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NAPOLEONIC PROPAGANDA:  
RATIONALIZATION FOR WAR AND CONTROL OF AN EMPIRE

BY

Jason S. Abate

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree

of

DEPARTMENT HONORS

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1995

NAPOLEONIC PROPAGANDA:  
RATIONALIZATION FOR WAR AND CONTROL OF AN EMPIRE

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History 499  
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## INTRODUCTION

This paper describes the way Napoleon Bonaparte used propaganda to influence nations to fight the enemies of nineteenth century France and to control the peoples of Europe. Although Napoleon never used the specific term "propaganda" he utilized its methods in order to sway the masses into following him. Under the leadership of Napoleon, France rose from the chaos of revolution to dominate Europe. The armies of France and its allies crushed all opposition militarily, but the political battle for the minds of the people was waged for and by Napoleon.

Napoleon manipulated all communication media for the purpose of spreading political doctrine. He was able to readily accomplish this due to the high tension and perpetual state of conflict that dominated Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Napoleon did this by expressing "confidence and enthusiasm" in France and her allies, and by negating his enemy's ability to accomplish anything meaningful.<sup>1</sup> He played up the victories of the empire, and the defeats of the belligerent(s) in order to sway conquered countries into remaining allied with France. Using instruments such as newspapers, journals, pamphlets, the arts, religious services, public meetings, and verbal communication, Napoleon circulated his ideology throughout Europe.

## THESIS

Napoleon used propaganda to rationalize his actions for war with Europe. He also used propaganda to subject and maintain control of France, allied countries and conquered territories, and to influence the belligerent into a peaceful coexistence.

## BACKGROUND

Napoleon Bonaparte was born in 1769 on the island of Corsica. His parents were of Italian stock and fought against French occupation in the late 1760's. Although the Bonapartes sided with the rebel General Paoli, they were realigned with the French after occupation. Baron Manboeuf was a close friend of the family and secured a position for Napoleon at Brienne, France which was a military school for the "sons of nobility." Napoleon eventually rose to the rank of lieutenant in the French artillery. His loyalty swayed between Corsica and France, but eventually sided with the armies of the Revolution. He spent almost three years on periodic leaves, and was busy during the chaos of the revolution attempting to secure Corsican independence. He obtained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in a Corsican National Guard unit, but was forced to flee Corsica from the threat of now pro-British Paoli forces in 1793.

Napoleon was under General Dugommier at the siege of British occupied Toulon in the South of France. Bonaparte organized the siege of Fort Mulgrave and l'Eguilette-which forced the British fleet from Toulon and the city fell into French hands. Napoleon was promoted to Brigadier-General for his services.

As the Directory succeeded Robespierre in governing France, Napoleon was once again called into military service. He was charged with the defense of the Directory by one of its members, Barras. Napoleon dispersed angry Parisians with a "whiff of grapeshot". For this action he was promoted *Général de Division*. He would eventually be placed in command of the Army of Northern Italy in 1796 at the age of twenty-six.

As commander of the army of Northern Italy, Napoleon forced Austria to capitulate, and brought peace and prosperity to France. He was then sent to Egypt to threaten English control of India. Napoleon met with limited success in the Middle East, and returned to France to fight Austria once again in Northern Italy. He succeeded in subduing Austria, and in restoring French domination of Northern Italy.<sup>2</sup>

In 1799, Napoleon seized the government of France, established the Consulate and, by 1804, had crowned himself Emperor of the French.<sup>3</sup> Napoleon achieved some of his greatest victories during his early years as Emperor. With the exception of the guerilla war in Spain, the battles of Austerlitz, Jena, Ulm, Auerstadt, Eylau, Friedland, Aspern-Essling, and Wagram were all victories for the Emperor, and allowed him to solidify the Empire. By 1809, Napoleon divorced the Empress Josephine and remarried Maria-Louise, an Austrian Archduchess. This strengthened his position with Austria, and would soon provide an heir to the throne.

By 1812, Napoleon was preparing an invasion of Russia.

Constant treaty breeches propelled the split between France and Russia, and on June 24, 1812, Napoleon's main force crossed into Russia. By mid-September the French had won the battle of Borodino and captured Moscow. Within six weeks they began to retreat after unsuccessful negotiations with the Russians. The retreat turned into a rout as only a few thousand effective troops escaped Russia. Napoleon attempted a battle at Leipzig and throughout Prussia and France, but was forced to abdicate in 1814 at Fontainebleau, after which he was exiled to the island of Elba.

