



that city commenced on the 14th of June, the besieging forces being commanded by the duke of York. A fierce bombardment went on till the 28th of July, when the garrison capitulated, and were allowed to retire to France, on condition of not again serving against the Allies. Their arms were turned against their fellow-countrymen in La Vendée. Condé also capitulated in July. On the Rhine, the forces of Prussia had defeated the French in several considerable actions. The great success was the surrender of Mayence to the king of Prussia, after a protracted siege, on the 22nd of July; the garrison of twenty thousand men being allowed to retire to France upon the same condition as the garrison of Valenciennes. The king of Prussia, having thus secured the safety of his own frontier, left the Allies to pursue their course without any further effectual co-operation. He sent the greater part of his army to occupy Dantzic and Thorn, upon which he had seized as his spoil in the new partition of Poland.

After the surrender of Valenciennes and the surrender of Condé, there was no fortified place sufficiently strong to have arrested the march of the allied armies to Paris had a vigorous and united policy been resolved upon. At the beginning of August, the republicans were driven from their stronghold, the camp of César, to a position behind the Scarpe, in front of Arras. But there was little vigour amongst the Allies, and there was less union. The combined armies separated. The Austrians, with forty-five thousand men, commenced the siege of Quesnoy, which fortress they took. The British, and their Hanoverian contingents, under the command of the duke of York, marched to attack Dunkirk, and were joined by a detachment of Austrians. This movement, for an object as selfish as the policy of Prussia, was dictated by the ministry of Mr. Pitt, under the miserable traditional desire to maintain our maritime ascendancy by the possession or the destruction of this French naval entrepôt. The duke had thirty-seven thousand men under his command. On the 18th of August an engagement took place at Lincelles, and the brave Guards carried a strong redoubt. Dutch troops also advanced against Dunkirk. Great preparations had been made in England for this enterprize. Eleven battalions were sent from the Thames, with a bombarding flotilla; but they arrived too late. The besieging army had not only failed of assistance from home; but in their encampment near the sandy shore they were exposed to the fire of the enemy's gun-boats. Whilst they were preparing for active operations during three weeks, the French, by the energetic direction of Carnot, who had brought the military affairs of the republic under the control of one powerful

will, had rapidly marched from the Moselle, and finally compelled the duke of York to raise the siege. The covering army of the Austrians was defeated on the 8th of September, by the French general Houchard, near Hondscote. The garrison of Dunkirk made a sally on the besiegers at the same time. The duke of York was placed in a position of imminent danger; and he resolved, on that night of the 8th, to withdraw from his lines, abandoning his heavy artillery and ammunition. The king's son, who possessed the bravery of his family, and was not altogether deficient in the rarer qualities of a commander, was not to be blamed for this reverse. The French general Houchard was submitted to a more terrible criticism than the reproaches of the journalists who libelled the duke of York. The Convention put their general to death because he had not been vigilant enough to prevent the retreat of the English. In the affair of Dunkirk the duke of York manifested a generous forbearance towards those who were chiefly to blame. Lord Malmesbury, on his way to Berlin, saw the duke on the 6th of December; who said his army was ill provided; and he condemned the whole measure of Dunkirk, and separation of the armies. "On my hinting," says lord Malmesbury, "a possibility, or rather a certainty, that Grey would make Dunkirk the first object on the opening of the Session, the duke said he trusted none of *his* friends would be so over zealous as to defend him at the expense of others. . . . He should be very sorry indeed that any blame should be thrown on any particular measure, or any particular minister, as it certainly would go to censure the principle of the war and produce the worst consequences." \* On the first night of the Session (January 21, 1794), Mr. Fox did defend the duke of York, and did blame the minister. He wished to know who was the wise man who planned the expedition, and advised the division of the combined forces in Flanders? He exclaimed, "What must have been the feelings of a gallant British prince, who, through dangers and difficulties, had approached the sea, the natural dominion of his country, and expected to find the whole coast a fortress for him, at beholding his troops destroyed by the gun-boats of the enemy commanding the shore." Fox did point at the "particular minister" whom he held accountable for this and other miscarriages: "The Chancellor of the Exchequer possesses great talents and great eloquence; and the long period during which he has had the opportunity of displaying these talents in office has no doubt added to the number of his admirers: but he must now pick from the very lowest class of his flatterers before

\* Malmesbury—"Diaries and Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 17.

he can collect thirty men around his own table who will tell him that he is a great war minister." \*

