. Switzerland, Holland, and Italy revolted against French rule. Even Murat went over to the enemy. Before the end of the year Trieste and the greater part of Dalmatia surrendered to the Austrian troops. Almost simultaneously with the events around Leipzig, Wellington drove Soult's forces across the Pyrenees and invaded France. The French garrison of Pampeluna, cut off in the rear, had to surrender.

President Madison, in America, during this interval, had become profoundly discouraged by the disheartening progress of the war with England. The unsuccessful siege of Fort Meigs had cost the Americans nearly 1,000 men. At last, in the autumn, two events occurred which served to hearten

the American President and his Cabinet. On September 5 the American ship "Enterprise," 16 guns, Captain Barro, sighted the British brig "Boxer," 14 guns, off the coast of Maine. The two vessels promptly came into action and exchanged broadsides. Early in the fight both captains fell. The "Boxer" finally struck her colors and was towed into Portland as a prize.

On September 9 Barclay with a British squadron started on his cruise for the American fleet under Commodore Perry, then at anchor off Put-in Bay. The British fleet consisted of six vessels: the "Detroit," of 490 tons, carrying 19 guns and Commander Barclay; the "Queen Charlotte," 17 guns; the "Lady Prevost," 13 guns; the "Hunter," 10 guns; the "Little Belt," 3 guns, and a small sloop with one gun, numbering in all 63 guns and 450 men. Perry's squadron consisted of nine vessels: the "Lawrence," Perry's own brig, carrying 20 guns; the "Niagara" of the same armament; the "Caledonia" of 3 guns, and the schooners "Ariel," "Scorpion," "Somers," "Proserpina," and "Tigress," carrying 10 guns altogether, and a one-gun sloop, in all bearing 54 guns and 532 men. The American broadsides threw at close range 950 pounds, against 450 of the British. At long range the British ships could throw 195, against 288 of the Americans. In tonnage the Americans overmatched the English as eight to seven.

At daylight on September 10 Perry bore down, striking the British fleet obliquely near its head. He was anxious to fight at close range. The battle began in earnest about noon. The British fire was very destructive. Perry's flagship, the "Lawrence," within canister shot, sustained the action for two hours, until every gun was useless and the greater part of the crew was killed or wounded. The "Niagara" then came into action, and Perry went on board of her. "At quarter to three in the afternoon," wrote Perry, "signal

was made for close action. The 'Niagara,' as yet but little injured, I determined to pass through the enemy's line; bore up and passed ahead of their two ships and a brig, giving them a raking fire from our starboard guns. Our small vessels, under command of Captain Elliot, by this time got their grape and canister to bear, and the two British ships, two brigs, and a schooner surrendered." More than any other battle throughout the American war, the victory was won by the courage and obstinacy of one man. The losses of the British amounted to nearly one in three. On September 12 General Harrison received Perry's famous despatch: "We have met the enemy and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

Harrison's force at this time was less than 3,000. Richard M. Johnson, who gathered 1,000 Kentuckians and Tennesseans armed with guns and bowie-knives, had joined Harrison during the summer. While his mounted men went by road, Harrison's main force embarked in boats and were conveyed, 4,500 in number, to the vicinity of Fort Malden, reaching there toward the end of September. The British withdrew to the north bank of the Thames. To the left of the road was a river, to the right a forest. Harrison followed and formed in line of battle early in the afternoon. Johnson led half of his men up against the six-pound guns of the British, while the other half wheeled to the left across a swamp to attack twice their number of Indians. The battle was over in half an hour. Tecumseh was among the slain.

Thus ended the troublesome war with the Indians. Its cost to the United States had been nearly 20,000 men and \$5,000,000 in money. Thereafter the British ceased to be formidable in the Northwest. Tecumseh's confederation of Indian tribes was broken up.

When Napoleon arrived in Paris, Soult was preparing for a stand on the banks of La Nivelle. On November 9 he

was overthrown and the British colors were planted on the French fortress. Soult was forced back to Bayonne. Still, Napoleon declined to accept the terms of peace offered to him by the allies at Frankfort. He levied new war contributions in France. Failing to obtain immediate funds, he ordered Soult to provision his troops at the expense of the country. As a result, hundreds of French peasants flocked to the English lines, where they received hand money for their provisions. "The English general's policy, and the good discipline he maintains," wrote Soult, "does us more harm than ten battles. Every peasant longs to be under his protection." During the second week of December Wellington made a determined assault on Bayonne, and drove the French into the inner city. Napoleon realized that Spain was irretrievably lost to France. He offered to release the imprisoned Prince of Asturias and to restore him to his throne. New levies of troops were ordered from the classes of conscripts liable for service two years ahead. Frenchmen were struck with consternation.

The Frankfort proposals of peace were turned over to a commission of the Chambers. Their report, recommending peace on almost any basis, so enraged Napoleon that he determined to dissolve the legislative body. When the deputies appeared before him at the close of the year, he assailed them with these words:

"Is this a time for remonstrance when 200,000 Cossacks are crossing our frontiers? . . . I am beyond reach of your declamations. In three months we shall have peace, or I shall be dead. Our enemies have never conquered us, nor will they now. They will be driven away more speedily than they came."

Bent on carrying out his will alone, Napoleon signed the decree for the dissolution of the Corps Legislatif on the last day of the year.

EVENTS OF 1814

Her Foes Invade France from All Sides—Napoleon Takes the Field—His Scant Forces—He Drives Blücher from Brienne—Reinforced, Blücher Returns and Beats Napoleon at La Rothière—Napoleon Attacks the Foe in Detail and Wins Battle after Battle—Blücher Refuses to Retreat—Wins Night Attack on Laon—Drawn Battle of Arcis—Council of Plenipotentiaries at Chatillon—Napoleon Rejects Their Proposals—Allies Advance on Paris, Driving French Back—Paris is Evacuated—Napoleon Unconditionally Abdicates—He is Sent to Elba—Talleyrand Secures France to the Bourbons—Louis XVIII Placed on Throne—Bernadotte Seizes Norway—Louis XVIII Signs New Constitution—Political Boundaries of Europe Fixed by Treaty of Paris—Norwegians Elect Prince Christian Frederick of Denmark as Their King—Southey becomes Poet Laureate—Indecisive Battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane on Canadian Border—British Fail in Attack on Fort Erie—General Ross and Admiral Cockburn Take and Burn Washington—They Fail to Take Baltimore—Macdonough Scatters British Fleet on Lake Champlain—Privateer "General Armstrong" Fights Entire British Squadron in Fayal Harbor—Americans Take Pensacola—Indian Massacre at Fort Mims Avenged by Jackson at Horseshoe Bend—New England Talks Secession—Norway Forced into Scandinavian Union—Corn Law Agitation in England Settled by Sliding Reduction of Grain Duties—Louis XVIII Restores Much of Old Bourbon Régime—Code Napoleon Retained, Concordat Abolished—Ferdinand, Restored to Spain, Reestablishes Inquisition—German States Restore Old Abuses—Saxon Troops Revolt at Annexation to Prussia—The Congress of Vienna—Celebrities and Ceremonies—Homage to Beethoven—Diplomacy of Talleyrand and Metternich—Friction among Powers Threatens War—Treaty of Ghent Ends War between England and United States.

ON January 1 Blücher crossed the Rhine at Kaub. The invasion of France was begun. From all sides vast armies poured into France. Wellington advanced from the south; the Austrians, under Schwarzenberg, from Switzerland, and Bernadotte's corps from the Netherlands. To stem this tide, Napoleon made haste to send his latest levies to the Rhenish frontiers. There Macdonald, Marmont, and Victor, with the remnants of their armies, stood ready to meet the first shock. Another French army was concentrated at Lyons to block the allies' advance from Switzerland and Savoy. The outstanding French troops in Spain were drawn in to strengthen Soult's opposition to

Wellington. On January 25 Napoleon started for Chalons-sur-Marne. Marie Louise and Joseph Bonaparte were made Regents of the Empire, with a Council of State, including Cambacérès and Talleyrand. Old Marshal Kellermann was entrusted with raising an army of reserves at Paris.

Those that left Paris with Napoleon fully apprehended what was in store for them: "We are about to undertake a task, not only difficult, but very useless," said the Duke of Vincenza. "Do what we may, the Napoleonic Era is drawing to a close and that of the Bourbons is recommencing." A Minister of the Regency asked the departing Emperor for instructions in case communications should come to be intercepted between Paris, blockaded by the enemy, and the imperial headquarters. "My dear fellow," replied Napoleon, "if the enemy reach the gates of Paris there is no more Empire."

When the Emperor reached Chalons-sur-Marne the new conscripts received him with black looks, and from their ranks arose cries of "Down with war taxes!" "Does your Majesty bring reenforcements?" was the pointed question of the marshals as they gathered around him. "No, there were none to bring," replied the Emperor. Of immediately available forces, there were but 60,000 men wherewith to oppose 220,000 allies.

Napoleon sent instant orders to treat for terms to Caulaincourt, his rejected peace commissioner, then detained at the advance outposts of the enemy's army. "We are waiting for Lord Castlereagh," was the reply transmitted from Metternich to Caulaincourt. Napoleon, finding himself thus put off, resolved to exact a better hearing at the point of the sword. It was at this downward turn of his career that Napoleon's military genius shone forth in new splendor.

While the allied armies were moving cautiously forward in expectation of a speedy termination of hostilities

by the new peace commissioners convening at Chatillon, Napoleon suddenly pounced on Blücher's Prussian corps at Brienne. Though overmatched in numbers, Napoleon manœuvred his forces so skilfully over this ground, familiar to him from the days of his early military schooling at Brienne, that Blücher's army was separated in detachments and routed piecemeal. Blücher barely escaped capture in the citadel of Brienne. The Prussians fell back until they came in touch with the South German corps under Wrede and the Prince of Wurtemberg advancing from Belfort. Thus reenforced they advanced again to La Rothière, and there engaged the French with such superior forces that the Emperor had to give way with heavy losses. Seventy-three of his guns were left sticking in the mud. Counting on the cooperation of Schwarzenberg's main column, which lay within striking distance, Blücher pushed forward with utmost haste over widely distant roads. Napoleon profited by the scattered marches of his enemies to deliver one telling blow after another. First he caught the Prussians far in advance of the other allies and threw them off their route in utter confusion. Then he fell upon the Russians under Olsufiev at Champcaubert; next upon those under Sacken at Montmirail; then upon the second Prussian corps under York at Château Thierry, and finally returned to the reunited columns of Blücher at Beauchamp. All were overthrown in turn. Having achieved so much by the middle of February, Napoleon swung his waning forces about and inflicted a telling defeat on Schwarzenberg's Austrians; then he defeated the Russians under Pahlen at Marmont, the Bavarians under Wrede at Villeneuve-Lecomte, and the Wurtembergers after a hard-fought two days' battle at Montereaux. Marshal Augereau in the north, rid for the moment of his most pressing enemies, improved the lull by driving the Austrians under Bubna into Switzerland.

At a council of war held at Troyes Schwarzenberg advised a general retreat. Blücher alone would have none of it. In defiance of the commander-in-chief's directions he pushed his column, and uniting with Buelow and Winzingerode on the Marne, attacked Napoleon's dwindling army at Laon. The first day's engagement resulted in a drawn battle. The French rested on the battlefield. After dark York's division turned one of the enemy's flanks and burst in upon the French with a wild night attack. Everything was turned topsy-turvy, and the French bivouac was stampeded. An artillery park of forty-six guns was captured. At the news of this brilliant success Schwarzenberg stopped his retrograde manœuvres and advanced once more far into the interior. Napoleon gathered his demoralized forces for a supreme effort, and on March 20 made a bold dash for the enemy's position at Arcis-sur-Aube. Schwarzenberg, stronger as he was by his overpowering numbers and superior artillery, stood his ground with unwonted resolution. Five times in succession the Prince of Wurtemberg led his troops to the assault against Napoleon's centre, but at nightfall neither side had gained much advantage.

While things stood thus in the field, the peace plenipotentiaries were deliberating at Chatillon. Metternich and Castlereagh, as the representatives of Austria and England, which held the balance of power, were the guiding spirits. Stein stood for a united Germany. Wilhelm von Humboldt spoke for Prussia. Rasumovski and the vengeful Corsican Pozzo di Borgo represented Russia, though the Czar was always near enough to make his presence felt at crucial moments.

Napoleon's representative, Caulaincourt, cut off as he was from quick communication with his master, was playing a losing game. The allies' terms grew more and more exacting as their armies penetrated further into France. Met-

ternich was always pressing Caulaincourt to yield now or lose all. Whenever Napoleon won a battle, on the other hand, he despatched couriers to Caulaincourt urging him to stand firm. All Caulaincourt's remonstrances broke themselves against the fixed resolve of Alexander to wipe out the humiliation of Moscow by a triumphal entry into Paris. In this resolution the Czar was strengthened by the impetuous Blücher and the ardent aspirations of the Bourbon princes, now drawn to France as vultures are to carrion.

The dragging negotiations were brought to a decided turn on the first day of March at Chaumont, when the allies accepted Lord Castlereagh's draft of a treaty for mutual defence and offence. The four great Powers, England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, bound themselves together for a period of twenty years to come. England undertook to furnish each of the Powers with a subsidy of fifty million francs, throughout the duration of the war. Each Power in turn promised to keep a contingent of 150,000 men in the field. The proposition to Napoleon calling for a reduction of his empire to the original limits of France were to remain open for a fortnight longer. If he refused them then, all negotiations with him were to be broken off, and Napoleon was to be proclaimed an outlaw of Europe. The compact was sealed at a game of whist played by Metternich, Castlereagh, Nesselrode, and Hardenberg. The Emperor in the field rejected the allies' propositions with contumely.

Then came the "Great Week," as it has been called, when Napoleon, outlawed and everywhere outmatched by the advancing allies, stood at bay against the world. Schwarzenberg and Blücher had effected a junction of their armies. Winzingerode was detached with a cavalry division of ten thousand picked horse to hang on Napoleon's flanks. Wellington and Hill, who had driven Soult and Clausel to Toulouse and Bordeaux, advanced from the south and fomented

royalist risings in that quarter. The Duc d'Angoulême entered Bordeaux in triumph. The restoration of the Bourbons was proclaimed by the mayor of the town amid acclamations from the merchants and wine-growers of Bordeaux, who had been ruined by the continental blockade. Having lighted such firebrands all around Napoleon, the allies, on March 25, began their joint advance on Paris.

By noon on the first day they overtook the detached columns of Marmont and Mortier, covering the Paris road at Sommessons. Both commands were completely overwhelmed, and narrowly escaped capture. General Pacthod's corps of National Guards was cut to pieces. Napoleon, about the same time, was fighting between Troyes and Arcis. Winzingerode's Cossacks made a dash for Napoleon's headquarters. The Emperor's horse was shot under him, and his Polish lancers had to rally around him in a square. Ney was fighting a losing fight at Grand-Farcy, and General Friant in vain sacrificed the Imperial Guards.

The Emperor resolved on the desperate expedient of taking the enemy on the rear. He hoped to create so powerful a diversion as to draw the allies off from Paris. It was too late. By the time he realized that the forces operating around him were only detached cavalry the allies were already two marches ahead of him on their way to Paris. Blücher's vanguard skirmished at the very gates of the capital. Marmont and Mortier were gathering the National Guards for a last defence of Paris. There was no artillery, and half the National Guards were unarmed. A detachment of 2,000 mounted National Guards were bidden to take the Empress and Prince Imperial to Rambouillet.

From the north, south, and east the allied forces, numbering 170,000 men, advanced to the attack. They were led by Blücher, the Prince of Wurtemberg, and Barclay de Tolly. Marmont and Mortier had 29,000 men, not quite

20,000 of whom were regular troops. Their resistance was to be confined to a pitched battle before the octroi wall. The heights of Montmartre and the Barrière du Trône, with the plateau of Romainville, were the points of attack. On the morning of March 30 the fight began in the suburbs. The plateau of Romainville was several times taken and retaken. The Prince of Wurtemberg carried the bridge of Charenton against the National Guards and the pupils of the Belfort School. Blücher's Prussians stormed the Montmartre. At the Barrière du Trône the students of the Polytechnic School held their ground under heavy artillery fire. Marshal Mortier was fighting, sword in hand, at Villette, when General Dejean, who had got through the enemy's lines, announced to him the Emperor's approach. Mortier sent a flag to request an armistice. The request was refused: "It depends on the marshals," said Schwarzenberg, "to put a stop to this butchery." Late in the afternoon the French forces all around Paris capitulated. They were permitted to withdraw with all their arms. "And what of Paris?" they asked of Marshal Marmont as he came out of his house on the Rue Paradis-Poissonnière, his face blackened with gunpowder. "Paris is none of my business. I am only a corps commander, and I have saved my corps. I fall back on Fontainebleau and join the Emperor." Talleyrand alone remained to safeguard the interests of Paris. To the French aide-de-camp who sought out the allied monarchs at Château Bondy, the Czar said reassuringly: "It is not my intention to do the least harm to the town of Paris. It is not upon the French nation that we are waging war, but upon Napoleon." "And not upon himself, but upon his ambition," added the King of Prussia.

Early on Wednesday morning, March 31, the city was evacuated by the French regular soldiery. It was entered by 120,000 of the allied troops. The Prussian soldiers were

found to be too ragged to share in the triumphal march. As the Cossacks rode through the Faubourg St. Germain a profusion of white lilies was showered upon them.

Napoleon, in the meanwhile, had come up in the rear of the allies as far as Villeneuve-l'Archeveque. When he learned of the defeat of his marshals at Fère-Champenoise his troops were driven onward in forced marches. Failing to catch up with his enemies at Villeneuve, the Emperor could no longer suppress his impatience, and threw himself into a carriage. He flew toward Paris. At Fromentain, about midnight, the postilion drew up his foaming horses at the approach of a troop of cavalry. General Belliard, the commander, broke the news of the flight of the Queen and Crown Prince and the evacuation of Paris. Napoleon cried out: "Joseph lost Spain, and now he is losing me France! But we must go to Paris at once! My carriage, Caulaincourt!"

The officers threw themselves before the Emperor, to stop him as he proceeded to walk along the road.

"It is impossible, Sire! It is too late! There is a capitulation! The infantry is behind us, and will presently reach us."

Some of the detachments were already coming in sight. Napoleon let himself fall by the roadside and hid his face. It was the end of his empire, and he felt himself once more reduced to the rank of an adventurer.

After the fall of Paris, Napoleon remained at Fontainebleau awaiting developments. The soldiers and officers of the line still stood ready to fight, but the marshals and general officers were utterly weary. They insisted on giving up the struggle. Even Ney turned from his master. Yielding to their pressure, Napoleon sent Caulaincourt to Paris with a formal abdication in favor of his infant son. Caulaincourt was informed that only an unconditional abdication would

be accepted. The Emperor convened his marshals. They were obdurate. Marshal Marmont drew off his whole Sixth Army Corps. At length, on April 11, Napoleon signed an act surrendering the throne of France for himself and his heirs. He was permitted to retain the empty title of Emperor with an annuity of two million francs. Furthermore, he was allowed to retain a bodyguard of one thousand men wherewith to retire to Elba, one of the Tuscan islands in the Mediterranean Sea. Parma and Placentia were reserved as the dowry of Marie Louise and the King of Rome. Ex-Empress Josephine retained an annual income of one million francs. She only enjoyed it for a few weeks, as her death came within a month.

Before leaving France Napoleon tried to poison himself, but failed. Next day he took leave of the remaining members of his Old Guard, kissing their colonel and their flag. Then he departed, under a Russian escort, to embark for Elba on the British cruiser "Undaunted." On the way he had to disguise himself in an Austrian uniform to escape the insults of the populace. On May 30 he stepped ashore at Porto Ferrajo and received the homage of the island population of Elba.

With Napoleon out of the way the question arose what was to be done with France? The Austrian Emperor would have liked a Regency under Marie Louise. Bernadotte had high hopes of assuming charge. Alexander showed himself not averse to a return of republican rule. The proposed restoration of the Bourbons at first excited scant enthusiasm except among themselves. Talleyrand was the man who most keenly recognized the expediency of recalling a prince of French blood to preside over the destinies of France. As he put it: "The Republic is an impossibility; the Regency or Bernadotte means nothing but perpetual intrigues. The Bourbons alone represent a principle."

Talleyrand was preeminently the man of the hour. As the only remaining officer of the Regency, and an old aristocrat of France as well, he had the immediate entrée to the sessions of the allied sovereigns and their councilors. Trained diplomat that he was, he knew how to cope with the wiles of Metternich and Pozzo di Borgo, no less than with the more blunt proposals of Castlereagh and Humboldt. In his capacity as Vice-President of the French Senate, Talleyrand convened some thirty remaining members of the Corps Legislatif. With their help he hastily drafted a new constitution, which, as he phrased it, "restored to France her rightful king—Prince Louis Stanislas Xavier de Bourbon." This prince was the third son of Louis the Dauphin, and the younger brother of Louis XVI, and was known as Louis XVIII, his unfortunate nephew, who died in prison, having been acknowledged by the royalists as Louis XVII. On the fourth day of May the new King appeared in Paris. He soon showed that he preferred to rest his claim to the throne on the "divine right of kings," never relinquished by him or his house. Ten days later Prince Louis Ferdinand of Asturias reentered Madrid in triumph, and ascended the throne of Spain. On May 20 Prince Victor Emmanuel of Savoy returned to his capital, Turin. Bernadotte and Murat, the two upstart rulers of Sweden and Naples, strove to make sure of their doubtful thrones by absolute adhesion to the new order of things. Bernadotte had improved the last interval by wresting Norway from Denmark with the help of a Russian army corps.

On May 27 the draft of the new French constitution, known as the Charta, was submitted to Louis XVIII. It was signed by him on compulsion only of the Czar of Russia. Three days later the Treaty of Paris was signed by the representatives of France and of all the great Powers. France got off very lightly, thanks to the generous spirit of Alexander

and the ascendancy over him gained by Talleyrand. In vain did old Blücher vent his wrath against the "quill drivers," as he called all diplomats. France was allowed to retain her limits of 1792, and got some slight additions of territory besides. Nearly all the French colonies captured by Great Britain were restored to France. Alsace-Lorraine, wrested from Germany under Louis XVI, remained a province of France. No money indemnity whatever was exacted. Even the French prisoners still held in Germany had to be sent back to France at the expense of the German people. Of the rich spoils plundered from Italy, Spain, and Germany, none were returned but the bronze horses taken from the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin and some priceless manuscripts of the Library of Vienna. By other clauses of the treaty the navigation of the Rhine was made free. Switzerland was declared independent. Holland was restored to the Prince of Orange. Italy and Germany, with the exception of the Austrian provinces in both countries, were rearranged as clusters of independent principalities.

This arrangement, while it satisfied the princes who profited by it, or such simple loyal people as the Tyrolese, deeply outraged the growing feeling for national unity, which had arisen in Germany and Italy. Englishmen and the lovers of freedom throughout the world took it hard to see the old sea-going republics of Venice and Genoa brought absolutely under Hapsburg rule. Poland and Finland had to bend their necks to the yoke of Russia. The Norwegians, much against their will, found themselves cut off from their ancient union with Denmark to have their political destinies linked to those of Sweden. At a Diet held at Eidsvold the Norwegian people repudiated the arrangement. They drew up a constitution of their own and elected Prince Christian Frederick of Denmark King of Norway. England promptly put the coast of Norway under blockade. Russia sent troops

to the border. It was to adjust this and similar difficulties that the representatives of the great Powers determined to convoke within the same year a great European congress at Vienna. To this congress the settlement of all vexed questions was to be committed.