Napoleon escaped from Elba and ruled France for a hundred days. During this time the allies of Europe united against him. Napoleon chose to fight near the town of Waterloo. After two smaller battles of Ligny and Quatra Bras, the French were defeated by a combined army of English, Dutch and Prussian forces. He finally surrendered in 1815 after his defeat at Waterloo, and was once again exiled. The British sent Napoleon to the isle of St. Helena where he died in 1821.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, an extraordinary chapter in the annals of history came to an end. For over twenty years, Napoleon Bonaparte dominated French and European society. He created the strongest army in Europe, conquered a vast area of the continent, set up governments and Duchies favorable to France and political, economic, and social reforms that were revolutionary in nineteenth century Europe.

How did Napoleon accomplish a task of this magnitude? Once

he accomplished it, how did he maintain control for such a long period of time? Why were the people of France and her allies so devoted to Napoleon? How did he sway the masses to embrace his programs of reform such as the continental system?<sup>5</sup> How did he communicate to the Empire his desires and inspire them to the course of action he thought correct? How did he persuade over a half-million men, represented by many countries, to invade Russia in 1812?<sup>6</sup>

These questions have many answers, but one must rest with the propaganda tools of Napoleon. As we examine the methods of his political and diplomatic propaganda, we find that Napoleon used it as a means to an end. His goal was to establish himself as master of Europe. To accomplish this he had to influence the masses into fighting his cause--he did this with propaganda.

#### WARFARE

Napoleon used propaganda in order to justify his military action against such countries as Great Britain. One of the oft repeated verbal attacks was that England was paying off other countries to wage war against France.<sup>7</sup> Some of Napoleon's reasons for France waging war against England include suspicions that England stirred up revolutions all over Europe, attempted an assassination of Napoleon, violated the peace of Amiens, attacked the Belgian coast in 1809, and initiated a lying campaign to discredit the French government.<sup>8</sup>

Napoleon also found other countries in violation of international law when they did not abide by treaties signed, or



showed no respect for maritime law--especially England. The Austrians were accused of killing French couriers in Croatia, and murdering 2,600 Bavarians. The English were blamed for throwing wounded men off a cliff, and setting sailors a drift in small boats without any supplies. England also encouraged Indians to massacre whites, refused to exchange prisoners, slaughtered a large number of people at Copenhagen, put ashore poisoned bails of cotton, killed a surrendering officer, and pillaged indiscriminately wherever they landed. The Russians were accused of killing 80,000 people in cold blood, and slaughtering hundreds of Jews in Warsaw.<sup>9</sup> The Cossacks were also portrayed as merciless to their enemies as they would cut off fingers and ears in order to obtain jewelry. They would ravage women, homes, churches and it was made to appear that their end goal was the destruction of Paris. Each of these incidents were given publicity in order to incite the people to a fever pitch. Napoleon sought to build up morale by portraying the brutality of the enemy while stressing the civility of the French.

Napoleon used pro-French propaganda in order to perpetuate his success in Europe and to show the positive aspects of his Empire. He produced this propaganda to demonstrate the contrast between France and her enemies. Napoleon groomed and stroked his troops. They were well supplied--generally from captured baggage trains. Few of his men were ill, and good health was the norm for the Grand Army. Bonaparte would lavish praise upon his auxiliary or allied forces such as the Poles, Italians, and Belgians. He is

reported to have said that if he had enough ribbon he could conquer the world.

Napoleon would often go out among his troops prior to a battle calling many of them by name, and decorating them personally. Many times he would lead the Old Guard into the final push of a battle himself to ensure victory and inspire his troops. The Grand Army was also a place for advancement according to one's ambition. Napoleon would allow the lowest soldier to advance as high as Marshal, which was the case with Marshal Massena<sup>10</sup>. This great equality fueled acts of heroism. On the crossing of the Niemen into Russia in 1812 many Polish Lancers who attempted to swim the river on the orders of Napoleon drowned. In fact, while in the very act of drowning, many of them turned their faces toward the Emperor and shouted "Viva l'Emperor!"

