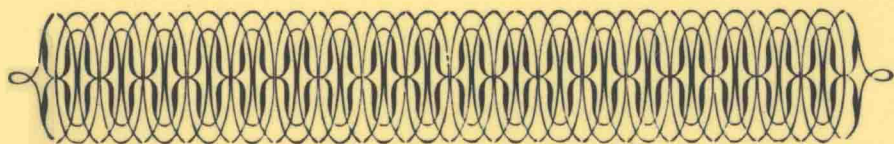


CAMBRIDGE LIBRARY COLLECTION

THE
INFLUENCE OF
SEA POWER UPON
THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION
AND EMPIRE,
1793-1812

VOLUME 2

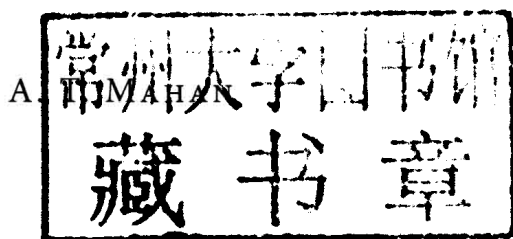
A. T. MAHAN



CAMBRIDGE

The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire, 1793-1812

VOLUME 2



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo, Mexico City

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108023733

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2010

This edition first published 1893
This digitally printed version 2010

ISBN 978-1-108-02373-3 Paperback

This book reproduces the text of the original edition. The content and language reflect the beliefs, practices and terminology of their time, and have not been updated.

Cambridge University Press wishes to make clear that the book, unless originally published by Cambridge, is not being republished by, in association or collaboration with, or with the endorsement or approval of, the original publisher or its successors in title.

THE
INFLUENCE OF SEA POWER
UPON THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION AND EMPIRE
1793-1812

BY
CAPTAIN A. T. MAHAN, U.S.N.

PRESIDENT UNITED STATES NAVAL WAR COLLEGE

AUTHOR OF "THE INFLUENCE OF SEA POWER UPON HISTORY, 1660-1783"
OF "THE GULF AND INLAND WATERS," AND OF A
"LIFE OF ADMIRAL FARRAGUT"

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

LONDON
SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON & COMPANY, LIMITED

St. Dunstan's House
FETTER LANE, FLEET STREET, E. C.

1893

UNIVERSITY PRESS.
JOHN WILSON AND SON, CAMBRIDGE, U.S.A.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOLUME II.

MAP AND BATTLE PLANS.

	PAGE
I. Battle of Copenhagen	44
II. Map of North Atlantic	117
III. The Attack at Trafalgar	190

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

CHAPTER XII.

EVENTS ON THE CONTINENT, 1798-1800.

DISORDERS OF FRANCE UNDER THE DIRECTORY.—DISASTROUS WAR OF THE SECOND COALITION.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONSULATE.—BONAPARTE OVERTHROWS AUSTRIA AND FRAMES AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN THE ARMED NEUTRALITY OF 1800.—PEACE OF LUNÉVILLE WITH AUSTRIA.

	PAGE
Hostilities of Naples against the French	1
Disastrous defeat of the Neapolitans	2
The French enter Naples	2
Piedmont annexed to France	2
Beginning of the war of the Second Coalition	3
Reverses of the French in Germany and Italy	3
Masséna falls back in Switzerland	4
Further French disasters in Italy	5
The French evacuate southern Italy	6
Battle of the Trebia won by Suwarrow	6
Loss of northern Italy by the French	7
The French defeated at the battle of Novi by Suwarrow	8
Change in the plans of the Coalition	8
Masséna defeats the allies at the battle of Zurich	9
Disastrous march of Suwarrow into Switzerland	9
Failure of the Anglo-Russian expedition against Holland	10
Loss of Bonaparte's conquests in Italy and of the Ionian Islands	10
Internal disorders of France	11
Bonaparte's return, and the revolution of Brumaire 18	15
Bonaparte's measures to restore order	15
His advances toward Great Britain and Austria to obtain peace	16