In England Lord Wellington was raised to a dukedom, and had his annuity increased by Parliament. Robert Southey was made Poet Laureate—the best of his kind since the laureateship of Ben Jonson in Elizabethan times. He set himself to work at once on an elaborate prose “History of the Peninsular War.” Of his work as poet laureate little has outlived his day but the exquisite lines of his “Ode on the Death of the Princess Charlotte.”

The withdrawal of the British army from Spain and France, and the collapse of the continental blockade, left England free to put more vigor into her war with the United States. The blockade of the Atlantic coast was made more stringent. Admiral Cockburn, by his relentless raids along the shores from Long Island to Charleston, inspired apprehension and resentment in the hearts of all who dwelt on the Atlantic seaboard. Fourteen thousand veterans who had fought under Wellington were sent into Canada. The American army, under General Wilkinson, lay idle until February 1, when 2,000 troops were sent to Sackett’s Harbor and 4,000 to Plattsburgh. Wilkinson was retired in March and Izard took his place. The British at that time had control of Lake Erie. Early in May a British force destroyed the American base of supplies near Oswego in northwestern New York.

In June General Brown with a force of nearly 5,000 American troops marched to York in Canada. Having seized Fort Erie, he hastened on to Chippewa, where he found a strong force of British. General Riall, the British commander, drew up in three columns on Chippewa Plain. Winfield Scott, one of his young brigadiers, advanced his men

across a bridge dividing the two forces, and formed them in columns on the other side. Thomson's battery of twelve-pounders on the right opened fire. The artillery fire was so well directed that the British columns were unable to withstand it. During the advance of the American infantry that followed the British columns broke and withdrew. Riall's losses were 515; those of the Americans 300.

On July 24 the American force under Brown in Canada encamped on the field of Chippewa. When the American forces marched to Lundy's Lane, a mile below Niagara Falls, the British under Riall, who was joined by Drummond with 815 men, followed. Scott deployed in line of battle as soon as a hostile force was sighted. The American attack was delivered on the British left. An American battalion under Jessup opened a wedge and let Scott's main column through into the British rear. General Riall himself was taken captive. The battle ceased late in the night from sheer exhaustion on both sides. The American losses were 853, those of the English 878. Both Generals Brown and Scott, on the American side, were severely wounded. Next day the Americans retired to Fort Erie, leaving the captured batteries behind them.

On August 13 Fort Erie, held by 2,000 Americans, was assaulted by a force of 3,400 British. The attack failed. The British casualties were 780, as against 84 of the garrison. A month later General Porter took the chief blockhouse by assault, and, spiking the guns, blew up the powder magazine. The first American battery remained untaken. General Drummond thereupon retired with the whole of the British forces. Thus ended the indecisive operations along the northern border.

In August General Ross with 3,500 men, fresh from their victories against the French, arrived in the Chesapeake. They were reenforced by 1,000 marines from Cockburn's

squadron. Their obvious objective point was the city of Washington. The attack could have been anticipated, for Gallatin, writing from England two months before, had forewarned President Madison. Nothing, however, was done. Although General Winder, in command of the district, could marshal 5,000 men against the British column of 4,000, no determined resistance was offered. Instead of sending troops to protect the flotilla of gunboats lying at Marlboro, Commodore Barney was ordered to burn his ships and retreat.

After great confusion within the city of Washington a force of 2,500 men, with twelve field-pieces, was brought together by General Winder. He marched beyond the confines of the city. On information that the British were coming for Bladensburg the American column headed for that point. President Madison, Colonel Monroe, and General Armstrong, the Secretary of War, were with Winder's column at the first encounter with the British, at the bridge of Bladensburg, on August 24. The American infantry gave way at the first shock and scurried out of danger. Their total loss was one man killed. The only real fighting was done by the marines stationed at the bridge. They held the bridge for one hour in the face of repeated charges by the British. The losses of the enemy, here, were greater than the total number of American marines. They were surrounded at last by flanking parties that forded the river. Not until Commodore Barney and Captain Miller, his second in command, had been shot did the marines surrender. The British pushed on to Washington after the retreating American army. "The Race of Bladensburg," as the battle was satirically called, and the undignified exploits of the President and his Cabinet, who took to the woods, were a bitter pill for the American patriots of those days.

Before abandoning Washington the Secretary of the Navy, Jones, ordered the Government Navy Yard to be set

on fire. The loss in ships and stores was enormous. The British on entering the town followed suit by burning the White House, the unfinished structure of the Capitol, with the books and archives of the Congressional Library. One of the traditions of the day is that Admiral Cockburn, bursting into the halls of Congress, leaped upon the Speaker's chair and shouted: "Shall this harbor of Yankee democracy be burned? All for it will say 'Aye.' The ayes have it. Light up!" The building went up in flames. Two days afterward the British marched to Marlboro, twenty-five miles away. President Madison returned to the Capitol on horseback, but finding the White House in ashes crossed the Potomac and joined his wife in the country. Driven by false alarms they took refuge in the woods. The British frigates came up the Potomac River, and Fort Washington had to be abandoned. The squadron then crossed to Alexandria and destroyed the Government buildings and stores.

Next an attempt was made to attack Baltimore. The British fleet bombarded Fort McHenry, while the land forces were to move on the city. Both attacks were repulsed. During the bombardment Francis S. Key wrote "The Star-Spangled Banner," the famous song which has become one of America's national anthems.

After the failure of the attempt on Baltimore the British reembarked for Halifax. At this time the British had 10,000 soldiers near Lake Champlain, with a fleet of sixteen vessels, consisting of the "Confiance," a 36-gun ship, two sloops with 10 guns each, and twelve gunboats. The American ships, under Macdonough, comprised the "Saratoga," with 240 men and 26 guns; the "Eagle," 20 guns; "Ticonderoga," 17 guns; "Preble," 7 guns, and ten gunboats; in all 86 guns against 90. Prevost, in command of the approaching British land forces, reached Saranac River, and saw the ridges beyond crowded with formidable works and the American flotilla at anchor.

On September 11 the British fleet hove in sight. Prevost ordered a general assault. The "Confiance," under Captain Downie, sailed in and tried to range alongside of the "Saratoga." The first British broadside disabled one-fifth of the "Saratoga's" crew. Captain Downie was killed. After a two hours' fight the American squadron was on the point of capture, but Macdonough wound ship and raked the "Confiance's" decks with one gun after another. The "Confiance" soon struck her colors, and three other British ships followed suit. Only the light draught gunboats escaped. The British attack by land was equally unsuccessful. The news of the defeat caused great mortification in England. Izard returned to Sackett's Harbor late in September, and in October went into winter quarters.

The American privateer "General Armstrong," commanded by Captain Samuel Reid, put into the harbor of Fayal in the Azores about the middle of September. Her armament consisted of eight 9-pounders and one long gun, with a crew of 90 men. A British squadron, bound for Jamaica to join Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane's naval expedition against New Orleans, halted at Fayal on September 25. The British squadron consisted of three vessels: the flagship "Plantagenet," 74 guns, Captain Robert Floyd; the frigate "Rota," 38 guns, Captain Philip Somerville, and the brig "Carnation," 18 guns, Captain George Bentham. These vessels were manned by 2,000 men.

On entering Fayal harbor, Captain Floyd sighted the Yankee privateer and distributed his ships around her so that escape was impossible. Though he was in the waters of Portugal, a neutral power, Captain Reid put his ship nearer shore, with springs on her cables and boarding nets. At eight o'clock a number of boats were lowered from the British men-of-war, and filled with armed men. The accounts in regard to the boats are conflicting. An English eye-witness

of the affair has reported that there were fourteen boats with about forty men each. The "Carnation" came within shot of the privateer to prevent escape. At midnight all the boats rowed close for the attack. Three boats were sunk by the American long gun as they approached. The others lay alongside, and the boarding nets were hacked to pieces. The British sailors clambered over the bow and stern, shouting "No quarter." They were cut down to a man. The English lieutenant who led the expedition was the first man killed. Only two boats managed to get back with a handful of men. Early next morning the Portuguese Governor sent a peremptory request to Captain Floyd to stop hostilities in the harbor. Captain Floyd replied that he would do as he chose, and that if he were hindered he would treat Fayal as a hostile port. The American captain prepared for the worst. Before close of day the British ships closed in on the "General Armstrong" and poured their broadsides into her. The privateersman replied in kind, and soon disabled the "Carnation." Yet the fight could have only one end. The British had three vessels against one smaller than their smallest, one hundred and fifty guns against nine, two thousand men against ninety. Captain Reid, to avoid capture, scuttled his ship, and pulled for the shore. By the time the British reached the "General Armstrong" she was beyond hope. So they set her afire and she burned to the water's edge. Captain Reid seized a stone fortress ashore and dared the British to follow. They did not come. The "Carnation" was damaged so badly, and all the British ships had lost so many men, that the British squadron had to put back to England to refit, delaying Sir Thomas Cochrane's expedition. As a result, that admiral arrived at New Orleans four days after Jackson reached there.

The affair in the harbor of Fayal resulted in a long diplomatic correspondence. President Madison took steps to compel Portugal to insist upon the inviolability of her neu-

tral ports. He also claimed indemnity, and obtained the promise of an award, but later Louis Napoleon, to whom the matter was referred as arbiter, reversed the award. Great Britain apologized to Portugal for the act of Captain Floyd in attacking an enemy in a neutral port.

Military movements in the South attracted little attention, though they were scarcely less important. The hope of obtaining the Floridas had encouraged the Southern States to enter into the war. The President had expected Congress to approve the seizure of Spanish Florida. Andrew Jackson, as the most prominent military man in the South, was appointed major-general of militia. While Madison and Monroe raised no objection to seizing the territory of a friendly Power, Congress was reluctant to act. At last a bill was signed authorizing the seizure of western Florida and the occupation of Mobile. Pensacola was captured. This was the only gain of territory made during the war.

A particularly atrocious Indian massacre at Fort Mims in southern Alabama was avenged by General Jackson in the battle of Horseshoe Bend, in which 800 Creeks were slain. Not only the power of the Creeks was broken at Horseshoe Bend, but the power of the red man east of the Mississippi. At Tehapecathe the long struggle for the possession of the western world was ended by the surrender of Weathersford. It was plain even to the Indians that the continent had changed owners. Tecumseh and Weathersford were the last Indians who could style themselves spokesmen of a sovereign race.

Fort Jackson completed the line of forts which separated the Indians of northern Alabama from the hostile Indians and their British allies. Hundreds of the Indians fled to the swamps of Florida after Holy Ground was taken. Jackson returned to Tennessee after eight months, and announced the end of the Indian troubles. Peace reigned throughout Mississippi, hitherto uninhabitable to white men.

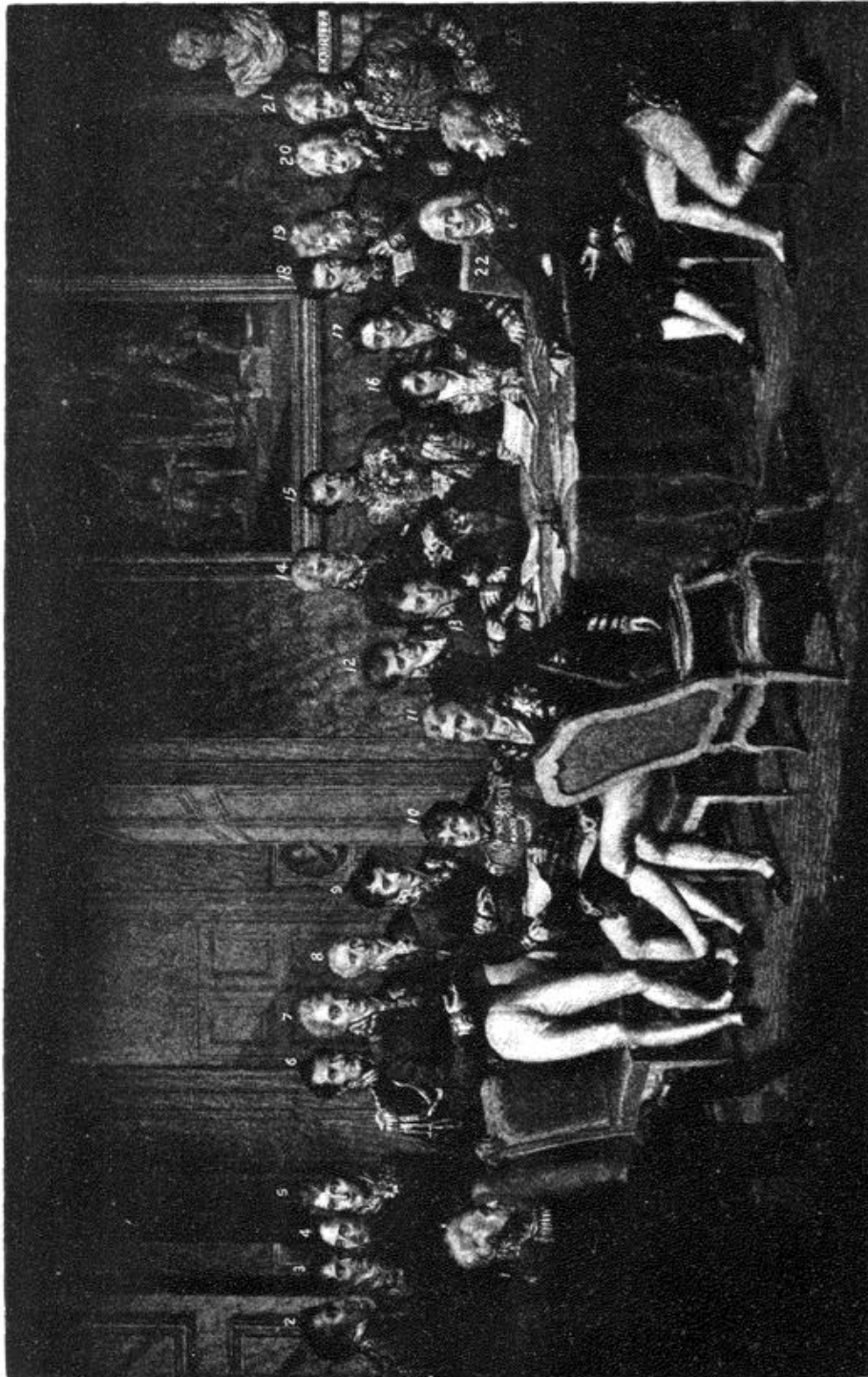
In the North, on the other hand, the presence of the British weighed heavily on the people of New England. A large part of Maine and the southern portion of Massachusetts was held by the British. The complete ruin of New England's shipping was felt even more severely. As a result the people of that section became more confirmed in their hostility to the war. From the outset they had refused to put their State troops at the disposal of the Federal Government. Now there was talk of separating from the rest of the country. The Legislature of Massachusetts called for a convention of delegates from all the New England States at Hartford "to consider their public grievances." The story of John Henry, a former British spy, that plans were under foot to restore New England to British rule found ready credence in Washington. Already the people of Nantucket had declared neutrality and placed themselves under British protection. President Madison and his Ministers grasped eagerly at the first overtures for peace coming from England.

While the American war was thus drawing to a dreary close, the brief war of Norway against Sweden came to an inglorious end. Before leaving Paris the representatives of the great Powers had granted Bernadotte's request to urge Norway to accept the supremacy of Sweden. The special envoys of the Powers arrived in Christiania on June 30. They brought with them, besides their instructions, a letter from the Danish King to his son Christian Frederick, recently elected King of Norway, commanding him to abdicate and return to Denmark under pain of disinheritance. Prince Christian refused. A British squadron put the Norwegian coast under blockade. The Swedish fleet, under the personal command of Charles XIII, took up a position outside of Fredericksstad. Insufficiently defended, the fort, on August 4, was compelled to surrender. About the same time the main Swedish army, under Charles John, crossed the frontier

south of Frederickshald. One division of it laid siege to the fortress of Frederickssteen, which was staunchly defended by General Ohme. The Norwegian army was eager for a general action; but the King ordered a retreat across the Glommen River. North in Soloer, where Lieutenant-Colonel Krebs had the command, the Norwegian forces were more successful. A Swedish force, under General Gahn, was defeated by the Norwegians on August 2, at Lier. The Norwegians, under Colonel Krebs, afterward attacked the Swedes at Matrand and drove them back across the frontier. The battle at Matrand was the most formidable encounter during this war. General Gahn's losses were 16 officers and 320 men. The Norwegian loss was 140 officers and men. This was the last important engagement of a comparatively bloodless war. At the Convention of Moss, on August 14, the rebellious Danish prince came to terms. He convened the Storting, or Norwegian Parliament, to which he surrendered his claims to the crown. This done, he sailed back to Denmark. On October 20 the Storting by a vote of 72 to 5 accepted the supremacy of Sweden, and elected the King of Sweden for King of Norway. The Scandinavian union, as finally agreed on, made the person of the King and his management of the foreign affairs of the country the only common bond. Each country had its own constitution, diet, and cabinet. In case of war, Norway reserved to its own diet the right of refusing troops or financial support.

By the time the diplomats began to assemble for the Congress of Vienna, much had happened to efface the transformations of the last twenty years.

In England such important domestic problems as the question of the Corn Laws came up for settlement. During the last years of the contest with Napoleon, England, by dint of her own agricultural development, had rendered herself independent of foreign countries as regarded breadstuffs. Now



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|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Hardenberg, Germany | 10 Talleyrand, France | 15 Stewart, England | 20 Humboldt, Germany |
| 2 Wellington, England | 11 Casati, Switzerland | 16 Labrador, Spain | 21 Cathcart, England |
| 3 Lobo, Portugal | 12 Metternich, Austria | 17 Clancarty, England | 22 Talleyrand, France |
| 4 Balduino, Portugal | 13 Dupin, France | 18 Wessenberg, Austria | 23 Stackelberg, Russia |
| | 14 Neef, France | 19 Rasoumovsky, Russia | |

CONGRESS OF VIENNA (TREATY OF PARIS)

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that grain could be imported again, and this at a cheaper price than it was grown at home, the landed proprietors and farmers, who had invested capital and labor in this species of culture, felt threatened in the means of their existence. The matter was debated at great length in the Commons by Huskisson, Vansittart, Frankland Lewis, and Sir Henry Parnell, in favor of the Corn Law, with Rose and Canning in the opposition. A bill was finally passed by large majorities in both Houses of Parliament, establishing the sliding scale, to commence with a duty on imported wheat of twenty-four shillings, when the price should be sixty-three shillings the quarter; and this duty was to decrease one shilling for every shilling of rise in the market price of grain.

In France one of the first results of the restoration was that 14,000 of Napoleon's old army officers were retired on half-pay. The common soldiers had to substitute the white cockade of Bourbon for their tricolor emblems of the Revolution. The head of Napoleon was removed from the badge of the Legion of Honor, and his statues were dismantled throughout the land. Such idols of the army as Masséna and Davoust were exiled to their country seats as "foreigners." General Dupont, known only for his disgraceful capitulation at Baylen, was made Minister of War. Fouché and Chateaubriand returned to Paris. Napoleon's great code of law was wisely retained in its entirety. The provisions of his famous Concordat with the Church were repudiated. The Society of Jesus was invited to return to France. The government's efforts to prohibit all buying and selling on religious holidays and Sundays precipitated a crisis of the Cabinet. It was the situation which Napoleon foresaw when he said: "The Bourbons may put France at peace with Europe; but how will they put her at peace with themselves?"

In Spain the first acts of Louis Ferdinand were to dismiss the Cortes, to abolish the liberal constitution of 1812,

and to reestablish the Inquisition. Prominent Liberals were placed under arrest, and the censorship of the press was restored. In the face of a financial crisis the clergy and their restored monasteries and church lands were exempted from taxation. The soldiers, left unpaid, degenerated into banditti. With commerce and agriculture all but extinct, the country rapidly relapsed to the semi-barbarous condition of feudal times.

In certain parts of Germany similar changes went into effect. The aged Prince of Hesse, notorious of old for the way he had farmed out his subjects for service in foreign wars, abolished all modern reforms on the day after his return to Cassel. The Code Napoleon was set aside, as was the decimal system. The feudal burdens of the peasantry were revived. The former state lands were wrested from their purchasers without recompense, and the iniquitous class system of taxation was restored. Even pigtails and periwigs once more became the order in the army. In Hanover torture was restored, and punishment of death by breaking on the wheel. In Wurtemberg the peasants were once more reduced to serfdom.

When a part of Saxony was turned over to Prussia, and the Saxon troops in that district revolted, the whole corps was ordered to be decimated. General Borstel, the hero of Dennewitz, was cashiered for refusing to burn the Saxon colors. A characteristic incident occurred as the men were drawing lots to die. A drummer boy threw away the dice, exclaiming: "It was I that beat the summons for revolt. I will be the first to die." He was shot before the eyes of his comrades. In Switzerland the various cantons fell to quarreling among themselves on the score of old territorial claims, and the peasantry took to arms.

Such were some of the aspects of the general situation in Europe when the delegates to the Congress of Vienna began

to assemble in the Austrian capital. Gathered at the court of Emperor Francis were the Czar of Russia, the Kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Denmark, with nearly all the statesmen of eminence in Europe. By common consent Prince Metternich presided at the councils of the delegates. Among them were the Duke of Wellington, Viscount Castlereagh, Lord Stewart, Count Clancarty, and General Cathcart, representing Great Britain; Counts Nesselrode, Stackelberg, and Prince Rasumovski attached to the Czar of Russia; Hardenberg, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and Stein with the King of Prussia; Prince Talleyrand de Périgord, the Duke of Dalberg, and Count Alexis de Noailles, representing France; Count Loevenhielm for Sweden, and a host of other titled personages, sent by Spain, Portugal, and all the minor German and Italian principalities. Of the recognized Powers, only the Sultan of Turkey and the United States were unrepresented. By way of background to this brilliant picture, Napoleon's wife and infant son could be seen walking in the Gardens of Schönbrunn.

The first few weeks of the Congress were spent in a succession of magnificent festivities. Notwithstanding the financial ruin of the country, the Austrian Exchequer diverted sums amounting to 25,000 gulden a day for this purpose. Among the long forgotten records of these faded pageantries one chapter still stands forth with the lustre of immortal genius. Ludwig van Beethoven was in Vienna. The Emperor placed the great assembly room of his court at the disposal of the composer. Beethoven was privileged to send out invitations in his own name to all of the sovereigns and grandees then in Vienna. To Beethoven the homage and admirers thus won came doubly welcome, since he had by this time turned totally deaf, and had been left to live in solitude. It was at this period that he presented to the world his descriptive piece on the "Battle of Vittoria." He

also assisted at the great mass which Talleyrand arranged to solemnize the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI.

Talleyrand was the leading spirit of the whole Congress. This was but another proof of his high diplomatic talents, for in a secret clause of the Treaty of Paris the allies had agreed to exclude France from participation in any of their territorial arrangements. Talleyrand, who was well aware of this, insisted that France, too, must now be reckoned as one of the allies, and in the end he carried his point. He also brought it about that the Congress met in open session and not behind closed doors, as first arranged by Metternich. Talleyrand used the question as to what was to be done with Saxony and the duchy of Warsaw as an instrument wherewith to break up the concert of the Powers. Russia and Prussia had agreed, in the treaty of Kalisch, that Prussia should yield all of her Polish provinces to Russia and indemnify herself therefor by the annexation of Saxony. Already a Prussian military government was administering Saxony. To this aggrandizement of the Russian Empire Austria and England were opposed. Talleyrand, accordingly, in defence of the King of Saxony reared a fetish of legitimacy, which Metternich promptly seized upon as means to hold together the patchwork fabric of the Austrian Empire. The minor princes of Germany, who feared the growing strength of Prussia, cordially agreed with Emperor Francis's sentiment: "It were too bad to thrust an honest German prince from his throne."