The Emperor used propaganda as a means to win over neutral countries to his side. He also used these same methods to strengthen ties of fidelity with allied countries. Some of these methods Napoleon used was to supply the local papers with information on how pleased the Emperor was with a certain country or ally. He would also pledge eternal loyalty and defense to his allies.

The largest war of words, pacts, and concessions came over who would rule Spain. Napoleon bullied Charles IV and his son, Ferdinand, into abdicating in favor of France. He told the Spanish representatives that all he wanted for Spain was for it

to be regenerated as a country. He assured the Spanish that to march with France would insure prosperity. He justified his actions by calling attention to the economically depressed conditions of Spain and her colonies. Napoleon also brought to the forefront the maltreatment the Spanish suffered under the hands of a monarchy. When attempts at persuasion failed to move the Spanish to alignment with France, Napoleon threatened military force. The Spanish quickly chose Napoleon's brother, Joseph, as King of Spain.

#### WARFARE IN CARICATURE

Anti-Napoleonic propaganda also was circulated by the enemies of France, the most outstanding of which was Great Britain. At the conclusion of the peace of Amiens, the French threatened an invasion of England. In response, to this threat the English composed a ballad which called all Britons to unite against the threatening invader. The song was meant to encourage and heighten morale around England should the French invade.

Prior to the Peace of Amiens, the English were very active with anti-French propaganda. The propagandist Cruikshank depicted a small Napoleon shooting off a large cannon at the siege of Toulon. The battle for Toulon received much attention as many civilians were killed when Napoleon gave the order to destroy the wall and fire upon the fleeing ships. Looting was widespread, and atrocities abounded as the pro-revolutionary forces destroyed all remnants of Toulon's aristocratic leanings.

The English also criticized William Pitt The Younger for



over-taxation, and Napoleon was almost always included in these denunciations. One cartoon shows Napoleon as the Devil, and Pitt on the same par with small titles under each. Napoleon is depicted with a drawn sword and the caption reads "The Turbulent Mr. Fight All". The "Plumb Pudding in danger " is another criticism of Pitt and Napoleon. These two heads of state are seated at a table and are carving up a globe of the world. Pitt is cutting up the oceans, while Napoleon helps himself to Europe.

James Gillray was probably the foremost English cartoonist when it came to fighting Napoleon in caricature. He tried to show how Napoleon gained his rank as a commanding general. He draws a scene in which Napoleon watches secretly as the Mistress of Barras(Josephine) dances in the nude in front of Barras. Barras is shown as a drunken rascal, debased and crude. The claim is that Barras(a member of the Directory) gave Napoleon rank for taking Josephine off his hands. Gillray also shows Napoleon slinking away in the night from his troops in Egypt after a semi-successful invasion. The cartoon brings out the idea that Napoleon cared more for his political future than for his army.

Napoleon was always belittled for his short stature. The English almost always deride him as Lilliputian. In one caricature, he is being held in the palm of the Brobdingnagian George III, who is examining him with a telescope trying to figure out just what Napoleon is all about. Although small in size, Napoleon was bothersome to the British who attempted to play him off as merely an annoying little pest.

The English criticized the treaty of Tilsit, signed in the middle of the Niemen River on a raft by Frederick William, Czar Alexander, and Napoleon. Once again, Napoleon's height is depicted as he is portrayed with an unusually large hat, hugging Frederick William, and knocking his crown off. Alexander is shown as only having one hand on the raft, and the rest of his body in the river. The caricature was not far from accurate in this endeavor. The terms of the treaty the Russians and Prussians signed limited much of their territory, and imposed harsh treatment upon the countries for starting a war with France.

The English were not slow to notice the fiasco of the Spanish invasion by the French. In one caricature, King Joseph of Spain is shown as dead, and being trampled upon by a Spanish bull in an arena. The Allies watch from their seats as Napoleon is gored by the same bull. This cartoon makes a very real statement in that the war in Spain had developed into a festering sore known as "The Spanish Ulcer."

The French loss at Leipzig was publicized by Great Britain via a cartoon. The title was "The Two Kings of Terror." This picture has Death sitting atop a cannon which is pointed toward Napoleon, who is opposite Death sitting atop a drum. The drum represents the hollow and noisy nature of the fall of Napoleon. In the foreground, there is a broken standard representing the destruction of Napoleon's power, and in the background we see the victorious allied forces marching toward the fleeing French army and Paris.