The failures in the North of France were compensated in the view of the British government by great events in the South. Lord Grenville wrote to his brother on the 15th September, lamenting that the bad accounts overbalance the good in Flanders. But, he adds, "I am much mistaken in my speculation if the business at Toulon is not decisive of the war. Only let your own mind follow up all the consequence of that event, and you will, I believe, agree with me that the expression I have used is not too sanguine. † The English Secretary of State beheld the outbreak of civil war when the Girondins had been proscribed by the Jacobins; and as the probable end of a civil war he anticipated the restoration of the Monarchy. In the same letter, in which he rejoices over "the business at Toulon," he says, "we have news that the people of Lyon have defeated Dubois Crancé. . . . The next month or six weeks will be an anxious period, and big with events." Lyon, Toulon, La Vendée, during that autumn, were the scenes of some of the most stirring and terrible events in modern history. We were not content to look on. We did little good, if not positive harm, by our interference. The British government was far too weak effectually to control the issues of the fearful struggle between the factions of the Revolution. Grenville saw this: "We have nothing like force enough for all the objects that present themselves, and you know my settled aversion to undertaking little points of detail; some of which might succeed, but the result of the whole must be to cut to pieces the small force we have, without adequate success." ‡

Lyon, the great manufacturing city of the Rhone and the Saone, in 1793 contained a population amongst which were to be found all the extreme opinions engendered by the Revolution. There were ultra-royalists, constitutional royalists, moderate republicans, and republicans that went to such lengths in the assertion of anarchical doctrines that even Marat accused them of being paid by the foreign enemy. The party of the Girondins was the most numerous; that of the Jacobins the most daring. There dwelt in Lyon a Piedmontese named Chalier, who had been a considerable traveller, and had noted the oppressions of mankind under despotic governments. Upon the breaking out of the Revolution he went to Paris; became associated with Robespierre; and returned to

\* "Parliamentary History," col. 1268-1271.

† "Court and Cabinets of George III.," vol. ii. p. 242.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 244—Letter of October 11.

Lyon to denounce, in the Central Club of that city, not only kings and nobles, but all the possessors of property, in whom the prophecy was to be fulfilled—"The wealthy shall be despoiled, and the poor shall be enriched." Chalier and his brother Clubbists sent for a guillotine from Paris; issued lists of the proscribed; and having obtained the control of the municipal authority, enforced their sweeping orders for the arrest and imprisonment of suspected persons. At length the terrorists, with their revolutionary tribunal, roused the citizens of Lyon to resistance. A battle between the partizans of Chalier and the sections of the city took place, which ended in the defeat of the municipal tyranny, and the triumph of the Girondins, at the very time when their leaders had fallen in Paris. Lyon, however, did not fear to oppose the dominant party in the Convention. Chalier, the disciple of that party, was condemned to death, and died by his own guillotine. From this time the city of Lyon was marked by the Jacobins for destruction, as the seat of counter-revolutionary opinions. The city refused to accept the new Constitution decreed by the Convention; and in August was in open revolt, with republican armies gathering on every side. At the beginning of August Lyon was surrounded by a great force under the command of Kellermann, who had been ordered to leave the defence of the frontiers to meet this more pressing danger. The men of Lyon had chosen for their leader the count De Précý, who had been colonel of a regiment, and had fought for the throne on the memorable tenth of August. He was a brave and skilful commander; and so directed the armed resistance of the Lyonnese that for two months they defended the beleaguered city amidst all the horrors of a bombardment. The fiercest assaults of the infuriated besiegers were met by the desperate sallies of the starving besieged. Public edifices, workshops and warehouses, mansions and hovels, were choking the narrow streets with their blazing ruins. Shelter and sustenance were at an end; when De Précý and three thousand resolute followers went forth to cut their way through the republican lines, leaving Lyon to its fate. The greater number of this band perished. De Précý was one of the few who escaped. On the 8th of October the troops of the Convention entered the town. Kellermann, whose views were too merciful for the Jacobin rulers of France, had been superseded by Dubois-Crancé; and his authority was merged, after the surrender of the city, in the superior power of Couthon and the other Commissioners of the authorities in Paris. The doom of Lyon was pronounced by Barère, of whom it has been said, "He tasted blood, and felt no loathing: he tasted it again, and liked it well.

