found a temporary abiding place, knew that the vengeance which they had escaped at Marseille and Lyon would follow them here. Some crowded with desperate haste into boats which they found upon the beach, and were swamped. Others dashed into the sea, hoping to be picked up by the ships' crews. Sir Sidney Smith lingered in the harbour—amidst the bewildering glare and smoke, the tempest of scorching ashes, even the fire of the republican batteries upon the port,—till his own retreat had become difficult, in the endeavour to rescue all who cried to him for succour. In a debate in Parliament it was asserted that the commanders were much to blame in not having made dispositions for securing and bringing away the miserable inhabitants; and that, although a considerable number had embarked, that number was small, when compared with the wretches that were left behind.* On the contrary, it was officially asserted that every one was taken from the town on its evacuation that felt disposed to go.† The naval historian of Great Britain says, "Those who recollect the massacres that stained republican France will be gratified to learn, that 14,877 men, women and children, of the loyal Toulonese received an asylum on board the ships of the British." ‡ The refugees of Toulon, according to Lamartine, were conveyed to Leghorn, and established themselves in Tuscony. Lamartine paints the horrors of that night, and the difficulties of the attempt to carry away the terrified multitudes. But he does not distort historical facts, to gratify that hatred of England which seems, in some instances, to be engendered by her hospitality. Another historian of the Revolution says, "A party of fugitives had found an asylum on board the Spanish and Neapolitan vessels, where they were treated with a generous sympathy. The English themselves, although less anxious (*quoique moins empressés*), received *a certain number*, and the English government allowed them some support." § Those "sentiments of humanity," which M. L. Blanc eulogizes in the Spanish admiral, Langara, appear to have had some place in the heart of the English admiral. Lord Hood, in his despatch of the 20th December, writes, "It is a very comfortable satisfaction to me, that several thousands of the meritorious inhabitants of Toulon were sheltered in his majesty's ships." Those were sedulously cared for who claimed protection as being most compromised. Mr. Fox, in the debate on the evacuation of Toulon, said, if we

* "Parliamentary History," April 10, 1794, vol. xxxi. col. 243.
† *Ibid.*, col. 246.
‡ James's "Naval History," vol. i. p. 156.
§ Louis Blanc, "Histoire de la Révolution," tom. x. p. 101.

took away all those who were desirous of coming away, we had the less to lament our failure; but he added, that the numerous executions that followed tended to throw a doubt upon this statement. The executions were indeed numerous. Barère had expressed the temper of the French Convention towards Toulon: "The conquest won by the Mountain over the Brissotines must be commemorated by a mark set on the place where Toulon once stood. The national thunder must crush the house of every trader in that town." The Committee of Public Safety had sent thither its commissioners, Barras, Fréron, and the younger Robespierre. According to some accounts these ministers of vengeance slew thousands by their fusillades. According to other accounts, the number of victims did not exceed a hundred and fifty or two hundred.* The letters of Fréron himself, if not forgeries, contradict the apologists of republican massacres. On the 24th of December, five days after Toulon had been evacuated by the Allies, he writes to the Committee in Paris, that he had secured twelve thousand labourers to raze to the ground the buildings of the town; and he adds, "Each day I accomplish the fall of two hundred heads; and already eight hundred Toulonese have been shot."

The capture and destruction of a large portion of the French fleet at Toulon was of considerable service to Great Britain in the naval war. But, like many other successes, it may be doubted whether the moral injury did not overbalance the material advantage. Burke, before the events of the 18th of December, "heard with infinite sorrow that in taking the king of France's fleet in trust, we instantly unrigged and dismasted the ships. . . . These ships are now so circumstanced, that if we are forced to evacuate Toulon, they must fall into the hands of the enemy, or be burnt by ourselves. I know this is by some considered as a fine thing for us. But the Athenians ought not to be better than the English, or Mr. Pitt less virtuous than Aristides." † This reasoning was too subtle for the Parliament or the people to comprehend it. Great Britain was at war with France; and therefore it was good for Great Britain to have destroyed fifteen vessels of war at Toulon, and to have brought away seventeen. When Aristides would not listen to the project of burning the Lacedæmonian fleet, he said that nothing could be more advantageous to the State or less honourable. The parallel does not hold in all its circumstances. The destruction of the Lacedæmonian fleet would have been an act of