This enthusiasm for legitimacy by the former Minister of the Directory amused the English. Yet when Russia and Prussia had been thoroughly isolated, and France, Austria, and the southern German States had agreed to join their armies, England fell in line with Talleyrand's plan. A rash threat of war by Hardenberg was answered by immediate armament on the part of Austria, Hanover, and Bavaria.

With another European war in prospect, the British Ministry was glad to dispose of the troublesome war with America and its serious annoyances to British maritime commerce. The chief cause for dispute was removed by the withdrawal of the Orders in Council on the collapse of the continental blockade. Since the time that Russia had offered to mediate, commissioners from both countries had been deliberating at Ghent for nearly five months. The American commissioners were John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin. Gambier, Gouldburn, and William Adams represented Great Britain. The original instructions of President Monroe were to insist on the abolition of forcible impressment at sea as a *sine qua non* of peace. The disquieting attitude of the New England States made the American Government more tractable. By the time the notorious Convention of Hartford met Madison's Secretary of State was ready for peace at any price. Secretary Monroe's last instruction to his commissioners was this: "Omit any stipulation on the subject of impressment, if found indispensably necessary to terminate the war." The American commissioners accordingly declared that, "the causes of the war having disappeared by the maritime pacification of Europe, the Government of the United States does not desire to continue the war in defence of abstract principles which have for the present ceased to have any practical effect." Both commissions agreed in the end "that all questions between the two nations should be left essentially where they were when the war began." In fine, nothing had been accomplished by the war beyond the loss of lives and property. On the day before the treaty was ratified Henry Clay still stood out, exclaiming: "'Tis a damned bad treaty, and I don't know whether I will sign it or not." But on the morrow—Christmas—the treaty was signed, and peace was held to be concluded.

EVENTS OF 1815

Jackson Wins Battle of New Orleans—British Surrender Mobile—American Naval Victories—"President" Takes "Endymion" and then Yields to Superior Force—"Constitution" Takes "Cyane" and "Levant"—"Hornet" Takes "Penguin"—"Peacock" Takes "Nautilus"—Revival of Prosperity after Peace—Redistribution of European Territory—Napoleon Leaves Elba—The Army Deserts to His Standard—His Triumphant March to Paris—Louis XVIII Flees—Europe Unites against "the General Enemy and Disturber of the World"—Napoleon Gathers an Army—Murat is Defeated in Italy—Napoleon Crushes Revolt in La Vendée—Allies Encompass France—Napoleon Marches to Meet Wellington and Blücher at Belgian Frontier—He Loses His Empire in the Great Battle of Waterloo—His Flight to Paris and Abdication—Davoust Evacuates Paris—Napoleon Surrenders His Person to the Captain of the "Bellerophon"—Is Exiled to St. Helena—Guizot's Estimate of Napoleon—France's Penalty for the War—Napoleon's Marshals are Tried for Treason—Executions of De Labédoyère, Murat, Ney—Escape of Lavalette—Financial Distress of American Government—Internal Improvements—Decatur Suppresses Barbary Pirates—All Christian Nations but Spain and Portugal Ban Slave Trade—Mettelnich Accomplishes a New German Confederation—Death of Mesmer—Origin of the Holy Alliance.

THOUGH a peace treaty had been duly signed by the commissioners of England and America, the news of this event did not reach the belligerents for several weeks. From England reinforcements of 5,000 men had been sent some time previously to General Ross, with orders to "seize the whole province of Louisiana." The United States had 2,378 soldiers at New Orleans. Andrew Jackson was in command. On December 15, 1814, while Jackson was on a tour of inspection in Louisiana, the British struck their first blow. A few days before they had entered Lake Borgne under convoy and captured six American gunboats. Jackson on his return declared martial law, and assumed dictatorial powers. Seven thousand British were transferred from their ships to the island in Lake Borgne. The British line of advance was selected six miles down the Mississippi from New Orleans. A force of 1,688 British

soldiers was landed three miles from the Mississippi, and began marching on the city. Jackson had 2,000 men, with two field pieces, immediately available. In the river lay an American war schooner, the "Carolina," armed with one long 12-pounder and six 12-pound carronades. The British had no artillery beyond two 3-pounders. Colonel Coffee, with 732 men, marched around to attack the British from the rear. Commodore Patterson on the "Carolina" opened the fight at seven in the evening. A quarter of an hour afterward Jackson struck the British outposts while the main column was resting. The Americans rushed in on them and a brisk fight followed. At the same time Coffee struck the British flank opposite the "Carolina's" fire. Within an hour the British were forced to seek protection on an old levee. Their casualties were 277 men. Jackson lost 214 of his soldiers. The moral effect of the fight was greater than the actual military results. Jackson's next position was chosen behind an old dry canal three-quarters of a mile in length.

Major-General Sir Edward Pakenham was in command of all the British forces. They numbered 6,500. The Americans deepened the canal and put up a parapet behind it. Pakenham was reenforced by two howitzers and a mortar from the British fleet. Under the fire of his artillery, the "Carolina," lying off in the river, had to be abandoned. Early in January the British attacked Jackson's line with heavy artillery fire. The fire became general and lasted until noon. It proved so disastrous to the British that they abandoned their position with their guns at one o'clock. The British commanders attributed their defeat to the American superiority in the use of artillery.

On January 4 Jackson was reenforced by 2,250 backwoodsmen from Kentucky, mostly unarmed. The English within a day or so were also reenforced, bringing their army up to about 8,000. On January 7 Jackson learned

that a British force had crossed the river and threatened New Orleans. He could do no more than put 800 of his Kentuckians on the west bank. At six in the morning Pakenham sent a force of 5,300 men to the attack in two columns. Jackson, with an extended line of picked riflemen, awaited the attack behind bales of cotton. When the British lines came within musket-shot the fire that met them was so deadly that they faltered, and after a few rods of struggling advance, wavered and broke. General Pakenham fell at the head of his troops, and General Gibbs was mortally wounded. A British column, under Keane, meanwhile marched along the road between the river and the levee. The concentrated fire from the whole American right wrought havoc among his troops, and Keane himself fell wounded. On the west side, too, the British were repulsed, and had to be recalled from under fire. Next day General Lambert, who had succeeded Pakenham in command, began preparations for a hazardous retreat. On January 27 his troops were reembarked. Of their total force of 6,666 men 2,000 were lost. The total American loss was 71.

General Lambert, after withdrawing from New Orleans, decided to attack Mobile in Alabama. This plan was frustrated by the landing of an American brigade in the rear of Fort Bowyer on February 8. The British position was so ill chosen that they had no choice but to capitulate. They surrendered on February 11, while their fleet withdrew to the West Indies.

There were several actions at sea during this period, which added new laurels to the American navy. Decatur, in the "President," fought the "Endymion," and reduced her to a wreck, when, three other ships coming to her aid, he was compelled to surrender to this overwhelming force.

The last two naval actions of the war were no less brilliant for the Americans. These were the capture, in Feb-

ruary, 1815, by the frigate "Constitution," Captain Stewart, of two British sloops-of-war, the "Cyane" and "Levant," off the island of Madeira, and in March, by the "Hornet," Captain Biddle, of the brig "Penguin" off the coast of Brazil. "Thus terminated at sea," says Alison, the British historian, "this memorable contest, in which the English, for the first time for a century and a half, met with equal antagonists on their own element."

On the same day that the British surrendered at Mobile, news arrived in New York of the conclusion of the peace negotiations at Ghent. The American Senate unanimously confirmed the treaty on February 16. Along the entire coast, from Maine to Mississippi, the news of peace was received with transports of joy.

Yet peace was still delayed. In midsummer Captain Warrington, in command of the "Peacock," captured the "Nautilus" in the Straits of Sunda. On the next day, July 1, 1815, he learned of the ratification of peace; so he gave up the "Nautilus" and sailed for the United States.

Peace found the United States in a deplorable condition—trade was ruined, commerce gone, no ready money, banks without credit, and a general depression. In shipping alone it had cost America 1,683 vessels and the lives of 18,000 sailors. Yet such were the resources of the country that the United States almost immediately entered on a career of unexampled prosperity. Cotton rose from ten to over twenty cents per pound.

At Vienna, during this same time, the diplomats of the allies had virtually finished their labors. The Polish and Saxon difficulties were settled by Prussia contenting herself with a portion of Saxony on the right bank of the Elbe, while Russia consented to maintain Poland as a separate province and relinquished her claim to Cracow and the border fortresses. The German States were united in a confederacy,

with a diet in which Austria and Prussia each had two votes. Belgium was joined to Holland in a kingdom to be ruled by the Prince of Nassau. He agreed to maintain the great fortress of Luxembourg and its surroundings as a stronghold of the German confederation. Holland likewise had to relinquish all claim to her colonies, Demerara, Essequibo, Berbice, and the Cape of Good Hope, forfeited to England during the years of war. In a measure she was compensated therefor by England's restoration of the rich island of Java. The various cantons of Switzerland were all made part of the Swiss confederacy on an equal footing, and the Pope's dominions were restored. At the request of Great Britain the allied Powers joined in a declaration against the traffic in black slaves. There remained only the question of Naples, where King Murat still ruled over the former possessions of the Bourbons. The unsatisfactory drift of affairs in France and Spain under Bourbon rule left the representatives of the other Powers lukewarm toward Talleyrand's pro-Bourbon representations. When Metternich sent secret inquiries to Fouché, his spy in Paris, asking what would happen if Napoleon should take it into his head to return to France, Fouché replied: "Should a single regiment of an army sent against Napoleon declare for him, the others would surely follow the example. In case nothing of the sort happens, France of her own volition will soon seek refuge in the dynasty of Orleans."

It was at this juncture that a report suddenly reached Vienna that Napoleon had left Elba. The effect of this startling news was magical. All differences were sunk in the common desire to meet the situation. Alexander sent immediate orders to mobilize his army of 280,000 men in Poland, and declared that he would throw all his resources into the balance to "put an end to these revolts of Pretorian Guards." The Czar was the more aroused, since it was he

who had saved for Marie Louise the principality of Parma, and who had opposed all projects to remove Napoleon from Elba, on the ground that he had given his imperial word that he should be left undisturbed. "We can have no peace now," exclaimed Alexander. "There is a mortal duel between me and Napoleon. He has broken his word with me. I am freed from my engagement to him, and Europe shall have an example."

Napoleon in Elba had been kept well informed of the happenings in France and at Vienna. There he rallied about him his favorite veterans as a bodyguard. With the three million francs he had been allowed to keep he purchased four coasting vessels. On February 22 Fleury de Chaboulon, formerly an auditor in the French Council of State, landed at Porto Ferrajo. On his own initiative he had undertaken the mission to urge the Emperor to return. In ardent words he informed Napoleon of the latest signs of discontent in France, and of the reported dissolution of the Congress of Vienna. Napoleon despatched Fleury to Naples, while he gave orders for a final ball at court. His mother, then residing with him, was alone informed of his determination. On the night of the ball, while Napoleon's mother and sister directed the festivities, the Emperor left his guests and, hastening to the quay, embarked with 900 of his followers.

On the morning of March 1 a landing was made in the Bay St. Jouan, three miles out of Antibes. The troops went ashore with a cry of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" A detachment of guards who proceeded to Antibes were not admitted within the gate, but the inhabitants readily sold them provisions and horses. That night Napoleon and his men bivouacked among the olive trees of Provence. The next day the Emperor, after a brief study of the maps, struck out across the hills in the direction of Grenoble. What guns he had

brought with him he left behind in the ships. "It is not with cannon shots that I will win this campaign," he said. Over muddy roads and snow ravines the column pressed onward at the rate of forty miles a day. Not until the close of the fifth day's march did the mounted men riding in front come upon a detachment of royal soldiery in the village of La Mure, twenty miles south of Grenoble. Napoleon's Old Guards and the soldiers wearing the white cockade mingled in the streets, until their officers were filled with apprehension and drew them off. The next morning, as Napoleon's column advanced on the road to Grenoble, they found the full regiment drawn up to block their passage. "Never mind, they won't shoot!" said the country folk. "Maybe we have been deceived," said Napoleon; "but, no matter, forward!" He himself rode forward, and, addressing the royal troops, called out in a loud voice: "Soldiers of the Fifth, do you recognize me?" "Yes, Sire," said the men. "I am your Little Corporal. What man among you would fire on me? Here is my breast!" "*Vive l'Empereur!*" shouted the veterans, and rushed forward to press his hand. Their commander, left alone, saw the ranks broken and his soldiers trampling their white cockades underfoot. Napoleon rode toward him. "I know you well, Monsieur Lassard," he said. "Who made you lieutenant-colonel?" "You, Sire." "And before that—who made you captain?" "You, Sire." "And you wish to fight against me?" "Only because it was my duty." So saying, he tendered the Emperor his sword. Napoleon took it and pressed his hand. Then, turning to his officers, he remarked: "There, it is settled. To-night we shall be in Grenoble, and in ten days in Paris."

All was settled, indeed, and the famous period of the Hundred Days was well under way. The veteran regiments of the various royal garrisons joined Napoleon's column in a body. As they approached Grenoble Colonel de Labédoyère

called out his regiment, and raising the eagle of the seventh, marched to meet the Emperor with flying colors. Napoleon embraced the young officer and the old flag. "We are tired of seeing France humiliated," explained De Labédoyère; but, Sire, everything is changed. A new reign must be inaugurated."—"I know it," answered the Emperor, "and am resolved to do so." This was likewise the keynote of the proclamation he issued after he entered Grenoble in triumph:

"Soldiers! In my exile I heard your voices. I am come through all obstacles and dangers. Your General, summoned to the throne by the prayer of the people, and raised upon your shields, is now restored to you. Come and join him! Tear down those colors which were proscribed by the nation, and which for twenty-five years all the foes of France have rallied round! . . . Then will you be able to boast of your deeds, then will you be the liberators of your country."

The wonderful personal magnetism of the great captain once more exerted its full influence on his soldiers. The rhapsody of the Hundred Days was its token. In its most poetic expression this frenzy of France has come down to us in the immortal lyrics of Béranger. The wild loyalty of the French soldiers of those days, curiously enough, has still better been rendered by a German poet. It was Heinrich Heine's famous song of the "Two Grenadiers" that afforded to Schumann an opportunity to let his stirring music hark back to the forbidden strains of the "Marseillaise."

On March 8 Napoleon set out for Lyons at the head of seven thousand men ready to die in his cause. A semaphore despatch, giving the news of Napoleon's landing, reached Paris on March 5. At first only the King was troubled. While the matter was kept a profound secret in Paris, the princes of the royal house hastened to Lyons, Bordeaux, and La Vendée, to see to the army. Marshals Ney and Macdonald, who were held to have compromised themselves with Na-

oleon when they prepared the way for his abdication, were despatched to Besançon and Nîmes to take charge of the troops there. Marshal Soult, in his capacity as Minister of War, issued an address to the army denouncing the Emperor. Mortier was placed at the head of the troops in the north of France; Augereau was despatched to Normandy; full powers were transmitted to Masséna, at Toulon; and Oudinot took direction of the forces at Marseilles. In the meantime Napoleon's advance was unopposed. Defection after defection occurred in the army; and it was soon learned that the corps of 30,000 men, posted by order of Soult on the frontier between Besançon and Lyons, were in large masses deserting the royal standard. The Count of Artois, the Duke of Orleans, and Macdonald could make no impression either on the troops or on the mass of the people. They returned discouraged, and Napoleon, on the 12th of March, took possession of Lyons. This great success at once gave him command of the centre of France.

When Marshal Ney took leave of the King at the Tuileries he kissed his hand and said: "Sire, I will bring Bonaparte back in an iron cage." At Auxerre Ney was sought out by Gamotte, his brother-in-law, a great admirer of Napoleon. He introduced to him emissaries from the Emperor, who beset him with such arguments as Napoleon knew would appeal to his warm-hearted lieutenant and comrade-in-arms. These appeals from his former chieftain proved too much for Ney. He signed the proclamation of Napoleon and read it to his troops.

On that occasion some of the royalist officers broke their swords, saying: "You might have spared us that," but the bulk of the army hastened in eager marches to join their Emperor. Napoleon received Ney with open arms. He cut short all Ney's explanations, saying: "Do you think I could ever forget Friedland?" The defection of Ney, fol-

lowed by that of the whole army, opened the way to Paris and drove Louis XVIII from his throne.

When the news of Ney's act reached the capital the King called for a review of the garrison in Paris. Only a small part of the National Guard responded. Another review was ordered for March 19, and those of the troops that put in their appearance, consisting largely of the royal guards, were drawn off to Beauvais, on the other side of Paris. The significance of this manœuvre was made plain that night, when the King with his household left the Tuileries and drove to Beauvais. Thence he took post to Lisle, and fled across the border to Ghent in Flanders.

Napoleon arrived at Fontainebleau on the 19th, and proceeded to Paris next day. He reached the Tuileries at nine o'clock in the evening. The moment his carriage stopped at the gates, he was seized by his waiting friends, borne aloft in their arms amid deafening cheers through a brilliant throng of officers, and hurried up the great stair into the reception hall. Here an array of ladies of the Imperial Court received him in state. Later, at St. Helena, Napoleon described this day as one of the most delightful of his life.

On the morrow the Emperor set himself to work to form a Cabinet. Fouché was summoned and demanded the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. He was persuaded instead to resume his functions as chief of police. Caulaincourt, though plainly reluctant, was made Minister of Foreign Affairs. Marshal Davoust, who had been under a cloud during the Restoration, readily agreed to be Minister of War. Cambacérès, Carnot, and Benjamin Constant made up the Council of State. It was plain that a return to republican principles was unavoidable.

The threatening attitude of the great Powers and a series of royalist risings in the south of France soon convinced Napoleon that he need not hope to enjoy the fruits of his last

coup d'état in peace. His envoys to the Emperor of Austria were turned back at the frontier. Caulaincourt's efforts to procure a hearing for his master failed utterly. Secret emissaries who tried to rescue the Empress and the King of Rome from Vienna could not induce Marie Louise to risk the loss of Parma. Even Napoleon's decree abolishing the slave trade fell flat on the statesmen of England.

On March 25 the allied Powers, reconvening their Congress at Vienna, concluded a new treaty on the basis of that of Chaumont. The Cabinets of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain engaged to "unite their forces against Bonaparte and his faction, in order to prevent him from again troubling the peace of Europe; they each agreed to furnish 180,000 men for the prosecution of the war; and, if necessary, to draw forth their entire military force of every description." By a secret treaty, concluded on the same day, it was stipulated that the contracting parties should not lay down their arms until they had effected the destruction of Napoleon; and that England should supply the funds. All the lesser Powers of Europe acceded to these treaties within a fortnight after their ratification.

An international declaration was issued which ended with the statement:

"The Powers declare that Bonaparte has placed himself out of the pale of civil and social relations; and that, as the general enemy and disturber of the world, he is abandoned to public justice."

The troops of the Powers began to mobilize. Even in Switzerland and Holland the militia were called to the frontiers.

Napoleon realized that all hopes for peace were illusory. The utmost exertions were made for defence. The veterans, but lately returned from their imprisonment in Germany and Russia, were called from their homes. Arms and ammuni-

tion were turned out at top speed. Napoleon's splendid genius for organization, now put to the last strain, appeared at its best. Within a month he had an army of 120,000 veterans under arms. In the meanwhile the new French Constitution, the "*Acte Additionnel*," drawn up by Benjamin Constant, was breeding trouble at Paris. The Republicans, feeling themselves in the saddle, insisted on curbing the Emperor's despotic tendencies. Surrounded by such irreconcilables as Carnot, Constant, Lafayette, and his own brother Lucien, not to mention the treacherous Fouché, Napoleon had to fight for every one of his measures. When Carnot finally raised the threat of civil war, Napoleon broke out: "See here, Carnot, with you I have no need of disguise. Let us first save France; after that I will accede to everything." Carnot gave in, and from that hour left Napoleon free to pursue his measures. Napoleon, who knew that Fouché had entered into relations with the royalists in the Vendée, and who had lately been placed in possession of one of Metternich's secret despatches to Fouché, summoned his Minister of Police before the Council and, disclosing his treason, declared that he should be shot the next morning. Carnot told the enraged Emperor that this was no time for shooting cabinet ministers, and that such measures, now, would compromise him before the whole nation. Napoleon yielded with ill grace. His last words to Fouché were:

"Like all other persons who are ready to die, we have nothing to conceal from each other. If I fall, the patriots fall too; you will play your game ill if you betray me. Your party will perish under the rule of the Bourbons: I am your last dictator—remember that!"

The first blow was prematurely struck by Murat. On the last day of March he crossed the Po with 30,000 Neapolitans, and called upon all the Italians to assert their independence. After some indecisive encounters, the Austrian generals

Bellegarde, Bianchi, and Fremont united their forces, and, on April 9, fell upon him at Tollentino. The Neapolitans took to their heels, and Murat fled to France. Ferdinand VII promptly returned to his lost throne in Naples and was there reinstated with the help of British cruisers. Napoleon was so incensed at this stroke of ill-fortune that he would not even appoint his veteran cavalry leader to a command in his own army.

Next, hostilities broke out in the south of France. Louis La Roche Jaquelein landed on the coast of La Vendée and raised the people to revolt. Napoleon, in great alarm at this menace of civil war, despatched a force of 20,000 men under Generals La Marque and Travot to that region. The first battle was disastrous for the royalists. Auguste La Roche Jaquelein lost his life. This ended the revolt.

At Vienna in the meanwhile arrangements had been made to form forthwith three great armies from the allied forces; the first, of 265,000, chiefly Austrians and Bavarians, to be stationed on the Upper Rhine, and commanded by Schwarzenberg; the second, of 155,000 Prussians, on the Lower Rhine, under Blücher; the third, of 100,000, composed of English, Hanoverians, and Belgians, in the Low Countries, under Wellington. It was further resolved that military operations should be commenced early in June; previous to which time the Russian army, 170,000 strong, might be expected to reach the Upper Rhine from Poland, and, entering France by Strasburg and Besançon, to form a reserve for the invading armies from the east. In addition to the operations of these large masses, lesser movements were to be made on the side of Switzerland and the Pyrenees.

From this plan of the campaign it was evident that the British troops in Flanders would first be exposed to the shock of war; and the British Cabinet made exertions proportionate to the emergency. On April 6 a message from

the Prince Regent formally announced to both Houses of Parliament the events which had recently occurred in France, the measures adopted by the Congress of Vienna, and the necessity of augmenting the military and naval forces of the kingdom. The supplies of men and money requisite to the undertaking were immediately voted by Parliament; and in addition to the enormous sums wherewith to support her own naval and military establishments, Great Britain granted and paid to the several allied Powers, within the year, subsidies to the amount of more than eleven million pounds.

Wellington, after careful deliberation, resolved to invade France directly from Flanders, between the Maine and the Oise; but, in order to conceal his design, he recommended that the Austrians and Russians should first cross the French frontier by Befort and Huningen, and, when this was accomplished, that the British and Prussians united should march upon Paris by Mons and Namur. He had 80,000 men under his orders, of whom 46,000 were British. Twelve thousand of these were veterans of the Peninsula. The rest were Dutch-Belgians under the Prince of Orange, Brunswickers under their Duke, and the Hanoverian Legion under Wallmoden. Wellington himself, rather ungraciously, described his force as an "infamous army." Blücher had an army of 108,000 men, all Prussians, and burning once more to avenge the injuries to their country.