The Spanish were also involved in anti-Napoleonic propaganda at this time. Spanish clergy helped spread this propaganda by organizing guerilla activity and inspired the revolt against France. The paintings and sketches by Goya of May Third or the massacre of suspected guerrillas was widely known and helped to inspire the forces of Spain to unite against French occupation. Goya's sketches show unarmed Spaniards being shot by faceless Frenchmen, peasants fighting with knives and spears against well armed soldiers, and the Maid of Saragossa firing a cannon all became symbols for the heroic Spanish resistance.

Prussian propaganda also received some attention after the battle of Leipzig in 1813. The Germans composed a portrait of Napoleon in the form of a bust. The uniform has the names of the battles in Prussia in 1813-14 listed on it. A crow nestled on top of the Emperor's head is made to resemble a hat. Napoleon's face is composed of human bodies to show the brutality of the deaths he has caused. The epaulet is a hand and wrist which depict the hold Napoleon had on Prussia. The fingers of the epaulet have the letter "ARPS" who was a Prussian printer the French executed.

Pro-French propaganda in caricature attempted not only to ridicule the enemy, but to discourage them from attempting any conquests of the French. One French drawing showed the ideas for an invasion of England by tunneling under the English channel. This would be aided by the invasion of shipping and actual airborne troops via balloons and kites. It is interesting to note the inkling of modern tactics which are depicted in this sketch.

The coalition that was formed by Austria and Russia during the Austerlitz campaign received attention as this turned out to be one of Napoleon's greatest victories. The accusations that Great Britain used gold and commerce to induce these countries into turning against France is brought out in the caricature of William Pitt portrayed as an Elven character who is confronted by a sword-wielding Napoleon, while all Pitt's coalition plans lay in ruins around him. This becomes a motif throughout Napoleon's career, and a favorite propaganda tool--the accusation that England is paying off the other countries to wage war against France.

At the conclusion of the Jena campaign, the enemies of France are depicted as geese and other fowl that are ready for the plucking. The cartoons have the idea in mind that the enemies of Napoleon have no real resistance, they simply make a lot of noise. The Prussian King is also made light of as he is depicted in a cartoon being carried off by the Napoleonic eagle, and the Russians(his allies) arrive too late riding on the back of turtles. Because of the Russian's slow advance during 1806, the Prussians were forced to face Napoleon alone and the outcome was an eventual defeat for both armies.

#### THE GOVERNMENT

The government of Napoleon Bonaparte functioned like a sieve. It filtered out all the subversive elements within France, and allied countries. The government did this by giving the police unprecedented authority over all aspects of civilian life.



Orchestrated by the Censorship Bureau, executive departments were set up to run under Napoleon's close supervision in order to carry out all types of propagandistic operations. The ministry of police, headed in succession by Claude Regnier, Aime-Jean Savary, and Joseph Fouché enacted the orders of the Censorship Bureau. These men were all appointed by Napoleon.

The police censored mail and other forms of written communication. This allowed Napoleon to learn the disposition of the people, and thereby guide his actions in publishing propaganda.<sup>11</sup> The police censored interior newspapers. If any paper was brought under suspicion, it was closed. If any article was discovered to be out of harmony with standing propaganda guidelines, it was removed prior to the printing.

Napoleon assigned ministers or consuls to foreign capitals in order exercise influences upon a conquered people. These ministers kept Napoleon informed on the dispositions of the public. Napoleon could then direct the necessary propaganda. An example of this was Prussian soldiers sharpening their swords on the steps outside the French minister's office. This was an evident indication of growing Prussian aggression. Napoleon used evidence like this to justify his actions against Prussia.<sup>12</sup>

One of the problems Napoleon had with using propaganda to justify his actions for warfare was the inability of his ministers to function properly. The ministers of War, Public Worship, Foreign Affairs, Secretary of State, along with the Grand Marshals of Extraordinary Domain, of Dignitaries, of the

Palace, and of the Chamberlain all submitted daily reports to Napoleon who had a tendency to confuse which officers he had given how much authority.<sup>13</sup> This clouded the issues as to what was actually happening, and how much was exaggerated.