Cruelty became with him, first a habit, then a passion, at last a madness.\* This clever and odious man, whose character is implied in his nickname, "The Anacreon of the guillotine," thus pronounced the doom of the great manufacturing emporium, with its hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants: "Let the plough pass over Lyon. Let her name cease to exist. The rebels are conquered; but are they all exterminated? No weakness; no mercy. Let every one be smitten." The Convention issued its decree; Collot d'Herbois and Fouché went forth to execute it. Couthon had not slain enough men, nor destroyed enough property. He had traversed the city with a silver hammer in his hand; and when he struck a door, saying, "Rebellious house, I strike you in the name of its walls," the mansion was quickly gutted and its walls overthrown. But he had not sent twenty victims daily to the scaffold, by the sentence of a Revolutionary Tribunal. He had not dragged batches of prisoners from their dungeons and destroyed them at once by volleys of musketry and grape-shot. This was the work of the Proconsuls, one of whom, Collot d'Herbois, apologizes to the Convention for his tardiness: "We go on demolishing with the fire of artillery, and with the explosion of mines, as fast as possible. But you must be sensible that, with a population of 150,000, these processes find many obstacles. The popular axe cuts off twenty heads a day, and still the conspirators are not daunted. The prisons are choked with them. We have erected a Commission as prompt in its operations as the conscience of true republicans trying traitors can be. Sixty-four of these were shot yesterday on the spot where they had fired on the patriots. Two hundred and thirty are to fall this day in the ditches, where their execrable works had vomited death on the republican army." Fouché, his colleague, disclaimed any participation in these acts. He said to the late earl Stanhope, in 1815, in speaking of a German memoir of him which referred to the sanguinary scenes of Lyon, "I went there to save the inhabitants, all of whom would otherwise have been murdered by Collot d'Herbois." His name, with that of his colleague, was appended to some of the letters of this period; but he denied the authenticity of his signature.† A letter written by Fouché in March, 1794, after Collot d'Herbois had quitted Lyon in the previous December, unless it be a forgery, is sufficient evidence of his guilt. "There still remain some accomplices of the Lyonnese revolt. We are about to hurl the thunderbolt at them." ‡ Six thousand had per-

\* Macaulay in "Edin. Review," vol. lxxix. p. 279.

† Lord Brougham—"Statesmen," 3rd series, p. 46, 8vo. edit., and note by Earl Stanhope, p. 125.

‡ See Louis Blanc's "Histoire de la Révolution," tome x. p. 185.

ished by the knife and bullet after the surrender of the city. The few wretches who crept out of their hiding-places after five months were reserved for the tender mercies of the virtuous Fouché.

Marseille had preceded Lyon in an insurrection against the Jacobin tyranny. But the revolt had been suppressed by general Carteaux; and those who had escaped the gaol and the scaffold had fled to Toulon. In that great sea-port there was deep discontent; and a monarchical spirit was rising into avowed hatred of the excesses of the republic. The fleet in Toulon harbour partook of this spirit, and its commander, admiral Trogoff, was opposed to the course of the Revolution. In the middle of August, admiral lord Hood was off Toulon, with twenty-one sail of the line and several frigates and sloops. A Spanish fleet was on its passage from Cadiz to join lord Hood. The French fleet in Toulon consisted of seventeen sail of the line, with frigates and corvettes, besides others fitting and repairing. On the 23rd of August two Commissioners from Toulon came off to lord Hood's flag-ship, to propose the surrender of the port and shipping to the British. They represented themselves to be charged with full powers from the sections of the Mouths of the Rhone to negotiate, with a view to the restoration of peace, and the re-establishment of a monarchical government, under the son of Louis XVI., according to the constitution as accepted by their late sovereign in 1789. Lord Hood issued a proclamation in which he promised that if the people should declare openly in favour of a monarchical government, and should put him in possession of the harbour, they should receive all the succour which he could afford; and that upon the return of peace the fleet should be restored to France. In a second proclamation he referred to the solemn declaration of the Commissioners, and stated that he should take possession of Toulon, as a deposit for Louis XVII. until peace should be re-established in France. After some delay, occasioned by the opposition of the French admiral St. Julien, a staunch republican, who was supported by the crews of seven ships, the British marines, and the Spanish forces that had now arrived, took possession of the forts of Toulon. The French fleet removed into the inner harbour, and the British and Spanish fleets occupied the outer harbour. St. Julien and his adherents were permitted to leave the ships, and escape into the interior. The revolt of Toulon was met by the same vigour of the Jacobin rulers as they had manifested in the bombardment of Lyon; and the same principle of terror was called into action. Barère exclaimed in the Convention, "The corpses of the rebellious Lyonnese, floated down the Rhone, will teach the perfidious citizens of Toulon the fate