Napoleon hastened to take command of his army in that quarter. The Emperor's plan of campaign was based on the necessities of his situation, and the imperative need of an early success, so as to enable him to meet the advance of the Russians and Austrians from the other side. For the direction of public affairs in France during his absence Napoleon appointed a provisional government, including his brothers Joseph and Lucien, Cambacérès, Davoust, Caulaincourt,

Fouché, Carnot, Goudin, Mollien, and Décrès. This done, the Emperor left Paris on June 12, and joined the army on the 14th, taking supreme command.

Forthwith he moved his men into camp at Laon, behind the screening chain of fortresses on the Belgian frontier. Blücher's army lay on the bank of the Sambre and Meuse, from Liège on his left to Charleroi on his right. Wellington covered Brussels. It was on Charleroi that Napoleon resolved to direct his first attack, in the hope of cutting the two armies apart.

On June 10 Wellington received information—which proved to be misleading—that Napoleon had reached Maastricht with his troops. Yet neither Blücher nor Wellington took steps to concentrate their forces. When the French troops crossed the frontier near Fleurus on the 15th, Wellington's men lay in cantonments from the Scheldt to Brussels, and Blücher's extended as far as Namur. This inactivity would be inexplicable but for the account of the matter given by Fouché in his memoirs.

That double dealer had promised to furnish the British commander with a detailed plan of the campaign. Wellington was in hourly expectation of this intelligence, and quietly awaited its arrival.

The French army crossed the frontier at daybreak on the 15th, and moved upon Charleroi. The Prussian force, which occupied that town, was driven out, and fell back on Fleurus. Thus Napoleon's first object, that of taking his enemy by surprise, was accomplished, and he now confidently expected to separate the two allied armies. For this purpose he despatched Ney with the left wing, 46,000 strong, to Quatre-Bras, a point of intersection of the roads from and to Brussels, Nivelles, Charleroi and Namur; while he himself, with 72,000 men, pushed on toward Fleurus to assail Blücher, who was concentrating his army with all possible haste,

and falling back upon Ligny. Wellington received word of these movements at Brussels on the evening of the 15th, and he immediately sent orders to his troops to concentrate at Quatre-Bras.

Blücher's army, excepting the fourth corps, which had not yet come up, arrayed themselves, on the 16th, on the heights between Brie and Sombref, and strongly occupied the villages of St. Amand and Ligny in front. The position was well chosen. The artillery, placed on a semicircular ridge between the villages, commanded the entire field.

Napoleon attacked both commanders almost simultaneously, for the purpose of preventing them from detaching troops in aid of one another. Only, in accordance with his oft-tried strategy, he tried to crush each of his opponents successively by a rapid concentration of superior numbers.

In the fight at Quatre-Bras, in which the British held their ground, the Duke of Brunswick fell a sacrifice. At Ligny, by a series of superb manœuvres, Napoleon completely routed the Prussians. They lost 1,200 men and 21 guns. While trying to stem the onslaught of the French cavalry, Blücher's horse was shot under him, and two successive cavalry charges passed over his senseless body. After nightfall his aide-de-camp, Count Nostitz, returned to the battlefield and succeeded in drawing the field marshal from beneath his horse. When Blücher revived it was only to find that his army had been routed.

Blücher's second in command, General Gneisenau, saved the situation by conducting the retreat northward. Thus he brought the shattered Prussian columns once more in communication with the British. Of the three Prussian army corps that had figured in the battle, two were so speedily rallied at Wavre that Grouchy's division, later, was not strong enough to prevent their junction with the British.

The ill success of Ney's attack on the British lines at

Quatre-Bras was attributed by him to the fact that the army corps of General d'Erlon, which Napoleon had placed between himself and Ney, was first withdrawn from Ney to assist at Ligny. Later, when d'Erlon was recalled from that battlefield to succor Ney, he could not reach Quatre-Bras until it was too late.

Much has been written of the scenes and incidents at Brussels that preceded the Battle of Waterloo. When the news of Napoleon's first advance arrived the flower of the British army was assembled at the Countess of Richmond's ball at the British Embassy. The Duke of Brunswick was the first to hasten from the ballroom to his death, William Makepeace Thackeray, in his novel "Vanity Fair," has brought the brilliant scene to life again in the chapter devoted to the eve of Waterloo. More famous still are Byron's immortal stanzas in the third Canto of "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage."

During the night of June 15 Wellington learned of the defeat of the Prussians, and that they were falling back to Wavre. As this exposed the British flank, Wellington, too, ordered a retreat through Genappe, with orders to come in touch with the Prussians. Throughout the 17th the British retreated, followed closely by the French. Half-way back to Brussels, when in line with the Prussians at Wavre, Wellington halted his army near the valley of Waterloo.

The field of Waterloo, or La Belle Alliance, as it is called in French and German annals, stretches not quite two miles in length from the hamlet of Hougomont on the right, to the hedge of La Haye Sainte on the left. The road from Brussels to Charleroi runs through the centre of the field, less than three-quarters of a mile south of the village of Waterloo, and three hundred yards in front of the farmhouse of Mont St. Jean. The British army occupied the crest of a range of low hills crossing the highroad at right-angles, two hundred

yards in the rear of the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte, which adjoins the road to Charleroi. The French troops, on the other side of the valley, were posted along a corresponding line of hills, stretching on either side of the hamlet of La Belle Alliance. The summit of these hills afforded an excellent position for the French artillery; but an attack across the valley would necessarily be exposed to a severe cannonade from the British batteries.

Wellington had stationed General Hill with 7,000 men at Hal, six miles on the right, to cover the road from Mons to Brussels. Early on the morning of the 18th he despatched letters to Louis XVIII at Ghent, recommending that monarch to retire to Antwerp on the enemy's approach. Blücher, during the night of the 17th, sent word to Wellington that he would join him at Waterloo with his whole army, and that his men might be expected to fall upon the right of the enemy early in the afternoon.

Of the two armies thus facing each other, the French felt more confident of victory. The British officers and soldiers, after the manner of their kind, despised their allies. Wellington himself ordered his Dutch troops out of the line of battle, remarking wrathfully: "'Tis the worst army that ever was got together." Napoleon had reason to expect that the English would give him a hard tussle. Soult, with his bitter memories of Spain, uttered a note of warning: "Sire, I know these English, they will die on the ground on which they stand before they lose it." But Napoleon knew that he had the advantage of numbers, and counted especially on the great strength of his artillery and cavalry. Moreover, he believed Blücher to be thoroughly beaten, and did not think that the Prussians would prove so troublesome to Grouchy that he could not count on the support of Grouchy's 35,000 men. He was borne up, too, by a strong belief in the unflinching superiority of his own military genius.

It was a beautiful June day, after a wet and chilly night. As the ground was still too soggy for rapid movements of artillery or cavalry evolutions on any grand scale, Napoleon put off the fight to hold a final grand review of all his hosts in battle array. On the plain of Waterloo that Sunday morning the crops stood high, with bright patches of pale green rye and red clover. On the other side of the vale, the British soldiers, lying cramped in their damp ditches, could see the sun glittering on Napoleon's martial columns, and heard the stirring strains of the "Marseillaise" wafted across the waving wheat fields. When the men, at last, heard the roar of a hundred thousand French throats yelling "*Vive l'Empereur!*" a stir ran through their ranks. The auxiliaries appeared ill at ease. "The mere name of Napoleon," said Wellington, "has beaten them before they have fired a shot."

Shortly before noon the battle began with heavy artillery fire from the heights of La Belle Alliance. Immediately Reille's corps, 6,000 strong, advanced on Hougomont. As the column swept down the slope a mass of French tirailleurs skirmished into the adjoining wood, and thence up to the orchard and garden of the château where the British lay. They were picked off from the windows of the château, while the British Light Foot Guards, seeking shelter in the hollow of a road between the orchard and the house, from that line of vantage repulsed all French attacks. Müffling, the Prussian aide-de-camp on the British general staff, doubted whether Hougomont could hold out, but Wellington expressed confidence in Mac Donnell, the Scotch officer in charge.

While the fight raged in that quarter, the French artillery played havoc with the British batteries. The gunners had been ordered to hold their fire for a general attack. About two in the afternoon a dark mass was seen moving in the woods of Ohain. The French officers turned their glasses on it, and expressed a joyful hope that it was Grouchy's corps.



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THE SUNKEN ROAD AT WATERLOO

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A reconnoitring party returned with the unwelcome news that they were Prussians. Napoleon instantly despatched a part of Ney's troops to hold them in check, while he made haste to launch his great infantry attack. Seventy-two guns prepared the way with a torrent of grape-shot. D'Erlon with four divisions of sixteen thousand men flung himself against La Haye Sainte on the British left and drove in the thin red line of Picton's division which had already suffered heavy losses at Quatre-Bras. A Dutch-Belgian brigade took to its heels and swept through the British ranks, followed by their curses. Baring's Hanoverians, on the other hand, stoutly held their ground. At last, under the terrific fire of the French gunners, the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte caught fire, just as the French attack had spent its force. Lord Uxbridge with his cavalry fell upon the French infantry and threw them in disorder before the cuirassiers, skirmishing on the other side of a sand pit, could form for a counter-charge. Picton's infantry followed with a bayonet charge and regained the crest. There they were swept by such deadly artillery fire that the men flung themselves flat on their faces. Picton was killed. "Hard pounding this, gentlemen," said Wellington, as he rode past his prostrate lines. "Let us see who will pound the hardest."

By this time the fight around Hougoumont had reached a crisis. The upper story of the château was riddled with solid shot and the roof caught fire. From the blazing windows the Light Guards continued to pour their unintermit- tent fire, while the wounded lying behind them were suffo- cated in the smoke. Once the French broke in the main gateway, but were bayoneted on the threshold. MacDonnell, who was of herculean size, with several officers, by sheer force shut the gate in the face of the frantic Frenchmen.

At four in the afternoon, when the British line was held to be sufficiently shaken by the prolonged artillery fire, Na-

oleon meant to let Ney try a cavalry charge en masse. Ney moved his columns in advance of the Emperor's orders.

Through a gap of barely one thousand yards came twenty-one squadrons of cuirassiers and nineteen squadrons of lancers, trotting down the slope. Along the British lines sounded the bugle call: "Prepare to receive cavalry!" The men formed in squares, or, rather, oblongs, behind the crest of the hill, while the horse artillery came dashing up and unlimbered on the ridge before them. The gunners were ordered to keep up an incessant fire of grape and canister until the French horsemen should be all but upon them, and then to run for shelter under the bayonets of the nearest square.

At an even gallop the French squadron came thundering up the slope—a solid front of flashing swords and gleaming breastplates. Within a thousand feet from the British guns they put spurs to their horses and charged madly forward at full speed. As they beheld the gunners running for life, and saw the smoke drifting over a long row of field-pieces standing silent and deserted, the French cuirassiers became drunk with the rapture of victory. Rising in their stirrups at mid-career, they broke into a hoarse cheer. The fate of a few unfortunate squadrons that crashed into a sunken road traversing the field was scarcely heeded.

As the horsemen swept over the ridge through the abandoned batteries, they beheld the double line of British squares. At the same time they received a volley full in the face, and the leading squadron went down, man and horse. The maddened steeds of the following squadrons swerved sidewise and swept past the flanks of the hollow squares. They were instantly charged by the British cavalry stationed behind the squares. In confusion the French went galloping back over the slope.

The scattered squadrons reformed in the valley. Ney, who had taken his ill success at Quatre-Bras deeply to heart,

called in the whole of Kellermann's division—thirty-seven squadrons: eleven of cuirassiers, six of carbineers, and the Red Lancers of the Guard. Thus enforced, the French charged again. The same scenes were enacted once more. The gunners stood by the guns until the last moment, and the British squares stood immovable, sending volley after volley into the demoralized horsemen. Occasionally some French leader would succeed in riding home to the very bayonets, there to discharge his pistol into the face of some British fusilier, but as a rule the horses refused to run into the fringe of steel. From four until six o'clock these scenes were repeated. The French rode up again and again, through the batteries and around the squares—“For all the world,” to quote Wellington's words, “as if they owned them.” As the horsemen reappeared over the crest of the hill the British infantry, leveling their muskets, would mutter scornfully: “Here come those fools again!” and let them have it. At last the horses themselves were so worn out that they could only be brought up on the trot. The British were careful to hold their fire until their assailants came within pistol-shot. “The English squares and the French squadrons,” said Lord Anglesby, “seemed hardly to take notice of each other.”

All this while the French artillery played on the British guns. At the end of the day Mercer's battery had lost two men out of every three, and of 200 horses sheltered behind the ridge 140 lay dead or dying.

Marshal Ney had one horse after another shot under him. With his hat and coat riddled with bullets, he still led charge on charge. “The madman!” said Napoleon, who watched the struggle through his field-glass, “he is massacring my cavalry!” All Ney could think of was to send for new reinforcements. “If we don't die here, under the English bullets,” he said to General d'Erlon, “there is nothing left for you and me but to lose our heads on the scaffold.” Napoleon,

with his eye on the Prussians, reluctantly despatched his guards to help Ney. General Friant led forward the Old and the New Guards. Ney gathered his squadrons for a last charge, and flung himself on the British centre. It was a decisive moment. General Hill, who had just joined Wellington, said: "You may be killed here. What orders do you leave me?"

"To die on the spot to the last man, so that the Prussians may be all on the ground," replied Wellington.

As the French Guards charged over the crest, Maitland's regiment, which had been lying flat on the ground where the guns had stood, fired a point-blank volley in the face of the dense columns. The first line of the French went down, and those behind wavered. General Friant was shot from his horse. The British cavalry came forward at a gallop. Then it was that Wellington, reining in his horse behind the crest, gave the famous order: "Up, Guards, and at them!" The British charged down the slope. All the squares, relieved of their terrible waiting ordeal of the afternoon, broke ranks and charged forward with a hoarse yell. Wellington, smiling grimly, sent orders after them that every command should move forward as it stood. The last brigade of fresh cavalry was sent forward to retake La Belle Alliance. The Prussians at last came upon the battlefield. Grouchy, pressing upon their rear-guard, insisted that he had never received the Emperor's orders to join him. Buelow's corps of Prussians, relieved of pressure in front, immediately flung itself into the battle. The men had been floundering over the soggy forest roads for hour after hour, harassed by Grouchy in their rear and Ney's detachments in front. Blücher himself had to urge his men to do their utmost, crying: "Boys, don't make me break my word to the English!" When Wellington caught sight of the first Prussian platoons, he shouted joyfully to Müffling: "Well, you see MacDonnell held out to the last."

The united hosts of Englishmen and Prussians now pressed forward and completely overwhelmed the French. Ziethen's Hussars charged into their broken infantry. Napoleon's Old Guard was the last to make a stand, forming in solid squares long after nightfall. Called upon to surrender, they made the historic reply: "The Guard does not surrender; it dies." Of 10,000 of their men only 150 still stood. The British and Prussian cavalry finally overrode them. Long after darkness the men were still fighting hand to hand. Napoleon escaped in the confusion. He spoke first of dying on the field, but Marshal Soult seized his white Persian charger by the bridle and turned him round, saying: "Is not the enemy lucky enough as it is?"

Favored by a moonlight night, the Prussians so hotly pursued the French that an immense number of prisoners and a vast amount of booty fell into their hands. Napoleon narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. At Genappe, where the bridge was blocked by fugitives, the pursuit was so close that the Emperor was compelled to abandon his carriage, leaving his sword and hat behind him. Blücher, who reached the spot shortly afterward, sent Napoleon's hat, sword, and star to the King of Prussia, retained his cloak, telescope, and carriage for his own use, and gave up all the money found to his soldiery. The whole of the army stores, 240 guns, and an innumerable quantity of arms, thrown away by the fugitives, fell into his hands. As Lamartine has said: "The defeat left nothing undecided. The war began and ended in a single battle."

The battle of Waterloo cost Wellington nearly 15,000 dead and wounded. The losses of the Prussians exceeded 7,000 men. The full amount of Napoleon's losses could never be estimated, since his army practically dispersed after the fugitives crossed the Sambre. Immediately after the great battle the Austrians, under Schwarzenberg and Fremont, ad-

vanced as far as Lyons. The Prince of Wurtemberg defeated General Rapp before Strasburg, and the Swiss, under General Bachman, poured over the Alps. France was lost.

Napoleon reached Paris alone on the night of June 20. He burst in on Caulaincourt at the Tuileries, but his agitation was so great he could scarcely speak: "You have heard the news? All is lost. The army did wonders, till they were seized by a panic terror and gave up everything. Ney acted like a maniac and threw away my cavalry. I am done for, and must have a bath and two hours' sleep. I am choking." During his bath the Emperor announced: "Nothing but a dictatorship can save the country. I have no longer an army, or a single musket. My only resources are the people. I hope the Deputies will stand by me if I convoke the Chambers."

The Deputies, however, had resolved on a different policy. Davoust and Lucien Bonaparte urged a dictatorship; but Fouché, Lafayette, Dupin, and other leaders of the popular party were determined to establish the absolute sovereignty of the National Assembly. "The House of Representatives," moved Lafayette, "declares that the independence of the nation is menaced. The Chamber declares its sittings permanent. Every attempt to dissolve it is declared high treason. The National Guards have, for six-and-twenty years, preserved the internal peace of the country and the persons of its representatives; and the means of increasing the numbers of that force must be now considered." This resolution was carried by acclamation. Lucien called Lafayette an ingrate. "I wanting in gratitude to Napoleon!" exclaimed Lafayette, indignantly: "Do you know what we have done for him? Have you forgotten that the bones of our brothers and our children everywhere attest our fidelity to him—amid the sands of Africa—on the shores of the Guadalquivir and the Tagus—on the banks of the Vistula, and in the frozen deserts of Muscovy? Three millions of French-

men have perished for one man, who still wishes to fight the combined Powers of Europe. We have done enough for Napoleon; let us now try to save France."

The call for Napoleon's abdication now became universal. Lucien Bonaparte was sent to his brother to demand it. He found Napoleon in the utmost agitation, debating with himself whether to commit suicide or to dissolve the Chambers by force. Lucien told him impressively that he must either abdicate or dismiss the Chambers and seize the supreme power. Napoleon decided by dictating a formal act of abdication in favor of his son.

Generals Lafayette and Sebastiani, with three others, were despatched to the headquarters of the allies to announce the Emperor's abdication and to sue for peace. Napoleon withdrew, almost alone, to Malmaison, where Queen Hortense had been living since the death of her mother, Josephine. On June 25 he said farewell to his officers and guards.

Blücher, in the meanwhile, had pushed forward without loss of time and stood before the gates of Paris. He summoned the city to surrender. When Davoust, commanding the National Guards, held off the capitulation, and spoke of making a last defence, Blücher wrote him a curt note in ill-spelled German: "Take care what you do. If we must take the city by storm, we shall remember how you dealt with Hamburg."

On July 3 Paris surrendered after a futile combat in the outskirts at Issy. Davoust's troops had three days wherein to evacuate the city. On July 7 the Prussians entered, and General Müffling was appointed military governor. Blücher, who was incensed at the destruction of the stone column of Rossbach, and the disappearance of Frederick the Great's sword and watch, placed cannon at the important points and gave orders to destroy the most galling of French trophies—notably the Bridge of Jena. By this time the allied troops

had come up, and with them King Louis XVIII and his councilors, the Count of Artois and Prince Talleyrand Benevento. Talleyrand begged Count von der Goltz to use his influence for the preservation of the bridge. Blücher replied to his entreaties: "I will blow up the bridge, and should very much like to have Talleyrand sitting upon it at the time!" Blücher desisted from the attempt only when Wellington sent an aide to prevent it. The King of Prussia himself rode to the spot to remonstrate with his field-marshal.

On the same day that Louis XVIII entered Paris, welcomed by Fouché and other self-constituted spokesmen of the people, Napoleon withdrew to Rochefort. There various plans were proposed for his escape. Lafayette offered to have him conveyed to the United States on an American merchant vessel. The Prefect of Marine put a government cutter at his disposal, wherewith to elude the British man-of-war in the offing.

It was arranged that all of Napoleon's brothers, as well as Hortense, with others of his close family circle, should meet him in America. By this time two British cruisers drew close into the mouth of the harbor, and it became plain that it would be next to impossible to foil their vigilance. As a last resource, Napoleon, on July 9, sent Las Casas to Captain Maitland, commanding H.M.S. "Bellerophon," to sound him as to his probable line of conduct. The British officer sent back word that he would stop any ship attempting to force the blockade. Napoleon finally resolved to throw himself upon the generosity of his victors. On July 14 he wrote to the Prince Regent of England:

"YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS—After being aimed at, both by the factions which divide my country and by the enmity of the great Powers of Europe, I have finished my political career, and now come, like Themistocles, to sit down by the hearth of the English people. I place myself under the pro-

tection of their laws, which I claim from your royal highness as the most powerful, the most steadfast, and the most generous of my enemies."

The next day he went on board the "Bellerophon." In accordance with his request, Captain Maitland forthwith set sail for England. Ten days later he brought his illustrious prisoner into Plymouth. This turn of affairs put the British Government in extreme embarrassment. It was proposed in the Cabinet to deliver Napoleon to the King of France as a State prisoner, but in the end it was determined to put the outlaw out of harm's way on the distant island of St. Helena, a solitary rock lost between Africa and America.

Lord Keith, the admiral in command at Plymouth, was instructed to inform Napoleon of his deportation as a prisoner for life. The Emperor received the news with an impassive countenance. When he learned that only three of his old servants were to accompany him, and that he was to be deprived of all personal resources, he made a motion as if to surrender his sword. Lord Keith awkwardly turned his back and retired in silence. On August 9 the "Northumberland," bearing Napoleon to his exile, sailed from Plymouth. With the deposed Emperor went Generals Bertrand, Montholon, and Gourgeaud, with their families, and Count de Las Casas.

One of the truest estimates of the great conqueror's character is that of Guizot, who served at that time in the French Ministry of Justice. In his "Memoirs for the History of Our Times," he wrote: "Corrupt, he corrupted others; despotic, he subdued minds and debased consciences; all-powerful, he constantly made a bad use of his power. His glorious and blood-stained traces remained soiled not only by faults but by crimes. The startling dream with which he dazzled France has disappeared; the memory still remains, weakened, but always fatal to our unhappy country."

With Napoleon out of the way, the rule of the Bourbons,

in France, Spain, and Naples, was carried along its fatuous course as if the tremendous events of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Era had never happened. After the second restoration of Louis XVIII, Marshals Masséna and Oudinot, as spokesmen of the National Guard, implored the King to permit his soldiers to retain their tricolor standards. Fouché advised against it, and the King peremptorily refused. It was at this time that the saying arose: "The Bourbons have forgotten nothing and they have learned nothing."

Thanks to the intervention of the Czar and Wellington, France at that time was spared the humiliation of losing the strong line of border fortresses in Alsace-Lorraine which Louis XIV had wrested from Germany. Negotiations concerning the details of peace dragged on for months. Special rancor was created in France by Blücher's levy of a 100,000,000 francs from Paris, and by a general demand for the restoration of pillaged art treasures. The bronze horses of St. Mark's had to be sent back to Venice. The sword of Frederick the Great was kept hidden; nor did the Germans succeed in raising the column of Rossbach out of the Seine, where it had been dumped by the Invalides. On the other hand, most of the valuable manuscripts of the University of Heidelberg, which Napoleon had placed in the library of Paris, had to be restored. While the foreign armies still held the territory of France as a hostage for the payment of a new war indemnity of 1,000,000,000 francs, the royalists inaugurated their work of vengeance. On July 24 two lists of proscription were issued. They bore the names of nineteen persons to be tried for high treason: notably, Marshals Ney, Grouchy, Bertrand; Generals Lallemand, d'Erlon, Lefebvre-Desnouettes, Clausel, Drouot, Cambronne; besides Labédoyère, Lavalette, and Rovigo. Among those that were to be banished were Marshals Soult and Bassain. Davoust handed in his resignation as Secretary of War and commander-in-

chief of the Army of the Loire: "It is my name that ought to be substituted for theirs," said he, "since they only obeyed the orders I had given them as Minister of War."