	PAGE
Reasons of the two governments for refusing	17
Prosperity of Great Britain	17
Russia abandons the coalition	19
Forces of France and Austria in 1800	19
Bonaparte's plan of campaign	20
Opening of the campaign in Italy	21
Masséna shut up in Genoa	21
Moreau's advance into Germany	21
Bonaparte crosses the Saint Bernard	22
Battle of Marengo, and armistice following it	23
Armistice in Germany	24
Diplomatic negotiations	25
Bonaparte's colonial and maritime anxieties	25
The Czar Paul I.'s hostility to Great Britain	26
Dispute between England and Denmark concerning neutral rights	26
Effect of this upon Bonaparte's plans	27
Policy of Russia and Prussia	28
Bonaparte undertakes to form a coalition against Great Britain	29
Factors in the question	29
Vacillations of Prussia	31
Bonaparte's advances to Russia	32
Hostile action of Paul I. toward Great Britain	33
His pretensions to Malta	33
Negotiations for a maritime truce	34
Their failure	35
Action of Prussia against Great Britain	35
Armed Neutrality of 1800	36
Its claims	37
Renewal of hostilities between Austria and France	38
Defeat of Austria at the battle of Hohenlinden	38
Peace of Lunéville	39
Terms of the treaty	40

CHAPTER XIII.

EVENTS OF 1801.

BRITISH EXPEDITION TO THE BALTIC.—BATTLE OF COPENHAGEN.
—BONAPARTE'S FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO CONTEST CONTROL OF
THE SEA.—HIS CONTINENTAL POLICY.—PRELIMINARIES OF
PEACE WITH GREAT BRITAIN, OCTOBER, 1801.—INFLUENCE
OF SEA POWER, SO FAR, ON THE COURSE OF THE REVOLUTION.

	PAGE
Isolation of Great Britain in Europe, in 1801	41
Expedition to the Baltic planned	41
Instructions to Sir Hyde Parker, commander-in-chief	42
Nelson second in command	42
The fleet sails	42
Nelson's plan of operations	43
The military situation, strategic and tactical	44
Characteristics of Nelson's military genius	45
Denmark's relation to the league of the northern States . . .	46
Half measures of Sir Hyde Parker	47
Nelson advances against Copenhagen	47
Battle of Copenhagen	48
Results of the battle	51
Nelson's negotiations with the Danish government	51
Armistice concluded with Denmark	51
Assassination of the Czar Paul I.	51
Merits of Nelson's conduct in the Baltic	52
British embargo upon merchant ships of the Baltic powers . .	53
Resulting retaliatory action of Prussia	54
Inherent weakness of the Northern League	55
Conciliatory action of the new Czar	55
Sir Hyde Parker relieved from command	56
Nelson takes the British fleet to Revel	56
His action rebuked by the Czar	57
Convention between Great Britain and Russia	57
Dissolution of the Armed Neutrality	57
Nature of the claims maintained by it	58
Bonaparte's proceedings in the Italian and Spanish peninsulas .	59
Failure of his maritime projects for the relief of Malta and Egypt	60
His attempt to collect a naval force in Cadiz	63
Naval battle of Algeiras, and its consequences	64

	PAGE
Strategic significance of these events	65
Cession of Louisiana by Spain to France	67
Bonaparte's intended occupation of Portugal frustrated . . .	67
His diplomatic dilemma in the summer of 1801	68
Coolness towards him of Russia and Prussia	69
Triumphant influence of the British Sea Power	69
Preliminaries of Peace between Great Britain and France . .	70
Terms of the preliminaries signed at London, October, 1801 .	71
Cessation of hostilities	72
Criticism of the terms by the British Opposition	72
Influence of Sea Power upon the course of the Revolution . .	74
Pitt's opinions	75

CHAPTER XIV.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS FROM THE SIGNATURE OF THE PRELIMINARIES TO THE RUPTURE OF THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

Unstable character of the settlement of 1801	76
Treaties with Turkey and Portugal contracted secretly by France	77
Impression produced in Great Britain by these and by the cession of Louisiana	78
Expedition sent to Haïti by Bonaparte	78
Delays in negotiating the definitive treaty	79
Bonaparte accepts the presidency of the Cisalpine Republic . .	80
Effect produced in Great Britain by this step	80
Signature of the Peace of Amiens, March 25, 1802	81
Provisions concerning Malta	81
Illusive effects caused by Bonaparte's system of secret treaties .	82
Annihilation of the Sea Power of France	83
Bonaparte proclaimed First Consul for life	83
Action of Bonaparte in the German indemnities	84
Injury to Austria and annoyance of Great Britain	85
Bonaparte's reclamations against the British press	85
Piedmont and Elba formally incorporated with France	85
The Valais wrested from Switzerland for military reasons . .	86
Bonaparte's armed intervention in Switzerland, 1802	87
Emotion of Europe and remonstrance of Great Britain	88
The British ministry countermands restitution of captured colonies	89
Bonaparte's wrath at the British remonstrance	89
Strained relations between the two States	90