which awaits them." The besieging army of Lyon was free to march against the revolted sea-port; general Carteaux moved from the subdued Marseille with his troops; another force advanced from Nice. In a few weeks a great French army was gathered round the walls of Toulon, animated by one spirit and led by daring officers. The garrison of Toulon at the end of October was in number about seventeen thousand, consisting of a mixed force of French royalists, Piedmontese, Neapolitans, and Spaniards, with little more than two thousand British. In the British fleet was a post-captain, Horatio Nelson, who, in a letter to his wife, described the surrender of Toulon and its fleet, without firing a shot, as such an event as history cannot produce its equal.\* Nelson was dispatched in his swift-sailing ship, the *Agamemnon*, to procure from Naples the aid of Neapolitan troops; four thousand of whom finally joined the Allied forces under the temporary command of lord Mulgrave.

The political responsibilities of the British commanders at Toulon were of a very difficult and delicate nature. Lord Mulgrave, in his place in Parliament, stated, that he had refused to be present at the hoisting the white flag in Toulon, as requested by the principal magistrate. The constitution of 1789, he said, was adopted in the stipulation between the people of Toulon and us, for the purpose of quieting the fears of all descriptions of persons, and of removing all apprehension of the restoration either of the ancient or the modern despotism. Lord Mulgrave's description of the political opinions of the people of this great sea-port may be received as, in all probability, a tolerably correct view of the general state of public opinion in the provincial towns of France. The inhabitants of Toulon understood nothing of the terms of the Constitution for which they had stipulated: "Some felt such detestation and horror of the old despotism,—her bastiles, lettres de cachet, &c.,—that they were ready to undergo every extremity rather than submit to it; while others, conceiving that they had adopted the ancient system, wondered at the continuation of the modern authorities,—the sections, tribunes, magistrates, &c.,—when they had agreed to the restoration of monarchy, with all its appendages of nobility, orders, and priesthood." † The French before the Revolution had lost all political life; they had no practical acquaintance with the working of political institutions; and it is not therefore surprising that when the Revolution came they did

\* "Inedited letters of Lord Nelson," communicated to "The London Review," conducted by Charles Mackay.

† "Parliamentary History," vol. xxxi. col. 250—Debate, April 10, 1794.

not understand it. A Constitutional Monarchy was for them an anomaly. In a Monarchy they saw only a return to the ancient despotism. A Republic based upon law and order seemed to them an impossibility. They had a Republic of anarchical tyranny, before which the greater number trembled. But there was no sound public opinion to lead to the middle path of safety. The British government timidly appealed to the monarchical spirit, and as timidly professed a respect for the spirit of freedom. Lord Grenville was exceedingly solicitous about the precise term of a Declaration, published by order of the king, on the 29th of October, 1793.\* It was written in French, and was especially addressed to the "well-disposed part of the people of France." It said, "His majesty by no means disputes the right of France to reform its laws. It never would have been his wish to employ the influence of external force with respect to the particular forms of government to be established in an independent country. Neither has he now that wish, except in so far as such interference is become essential to the security and repose of other powers." His majesty called upon the people of France, therefore, "to join the standard of an hereditary monarchy; not for the purpose of deciding, in this moment of disorder, calamity, and public danger, on all the modifications of which this form of government may hereafter be susceptible, but in order to unite themselves once more under the empire of law, of morality, and of religion." The rhetorician on the sea-shore, trying to make his voice heard above the roar of the angry waves, is but a faint type of lord Grenville preaching of "external peace, domestic tranquillity, a real and genuine liberty," to a people of whom one of their countrymen has written the character in words of deep significance: "Was there ever any nation on the face of the earth so full of contrasts, and so extreme in all its actions; more swayed by sensations, less by principles; led therefore always to do either worse or better than was expected of it, sometimes below the common level of humanity, sometimes greatly above it; a people so unalterable in its leading instincts, that its likeness may still be recognized in descriptions written two or three thousand years ago, but at the same time so mutable in its daily thoughts as to become a spectacle and an amazement to itself, and to be as much surprised as the rest of the world at the sight of what it has done!" †

The man was at Toulon who was fully to develop the leading attribute of the French people,—"apt for all things, but excelling only in war; adoring chance, force, success, splendour, and noise, more than true glory." ‡ In the French army was an officer of

\* See "Court and Cabinets of George III." vol. ii. p. 246.