Thus encouraged, the royalist faction of the populace went to worse excesses. Early in August Marshal Brune was murdered by a mob at Avignon. The Government affected to believe that he had committed suicide. At Toulouse, General Ramel was beaten to death at the threshold of his house. Riotous mobs burned the houses of reputed Bonapartists at Nîmes, and lynched several innocent persons. In August Marshal Ney was arrested at a friend's house. At the same time, Lavalette and Labédoyère were placed before a court-martial. "L'Independent," a new journal, which dared to publish an article in their defence, was suppressed. Labédoyère made his last plea: "I protest that there was no express conspiracy to bring Napoleon back from Elba. So far as I was concerned, I was misled by some glorious memories and some new illusions." It was in vain. Labédoyère was condemned to death and was shot August 19. On October 13 Murat, having been betrayed into the hands of the Bourbons, was shot at Pizzo in Calabria. When they wished to bandage his eyes he said: "I have braved death too often to fear it now." Then he himself gave the order to fire.

Ney's turn came next. His trial became a *cause célèbre*. A military court-martial refused to try him on the ground that he was a Peer of France. Placed on trial before the Chamber of Peers, Ney, while admitting everything, appealed to the amnesty act extended by the allied Powers to all persons comprised in the capitulation of Paris. He proved that he was within the city at that time. Ney's lawyer, Dupin, was enjoined from resting his defence on that point. Ney himself refused to take advantage of the fact that he was an Alsatian, and should therefore come under the special act of amnesty which sheltered from prosecution all the inhabitants

of ceded provinces. "As a Frenchman," he said, "I fought the battles of France. Now let me die a Frenchman. Since this is not the place to invoke the faith of treaties, I lodge my appeal with Europe and posterity." Late in the year the Chamber of Peers pronounced the condemnation of Ney. Among those that voted for the death sentence were several former officers and marshals of the Empire—his comrades in arms. At two in the morning, December 7, the sentence was read aloud to the marshal in his prison cell. As the court officer sonorously rolled off his titles—"Maréchal de France, Duc d'Elchingen, Prince de la Moscova," etc.—the prisoner stopped him: "Say Michel Ney, and soon no more of him." While Madame Ney was vainly entreating an audience of the King, her husband was marched to the entrance of the Grande Avenue de l'Observatoire. With his face to the gray light of dawn, Ney himself commanded the fire: "Now, soldiers, straight to the heart!"

Now it was Lavalette's turn. Though he had never sworn allegiance to the Restoration, he was sentenced to die on the scaffold. On December 20 Madame Lavalette came to bid farewell to her husband. Lavalette, disguised in his wife's skirts and holding her handkerchief to his face, escaped through the prison portals. For five days he was hidden in one of the offices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Sir Robert Wilson, an English officer, finally got him out of the country. Sir Robert was cashiered for this offence. Madame Lavalette as a result of these trying circumstances lost her reason.

In the midst of this reign of reprisal the final negotiations of the Second Peace of Paris were completed. On November 20 the treaty was signed. The war indemnity was reduced to 700,000,000 francs. Pending its payment, seventeen fortresses on the northern frontier were to be garrisoned by German and English soldiers. The French fron-

tiers were pushed in to the old limits of 1790. Five of the eastern frontier forts were surrendered to the German Confederation, Saarbrücken being taken by Prussia. The stronghold of Huningen in French Flanders was razed to the ground, and the French possessions in Savoy were ceded to Sardinia. All that Talleyrand's diplomacy had won during the negotiations at Vienna was lost to France. Talleyrand himself, realizing his impotence, resigned his ministry before the final conclusion of peace.

While the affairs of Europe were thus rearranged by the Powers, the American people were striving to readjust their own affairs. Shortly after the shooting of a number of American prisoners of war in an English prison at Dartmoor, hostilities with England reached their definite end on June 18. The first peace society of the world was founded at New York. The war had left a heavy legacy. American shipping as such was ruined, involving the ruin of the once thriving trade of the New England States with the West Indies, and almost all foreign commerce. Nearly all the banks throughout the country, including the great national bank, had suspended payment. The national debt was increased to \$99,833.60. To raise any revenue whatever the Federal Government levied taxes on such personal property as hats and caps, leather boots, gold or silver watches, and umbrellas.

The work of reconstruction began at once after the re-election of Madison to the Presidency. This election was the last stand of the Federalist party in the United States. New England's opposition to the recent war, culminating in the Hartford Convention with the hue and cry against the hated "Blue-Lights," brought about its political downfall. Once this was accomplished the bitterness of factional dissensions ceased. The people of New York provided for the construction of the great Erie Canal from Albany on the Hudson to Lake Erie. Robert Fulton, who died that year,

still had the satisfaction of seeing his new steam ferry in operation, and witnessed the launching of the first steam frigate of the world. It bore his name. In Philadelphia the great Fairmount water-works, which supply that city with water, were brought to completion, while the people of Baltimore were laying pipes and mains to make their city the first municipality lighted by gas.

In the midst of these labors of peace came another ruffle of war. The Barbary pirates, little heeded as they were during the preoccupation of the recent maritime war, once more grew troublesome. The Dey of Algiers compelled Lear, the American consul, to pay a ransom of \$27,000, under threat of slavery for himself and all his household. The American Government paid over the money, but Congress immediately followed the matter up by a declaration of war upon Algiers. On May 19 Commodores Decatur and Bainbridge, with a squadron of nine ships, sailed for the Mediterranean. Decatur arrived off Gibraltar in June. Learning that the "Mashoda," an Algerian forty-six gun frigate, was in those waters, he set out to find her. On June 17 she was sighted, and the American squadron immediately gave chase. Decatur's flagship, the "Guerrière," was in the lead, and soon came within range. The Moors fought with great bravery, and did not surrender until the other American ships brought their fire to bear on them. One shot cut the Algerian admiral in two, and thirty of their sailors were killed. The "Guerrière" had three killed and eleven wounded. Two days later Decatur captured an Algerian twenty-two gun brig after a short but fierce fight. Then he set sail for Algiers. The American squadron came to off Algiers, and Decatur sent in a demand for an immediate settlement. The Dey came in person, and a treaty was negotiated on Decatur's quarterdeck. The Dey offered to cease his depredations on American ships if the United States

Government would help him maintain his prestige by sending him a mere handful of gunpowder, in semblance of tribute. Decatur cut him short: "If you want powder you will have to take our balls with it." Once the Dey had come to terms, Decatur next called on the Pasha of Tunis, and made him pay \$46,000 for American ships in his waters betrayed to the English during the late war. The Bey of Tripoli had to pay \$25,000 for a similar breach of neutrality and to release all Christians he held in slavery. Henceforth, absolute immunity was granted to American ships sailing in the Mediterranean. This put an end to the anomalous submission of civilized nations to the insolent demands of the Arab chieftains of northern Africa.

About the same time that security was thus reestablished in the Mediterranean, England made another great stride toward the abolition of slave trading. Through Lord Castlereagh in Paris she won for this the consent of all Christian nations, excepting only Portugal and Spain. The Prince Regent of Portugal, with whom the interests of Brazil, just elevated to the rank of a kingdom, counted for more, now, than those of the mother country, agreed to restrict Brazil's thriving slave trade to southern waters. The statesmen of Spain obstinately declined the English demands for reform on this score. They justified their refusal by the fact that Great Britain herself did not suppress her own slave trade until all her colonies had been supplied with slaves far beyond the possibilities of her colonial rivals.

With this question thus temporarily settled, Metternich set himself to weld together the pieces of the old German Empire in the new form of a Germanic confederation. The terms were finally settled at Vienna in June. The confederation consisted of thirty-five States, thirty-one of which were ruled by sovereigns. The States comprised the Empire of Austria; the five kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony,

Hanover, and Wurtemberg; the electorate of Hesse-Cassel; the seven grandduchies—Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Saxe-Weimar, Luxemburg, and Oldenburg; the eight duchies—Holstein with Lauenburg, Brunswick, Nassau, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Saxe-Altenburg, Anhalt-Dessau, and Anhalt-Bernberg; the five principalities—Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Schaumburg-Lippe, Lippe-Detmold, Waldeck; the four dominions of Reuss, Hesse-Homburg, Neuburg, and Lichtenstein; and the four free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and Frankfort. The confederation, as now constituted, had sufficient cohesive force to endure for two generations. Yet it fell so wofully short of the more progressive ideals of German unity that the “good old times” of the Bund have become a byword of outraged German liberalism.

Friedrich Anton Mesmer, the originator of the pseudoscience known as Mesmerism, died during this year in Meersburg. His alleged discoveries in animal magnetism, at the close of the previous century, had made a great stir.

It was late in the year, during the interval preceding the conclusion of the second Treaty of Paris, that the singular compact was made between the sovereigns of the Continent which has come to be known as the “Holy Alliance.” It originated with Czar Alexander. This monarch, though loose enough in his private morals, was deeply imbued with religious feeling. At this time in particular he had fallen under the sway of Mme. Krüdener, who dabbled in mysticism. With her help he drew up a document which read like a profession of faith, and this he presented to his fellow-sovereigns. The King of Prussia, who was a simple-minded ruler, signed the paper in good faith. Emperor Francis, who had the comfortable sense of humor of the Hapsburgs, said that if the paper related to doctrines of religion, he

must refer it to his father confessor; if to matters of state, to his Prime Minister. Metternich pronounced the paper a mere mass of verbiage, but advised his master to sign it for policy's sake. The treaty practically renewed the pledges of Chaumont, though couched, this time, in the terms of a religious declaration. Article II of the treaty is a characteristic instance:

“The three Princes unite in confessing that the Christian people, of whom they and their nations form a part, have in reality no other Sovereign but Him to whom alone belongs Almighty Power; to wit, God the Father, our Divine Savior Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, and the Word. Their Majesties therefore recommend to their peoples to fortify themselves each day in the principles and practice of those duties which the Divine Savior has enjoined on Mankind.”

An invitation to join the Holy Alliance was issued to the Prince Regent of England, in evident ignorance of the fact that the sanction of Parliament was necessary to England's compliance. The Bourbon rulers of France, Naples, Sardinia, and Spain subscribed to the treaty as a matter of course, as did the Prince Regent of Sweden, Bernadotte. The Alliance, as finally concluded, comprised the principal rulers of Europe, with none left out but the King of England, the Pope, and the Sultan of Turkey.

Such was the famous Holy Alliance, which, though conceived by a liberal-minded enthusiast in a desire for universal peace and brotherhood, was destined to fall under general execration, as an unholy league for the suppression of the highest human liberties and free thought.

EVENTS OF 1816

France Under Parliamentary Rule—Inquisition is Reestablished in Spain—Secret Societies are Repressed in Italy—Spirit of Freedom is Crushed in Germany—First Session of German Diet Declares for Constitutional Government and Toleration of all Christian Sects—It Lays Basis for Prussia's Future Hegemony by Territorial Grants—Holland Annexes Belgium—Industrial Depression in England—Anti-Machine Riots—China Dismisses British Ambassador—Incorporation of United States Bank—Increase of Tariff Readjusts Industrial Development—In Jackson's Suppression of Seminoles, Fort Negro, on Spanish Territory, is Blown Up—First Rolling Mill in America is Built—Argentina Proclaims Independence—Bolivar is Defeated at La Puerta—Raises New Expedition in Haiti—Proclaims Freedom of Slaves in Venezuela—Captures Spanish Ships at Margerita—Moves on Barcelona.

AN era of peace and reconstruction had begun. After a generation of war and turmoil France was started on her new career of parliamentary government. The brief period of retaliation ended with the so-called amnesty act of January, which condemned Napoleon and all his relatives to perpetual exile. The Chambers now entered into a prolonged discussion of the propositions for a new election law. The Ministry was headed by the Duc de Richelieu, who had taken the place of Talleyrand and Fouché. The latter was compelled to leave France forever. Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, who succeeded Davoust, reorganized the army on a permanent footing of military equality which satisfied even Napoleon's veterans. In the Chambers the Comte d'Artois represented the ultra-royalist right wing, while the left was brilliantly led by Lafayette, Manuel, and Benjamin Constant. Guizot, during the same year, for the first time ascended the tribune as spokesman of the moderate party—the so-called Doctrinaires. Chateaubriand so offended the King by his book "La Monarchie selon la Charte" that his name was crossed from the list of the Council of State. Yet he remained the foremost man of letters in France.

In the other Latin countries, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, the restoration of the old monarchies was not attended by like beneficent results. In Spain the reestablishment of the Inquisition stifled free thought and free speech to such a degree that some of the most progressive Spaniards emigrated to the revolted Spanish dependencies in America. The return of Bourbon rule in Naples and Sicily was made odious by a general suppression of Freemasons and kindred secret societies.

In the German States similar measures of persecution were invoked against the student societies at the universities. The University of Erfurt was suspended. The Duke of Hesse, who had gained early notoriety by renting his subjects to foreign armies, now revived corporal punishment together with the stocks and other feudal institutions. In Wurtemberg serfdom was reestablished. Throughout Germany the reactionary suggestions of Prince Metternich were carried into effect. A good opportunity for Metternich to assert his ascendancy was presented by the first session of the new German Diet. Late in the year the delegates from all the States of the New Germanic Confederation met at Frankfort, Austria holding the permanent presidency. First of all, it was settled that Hesse would have to cede a large part of Westphalia to Prussia. Next, the title of the Duke of Cambridge to rule as Regent in Hanover was fully recognized. All the members of the Confederation bound themselves neither to enter into war nor into any foreign alliance against the Confederation or any of its members. The thirteenth article declared: "Each of the confederated States will grant a constitution to the people." The sixteenth placed all Christian sects on an equality. The eighteenth granted freedom of settlement within the Confederation, and promised "uniformity of regulation concerning the liberty of the press." The fortresses of Luxemburg, Mainz, and

Landau were declared common property and occupied in common by their troops. A fourth fortress was to be raised on the Upper Rhine with twenty millions of the French contribution money. This was never done.

Though Prussia had lost Hanover and East Friesland, she had received sufficient compensation still—thanks to Hardenberg's diplomacy—to start her on her future career as the predominant German State. Incorporated with the Prussian provinces now were half of Saxony, the Grand-duchy of Posen, a portion of Westphalia, nearly all of the Lower Rhine region from Mainz to Aix-la-Chapelle, and Swedish Pomerania, for which Prussia paid some eight million thalers by way of indemnity.

In Holland the new Stadtholder, Prince William Frederick of Orange-Nassau, having incorporated Belgium as an integral part of the kingdom of the Netherlands, set himself to nullify the French racial traits of his Belgian subjects. A suggestion of future strife on this score could already be found in Van der Palm's memorial on "The Restoration of the Netherlands," published during this year.

The final settlement of Napoleon's great upheaval of Europe left England feverish and exhausted. The prolonged financial strain of twenty years of war had saddled Great Britain with a national debt of eight hundred million pounds. Of material gain there was little to show but the acquisition of Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch; of the former French colony of Mauritius, and of a few West Indian islands. The continued possession of the Rock of Gibraltar, and of Malta, the old stronghold of the Knights of Malta, together with the British protectorate over the Ionic Isles, assured to England her commanding position in the Mediterranean. At home the pressure of the heavy taxes required to meet the financial legacies of the war was embittered by the general distress of the country.

The new tax on the importation of grains resulted in famine prices. Corresponding tariff restrictions abroad kept British markets overstocked with goods. Mills and factories had to be shut down, while at the same time the labor market was glutted with several hundred thousand discharged sailors and soldiers. The starving working people grew bitter in their opposition to new labor-saving devices. Thus the appearance of the first steamship on the Thames and of the earliest ships constructed of iron, followed shortly by Sir Francis Reynold's invention of an electric clockwork telegraph and by James Watt's introduction of stereo plates in book-printing, heightened this feeling. The resentment of laboring men found expression in riotous meetings at Manchester, Littleport, and Nottingham. The movement spread to London. A great labor meeting was held there on the Spaa fields. The favorite newspaper of the workingmen, Cobbett's radical "Two Penny Register," rivaled the London "Times" in power. In Parliament the leaders of the radical opposition grew ever more importunate. Not until the end of the year did matters mend. The most comforting sign of better times was a partial resumption of specie payments by the Bank of England, followed shortly by the opening of the first Savings Bank in London. Other memorable events of the year were the acquisition of the famous Elgin marbles from the Parthenon in Athens, celebrated in Keats's sonnet "On Seeing the Elgin Marbles," and the publication of Shelley's long poem "Alastor," and Leigh Hunt's "Story of Rimini," written in prison, where the author was confined for his remarks upon the Prince Regent's treatment of his wife. A diplomatic setback pregnant with future trouble was the Chinese Emperor's dismissal of Lord Amherst, the British Ambassador, for refusing to kow-tow to him.

In America the depression of commerce and industry resulting from the war with England continued unabated.

To relieve the situation, the Secretary of the Treasury, A. J. Dallas, proposed as a measure of relief the chartering of a new national bank with increased capital and enlarged powers and the readjustment of the tariff by the imposition of higher duties. The bank was chartered for twenty-one years with a capital of \$35,000,000, a portion of the stock to be owned by the Government and the institution to have in its management five Government directors in a board of twenty-five. The tariff policy of Madison was sustained by the Southern party and opposed by the Federalists, especially in New England. Thus it became more a question of sectional interests than of abstract political economy. The capital of New England was invested in shipping, so that the exclusion of articles of foreign production was bound to injure, by a high tariff, New England's carrying trade. On its part, the South sought to establish a home market for its cotton—almost the only staple of the Gulf States. Efforts were made to encourage the domestic manufacture of those coarse fabrics which were indispensable in a slaveholding region. The question thus grew into a struggle between slave labor and free trade. The free-trade party was led by Daniel Webster, and the tariff party by Calhoun. During the first year of the new tariff the value of foreign imports fell off about thirty-two per cent. In the adjustment of capital and trade to an enforced industrial policy, the American people passed through a commercial crisis which paralyzed the flourishing seaports of the New England coast. Newburyport, Salem, Plymouth, New London, Newport, and intermediate places sank from lucrative commercial centres into insignificant towns. Manchester, Lowell, Fall River, Waterbury, and other New England cities on the other hand became great manufacturing places.

The Fourteenth American Congress, under the leadership of Clay, imposed a protective tariff of about twenty-five

per cent on imported cotton and woolen goods, with specific duties on coal and iron. The average duties on imports amounted almost to prohibition.

The tranquillity of the end of Madison's administration was broken by new troubles with the southern Indians. General Jackson, by his impulsive manner of dealing with the Indians of Florida, nearly forced the United States into a war with Spain and England. The Indians had reason to complain of the injustice that had marked their treatment by the whites. Florida had become a refuge for runaway slaves from Georgia and South Carolina. The treaty of 1814 was repudiated by many of the Creeks, who resented the new settlements of the whites. Those who were most dissatisfied made common cause with the Seminoles. In July a detachment of men and gunboats under Colonel Church advanced upon Fort Negro. A shot from one of the boats blew up the powder magazine. The fort was laid in ruins. Of the 324 inmates 270 were killed. Most of the survivors were wounded.

During this year the "Washington," the first American line-of-battle ship, put to sea with seventy-four guns on her decks. The first American rolling mill and plant for puddling iron ore were built at Red Stone Bank in Pennsylvania.

Miranda, the South American revolutionist, expired on July 14, in a dungeon at Cadiz. In the meanwhile, Miranda's friend, San Martin, was fighting in Chile and Peru for South American independence and was aided in his struggle by Louis Beltran, an unfrocked friar. On July 9 the independence of Argentina was proclaimed. Paraguay, Uruguay, and Bolivia established independent governments.

After Miranda's defeat and the fall of Porto Cabello, Bolivar had fled to Curaçoa. He enlisted a corps of refugees in Cartagena and headed an expedition into New Granada. There he rallied more revolutionists about him, and, captur-

ing Madalena from the Spaniards, fought his way through to Caracas. He was welcomed there with extravagant demonstration as the "Savior of Venezuela." After one more victory on the field of Araure his star declined. The Spanish general, Boves, defeated him at La Puerta, and took a terrible vengeance on the patriots. The wounded and prisoners were killed on the field; the homes of all reputed rebels were burned to the ground; and the entire population of Aragua was massacred.

Bolivar retired to New Granada and thence to Jamaica. An attempt to assassinate him there failed; for the negro cutthroat who had undertaken to murder Bolivar killed the wrong person. Bolivar crossed over to Haiti. There he raised a new expedition. A negro leader, Petion, then acting governor of Haiti, helped him in this enterprise, and strongly advised him to proclaim the freedom of all slaves as the first step on landing in his country. "For, how can you free your country," said Petion, "if you don't free all the people in it?" Bolivar heeded his advice. With six ships and one hundred and fifty men he set out to reconquer Venezuela from Spain. He landed at Margerita, where he had the good fortune to capture several Spanish ships. With them he returned to Santo Domingo for more men and ammunition. Petion furnished him with funds. Thus reenforced, Bolivar made a dash for Barcelona in Venezuela. The end of the struggle was at hand.

EVENTS OF 1817

Disaffection among Bolivar's Forces—San Martin Joins His Argentine Forces with O'Higgins's in Chile—Patriots Rout Spanish at Acucagua—Are Beaten at Talca—Charge of O'Brien Decides Battle of Santiago, Frees Chile, and Opens Peru to Patriots—Monroe is Inaugurated President—"Era of Good Feeling"—Settlement of the Central States—Steam Packet Service Starts between New York and Liverpool—Ground is Broken for Erie Canal—Canada Establishes Government Banks—Gabelsberger Invents Practical Shorthand—Expression of Revolutionary Sentiments by Jena Students at Luther Celebration in Eisenach Causes Suppression of Political Study in German Universities—Belzoni's Archeological Researches in Egypt—Riots in England—Rise of Shelley, Moore, and Keats—Reorganization of French Academy—Béranger Imprisoned for His Satirical Ballads—Deaths of Madame de Staël and Marshal Masséna—Uprising of Wachabites in Arabia—Burning of Indian Village Incites Seminoles to Massacre Whites—Hastings Routs Pindarees in India—Baji Rao Surrenders to General Smith—Rajah of Nagpore Beaten at Sitaboldi—Mahratta Chiefs Murder Regent Mother of Indore and War on British—Malcolm Defeats Them at Nahidpore—Heroic Defence of Korygaun by Staunton's Sepoys Ends Mahratta Rule in the Deccan.

BOLIVAR landed at Barcelona on the north coast of Venezuela on the first day of the new year. He marched his force in the direction of Santa Fé in New Granada, hoping to push through to Peru. Marino and Piar, two insurgent leaders operating in the south, joined forces with Bolivar, and brought 1,200 additional men. By the time their joint column had penetrated well into Orinoco, the three leaders were at odds with each other. Piar tried to incite revolt among his followers. Bolivar caused Piar to be seized, and after a drum-head trial had him shot. In the meanwhile a Spanish force had swooped down on Barcelona, and massacred the inhabitants. Things were at this pass when the standard of revolt was once more raised in Chile by Bernardo O'Higgins, natural son of Ambrose Higgins, an Irish adventurer who had become Viceroy of Peru. By his handling of the campaigns that followed he won the title of the "First Soldier of the New World." It was still at the

outset of his career, in 1817, that help came to the Chileans from Buenos Ayres across the Andes. The man who brought this aid was San Martin.