CONTENTS.

vii

	PAGE
Bonaparte demands the evacuation of Egypt and Malta . . .	91
Attitude of the British ministry concerning Malta . . .	91
Causes of the delay in evacuating it . . .	92
Importance of Malta . . .	92
Broad ground now taken by the ministry . . .	93
Publication of Sébastiani's report, January, 1803 . . .	93
Its effect in Great Britain . . .	94
Disasters of the French in Haïti . . .	94
Bonaparte's preponderant interest in Malta and the East . . .	95
High tone now assumed by the British ministry . . .	96
Additional provocation given by Bonaparte . . .	96
Ominous proceedings of the ministry . . .	97
The British ultimatum . . .	98
Great Britain declares war, May 16, 1803 . . .	98
Universal character of the strife thus renewed . . .	98
Unanimity of feeling in Great Britain . . .	99
Pitt's forecast of the nature of the struggle . . .	100

CHAPTER XV.

THE TRAFALGAR CAMPAIGN TO THE SPANISH DECLARATION OF WAR. MAY, 1803—DECEMBER, 1804.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE INVASION OF ENGLAND.—THE GREAT
FLOTILLA.—NAPOLEON'S MILITARY AND NAVAL COMBINATIONS,
AND BRITISH NAVAL STRATEGY.—ESSENTIAL UNITY OF NAPO-
LEON'S PURPOSE.—CAUSES OF SPANISH WAR.

Preparations of the two States . . .	101
Cession of Louisiana to the United States . . .	104
Effect of the British Sea Power upon this measure . . .	105
Resources of Great Britain and France as affected by their social systems . . .	105
Offensive and defensive gain to Great Britain by forcing the war	106
Inconvenience to Bonaparte from the premature outbreak . .	107
Exhaustion of France under the pressure of Sea Power . . .	108
Bonaparte's resolution to invade Great Britain . . .	109
Seizure by him of Hanover and of the Heel of Italy . . .	109
Object of these measures . . .	110
Offence and injury to Prussia by occupation of Hanover . . .	110
French troops quartered on Holland, Hanover, and Naples . .	111

	PAGE
Bonaparte's plans for the invasion of England	111
His naval combinations to that end	112
Building of the great flotilla	113
Its points of concentration described	114
Difficulties of the undertaking	115
Certainty of Napoleon's purpose	116
Interesting character of this historical crisis	117
Strategic effect of the British blockading squadrons	118
Strategic dispositions in the British Channel	119
Security felt by British naval officers	120
St. Vincent's opposition to small gun-vessels	121
The Sea Fencibles	121
Deterioration of naval material under St. Vincent's administration	122
Effects upon the Channel and Mediterranean ships	123
Embarrassment caused to Nelson	124
Bonaparte's naval combination hinges upon Nelson's perplexities	124
Details of his first plan	125
Merits of St. Vincent's general strategic dispositions	126
Nelson's uncertainties as to the French purposes	127
His certainty as to his own course	127
Embarrassment caused by the condition of his ships	128
Delays encountered by Napoleon	129
Death of the commander of the Toulon fleet	130
Villeneuve appointed to succeed him	130
Change of detail in Napoleon's naval combination	131
Significance of this new combination	132
War begins between Great Britain and Spain	133
Train of causes which led to this outbreak	133
Detention of the Spanish treasure-ships	137

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TRAFALGAR CAMPAIGN — CONCLUDED.

JANUARY — OCTOBER, 1805.

SUCCESSIVE MODIFICATIONS OF NAPOLEON'S PLAN. — NARRATIVE OF NAVAL MOVEMENTS. — FINAL FAILURE OF NAPOLEON'S NAVAL COMBINATIONS. — WAR WITH AUSTRIA, AND BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ. — BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR. — VITAL CHANGE IMPOSED UPON NAPOLEON'S POLICY BY THE RESULT OF THE NAVAL CAMPAIGN.