† Tocqueville—"France before the Revolution," p. 384.

‡ *Ibid.*

artillery, Napoleon Bonaparte. He was twenty-four years of age; had been educated at the military school at Paris; had been a lieutenant of artillery in his seventeenth year; early in 1793 had fought for the Convention against Paoli in his native Corsica; had left the island with his mother and sisters in May of that year; had spent a short time at Marseilles, where he had written a pamphlet exhorting the revolted Marseillaise to obey the Convention; and in September had attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel of artillery, and had joined the besieging army before Toulon. He has himself described the general, Carteaux, under whom he was appointed to serve, as a man utterly incompetent. The artillery officer had a plan for conducting the attack upon Toulon, which he finally submitted to a Council of War, when Carteaux had been replaced by a more able commander, Dugommier. The success of this plan compelled the British to evacuate the city; and gave to the young officer a reputation which finally carried him, step by step, to be the arbiter of the destinies of Europe; and, beginning his career as a soldier of Liberty, to be the greatest foe of Liberty that ever appeared in the world.

The engineering operations of the French appear not to have at first impressed lord Hood and lord Mulgrave with an adequate sense of their possible consequences. Lord Mulgrave wrote home that Toulon was in a state of comfortable security; when the besieging army under Carteaux was taking up its positions. Towards the end of November, the plan of the enemy to attack the outer works which commanded the harbour, instead of making a general assault upon the town, was sufficiently developed, by the opening of a battery near the fort of Malbosquet, one of the most important of the forts in the occupation of the Allies. This was the mode of attack projected by Bonaparte. The fortifications of Toulon on the land side were below the posts of the besieging army on the amphitheatre of hills which surrounded the town. If batteries could be brought to bear on these fortifications from the higher ground, they might be taken by assault, and then the inner and outer harbour would be at the mercy of the besiegers, and the town must be evacuated. The fire of the French upon Malbosquet was so annoying, that on the 30th of November the garrison made a sortie with two thousand three hundred troops of various nations, of which three hundred only were British. The sortie was ineffectual. The Allied troops, commanded by sir David Dundas (lord Mulgrave having gone home), were repulsed by a much stronger body of the republicans; and General O'Hara, the commander of the garrison, was wounded and taken prisoner. On

the 13th of December lord Hood sent home a despatch in which he says, "Nothing very material has happened since the 30th of last month, except that the enemy has made approaches nearer to us by some new erected batteries." These nearer approaches were something very material, whose consequences were soon to be determined. In a week after his despatch of the 13th, lord Hood writes, "It is my duty to acquaint you that I have been obliged to evacuate Toulon." On the 17th of December, after a continued bombardment during twenty-four hours, the French forced the line of defence in two of its most essential points; and now, to use lord Hood's words, "the enemy commanded the town and ships by their shot and shells." The evacuation was determined upon by a counsel of war held the same day; and it was also resolved that the French ships which were fitted for sea should sail out with the English fleet, and that those which remained in the harbour, as well as the magazines and arsenal, should be destroyed. On the 18th the troops had been all withdrawn from the forts, and were concentrated in the town, ready to embark when the signal should be given for the most awful conflagration that naval warfare had ever presented. Sir Sidney Smith volunteered to conduct the terrible work of destruction. On the evening of the 18th the Vulcan fire-ship was towed into the inner harbour, and placed across the tier of the men-of-war. Preparations had previously been made for burning the arsenal and the storehouses. At ten o'clock a rocket flew up; and then the trains were fired that consigned the stores of this great naval depôt to the flames; and the fireship went amongst the men-of-war and the frigates at their anchorage, and they were quickly burning to the water's edge, amidst the explosion of powder magazines which threatened to involve the destroyers themselves in the general havoc. "The concussion of air," says sir Sidney Smith, "and the shower of falling timber on fire, was such as nearly to destroy the whole of us." Napoleon at St. Helena described the conflagration at Toulon as a sublime and unique spectacle. But that night presented a scene of horror far more impressive than the grandeur of the illumination which threw its red light afar upon sea and mountain. The quays of Toulon were crowded with terrified multitudes of both sexes, earnestly imploring a refuge in the Allied fleet from the dreaded vengeance of the triumphant republicans. Many of the more prominent of the monarchical party had been previously received on board the British and Spanish ships which were about to move into the roads off Toulon; but there was a helpless band of fugitives left behind, who, having