At Mendoza, on January 17, San Martin reviewed his little army of 5,000, all Gaucho horsemen, lightly clad and provisioned. The women of Mendoza presented the force with a flag bearing the emblem of the Sun. San Martin held the banner aloft, declaring it "the first flag of independence which had been blest in South America." This same flag was carried through all the wars along the Pacific Coast. And under its tattered shreds San Martin was finally laid to rest sixty years later.

Marching from Mendoza, San Martin made a feint of crossing the Andes by way of Planchon, thereby inducing a Spanish column under Captain-General Marco del Ponte to concentrate at Talca. During the progress of these movements, San Martin and his followers crossed the mountains by the steep route of Putaendo and Cuevas. Three hundred miles of the stiffest mountain riding were covered in less than a fortnight. Early in February San Martin's army, now barely 4,000 strong, descended upon Villa Nueva. On February 7 they fought their first battle on Chilean soil with the Spanish outposts at Chacabuco. Driving the Spaniards before him, San Martin advanced into the plain, and presently joined forces with O'Higgins's infantry. New mounts were provided for the cavalry. At the strong post of Acuoncagua the Spaniards made a stand, but they were outnumbered by the insurgents. San Martin delivered a frontal attack, while O'Higgins outflanked the enemy with an impetuous charge, with the result that the whole Spanish force was routed beyond recovery. The officers fled to Valparaiso. By the middle of February San Martin entered Santiago de Chile. A new republican junta was formed and complete independence declared with O'Higgins as dictator.

All Chile was free now except in the South. General Ordoñez, commanding the Spanish forces there, was defeated and fell back to Talcahuano. San Martin prepared to invade Peru. Anticipating such an attack, Abascal, the Spanish Viceroy of Peru, despatched Osorio with an expedition of 3,500 veterans, who had just arrived from Spain, to Talcahuano. As soon as these reinforcements came, Ordoñez set out from Talcahuano with the vanguard to march on Santiago de Chile, and met the patriot forces near Talca. The revolutionists largely outnumbered the Spaniards, but were poorly disciplined and ill-provisioned. While they lost time the Spanish main column under Osorio came up. Ordoñez took advantage of the clumsy manœuvres of the revolutionists to drive a sharp attack between their two wings, piercing their centre. The battle was won after the first fifteen minutes. O'Higgins was wounded and had to be carried out of the fight. San Martin, with his right wing, fell back on San Fernando. With great difficulty O'Higgins managed to reach Santiago, where he was presently joined by San Martin. Steadily the Spanish column advanced on Santiago. The two revolutionary leaders by almost superhuman efforts succeeded in rallying and equipping a force of 5,000 defenders. On April 5 the Spanish army appeared before Santiago de Chile. Near the Maypo, nine miles from Santiago, the revolutionists took up a strong position. Osorio opened the battle about noon with artillery. Soon all the troops were engaged, the fiercest fight raging around a hacienda where San Martin and O'Higgins had their headquarters. Several times the ranch was lost and retaken. By sundown the Spaniards advanced all along the line. The battle seemed lost to the patriots. At this juncture, as the famous regiment of Burgos on the Spanish right was drawing in its deployed lines for a final column attack, Colonel O'Brien, at the head of the insurgent cavalry reserves, charged into the opening

and overthrew the Burgos battalions. O'Higgins immediately charged the rest of the Spanish right wing, and San Martin simultaneously attacked in the centre. The whole Spanish army gave away. More than 2,000 Spaniards were killed and wounded. Osorio with his staff escaped to Peru. The victory of Santiago not only freed Chile, but left Peru open to the revolutionists.

In the United States of North America, during this interval, a new President had begun his administration. James Monroe was inaugurated as President in his fifty-ninth year. He had been a member of the Continental Congress, and at thirty-six a Minister to France. Under Madison he served as Secretary of War. Crawford, Calhoun, Meigs, Wirt, and Rush were members of his Cabinet, and were all of the dominant Democratic-Republican party. Business throughout the country began to revive almost at once when the re-chartered National Bank went into operation in Philadelphia on the day of Monroe's inauguration. The Boston "Journal" called the times the "Era of Good Feeling," and the expression has passed into American history as a characteristic of Monroe's entire administration.

It was an era notable for the extraordinary growth of the Western States. Settlers were encouraged to buy government land on the instalment plan, and the States refrained from levying taxes on these lands until years after the settlers had received their title deeds. Endless processions of prairie wagons passed through New York and Pennsylvania. On one turnpike alone 16,000 vehicles paid toll during the year. Pittsburg at this time had a population of 7,000 persons. The log cabin was the house of all, with its rough chimney, its greased paper in a single window, its door with latch and string, a plank floor and single room, and its Dutch oven. In the newly broken ground corn and wheat were planted, which, when harvested, were thrashed

with the flail and winnowed with a sheet. Little settlements sprang up here and there, on the prairie, with stores, taverns, blacksmith shops, and mills. This a thousand times repeated was seen in western New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan.

The first line of steam-propelled ocean packets was organized to run between New York and Liverpool. In the western frontier town of St. Louis the first steamboat made its appearance. On July 4 ground was broken for the Erie Canal, which was to connect the city of New York with the great inland waters. On the strength of this progressive achievement De Witt Clinton became a candidate for the governorship of New York. Among other notable events of this year were the foundation of the New York State Library and Gallaudet's foundation of the first school for the deaf and dumb at Hartford. William Cullen Bryant, barely come of age, published his master work, "Thanatopsis," in the "North American Review."

In other parts of the world, likewise, the return of peace was followed by a general advance in culture and civilization. Shortly after the reestablishment of the American National Bank, Canada followed suit with government banks at Montreal and Quebec. In Poland the new University of Cracow began its career. In Munich Franz Gabelsberger invented the first working system of shorthand, which, in a perfected form, is still in use in Germany. During this year common-school education took an immense stride in Germany, after the establishment in Prussia of a distinct Ministry for Public Education. Unfortunately the Government soon came into conflict with the bolder spirits at the universities. By reason of the more liberal privileges allowed to it by the Duke of Weimar, the University of Jena took the lead in the national Teutonic agitation inaugurated by Fichte. On October 18 the students of Jena, aided by delegates from all

the student fraternities of Protestant Germany, held a festival at Eisenach to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation. It was also the anniversary of the battle of Leipzig. Five hundred ardent young men, among them scholars who had fought at Leipzig, Ligny, and Waterloo, assembled in the halls of Luther's Wartburg Castle. They sang and drank, and fraternized with the members of the militia of Eisenbach. In the evening they had a torchlight procession and lighted a huge bonfire on the hill opposite the castle. In imitation of Martin Luther's burning of the Pope's Bull they consigned a number of their pet aversions to the flames. Thus they burned a soldier's strait-jacket and corporal's cane, as well as a recent pamphlet by one Schmalz written in defence of the old Prussian bureaucracy. Rash words were uttered about the broken faith of princes. They were aimed at King Frederick William of Prussia, who had promised to give his country a constitution, but had failed to keep his word. The Wartburg festival, childish as it was in many of its manifestations, created singular alarm throughout Germany and elsewhere. The heavy hand of reaction fell upon all German universities. German scholars were compelled to turn their interests from public affairs to pure science and scholarship, to the benefit of German learning in these branches. The study of history and archeology took an upward turn with Brentano's publication of old German ballads and Lachmann's original version of the Nibelungen songs. At this time an Italian archeologist, Belzoni, was adding new chapters to ancient history by his original researches in Egypt, which resulted in the removal of the Colossus of Memmon to Alexandria, and in the opening of the great Cephren pyramid. In South Africa the first English missionaries began their labors among the blacks.

In England industrial depression dragged on. Early in the year riots broke out in London on the opening of Par-

liament. While driving to the House of Lords, the Prince Regent, now grown thoroughly unpopular on account of the scandals with his wife, was hooted by a crowd in St. James's Park. The police claimed that an air-gun had been discharged at the Prince, and they made an attack on the crowd. A number of persons were injured. This was followed in February by the great Green Bag Inquiry, when Lord Sidmouth laid before Parliament a green bag full of reports concerning seditious publications. Bills were introduced to suspend the habeas corpus act and to provide for the coercion of public meetings. Seditious publications were likewise to be suppressed. In March occurred the rising of the so-called Blanketers in Manchester—dissatisfied workingmen who started in a body for London, carrying blanket rolls and other necessaries. Their march was stopped by the military. In April seven members of the so-called society of Luddites were hanged at Leicester for breaking labor-saving machinery. Shortly afterward eighteen persons were hanged for forging notes on the Bank of England. It was found that since the redemption of specie payments no less than 17,885 forged notes had been presented. Nearly two hundred persons were apprehended and tried in court for this offence. Shortly afterward another insurrection in Derbyshire, led by Jeremiah Brandrett, was suppressed by soldiers.

While the working classes of England and Ireland were thus struggling against their miseries, English literature shone forth in new splendor. Shelley brought out his "Revolt of Islam" and Tom Moore published his "Lalla Rookh." John Keats at the age of barely twenty-one published his first poems. The volume attracted little attention. The appearance of Blackwood's new magazine in Edinburgh, on the other hand, was hailed as an event in English letters.

In France likewise the return of peace gave a new lease of life to literature. The French Academy was reor-

ganized to consist of forty members, who were elected for life, and who were to be regarded as "the highest authority on questions relating to language, grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and the publication of the French classics." Chateaubriand was the Academy's foremost member. Béranger, on the other hand, albeit his lyrics had reached the height of their popularity, fell into official disfavor by reason of his glorification of Napoleonic times. His ballad, "The Judge of Charenton," with its veiled allusions to the Lavalette episode, was made the subject of an interpellation in the Chamber of Deputies. While this was still pending further offence was given by the publication of Béranger's satirical piece on "The Holy Alliance." Béranger had to give up his position as secretary at the University of France, and was soon afterward arrested among his boon companions at Madame Saguet's near Le Moulin Vert. He was placed on trial for the alleged blasphemies committed in his song "The God of the Good Folk" and condemned to spend three months in prison and to pay a heavy fine.

The death of Madame de Staël occurred on July 14. This gifted daughter of Necker had not been allowed to return to France until after the fall of Napoleon. Her last work was a treatise on constitutional government, entitled "Considerations upon the Chief Events of the French Revolution," and published posthumously by her long-time German companion and adviser, Schlegel. Marshal Masséna died during the same year. His funeral was attended with imposing military honors rendered him by his old followers and comrades-in-arms, who recalled the triumphs of Rivoli, Essling, and a score of other victories in which this famous warrior had borne the brunt of the fighting.

This year would have been one of peace, the first since the outbreak of the French Revolution, but for another uprising of the Wahabites in Arabia under the standard of

Tourkee and the recurrence of North American Indian troubles. A year had passed after the destruction of Fort Negro in Florida before the whites found a pretext for another attack. At Fowlton, on Flint River, the Indians, in November, put up a war pole, and the chief warned Colonel Meigs, in command at Fort Scott, not to cross the Flint River. Gaines reached the place with some regular troops and volunteers, and Twiggs, with 250 men, moved upon the town, killed some of the people and burned the village. The revenge of the Seminoles was swift and bloody. Settlers were massacred and the property of the whites within reach of the Indians was destroyed. Over 2,700 Seminoles took the field. General Jackson assumed command on the day after Christmas. He declared that so long as the Spaniards held Florida the trouble would continue.

About the same time the British in India were plunged into further wars with the natives. First the Pindarees sent out plundering bands from Malwa. To suppress them Lord Hastings had to collect an army of 120,000, the largest force yet mustered in India. In October he left Cawnpore and crossed the Jumna. The Pindarees were routed in a series of swift-fought engagements.

Baji Rao, the Peishwa of the Mahrattas, who was biding his time until the British forces should withdraw from his dominions, grew impatient and threatened open war. To appease him a newly arrived British regiment was withdrawn from Toona to Khirki, a village about four miles from the British Residency. This concession only encouraged the Peishwa to further resistance. On November 5 the British Resident, Elphinstone, left Poonah to inspect the forces at Khirki. On that same day the Mahrattas burned Elphinstone's house and rich Sanskrit library. Baji Rao attacked the military post Khirki with 26,000 men, but was repulsed with a loss of 500. The British im-

mediately despatched an army under General Smith for Poonah. On November 15 they prepared for a general attack on the morrow, but in the course of the night Baji Rao fled from Poonah. Thus he surrendered his dominions without a blow.

Appa Sahib, the Rajah of Nagpore, meanwhile had made common cause with Baji Rao. On the evening of November 24 he brought up his forces and attacked the British Residency at Nagpore. The resulting battle of Sitaboldi is famous in Hindu annals. As Wheeler, the historian of British India, describes it:

“The English had no European regiment, as they had at Khirki; they had scarcely 1,400 Sepoys fit for duty, including three troops of Bengal cavalry, and only four six-pounders. Appa Sahib had an army of 18,000 men, including 4,000 Arabs, the best soldiers in the Decan; he had also thirty-six guns. The battle lasted from six o'clock in the evening of the 26th of November until noon the next day. For many hours the English were in sore peril; their fate seemed to hang upon a thread. The Arabs were beginning to close round the Residency, when a happy stroke of British daring changed the fortunes of the day. Captain Fitzgerald, who commanded the Bengal cavalry, was posted in the Residency compound and was anxious to charge the Arabs; but he was forbidden. Again he implored permission, but was told to charge at his peril. ‘On my peril be it!’ cried Fitzgerald. Clearing the enclosures, the Bengal cavalry bore down upon the enemy’s horse, captured two guns, and cut up a body of infantry. The British Sepoys hailed the exploit with loud huzzahs, and seeing the explosion of one of the enemy’s tumbrils, rushed down the hill, driving the Arabs before them. The victory was won, but the English had lost a quarter of their number.”

Appa Sahib surrendered himself and was placed under arrest. Presently he made good his escape and found a refuge with the Rajah of Jodhpur. In Holkar's State of Indore affairs ran in a similar groove. The Regent Mother showed herself inclined to come to an agreement with the British marching northward under Sir Thomas Hislop. But the Mahratta chiefs were bent on war, and murdered the Regent Mother. A battle, henceforth, was unavoidable. Already the British supply train had been plundered by the Mahrattas. The battle was fought on December 21 at Nahidpore. Sir John Malcolm commanded the British troops and won a complete victory. All the Hindu guns and swords fell into British hands. Then came the heroic defence of Korygaun, still celebrated in British Indian annals. A detachment of Bombay Sepoys and native cavalry, under the command of Captain Staunton and ten English officers, in all 800 men with two guns, were caught unawares by the Peishwa's army of 30,000 Mahratta Gosains. Captain Staunton's force intrenched itself in the village of Korygaun and prepared for the worst. The Mahrattas completely surrounded the place and the defenders were cut off from all water and supplies. Then came a succession of fierce rushes by the Mahratta horse and foot, every one of which had to be fought off in desperate hand-to-hand encounters. Of the ten white officers eight were killed; besides them Staunton lost one-third of his Sepoys. The Mahrattas left 600 on the field. To the present day the exploit is celebrated in the songs and stories of the Deccan. The Peishwa witnessed the long fight from a neighboring hill, and was beside himself when his discouraged troops refused to renew the battle. After this Baji Rao could no longer hold his army together. By the close of the year his forces were dispersed. It was the end of Mahratta rule in the Deccan.

EVENTS OF 1818

Patriots in Florida Rise against Spanish Rule—Jackson Raises American Flag—Destroys Indian Town of Suwanee—Executes Arbuthnot and Ambrister, Two British Subjects, for Aiding Indians—War with Spain Averted by Purchase of Florida—North and South Fight Over Proposed Admission of Missouri as Slave State—Beginning of Pension System in Grant to Revolutionary Soldiers—Present Form of American Flag is Fixed—Convention with Great Britain Fixes Newfoundland Fishing Rights, Boundary of British America, and Joint Occupation of Oregon—Arctic Exploration—Literary Controversy Over Keats's "Endymion"—Infant Schools, Steam-Heating, Public Gas-Lighting, and Road-Macadamizing Begun—Velocipede Invented—Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle Withdraws Army of Occupation from France—The Czar, Metternich, and King of Prussia Combine to Crush Parliamentary Government, Universities, and the Press—Military Revolts in Spain.

AMELIA ISLAND, at the mouth of the St. Mary's River in Florida, had long been the resort of lawless men, among whom were European adventurers attracted by the South American revolution, and many fugitive slaves from Georgia and South Carolina. A plan was formed to organize a revolution on that island and to add Florida to the revolting South American republics. The forces gathered there became too strong for the Spaniards, and President Monroe decided to interfere. Gaines was sent to Amelia Island; but before he arrived, Aury, the commander of the malcontents, had surrendered to Commodore Henley. General Jackson assumed command of Gaines's forces, which he added to his own Tennessee volunteers. Declaring that "the cause of the United States must be carried to any point within the limits of Florida where an enemy is permitted to be protected," he marched into Florida. On the site of the Negro fort he built Fort Gadsden. He then advanced to the Bay of St. Marks, defeating the few Seminoles whom he encountered. On April 7 he raised the American flag there in place of the standard of Spain. Two

Seminole chiefs who had taken refuge on an American vessel in the bay, and who were supposed to have participated in the massacre of a party of Americans, were brought on shore and hanged. Leaving a strong garrison at St. Marks, Jackson marched a hundred miles to the Indian town of Suwanee, where he hoped to capture Billy Bowlegs and his band. But the Indians, warned of his approach, escaped across the river. Suwanee was destroyed. Jackson, when at St. Marks, had taken prisoner one Arbuthnot, a Scotchman and supposed Indian sympathizer, whom he ordered to be confined until his return. At Suwanee, Captain Ambrister, a former English officer, intending to join the Indians, blundered into Jackson's camp, and was held a prisoner. On his return, Jackson ordered the two men to be tried by court-martial, on the charge of warning the Indians of the approach of the American soldiers, and both were convicted and executed. Jackson, on reaching Fort Gadsden, received from the Spanish Governor of Pensacola a protest against his invasion. He turned back, occupied Pensacola, and took Fort Carriros de Barrancas, to which the Governor had fled.

When the news of Jackson's course reached Washington, Congress engaged in a heated debate over his occupation of the forts of a friendly Power. In defending himself Jackson wrote that the Secretary of War had given him full power to conduct the campaign in the manner which seemed best. Spain, he claimed, had failed to fulfil that article of the treaty by which she was bound to restrain the Florida Indians from hostilities. Popular feeling proved too strong for Congress to assert its privileges as the sole war-making power. Jackson was not even rebuked for his course. During all those months, Onis, the Spanish Minister, and Adams were in negotiation over a treaty, which was not ratified until two years later. Florida was to be ceded to the United States on payment of \$5,000,000, to be applied in satisfying

the claims of American citizens against Spain. The Sabine River, instead of the Rio Grande, was made the dividing line between the United States and Spanish territory. The line was to run from the mouth of the Sabine to the 32d parallel, thence north to the Red River and along it to the 100th meridian, thence north to the Arkansas and along that river to its source on the 42d parallel, and thence west to the Pacific. War with Spain was thus averted.

While the Florida question was under consideration, there arose another far more momentous to America. Free labor in the North and slave labor in the South were brought squarely face to face. Slave labor was fast rising in value. The new lands of the lower Mississippi opened a vast field for the employment of slaves in the production of cotton, sugar, and tobacco. It was believed the extension of slavery into that new territory would save it from gradual extinction. The interstate traffic in slaves was viewed with abhorrence by many leading men in the South. John Randolph, while upholding slavery, denounced the traffic that was carried on in the Southern plantations. On the other hand it was seen that compromise would be of little value if the North only was to be permitted to increase its power by the admission of new States. New slave States as well were demanded by the Southerners.

In March the citizens of Missouri had asked permission to form a State constitution and to be admitted into the Union. It was tacitly understood that slavery might be carried into territory east of the Mississippi belonging originally to the existing slave States. But Louisiana, west of the Mississippi, belonged to the whole of the United States rather than to any one of the several States. The question now arose whether Congress should establish slavery anew in territory of the United States. The alternative was presented to the people of the North whether to submit to the

demands of the South or to consent to a dissolution of the Union. Though represented by a majority in Congress, the Northern States were defeated after a long struggle. John Quincy Adams doubted if Congress, under the American Constitution, had the right to prohibit slavery in a territory where it already existed. "If a dissolution of the Union should result from the slave question," he wrote, "it is obvious that it must shortly afterward be followed by a universal emancipation of the slaves."

During this same year Congress first granted pensions to needy veterans of the Revolutionary War and soon afterward to the widows and children of dead soldiers. Thus began the system of American pension legislation for former American soldiers which was destined to grow to such gigantic proportions in later years. Up to that time the number of stripes in the American flag had been eighteen. Now a bill was approved reducing the number of stripes to thirteen, the number of original States composing the Union. The numbers of stars was to be made equal to that of the States. On October 20 a convention with Great Britain was signed respecting fisheries and boundaries, giving to Americans the right to fish in Newfoundland waters and renewing the agreement of 1815, making the 49th parallel the boundary between the United States and British North America. The convention also provided for the joint occupation of Oregon for ten years longer. The year is notable in English history for many important events. Sir John Ross sailed north to discover a northwest passage. Another relief expedition under Lieutenant Franklin, which had sailed after him, resulted only in failure. Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley published her curious novel "Frankenstein," and John Keats brought out his long poem "Endymion," for which he was violently assailed by the critics, notably by Jeffrey of "Blackwood's Magazine." Shelley, Moore, Hunt, and even-

tually Byron, warmly took his part. In the meanwhile a number of industrial reforms were introduced in England. Infant schools were first thrown open during this year, and steam was first used for heating purposes. A company in Edinburgh undertook to light the streets with gas. John Loudon Macadam's new system of road building was successfully introduced. In France similar strides were made in industrial progress. Joseph Nicéphore Niepce invented his velocipede, an invention containing the germ of the bicycle.

The Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, consisting of the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, aided by ministers of Great Britain and France, on October 9, signed a convention for the withdrawal of the army of occupation from France, and for the reception of France into the European concert. For other countries the deliberations of this Congress were not so beneficent. Since the Polish Diet in the spring, when Alexander had promised to give all Russia a constitutional government, a change of spirit had come over the Czar. This change has been explained by the revelation of a military conspiracy against his person. At all events, Alexander appeared at Aix-la-Chapelle with the most reactionary proposals. Up to this time Metternich, the inveterate foe of liberalism, had found in the Czar his most formidable opponent. Now the Czar distributed among his fellow sovereigns a pamphlet written by one Stourdza, which described Germany as on the brink of revolution, and blamed the universities and public press. Metternich instantly took his cue from the Czar. Before the end of the conference he delivered to the King of Prussia and to Hardenberg two papers containing his recommendations for the management of Prussian affairs. Frederick William was warned against giving his people a national parliament. After the example of the Czar, Metternich inveighed against the universities and the press.

The reactionary policy outlined in these papers became the guiding star of King Frederick William of Prussia. They outline the history of what actually was carried out in Prussia during the succeeding generation.

It was not only in Germany that the new spirit of liberalism gave concern to the members of the Holy Alliance. In Spain it appeared in a more dangerous form, since it was espoused there by the military class. Ferdinand's misgovernment of Spain had soon resulted in an empty treasury, in consequence of which soldiers and sailors received no pay for several years. Military revolts were instituted by General Mina, and by Porliar and Lacy at this period; but they failed through the indifference of the soldiers themselves. The government's attempt to offset the numerous desertions from the army, by seizing and enrolling some 60,000 beggars in military service, proved a complete failure. Napoleon's prediction to Rear-Admiral Cockburn that Spain was doomed to lose all her colonies was reaching fulfilment in America.