	PAGE
Napoleon has direction of both Spanish and French fleets . . .	140
His lack of familiarity with maritime difficulties	141
Instructions to the Rochefort and Toulon admirals	142
The Rochefort squadron puts to sea	142
Delay, and final departure, of the Toulon fleet	143
Nelson's movements	143
He takes his fleet to Alexandria	144
The Toulon ships being crippled in a gale, Villeneuve returns to Toulon	144
Napoleon's plans again modified by this delay	146
Stations of the British and Allied fleets in March, 1805 . . .	147
Napoleon's new instructions to his admirals	149
Return of Nelson to Toulon, and his subsequent movements . .	150
Second Sailing of Villeneuve	151
Joined by a Spanish division at Cadiz, and reaches Martinique .	151
Nelson's uncertainties and head winds	152
He reaches Gibraltar, and follows Villeneuve to West Indies .	152
Napoleon goes to Italy	153
His naval measures and surmises	154
Nelson's sound strategy and sagacity	156
Miscalculations of Napoleon	157
The measures of the British Admiralty	159
Nelson in the West Indies	161
Divergent directions taken by the hostile fleets	161
Villeneuve returns to Europe	162
Nelson penetrates his intention and sails in pursuit	163
Napoleon sends to Ferrol instructions for Villeneuve	164
Napoleon's efforts to distract the British navy	165
The British resist the diversions raised for them	166
Villeneuve sighted at sea by a dispatch ship from Nelson . . .	167

	PAGE
The news brought to London	168
Energetic and skilful measures of the Admiralty	168
Villeneuve intercepted by Calder off Cape Finisterre	169
Nelson reaches Gibraltar	169
Napoleon misled by the rapidity of the British action	170
Napoleon goes to Boulogne to await Villeneuve	171
The engagement between Calder and Villeneuve	171
Subsequent mistakes of the British admiral	172
Villeneuve puts into Vigo, and reaches Coruña	173
Calder joins Cornwallis off Brest	174
Nelson also joins Cornwallis from Gibraltar	174
Strategic advantage now in the hands of the British	175
Cornwallis divides his fleet and destroys his advantage	176
Imminent hostilities on the Continent	176
The Third Coalition formed	177
Urgent orders from Napoleon to Villeneuve	178
Napoleon's decision as to his own movements	179
Villeneuve sails from Coruña for Brest	179
He abandons his purpose and enters Cadiz	180
The allied fleets blockaded in Cadiz by Collingwood	181
Napoleon's campaign of 1805 in Germany	181
Battle of Austerlitz and peace of Presburg	182
Fate of the great flotilla	182
Discussion of the chances of Napoleon's project of invasion	182
Necessity of making the attempt	184
Napoleon's orders to Villeneuve in Cadiz	185
Nelson takes command off Cadiz	186
The combined fleets put to sea	187
Nelson's tactics at Trafalgar discussed	188
Battle of Trafalgar	190
Death of Nelson	192
Nautical disasters succeeding the battle	194
Immediate results of the battle	195
Subsequent fate of the French ships in Cadiz	195
Momentous consequences flowing from the battle of Trafalgar	196
Commerce-destroying henceforth the sole resource of Napoleon	197

CHAPTER XVII.

THE WARFARE AGAINST COMMERCE DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND EMPIRE, TO THE BERLIN DECREE. 1793-1806.

	PAGE
Characteristics of the Warfare against Commerce	199
Measures of France and of Great Britain	200
Conduct of Napoleon and of the ministry contrasted	201
Identity of the methods of the Republic and of the Emperor	202
Primary measures of the belligerents	203
Twofold system of Great Britain for the protection of trade	204
Seamen a part of the military strength of a nation	205
The British Convoy Act	205
Results to France of her dependence upon commerce-destroying	206
Activity of French cruisers	207
Amount and distribution of British trade	207
Character of French Channel privateers	208
Indifferent efficiency of many British cruisers	210
French privateering in the Atlantic	210
French privateering in the West Indies	211
Its piratical character, arising from remoteness from Europe	213
Size and force of British East India ships	214
Consequent character of French privateering in Indian seas	215
Efficient protection of British trade in India	216
Advantages of the convoy system	217
Destruction of French commerce by British control of the sea	218
Numbers of British captures	219
The French flag swept from the sea	219
Annihilation of French commerce except the coasting trade	220
Discussion of the number and value of British vessels captured	221
Deductions as to the losses of Great Britain	226
Swelling prosperity of the country	227
Support to British trade contributed by neutral shipping	228
Conclusions thence drawn by the French government	230
Effect of the appearance of the United States as neutral carriers	231
Rapid increase of American merchant shipping	232
Other neutral carriers	233
Attitude taken by Russia in 1793	233
Severe restrictions on neutrals imposed by Great Britain	234
Rule of 1756	234
Seizures of American ships in West Indies, 1793	236
Jay's Mission to Great Britain, 1794	237