Napoleon promised peace in many areas. He delivered this as he stabilized the government. He reduced fraud, balanced the budget, provided a permanent judiciary, promoted domestic and foreign commerce, encouraged industry and education, improved functions in the government, and people saw overall prosperity compared to the chaos of the revolution.<sup>14</sup> These positive results promoted the support of Napoleon's war aims.

The government of France made sure that the military was portrayed in heroic light. Napoleon always praised his troops, gave out medals, established the legion of honor, provided the men with good supplies, and gave very symbolic awards such as drumsticks, batons, rings, etc... He wrote about France's victories without reporting heavy losses or other bad information. He made news one-sided with favorable material.

On the whole, the people of France showed great confidence in government. New markets of cotton, agriculture, and silk worms prospered.<sup>15</sup> Napoleon always showed the government in a positive light. He promoted the notion that France was the most civilized of all nations and that it was a government of laws and administration. Every treaty that was signed was given a great amount of publicity.

Napoleon was always praised as a man of genius--a man who

worked eighteen hours a day for the benefit of the state. His ability as a soldier was particularly enhanced as well as his constitution for enduring hardships, etc... Napoleon espoused the fine arts and the sciences, gave contributions to charities, built grand public works, and aided benevolent institutions. He also allowed the Catholic church to function in France. The fact that he was elected by the voice of the people was also given much notoriety. He said, "God has given it to me [the crown]-woe to him who touches it"<sup>16</sup>

#### PERIODICALS

Of all the propaganda methods Napoleon used, the press received the most attention. Napoleon reduced the number of newspapers from seventy-three to thirteen in order to keep better control of them<sup>17</sup>. The police received the newspaper the evening before they were to be delivered. If some element did not comply with standard party lines, the whole paper was prevented from being circulated until the subversive article was removed. As a result of the tight control of the newspapers, many did not survive in conquered territories. The papers became so one-sided with "yellow journalism" that many people did not believe what they reported. Nevertheless, Napoleon relied heavily upon this type of periodical to represent the views of France.

Journals and pamphlets were also controlled by France. Topics banned included, "Anything derogatory to the Grand Army, allies of France, social pact, or the sovereignty of the people."<sup>18</sup> There were other items prohibited such as religious

affairs, the Bourbons, the rise of grain prices, jokes about blacks, and anything regarding the police without prior approval.

The editors of these periodicals were controlled by the Napoleonic government through finances. The papers were heavily taxed, but were also heavily subsidized by the government. They needed government funds to survive. Editors were obliged to print anything Napoleon wished. Napoleon frequently printed all his rebuttals to anti-French claims. The official newspaper of France was the Moniteur. Napoleon used this paper more than any other as he corrected slanders about himself, or clarified any point that came into question.

#### BOOKS

Napoleon wanted books to influence public opinion; and therefore placed restrictions on all monographs. He offered prizes to authors who wrote on the history of France, or on topics favorable to Napoleon. All books from the empire were reviewed prior to publication. If any undesirable material was found in these manuscripts, arrests would take place.

Napoleon had problems censoring books. Many of the clerks and censors were inept in matters of editing and funding for the Censorship Bureau was low, which attracted a poor caliber of editors. This allowed the cancellation or revision of many literary works in order to bring the texts into conformity with Napoleonic doctrine.

#### VERBAL COMMUNICATION

Napoleon relied on word-of-mouth to communicate his will.



Many lower class people were illiterate, and therefore Napoleon had the Moniteur read out loud. The papers were read in the dining halls of schools. He had the orders of the day read to the troops in order to inspire the army to greater deeds. Napoleon also started a whispering campaign. This was carried out by the police. They would go among the citizens incognito, and spread rumors favorable to the government.

Festivals were celebrated with tremendous pomp and circumstance. These parties were celebrated in such a way so as to pacify the people. At these social gatherings, rumors of troop movements were circulated, thus deceiving any foreign ears. As the police censored the mail, they followed the effect rumors had on the public. Spreading rumors allowed the government to ascertain the will of the people on certain matters. It also aided in strategy and tactics, and bolstered morale.<sup>19</sup>

#### EDUCATION AND RELIGION

"Young people can hardly help accepting whatever version of the facts is presented to them."<sup>20</sup> Napoleon controlled the schools of France closely. He wished to mold his students into ideal citizens. Napoleon had all schools teach military science courses. The idea behind this was to produce military men in order to staff the rapidly depleting army. As an incentive, Napoleon sent the best students to military schools. In this way he could insure the empire of a fresh stock of well trained officers to command troops.