EVENTS OF 1819

Spain Cedes Florida to the United States—House Passes Missouri Compromise Bill Permitting Slavery in Missouri, but Making All Other Western Territory North of State's Southern Boundary Free—Invention of Blanchard Lathe—Oersted's Experiments Establish Theory of Electromagnetism—Irving Publishes "Sketch-Book"—Sikhs Conquer Cashmere—Chile Establishes a Navy—Parliament Passes Acts against Sedition—Birth of Queen Victoria—Schopenhauer Publishes Philosophic Masterpiece—The Student Sand Assassinates Kotzebue as Enemy of German Liberty—University Professors are Driven into Exile—Council of German Ministers at Carlsruhe Adopt Inquisition of Liberal Teaching in Universities—Bavaria, Baden, and Wurtemberg Grant Constitutional Government—Laënnec Invents Stethoscope—Election of Grégoire, a Regicide, to French Chamber of Deputies is Declared Void—Spanish Officers Conspire to Escape Service in America—Betrayal of the Plot.

EARLY in the year Andrew Jackson was called to Washington. He was the hero of the day. On February 22 a treaty with Spain was adopted by which she surrendered all claims to Florida and ceded West Florida. The cost of the war to the United States had been forty million dollars. The year was marked by the enforced retirement of large bodies of the Cherokees from Georgia to the Mississippi.

There were now eleven free and eleven slave States; and serious opposition arose to the admission of Missouri. In February the first bill was introduced in the House for the admission of that Territory. James Tallmadge, Jr., of New York, proposed that there should be no personal servitude in the State except by those already held as slaves, and that these should be manumitted within a certain period. This proposition he modified by moving an amendment providing that the introduction of slavery should be prohibited, but that those already slaves in Missouri should remain so, and that the children of such slaves should be liberated upon reaching the age of twenty-five. The proposition to hold in

slavery a generation yet unborn was fiercely resented. The two Houses did not agree, and the question went over to another year. The South presented an unbroken and unyielding front. Caleb of Georgia said that this attempt to interfere with slavery was "destructive of the peace and harmony of the Union"; that those who proposed it "were kindling a fire which all the waters of the ocean could not extinguish. It could be extinguished only in blood."

The Missouri question having been left for the next session, the cognate issue concerning a government for the Arkansas country south of parallel $33^{\circ} 30'$ was taken up. In both Houses an amendment to prohibit slavery was lost. As a compromise a representative from Delaware suggested a division of the Western Territory between the free and slave States. The contest was renewed at the December session. Resolutions of Northern Legislatures condemning the placing of slavery under the National Government were presented, and were treated with contempt by the Southern statesmen. Senator Mason of North Carolina said: "They may philosophize at town meetings about it as much as they please, but they know nothing about the question." In the House the matter was brought up in the same form as in the previous session. James W. Taylor of New York presented an amendment prohibiting slavery, but holding in bondage those who were already slaves. He kept this point clearly in view through the debate that followed. Finally the bill was passed by a vote of 91 to 82, the prohibitory amendment being adopted by a majority of eight. In accordance with the strategic suggestion of Henry Clay the bill for the admission of Missouri was attached to that for the admission of Maine. The judiciary committee reported the House bill for the admission of Maine, adding an amendment for the admission of Missouri. Roberts of Pennsylvania moved to amend the amendment by

prohibiting slavery in Missouri, but his motion was rejected by a majority of eleven (including six Senators from free States.) A motion to make the admission of Maine a separate question was also defeated. The two Houses now stood directly opposed to each other. The Representatives would not retreat from their decision to prohibit slavery in Missouri; the Senate was equally determined that Missouri should be admitted as a slave State.

Senator Thomas of Illinois, who had voted thus far with the South, now came forward with a compromise. He proposed to prohibit slavery in that portion of the Louisiana Purchase north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ excepting Missouri. This was accepted in the Senate by 34 votes against 10. But when the bill came up two days later for its passage it received only a majority of four. After much delay the compromise measure was finally passed through the House by a majority of 134 to 42 votes. The measure was a Northern victory, having been carried by Northern votes. For the moment peace was gained; but the fire was only smothered. On the one side, there was a gain of one slave State; on the other side, a mere promise to prohibit slavery in future States.

Notwithstanding the political agitation, general progress in America was pronounced and rapid during this period. Steam navigation was no longer a novelty. The Erie Canal was well under way. New towns were springing up along its course. Blanchard invented his lathe for turning irregular forms. The famous Danish physicist, Hans Christian Oersted, made his classical electrical experiments with the magnetic needle and laid the foundation of our modern theory of electromagnetism. The literary event of the year in America was the appearance of Washington Irving's "Sketch-Book." The work found favor in England, where Sir Walter Scott befriended Irving.

In England, too, it was a period of new industrial and colonial expansion. Following the unsuccessful polar expeditions of the previous year, Lieutenant Franklin undertook his second search for the northwest passage, and a similar expedition, under Perry and Liddon, set out for Arctic waters. In India, where the Sikhs under Runjeet Singh were engaged in their great conquest of Cashmere, a British settlement was established in Singapore. British supremacy at sea received its tribute in an invitation from the Chileans to Sir Thomas Cochrane to command their new navy. After their victory on the *Maypo*, the patriot leaders of Chile had set to work to create a navy for their country. The British ship "*Cumberland*" was purchased in London, and renamed the "*San Martin*." Within a few months she captured the "*Maria Isabella*" from the Spanish. The prize was taken to Valparaiso, remounted, and renamed the "*O'Higgins*." To these ships were added the "*Galvarino*," "*Araucano*," "*Interpodo*," and the "*Independencia*." With the "*O'Higgins*" for a flagship, Cochrane took his squadron up and down the coast of South America, harrying the Spanish sea-ports everywhere.

In England, meanwhile, there was renewed agitation for Parliamentary reforms. Henry Grattan in Parliament moved for a Committee of the whole House to consider the laws excluding Catholics from public offices. His motion was defeated by a narrow vote of 243 against 241. Instead of this reform, the British Government, falling in line with the reactionary measures of the Continental governments, passed through Parliament the so-called "*Six Acts*" for the prevention and punishment of sedition in England. To latter-day Englishmen this year is principally noted for the birth of Queen Victoria. The little princess, the daughter of Edward, Duke of Kent, son of George III, and Maria Louisa Victoria of Saxe-Coburg, a sister of Leopold I of

Belgium, was born at Kensington Palace, and was named Alexandrina Victoria.

Germans of the present day remember this year for the appearance of Schopenhauer's great philosophic work, "The World as Will and Idea." Schopenhauer, in this book, laid down the doctrine that the universe, and therefore human life as such, is governed by the conflicting principles of the ungoverned will and of the unattainable ideal. The true solution of life, he held, was to be found in subjecting brute will to the intellectual force of the ideal.

By this time it had become well known what part Czar Alexander had played at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. A vehement outcry arose at the universities against the interference of foreigners in German affairs. The wrath of the Liberals turned against August von Kotzebue, the prolific playwright, who held the office of Russian agent in central Germany. Kotzebue conducted a weekly newspaper at Mannheim in which he inveighed against the German national movement of the day, and ridiculed the patriotic eccentricities of the students. Having himself studied at Jena, Kotzebue was denounced by the students there as a traitor. He was believed to be responsible for the Czar's conversion from liberal ideas to reactionary principles. This belief cost Kotzebue his life. One Sand, a theological student at Jena, noted for piety and patriotic ardor, formed a fanatical resolution to do away with this enemy of the country. On March 23 Sand sought out Baron Kotzebue in the midst of his family and stabbed him to the heart. Then he turned the dagger against himself. Unfortunately Sand recovered from his wounds, and thus lived to die on the scaffold.

The mad deed was followed by the worst possible results for Germany. Minister Hardenberg, when he heard of the murder of Kotzebue, declared that a Prussian Constitution

had now been rendered impossible. Metternich, who was then in Rome, instantly drew up a scheme for further repressive measures and summoned the ministers of the various German States for a meeting at Carlsbad. "By the help of God," wrote Metternich, "I hope to defeat the German revolution, just as I vanquished the conqueror of the world." A number of innocent persons were arrested in various parts of Germany under utterly unwarrantable circumstances. The houses of professors were searched and private papers were seized. Jahn, the founder of the popular Gymnastic schools, was arrested in Berlin. De Wette, a professor of theology at the University of Berlin, had to flee to Switzerland on account of a letter of sympathy addressed by him to Sand's mother. With him Oken, the great naturalist, and Corres, the pamphleteer, became exiles in Switzerland. Professor Fries lost his chair at Jena; the poet Arndt was suspended at Bonn, and his private papers, in garbled form, were published by the Government. Many younger professors, accompanied by their favorite students, emigrated to America.

During August the German ministers met at Carlsbad. It was ordered that in every State within the German federation a strict censorship should be established over all publications. Within fifteen days an inquisitorial commission was called together at Mainz to investigate the students' societies at the universities. The commission was empowered to arrest any subject in any German State. Special police commissioners were appointed at the universities, whose duty it was to keep a strict eye on the drift of the professors' teachings. Any professor or student expelled from a university was not to be employed by any other German government. The students' societies were suppressed, at least to all outward appearance.

So far was repression carried in Prussia that out of 203 students arrested for wearing black-red-yellow ribbons, the

emblem of German freedom, no less than 94 were condemned to death. Wilhelm von Humboldt, the best and most liberal of Prussian Ministers during the first half of the nineteenth century, resigned his portfolio in disgust. The zeal with which the Prussian Government accepted these measures made it useless for the minor German States to offer much opposition. Yet they formed the only remaining bulwark against Metternich's restrictive policy. In spite of his strenuous opposition, the rulers of Bavaria and Baden granted to their subjects constitutional forms of government. Representative assemblies with lower and upper houses, after the manner of the English Parliament, were established. In Wurtemberg serfdom was abolished, and a constitution was published a few days before the enrolment of the decrees of Carlsbad.

In France, Dr. Laënnec published his epoch-making work, "Treatise on Mediate Auscultation," the result of his recent experiments in listening to human heart-beats and lung respirations through a hollow cylinder, to which Laënnec gave the name of "stethoscope." Laënnec's contributions to the study of diseases of the lungs, of the heart, and of the abdominal organs may be said to have laid the foundation of modern clinical medicine.

Parliamentary government in France worked none too smoothly. In the Chambers the rise of the independent party and anti-Bourbon faction caused the Duc de Richelieu to resign. Louis XVIII entrusted to his favorite, Decazes, the formation of a new Cabinet. Decazes found it difficult to select competent men for the various portfolios. His Cabinet, when finally brought together, lacked internal unity and outward support. Its career was early imperiled by the untoward election of Bishop Grégoire of Grenoble, one of the regicides, to the Chamber of Deputies. This popular manifestation, though sufficiently explained by the sterling

public qualities of the bishop himself, created the utmost apprehension among the Royalists. Decazes had to bend to the storm, and the election of Grégoire was declared null and void by the Ministerial majority in the Chambers. The French Royalists next professed to find cause for apprehension in Spain. Danger of war with the United States, before the cession of Florida, had caused King Ferdinand of Spain to assemble an army at Cadiz to embark for America. It was now proposed to send these troops to South America to quell the revolutionary movements there. The return of a number of soldiers stricken with yellow fever in the colonies filled the troops at Cadiz with consternation. The common soldiers, lying in squalor and inaction at their barracks, came to regard their expected order of embarkation as a sentence of death. Their officers plotted with the secret societies in Cadiz and neighboring towns. Abisbas, the commandant at Cadiz, to safeguard his own interests, pretended to encourage these plots. Then, convinced of their ultimate failure, he arrested the principal leaders by a stratagem and hurried to Madrid to reveal all and claim credit for saving the crown. The ringleaders were imprisoned and the troops were distributed into cantonments. As it turned out, this only served to foment the growing spirit of dissatisfaction throughout Spain.

EVENTS OF 1820

Failure of Revolution at Cadiz—Defection of Royalist General Abisbas to the Patriots—Ferdinand Grants Constitution—Assassination of Duc de Berry Causes Downfall of Decazes's Ministry—Rise in Italy of the Carbonari—They Compel King Ferdinand of Sicily to Grant Constitution—Portuguese Depose Regency—Russia Buncoes Spain by Selling Her a Rotten Fleet—Scandalous Divorce Trial of English Prince Regent is Quashed—Final Passage of Missouri Compromise Bill Sows Seeds of Future Discord—Monroe Reelected President—Discovery of Quinine—Hahnemann Announces Theory of Homeopathy—Priessnitz Introduces Hydropathy—Metternich Arranges Conference of Powers at Troppau to Suppress Liberalism—King Ferdinand again Perjures Himself by Swearing to Support Constitution—Death of Benjamin West, the Painter.

NEW YEAR'S DAY was fixed for the outbreak of revolt by the revolutionists of Spain. The chosen leaders were Riego, Cabazes, and Quiroga. It was arranged that Quiroga, who was held in light confinement at Medina, east of Cadiz, should gather the battalions outside of Cadiz, throw himself into the city, and there await the cooperation of his fellow conspirators. Riego with a band of chosen men was to pounce upon the military headquarters at Arcos, and to arrest the general officers before they could interfere. Accordingly, Riego, on the first day of January, proclaimed the Constitution of 1812, and, falling upon headquarters, seized the general officers and rallied the men to his standard. Quiroga was less successful. After gaining possession of San Fernando at the eastern point of the peninsula of León, he failed to get into Cadiz. The commandant closed the gates against him, and the troops within gave no sign of defection. By the time Riego arrived there were but 5,000 insurgents wherewith to overcome the strong garrison and fortifications of Cadiz. Leaving Quiroga before Cadiz, Riego set himself to rouse the people of the surrounding towns. He was received with kind-

ness, but the obvious weakness of his force discouraged others from joining him. Strong forces were sent in pursuit, and the insurgents were compelled to march back and forth through the country to escape their pursuers. At Cordova, Riego was made to realize that the game was lost. The soldiers of the government were upon him, and he had only some two hundred followers left. The little band took to the mountains and there dispersed.

The revolt, despite its miserable end, was followed by widespread results. The example of a bold stroke had been given, and the weakness of the government had been exposed. While Riego's followers were still hunted from place to place, the soldiers and citizens of Corona together declared for the Constitution. The revolutionary movement spread to Ferrol and thence along the coast towns of Galicia.

In South America Cochrane in a brilliant action took the Spanish stronghold of Valdivia, held to be a Gibraltar in strength. King Ferdinand in Madrid was terrified. From all points of Spain the commandants wrote that they could not answer for their garrisons. Abisbas was ordered to return to Cadiz with reenforcements. On leaving Madrid he boasted to the King that he knew how to deal with rebels. By the time he reached Ocaña, early in March, he himself proclaimed the Constitution. The news of Abisbas's defection created consternation in Madrid. On the night of March 6 the King convoked his Council of State. On the morrow he issued a summons for the Cortes. This was not enough. Crowds gathered in the streets and clamored for the Constitution. A report that the guards were on the point of going over to the people brought the King around. From the balcony of the royal palace Ferdinand announced his readiness to take the oath to the Constitution. The next day was spent in riotous rejoicing. The prison of the Inquisition was sacked and all political prisoners were liberated.

On the following day the mob broke into the gates and gardens of the royal palace. The members of the old municipal council entered the royal private chamber and called for a fulfilment of the King's public promise. Ferdinand accepted the inevitable under a smiling exterior, and swore an oath of fidelity to the Constitution of 1812. A provisional Junta took charge of affairs until the new Cortes should be convened.

The news of the Spanish revolution astounded Europe. In France a fanatic by the name of Louvel deemed the moment come to strike at the reigning house of France. Louvel had followed Napoleon to exile in Elba. After the Hundred Days he dogged the footsteps of the Bourbon princes with a settled project of murder. The heir presumptive to the French crown was the Duc de Berry. If he died without a son the elder Bourbon line was bound to become extinct as a reigning house. On the night of February 13 Louvel attacked the Duc de Berry at the entrance of the opera house and plunged a knife into his heart. The Duchess was covered with her husband's blood. That night Duc de Berry died beseeching forgiveness for the man who had killed him. King Louis XVIII himself closed the eyes of his nephew.

The assassination of the Duc de Berry involved the ruin of the Ministry of Decazes. The ultra-royalists in their frenzy of grief and indignation charged their chief opponent with complicity. Clausel de Coussergues, a member of the Court of Cassation, moved the impeachment of Minister Decazes in the Chambers as an accomplice in the assassination. The King himself felt menaced by the unwarranted accusation. "The Royalists give me the finishing stroke," said he; "they know that the policy of M. Decazes is also mine, and they accuse him of assassinating my nephew." Yet he had to abandon his favorite to the violent entreaties of the Comte d'Artois and the Duchesse d'An-

goulême. Decazes was permitted to retire, and set out for London with his new titles of Duke and Ambassador to the Court of St. James's. Richelieu was recalled to the Ministry. The Duchesse de Berry retired to Sicily.

In Naples and Sicily the recent events in Spain and France exerted a powerful influence over the minds of the people. In southern Italy the secret society of the Carbonari had become a power in the land. The members of this society, after the manner of Freemasons, took their name and the symbolism of their rites from the calling of the charcoal burners. Since the revolt against Bourbon tyranny in 1799, the Carbonari had played their part as revolutionary conspirators. By the year 1820 it was believed that one person out of every twenty-five in Naples belonged to the society. To offset their hidden power, the government encouraged the foundation of a rival society, known as the Calderari, or Braziers. This only made matters worse. After the success of the revolution in Spain, the head lodge of the Carbonari in Salerno issued orders for a rising in June. Later the date was postponed. A score of Carbonari serving in the ranks of a cavalry regiment at Nola persuaded one of the officers, Lieutenant Morelli, to head a revolt in favor of a constitutional government. On July 2 Morelli marched out with a squadron of 150 men, and proclaimed for the Constitution. Only one trooper refused to follow his standard. The others rode along the road to Avellino and were received with enthusiasm all along the way. The country was ripe for revolt. At Avellino the commandant with all his garrison and the bishop with the townspeople gave them a magnificent reception. The news of the revolt spread like wildfire throughout the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Everywhere the Carbonari declared in its favor. Before the government had taken a single step, the Constitution was generally proclaimed and joyfully accepted by the populace.

From Naples the King sent General Carrascosa to negotiate with the insurgents. In the meanwhile General Pepe, himself a Carbonaro of high rank, hastened to Avellino and placed himself at the head of the revolution. On July 6 the King published an edict promising a constitution within eight days, and then, feigning illness, committed the royal authority to his son, the Duke of Calabria. The Carbonari, recalling the fact that the King, in order to preserve his contingent rights to the Spanish crown, had but recently helped to sign the Spanish Constitution of 1812, insisted that this same Constitution should be proclaimed for Naples. Old King Ferdinand yielded and signed an edict to that effect. General Pepe and Morelli, at the head of the garrison of Avellino, and the national guards of Naples, triumphantly entered the city with public honors, and were received by the Duke of Calabria, in his capacity as viceroy. On July 13 the King in person swore to support the Constitution. Standing before the altar in the royal chapel, he raised his eyes to the crucifix and prayed that the vengeance of God might fall upon him if ever he broke his oath. Immediately afterward he wrote to the Emperors of Austria and Russia, declaring that his conduct on this occasion was a mere farce and that he regarded his obligations as null and void.

The contagion of Spain and Sicily proved too much for the people of Portugal. The continued absence of the royal family in Brazil and the unwelcome prolongation of the British regency had long caused dissatisfaction in Portugal. The feeling of discontent was deepened by industrial and commercial distress which made the manifest prosperity of Brazil seem all the more galling. Marshal Beresford, the English commander-in-chief of the Portuguese army, was generally execrated for his barbarous treatment of military conspirators. After the outbreak of the Spanish revolution, the aspect of affairs became so threatening in Portugal that

Beresford set out for Rio Janeiro to induce the Princes of Braganza to return to their Court in Lisbon. Before he could accomplish his purpose, the government that he had left behind him was overthrown by the people. On August 24 the city of Oporto rose against the regency. The officers of the army, the magistrates, the priests and townspeople united in declaring against the regency. They established a provisional junta to govern in the name of the King until the Cortes of Portugal could be convened to frame a constitution. The authority of the regency in Oporto was lost without a blow. The Junta immediately seized the reins of government, and began its career by dismissing all English officers and paying the arrears of the soldiers. In Lisbon the regency itself tried to stem the storm by giving its formal approval to the measures of the Junta of Oporto. The troops of Lisbon, however, would no longer recognize the authority of the government. Within a fortnight the regency was deposed, and a junta installed in its place. Beresford was forbidden to return to Portugal. He went to England, but found there that the British Ministry did not deem it advisable to interfere further in the domestic affairs of Portugal. Dom Juan VI, in Rio Janeiro, promised to return to Portugal and bestow on his subjects a liberal constitution.

In England, Lord Beresford's attempt to induce the government to suppress the revolutionists of Portugal only served to strengthen the popular antipathy that had grown up against the reactionary tendencies of the Holy Alliance. Prior to this an attempt had been made to persuade England to act as instrument of the Alliance by suppressing the rebellious colonies of Spain in South America. At the last session of the Holy Alliance, the envoys of Russia and France submitted a paper in which they suggested that Wellington, as "the man of Europe," should go to Madrid to pre-

side over a negotiation between the Court of Spain and all the Ambassadors, regarding the terms to be offered to the transatlantic States. If the colonies continued rebellious, England's fleet was counted upon to reduce them to submission. But the force of liberalism was too strong in England for any British Minister to enter into such a scheme. Then it was that the Czar of Russia sold a large part of the Russian fleet to Spain. On their arrival at Cadiz, the Russian ships were found to be useless rotten hulks.

Another more trying scandal engrossed public attention in England. On January 29 old King George III had at last sunk into his grave. His son, George IV, became king, and began his rule with the same Ministry under Lord Liverpool that had served him as Prince Regent. The new King's first public act was to call for a bill for the divorce of his wife, Caroline of Brunswick. The Cabinet refused to favor such a bill. On April 23 Parliament met. The King sent "a green bag" to each House of Parliament, containing a mass of testimony and accusations concerning the Queen's conduct with her Italian chamberlain, Pergami. On June 6 Queen Caroline arrived from Italy. Having been refused passage on a royal ship, she chartered a vessel of her own. This bold step was taken to imply innocence. She was received with great popular demonstrations in her favor. Before a secret committee of Parliament, Queen Caroline offset the King's charges against her by laying stress on his own well-known failings as a husband. On July 5 Lord Liverpool introduced a bill of "Pains and Penalties" to dissolve the marriage of Queen Caroline. Her trial was taken up by the House of Lords, where she was defended by Lord Brougham. To this day the proceedings of the trial are remembered as one of the most outrageous scandals in England. The feelings thereby engendered in the people have been immortalized in the trenchant writings of Thackeray.

Before the trial was concluded, Lord Liverpool's bill was brought up for the third time in Parliament. It passed by a majority of a few votes. With so slender an endorsement, the Ministry had cause to tremble for its existence. Lord Liverpool prevailed upon the King to recede from his extreme position, and, succeeding in this, moved for the abandonment of the bill. The trial was quashed. Queen Caroline died shortly afterward.

In America public feeling was no less excited. The occasion for this was the first serious clash of the Northern and Southern factions of the United States over what was known as the Missouri Compromise. On February 18 the Missouri Compromise bill passed the Senate, and on March 2 the House. It admitted Missouri as a slave State, and prohibited slavery north of parallel $36^{\circ} 30'$, the southern line of Missouri. Henry Clay declared that it settled the slavery question "forever." The bill went to the President. There was still another compromise, and that was in the Cabinet. The President asked advice on two points. The first point was whether Congress had a constitutional right to prohibit slavery in a Territory. The Cabinet agreed that the right existed. Then the question arose whether the section prohibiting slavery "forever" referred only to the territorial condition, or whether it also applied when the Territory became a State. The Cabinet, with the exception of Adams, agreed that "forever" applied only to the territorial condition; Adams held that "forever" meant literally forever, in State as well as in Territory. In order to escape this dilemma it was proposed that the question of "forever," as relating to States, should be avoided; and that the only question should be, whether the section prohibiting slavery in the Territories forever was constitutional. The order of proceeding was reversed; Mr. Adams was to reply in the affirmative without giving his reasons, while the others were to explain in writ-

ing that the provision was constitutional; but "forever" meant only while the territorial condition existed. With this understanding the bill was signed. It is plain now that in the unsettled point the whole pith and meaning of the Missouri Compromise was contained, as the country learned fully and decisively thirty-five years afterward.