	PAGE
Terms of treaty concluded by him	238
Indignation of French government	239
Effect of Jay's treaty upon American relations with Great Britain	240
Gradual shaping of British commercial war policy	242
Vacillating action of French government towards neutrals	242
France breaks off relations with the United States	244
French aggressions upon neutrals after 1796	244
Embargo upon American vessels in 1793	246
Growing exasperation between France and the United States	246
Effect of Bonaparte's successes upon French foreign policy	247
Early attempts to stifle British trade	248
Determination to arrest neutral trade with Great Britain	249
Law of January 18, 1798	250
Modification of channels of British trade caused by the war	250
Policy of Pitt in seeking to dominate the Caribbean Sea	252
Carriage of tropical produce by neutrals	253
Course of trade in Europe, 1793-1798	254
Effects of the law of January 18, 1798	254
Discussion in the Conseil des Anciens, January, 1799	255
Measures of the United States caused by the law of January 18	258
Quasi war of 1798 with France	258
French reverses in 1799	259
French successes in 1800	260
Questions involved in the Armed Neutrality of 1800	260
Opinions of Pitt and of Fox on the disputed points	261
British conventions with the neutral Baltic States, 1801	261
Concession of the Rule of 1756 by Russia	262
Lessons as to belligerent interest in neutral trade, afforded by the war between Great Britain and France, 1793-1801	262
Further lesson afforded by the short peace of Amiens, 1801-1803	265
Renewal of war, May, 1803	265
Bonaparte's measures against British trade, 1803-1805	265
Threatened injury to British commerce by neutral carriers	266
Extent of American trade with colonies of enemies to Great Britain	267
Pitt's commercial measures upon resuming power in 1804	267
Methods of American trade between belligerent countries and their colonies	268
Condemnation of American ships in British prize courts, 1804	269
Death of Pitt. Fox becomes Foreign Minister, 1806	269
Fox's desire to conciliate the United States	269
Order in Council of May 16, 1806, substituted for Rule of 1756	269

CONTENTS.

xiii

	PAGE
Character of the blockade of French coast thus imposed . . .	270
Intention of the new measure, and its consequences . . .	270
Death of Fox, September, 1806	270
War between France and Prussia	270
Napoleon enters Berlin and issues the Berlin Decree	271
Object of the decree	271

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WARFARE AGAINST COMMERCE, 1806-1812.

THE BERLIN AND MILAN DECREES OF NAPOLEON, 1806 AND 1807.

— THE BRITISH ORDERS IN COUNCIL, 1807-1809. — ANALYSIS OF THE POLICY OF THESE MEASURES OF THE TWO BELLIGERENTS.

— OUTLINE OF CONTEMPORARY LEADING EVENTS.

Object of, and pretext for, the Berlin Decree	272
Terms of the Decree	272
Napoleon's winter campaign against Russia, 1806-1807 . . .	273
The Decree remains inoperative	274
Battle of Friedland and conventions of Tilsit, June-July, 1807	274
British retaliatory Order in Council, January, 1807	275
Its terms and object	275
Effect upon American traders	276
Napoleon's designs upon Denmark and Portugal	276
Prompt action of the British ministry	277
Portuguese court withdraws to Brazil	277
General exclusion of British goods from the Continent . . .	278
Attitude of Napoleon towards the United States	279
Nature of the questions confronting Napoleon	280
Jealousy of Great Britain towards neutral trade	281
Momentous decision of Napoleon as to the scope of the Berlin Decree	281
Effect of this decision in Great Britain	282
Embargo Act of the United States, 1807	282
Succeeded by Non-Intercourse Act, 1809	283
British Orders in Council of November, 1807	283
Object of these orders	285
Summary of their requirements	286
Their effect upon neutrals	287
The effect upon the continental nations	288