Religion played an important part in the propaganda machine.

Napoleon understood how religion could help his government. Religion provided French youth with good ethical standards. It also helped make the people good citizens. The clergy aided in this respect with such things as encouraging vaccinations, and urging conscription to be carried out in a calm manner. Napoleon would usually have spies in the congregations to ensure that his programs were addressed.

#### ORDERS AND BULLETINS

The orders of the day were meant for the ears of soldiers, but in many cases they were posted in places where non-soldiers could read and glean information from them. These orders would be read by the divisional commanders to the troops. They would contain reprimands to soldiers who deserved them such as cowardly units. Napoleon would usually praise soldiers that did well in combat by extolling their deeds in print. By such means, the Grand Army reached great levels of valor, and would literally die for the Emperor.

Napoleon used bulletins to keep the people in his empire informed of what was happening. These usually contained information on the army, specifically on victorious battles. These pieces of information were used primarily to keep the public at ease, and curtail the spreading of rumors. The ministry of Foreign Affairs was charged with distributing bulletins into areas that were not under French domination.

#### THE ARTS

Napoleon frequently attended the theater, and he understood

how effective a form of propaganda these artistic events could be. In order to ensure that the arts produced pro-French propaganda, Napoleon subsidized these organizations. He also made sure that the actors were given pensions. These pensions took the form of monetary allowances, titles, and positions.

The theater was allowed a limited range of freedom in regards to what they could produce. The plays were all analyzed within forty-eight hours to see if they contained any subversive elements. Napoleon had police in the audience of all the plays to study the reaction of the people and report their findings. Some plays were prevented from being performed and some were stopped after they were deemed unfit by the government.

Many playwrights were paid by the government, by either subsidy or pension, to produce the kind of work that Napoleon wanted. These plays included dramas and tragedies, as these were the most likely to stir strains of patriotism and hero worship. He also used actors to entertain his soldiers at different times and places. These included comedians, whose tried to get the soldiers minds off their troubles. This entertainment was sent to soldiers in Egypt, Russia, and Dresden in 1813.

Napoleon also promoted the use of patriotic music and poetry. Once again, he regularly subsidized the income of poets and musicians in order to encourage them to produce favorable material for the empire. The events of the empire such as victories of the Grand Army, the birth of Napoleon's son, etc... all received great attention.

Napoleon commissioned a variety of methods to spread his glory. He used artists like David to produce paintings of not only himself, but of the accomplishments of France. Many arches and pillars were erected in memory of brave soldiers who distinguished themselves in battle. Napoleon even encouraged and promoted the use of caricature. The anti-British cartoons received the widespread coverage. Napoleon had these caricatures sent to Prussia, Italy and other allied countries.

#### CONCLUSION

The result of all this propaganda was the domination of Europe. Napoleon used the pen when he could, and the sword at all other times. The Grand Army was the sword of Napoleon. The army was very receptive to his message, and performed extraordinary feats of valor.

Although prosperous, Napoleonic propaganda did not always accomplish its mission. Many people did not trust the papers or other periodicals because they felt they were controlled by the government. Napoleon fell out of favor with citizens because of disproportionate amounts of arrests made by the police. People did not get the peace they wanted and with the exception of fourteen months, France had been at war with the nations of Europe for over fifteen years. By the time of Waterloo, many of the soldiers were mere boys.

Napoleon did experience some success with Propaganda. He motivated his people to action, and kept the powers of Europe bound together and allied to France for a number of years. In

this context, Napoleon pulled off a superb propaganda scheme. Napoleon was the sole motivation behind the saturation of propaganda in Europe. In regards to the influence of the government, Napoleon said, "Public instruction should be the first object of government...To attach no importance to public opinion is a proof you do not merit its suffrage...Government is nothing unless supported by opinion."<sup>21</sup>

Napoleon understood very well how far the public would go in order to support something they felt was right. He shaded the truth, or mixed it in any variety of manners in order to accomplish his goals. Napoleon was a master of the art of propaganda. He persuaded France to institute his reforms, and to follow him from Portugal to Moscow. His charismatic influence swayed Europe to accomplish his goals for nearly twenty years.

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