New issues then came to the front—protection, internal improvements, and recognition of the South American republics. Presently, in order to preserve the balance of power between slavery and freedom, it was enacted that Maine was to be admitted on March 15, making twelve free and twelve slave-holding States. A bill was passed pronouncing the maritime slave trade piracy. On October 20 Spain ratified the treaty ceding Florida. Congress reassembled in November. James Monroe and John Quincy Adams were the opposing candidates for the Presidency. Monroe received 231 electoral votes; Adams received one from a New Hampshire elector who voted in sympathy with a popular sentiment that Washington should stand alone in the high honor of a unanimous choice.

In this year the great fever drug quinine was first clearly separated and identified by Drs. Pelletier and Caventou, who were spurred on to their labors by the previous experiments with the drug by Drs. Gomez and Lambert. In its crude form the bark of the cinchona tree had been used for its medical properties since times immemorial.

It was about this time that the German physician Hahnemann's theory of homeopathy caused general discussion among medical practitioners and laymen. Hahnemann's first thesis was that many diseases could most quickly be eradicated by similar effects—fever with fever, poison with anti-poison. This theory of "like with like"—in Greek "*homoia homiois*"—was accordingly named by him homeopathy. Hahnemann's books created such a widespread sen-

sation that they were at once translated into several languages and ran through a great number of editions. As a matter of course, Hahnemann's peculiar theories were violently combated by his fellow practitioners.

Almost at the same time with the rise of the new science of homeopathy came Vincenz Priessnitz's innovation of hydropathy or water cure. He established his first sanitarium at Grafenberg, his birthplace, and in the face of vehement medical opposition soon won government recognition for his sanitarium. Similar water-cure establishments were erected by many imitators and followers in Germany and elsewhere.

Late in the year Emperor Alexander of Russia and Metternich came together to settle on the counterstrokes to be delivered against the revolutionists of Spain and southern Italy. When Metternich first heard of the fall of absolute government in Naples he was dismayed. A revolution in Naples was almost sure to be followed by an Italian uprising in the Austrian possessions of Venice and an insurrection in the Papal States. Metternich spent the summer in arranging for another conference of the allied monarchs. They met on October 20 at Troppau in Moravia. The envoys of England and France were found to be in accord against armed intervention in southern Italy. The other Powers determined to proceed on their course without them. Metternich's diplomatic dealings with the Czar were greatly hampered by the clever intrigues of Count Capodistrias, Alexander's foreign minister. For once Metternich found himself matched by a diplomat even more subtle than himself. In the end he prevailed over Capodistrias sufficiently to overcome Alexander's scruples against harsh measures in Naples. It was determined to invite King Ferdinand to meet the sovereigns at Leibach, in Austria, and to address a summons to the Neapolitans commanding them to abandon their Constitution, under threat of immediate invasion. Ac-

cordingly a note was issued from Troppau to all the courts of Europe, embodying the doctrine of federative intervention as applied to Naples.

As soon as King Ferdinand received the summons he prepared to leave Naples. The populace became aroused, and angry crowds surrounded the palace. Ferdinand was not allowed to leave Naples until he had once more sworn on his honor to maintain the Constitution borrowed from Spain. The King took this oath as readily as he did the other. Then he journeyed northward. Half-way, at Leghorn, he sent letters to each of the five principal sovereigns of Europe declaring his last declaration just as null and void as his previous perjuries.

Benjamin West, the celebrated American-English artist, died at London in his eighty-second year. A public funeral was accorded him at St. Paul's Cathedral. At the opening of the eighteenth century West was in the forefront of the agitation that grew out of his contested succession to Sir Joshua Reynolds as president of the Royal Academy. Wearied with these quarrels, he visited Paris, where he studied the newly pillaged masterpieces at the Louvre. He resigned from the Royal Academy, but was almost unanimously reelected. It was then that he painted his famous "Christ Healing the Sick." His later works failed to attain the success of his earlier historical paintings.

EVENTS OF 1821

Congress of Leibach Upholds Absolute Government in Naples—Austrians Rout Neapolitans—And Occupy Rebellious Piedmont—Italian Patriots are Imprisoned and Exiled—Rebellion in Brazil Secures Representative Government for Brazil and Portugal—Iturbide Leads Successful Revolution against Mexican Viceroy—Buenos Ayres Joins Argentine Republic—Annamese Rise against French Encroachments in Tonquin—Chinese Emperor Opposes English Opium Trade—Moldavians and Roumanians Move on Bucharest—They are Betrayed and Defeated—The Moreotes Massacre all Turks in the Peninsula—Turks Burn Greek Settlements on Bosphorus and Hang Patriarch Gregorius—England Saves Turkey from Russian Vengeance—All Greece Save Thessaly Rises—Greeks Massacre Turks at Capitulation of Navarino and at Storming of Tripolitza—Byron Fires English Hearts by His Greek Lyrics—Death of Keats—Young Victor Hugo Leads Romantic Movement—Death of Napoleon—His Will—Richelieu's Ministry Succumbs to Plots of D'Artois—Liberia is Founded.

THE Congress of Leibach met in January. It was attended by the representatives of Russia, Austria, Prussia, England, France, Sardinia, and Modena. When King Ferdinand of Naples arrived he was received by the Emperors of Russia and Austria in person. It was predetermined that absolute government in Naples should be restored by Austrian arms. The only problem remaining to diplomacy was to put a respectable face on King Ferdinand's dishonor. A letter was sent in his name to his son, the acting viceroy, stating that the Powers were determined not to tolerate the order of things sprung from revolution, and that certain securities for peace would have to be given. The reference to securities meant the occupation of the country by an Austrian army. The letter reached Naples on February 9. Three days before the Austrian troops had received their orders to cross the Po.

The invading army of Austria was 50,000 strong. The Neapolitan soldiers numbered a little more than 40,000, of whom 12,000 were in Sicily engaged at Palermo in suppress-

ing a counter-revolution for home rule. At the first encounter at Rieti in the Papal territory the Neapolitans under General Pepe were utterly routed. Their forces melted away, as they did when Murat made his last stroke for Italy and Napoleon. Not a single strong point was defended. On March 24 the Austrians entered Naples. Then came a moment of danger. Rebellion broke out in Piedmont, and an attempt was made to unite the troops of Piedmont with those of Lombardy. The King of Piedmont rather than sign the Spanish Constitution abdicated his throne. On the refusal of the King's brother, Charles Felix, to recognize a constitution, his cousin Charles Albert of Carignano was made the regent and commander of the troops. He advanced so cautiously that the conspirators at Milan dared not follow suit with a revolution of their own. In the meanwhile the Czar had ordered 100,000 Russians to march in the direction of the Adriatic. The Austrian forces advanced westward from the Venetian strongholds and, brushing aside all resistance, entered Piedmont.

The victory of absolutism in Italy was complete. Courts martial sat all over Italy. Morelli, the officer who had led out the so-called sacred band of Nola, was shot. His followers were expressly excluded from all amnesty acts. An attempted insurrection in Sicily cost the conspirators their lives. Hundreds of persons were cast into prison, or were marched off to distant fortresses in Austria. It was at this time that Silvio Pellico, the author of the famous "Prison Records," was sent to the dungeon of Spielberg. Then began that long stream of fugitives to England and America.

The Holy Alliance, sitting at Leibach, thought the time was ripe to pronounce its anathema against all peoples seeking their liberties elsewhere than in the grace of their legitimate sovereigns. Yet the spirit of revolt was abroad, and its flames continued to flicker up at widely separated points. On

February 26 the Portuguese troops in Brazil rose in revolt. The King, still residing at Rio Janeiro, was compelled to appoint a new Ministry pledged to give to both Portugal and Brazil a new representative system. In Mexico General Iturbide, at the same time, issued a pronunciamento, containing his so-called "Plan of Iguala," which proposed independence for Mexico under a Spanish Bourbon prince. Several rebel leaders acquiesced in this, and forced the Spanish viceroy to resign. Juan O'Donoju became acting viceroy. He signed a treaty with Iturbide virtually accepting the plan. The people of Buenos Ayres profited by the military troubles in Brazil to throw in their lot with that of the Argentine Republic. Their popular idol, San Martin, meanwhile was leading his victorious troops from Chile into Peru. Lima, one of the greatest Spanish strongholds in South America, was threatened by the revolutionists.

At the other end of the earth the new force of national feeling showed itself in popular uprisings. In distant Annam the death of Emperor Gia-Long, followed by a bloody struggle for the succession between his sons, incited the people to a national demonstration against the encroachments of the French in Tonquin. In China the new Emperor Taouk-Wang was enthroned. He was the first to throw his whole personal influence against the evils of the opium trade inflicted upon China by English merchants since 1800.

In Greece and in the Balkans the people rose against the yoke of Turkey. The plan of the Philike Hetairia—*i. e.*, Patriotic Association—was to begin their revolution on the Danube, so as to induce Russia to take a hand in their favor. They believed that Capodistrias, the Prime Minister of Russia, himself a Greek, would win the Czar to their cause. Unfortunately for them, Metternich's influence proved stronger than that of the Greek Minister. Capodistrias deemed it advisable to publish a pamphlet warning his countrymen

against any rash step. Failing to win the open support of Capodistrias, the Hetairists turned to Prince Alexander Ypsilanti, a Greek exile serving in the Russian army. Ypsilanti agreed to raise the standard of revolt in Moldavia. It was arranged that Theodore Vladimiresco, a Roumanian who had served in the Russian army, was to call his countrymen to arms against the Turk. Then the Greeks were to step in, and the help of Russia was to be invoked.

In February Vladimiresco proclaimed the abolition of feudal servitude in Roumania, and marched with a horde of peasants upon Bucharest. Early in March the Greek troops at Galatz, let loose by their commander, Karavias, massacred the Turkish population of that town.

Ypsilanti, waiting on the Russian frontier, crossed the Pruth and appeared at Jasee with a few hundred followers. A proclamation was issued, calling upon all Christians to rise against the Crescent. Ypsilanti went so far as to declare that "a great European Power," meaning Russia, was "pledged to support him." The Greek Hospodar of Jasee immediately surrendered the government, and supplied a large sum of money. Troops to the number of 2,000 gathered around Ypsilanti. The road to the Danube lay open.

Ypsilanti wasted valuable time loitering at Jasee. A month was lost before he reached Bucharest. He delayed partly on account of his expectations of Russian help in response to a letter he had written to the Czar. The delay proved fatal to him. The Czar, now wholly under the influence of Metternich, sent a stern answer from Leibach. Ypsilanti was dismissed from the Russian service. The Russian consul at Jasee issued a manifesto that Russia repudiated and condemned Ypsilanti's enterprise. The Patriarch of Constantinople was made to issue a ban of excommunication against the rebels. In an official note of the Powers the Congress of Leibach branded the Greek revolt as a token of

the same spirit which had produced the revolution of Italy and Spain. Turkish troops crossed the Danube. The Roumanian peasants, seeing no help from Russia, held aloof. Vladimiresco plotted against the Greeks. It was in vain that brave Georgakis captured the traitor at his own headquarters and carried him to his death in the Greek camp. Ypsilanti was defeated in his first encounter with the Turks. He retired before them toward the Austrian frontier. In the end he fled across the border and was promptly made a prisoner in Austria. His followers dearly sold their lives. At Skuleni, 400 of them under Georgakis made a last stand on the Pruth. They were surrounded by ten times their number. Georgakis refused to surrender. Bidding his followers flee, at the moment when the Turks broke in the doors, he blew himself up in the monastery of Skuleni.

At the news of Ypsilanti's uprising in Moldavia the entire Greek population of the Morea rose against the Turk. From the outset the Moreotes waged a war of extermination. They massacred all Turks, men, women, and children. Within a few weeks the open country was swept clear of its Mohammedan population. The fugitive Turks were invested within the walls of Tripolitza, Patras, and other strong towns. Sultan Mahmud took prompt vengeance. A number of innocent Greeks at Constantinople were strangled by his executioners. The fury of the Moslem was let loose on the Infidel. All Greek settlements along the Bosphorus were burned. But the crowning stroke came on Easter Sunday, the most sacred day of the Greek Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople, while he was celebrating service, was summoned away by the dragoman of the Porte. At the order of the Sultan he was haled before a hastily assembled synod and there degraded from his office as a traitor. The synod was commanded to elect his successor. While the trembling prelates did their bidding, Patriarch Gregorios

was led out in his sacred robes and hanged at the gate of his palace. His body remained hanging throughout the Easter celebration, and was then given to the Jews to be dragged through the streets and cast into the Bosphorus. A similar fate befell the Greek archbishops of Salonica, Tirnovo, and Adrianople. The body of Gregorios floating in the sea was picked up by a Greek ship and carried to Odessa. This return to Christian soil of the remains of the Patriarch was hailed as a miracle in Russia. Gregorios was solemnly buried by the Russian Government as a martyr.

If the will of the Russian people had been carried out, the Russian army and nation would have avenged the murder of their high priest by an immediate war upon the Turks. Strogonov, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, at once proposed to his diplomatic colleagues to join him in calling for warships to protect the Christians there. Lord Stranford, the British Ambassador, refused to accede to this proposition. Single-handed, Strogonov presented an ultimatum to the Sultan demanding the restoration of Christian churches and the Porte's protection for Christian worship. A written answer was exacted within eight days. Encouraged by England's attitude, the Sultan ignored Strogonov's requests. On July 27 the Russian Ambassador left Constantinople. To the amazement of his moujiks, the Czar did not declare war. The councils of Prince Metternich prevailed. With the help of the representatives of England, Metternich persuaded the Czar to view the rebellion of Greece as a mere unfortunate disturbance. Any countenance of it, he argued, would imperil the peace of Europe.

The murder of the Greek Patriarch was followed by risings of the Greeks throughout continental Greece and the Archipelago. Here, as in the Morea, the cause of Greek freedom was disgraced by massacres, and indignities to Turkish women. The Sultan's troops, led by able commanders,

retaliated in kind. Khurshid, with a large Turkish army, besieged Janina. He held firmly to his task, even after his whole household fell into the hands of the Moreotes. The Greeks in Thessaly failed to rise, and thus the border provinces were saved for the Ottoman Empire. The risings in remoter districts were soon quelled. In Epirus, Ali Pasha, the Albanian chieftain, was surrounded by overwhelming numbers and lost his life. On the Macedonian coast the Hetairist revolt, in which the monks of Mount Athos took part, proved abortive. Moreover, the desultory warfare on water carried on by the islanders of Hydra, Spetza, and Psara served only to annoy the Turks. The real campaign was waged in the Morea, where Tripolitza, the seat of the Turkish Government, was besieged by the insurgents. Demetrios Ypsilanti, Prince Alexander's brother, landed on the coast and was welcomed as a leader by the peasants in arms. Three other leaders rose to prominence. First in the eyes of the people came Petrobei, chief of the family of Mauromichalis. Surrounded by his nine sons, this sturdy chieftain appeared like one of the old Homeric kings. Second in popular favor was Kolokotrones, a typical modern klepht, cunning and treacherous, but a born soldier. The ablest political leader was Maurokordatos, a man of some breadth of view and foresight, but over-cautious as a general. The early insurgent successes were marred by bad faith and gross savagery. On the surrender of Navarino, in August, a formal capitulation was signed, safeguarding the lives of the Turkish inhabitants. In the face of this compact the victorious Greeks put men, women, and children to the sword. Two months later the Turkish garrison of Tripolitza, after sustaining a siege of six months, began negotiations for surrender. In the midst of the truce the Greek soldiery got wind of a secret bargain of their leaders to extend protection for private gain. In defiance of the officers, the peasant soldiers stormed Tripolitza

and scaled the walls. Then followed three days of indiscriminate looting and carnage. By thousands the Turks, with their women and children, were slaughtered. Kolokotronis himself records how he rode from the gateway to the citadel of Tripolitza, his horse's hoofs touching nothing but human bodies.

The Greek struggle for independence aroused conflicting emotions in Europe. The passionate sympathy of the Russians rested wholly on their religious bonds. The more enlightened Philhellenes of France and Germany affected to see in this struggle a revival of the ancient Greek spirit that blazed forth at Thermopylæ and Marathon. For this same reason, perhaps, Metternich and his colleagues in the Holy Alliance looked upon the Greek revolution with an evil eye. Any cause espoused by the hot-headed liberals at the universities in those days of itself became obnoxious to the reactionary rulers of the German and Austrian States.

The sympathy with the Greeks was most pronounced in England. There the stirring lyrics of Lord Byron had reached the height of their popularity. It was but a short time before this that the poet, to use his own phrase, had awakened one morning to find himself famous. Now his Greek songs were hailed by the whole world as classics.

In English literary annals this year was marked furthermore by the death of John Keats. He was but twenty-five, still in the first flush of his genius. Keats was buried in Rome, where he died. On his gravestone is the epitaph composed by himself: "Here lies one whose name was writ in water." It was generally assumed in England that the poet's death was caused by his anguish over the merciless criticisms of "Blackwood's Magazine" and the "Quarterly Review." As a matter of fact Keats died of consumption. What Byron did for modern Greece in England, Keats may be said to have done for ancient Greece. The beautiful songs of Greece,

embodied in "Endymion" and "Hyperion," no less than the enthusiastic odes and sonnets in praise of Hellenic works of art, opened the eyes of many of the contemporaries of Keats to the enduring beauties of Greece.

Shortly after Keats's death appeared one of the most beautiful of Shelley's longer poems—"Adonais," written as an elegy on the death of Keats.

Other literary events of the year were the publication of Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship" and of Alexander Sergejevich Pushkin's first long poem, "Ruslan and Ludmilla." In this epic, written during Pushkin's early banishment to Bessarabia, an old Russian theme of the heroic times of Kiev was treated much after the manner of Byron's romantic examples. In France the romantic period in literature was inaugurated by young Victor Hugo, who, but the year before, had been crowned as "Master of Floral Games," an antique title revived for ceremonial purposes, for a prize poem on Henri IV. Now Chateaubriand, in his journal "Le Conservateur," welcomed him as "A sublime child." By his own romantic followers Hugo was hailed as chief of their poetic "Sacred Battalion." During the same year the poet, then nineteen, married Mademoiselle Foucher, aged fifteen.

The most important event of the year for Frenchmen was the death of Napoleon Bonaparte at Longwood, in St. Helena. He died on May 5, after taking the holy sacrament. He left a last will with several codicils. In it Napoleon made the following declarations:

"I die in the Apostolical and Roman religion, in the bosom of which I was born more than fifty years ago. It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom I have loved so well. I have always had reason to be pleased with my dearest wife, Maria Louisa. I retain for her, to the last moment, the most tender sentiments. I beseech her to watch, in order to pre-

serve my son from the snares which yet environ his infancy. I recommend to my son never to forget that he was born a French prince, and never to allow himself to become an instrument in the hands of the triumvirs who oppress the nations of Europe: he ought never to fight against France, or to injure her in any manner; he ought to adopt my motto—*Everything for the French people*. I die prematurely, assassinated by the English oligarchy and its tool. The English nation will not be slow in avenging me. The two unfortunate results of the invasions of France, when she had still so many resources, are to be attributed to the treason of Marmont, Augereau, Talleyrand, and Lafayette. I forgive them—may the posterity of France forgive them as I do! I pardon Louis for the libel he published in 1820; it is replete with false assertions and falsified documents. I disavow the ‘Manuscript of St. Helena,’ and other works, under the title of ‘Maxims, Sayings,’ etc., which persons have been pleased to publish for the last six years. Such are not the rules which have guided my life. I caused the Duc d’Enghien to be arrested and tried because that step was essential to the safety, interest, and honor of the French people, when the Comte d’Artois was maintaining, by his own confession, sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances I should act in the same way.”

To his son and immediate relatives Napoleon left most of his personal effects. Among his relatives and favorite followers he distributed a sum of 6,000,000 francs, left in the hands of his bankers at the time of his flight from Paris; likewise the proceeds of a possible sale of his confiscated crown jewels. Count Lavalette and the children of Labédoyère were remembered with bequests of 100,000 and 50,000 francs, respectively. The final clauses were:

“To be distributed among such proscribed persons as wander in foreign countries whether they be French, Italians,

Belgians, Dutch, Spanish, or inhabitants of the departments of the Rhine, under the directions of my executors, one hundred thousand francs. To be distributed among those who suffered amputation or were severely wounded at Ligny or Waterloo, who may be still living, according to lists drawn up by my executors. The Guards shall be paid double, those of the Island of Elba quadruple, two hundred thousand francs."

A curious bequest was that of 10,000 francs to Cantillon, a French subaltern, who was tried and acquitted for the attempted assassination of the Duke of Wellington in Paris February 11, 1818. Napoleon thus explained this bequest:

"Cantillon had as much right to assassinate that oligarchist as the latter had to send me to perish upon the rock of St. Helena. Wellington, who proposed this outrage, attempted to justify it by pleading the interest of Great Britain. Cantillon, if he had really assassinated that lord, would have pleaded the same excuse, and been justified by the same motive—the interest of France—to get rid of this general, who, moreover, by violating the capitulation of Paris, had rendered himself responsible for the blood of the martyrs Ney, Labédoyère, etc., and for the crime of having pillaged the museums, contrary to the text of the treaties."

This last legacy was not paid until 1855, when Napoleon III discharged it.

Late in the year the Ministry of Duc de Richelieu succumbed to the machinations of Comte d'Artois. The explosion of a barrel of gunpowder in the royal palace raised apprehensions of another painful scene, like that preceding the fall of the Ministry of Decazes. Richelieu resigned, and Villèle took his place. Chateaubriand was sent to London as Ambassador.

The 4th of March fell on a Sunday, and Monroe was the first American President to be inaugurated on the 5th. Mis-

souri was admitted conditionally, and, on August 10, the President proclaimed its admission as the twenty-fourth State amid a tempest of political excitement. The contest over the slavery question was now supposed to be forever settled.

In the debates of 1821 the House stood firmly against Missouri's admission as a slave State, and the Senate was equally determined that the colored citizens of other States should be denied citizenship in Missouri if the people so desired. At last a conference committee decided that Missouri should be admitted, as soon as its Legislature would agree that the section of the Constitution in question should not be construed as authorizing a law excluding any citizens of other States from the immunities and privileges to which they were entitled under the Constitution. The Legislature gave this pledge, but it remained open whether free negroes and mulattoes were citizens in other States, and whether they were to be made citizens in Missouri. In the admission of Missouri there was for the first time an unmixed issue on the question of a free government or a slave-holding government in the United States. Doubtful dealings on the part of the Senators from Indiana and Illinois were followed by an attempt to make these States both slave-holding States, in face of the binding law of the Ordinance of 1787. A popular movement led by Governor Edward Coles of Illinois defeated this project.

On May 5 the territory of Liberia was secured on the west coast of Africa, and a colony was founded for the repatriation of negro slaves, with Monrovia for a capital. During this same period Junius Brutus Booth made his first appearance in America, as Richard III, at Richmond. Late in the year the remains of André, the British officer who was shot as a spy during the American Revolution, were placed on a British ship for interment in Westminster Abbey.