* Thiers, tom. vi. p. 146; Louis Blanc, tom. x. p. 103.
† "Policy of the Allies."

treachery to confederates. No one denied the advantage of crippling the Toulon fleet; and few could see any injustice in despoiling any enemy, whose language was, "May England be ruined! May England be annihilated! Such ought to be the concluding article of every revolutionary decree of the National Convention of France." *

In the debate on the Address, when Parliament was opened on the 21st of January, 1794, Mr. Fox took a retrospect of the events of the preceding seven months. He said that when the Session closed in June, there were parties existing in France of equal strength. The Girondins occupied Lyon, Bourdeaux, and other places; the Royalists possessed La Vendée. The Convention not only quelled all internal insurrections, but defeated their foreign enemies. What, he asked, is the inference? "That there is no probability, nor even possibility, of overthrowing the Jacobin government of France in another campaign, nor in another after that." The minority in both Houses constantly alleged against Mr. Pitt, that the establishment of monarchy in France was the object which he wished to effectuate. They might have reproached him more justly that, if he really had this object at heart, he lost the only real opportunity of giving an energetic support to the loyal and religious spirit which had been awakened in a portion of France; and had neglected thus to oppose a definite principle to the ferocious domination of the Jacobin government. It has been said of Mr. Pitt by one who, looking calmly upon the past, is not carried away by any anti-democratic prejudices, "If it was impossible to preserve peace, he should have adopted the only policy which could lead to victory. He should have proclaimed a Holy War for religion, morality, property, order, public law, and should have thus opposed to the Jacobins an energy equal to their own." † In March, 1793, the people of Brittany and La Vendée rushed into such a Holy War; and during the whole of that year they were fighting with an energy which at one time appeared not unlikely to hurl back the Jacobin tyranny to its chosen seat of Paris, and give the provinces a chance of escape from the Reign of Terror which had established itself after the fall of the Girondins. The efforts of the poor Vendeans are in vain. The provinces look on and tremble whilst the guillotine does its work in the South of France; whilst the Queen Marie Antoinette,—sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal, on the motion of Barère, who calls the daughter of Maria Theresa "the Austrian woman,"—is dragged to the scaffold on the 10th of October; whilst Vergniaud, the young and eloquent,

* Speech of Barère, September 21, 1793. † Macaulay, "Life of Pitt."

and twenty-one other Girondin deputies, are put to death on the same day, the 31st of October; whilst the enthusiastic Madame Roland; and Bailly, once so venerated as a patriot; and the duke of Orleans, whose fate nobody deplores, are executed early in November; whilst the Goddess of Reason, personated by a harlot of the Opera, is inaugurated at Notre Dame. Surely, the outraged humanities and decencies of life will not long endure these horrors. They will be endured; and they will go on from bad to worse. Terror calls out its levy-en-masse to defend the Republic from all internal and external enemies. Wherever there is a foe on the frontier the conscripts are hurled against him. Wherever insurrection against the Mountain shows its head, legions march to put it down. Jourdan drives the prince of Cobourg over the Sambre on 16th of October. The Vendeans are annihilated at Mans and Savenay in the middle of December. The Jacobin government is successful in all its military operations. Success throws a veil over its crimes; and the French learn to believe that Barère was speaking very reasonably when he exclaimed, "The vessel of the Revolution can float into port only on waves of blood."

The exciting and romantic incidents of the war in La Vendée are familiar to most persons, in the charming Memoirs of the Marchioness de La Rochejaquelein. She has presented to us, in her simple and touching descriptions, the picture of a community almost wholly different from any other French population at the time of the Revolution. La Vendée, known also as *Le Pays du Bocage*,—a tract of about a hundred and fifty miles square, on the southern bank and at the mouth of the Loire,—was for the most part a sequestered district, with few towns—a pastoral district, where the resident proprietors lived without pomp or luxury, keeping up an affectionate intercourse with the peasantry; and where the curés and their flocks had no differences of opinion, and the philosophy of the Revolution had not come to disturb the old piety and its traditional superstitions. This state of tranquillity was interrupted by the harsh measures of the republican authorities, before the death of the king. The murmurs of the people became loud against their oppressors. "The unhappy peasants, wounded in every thing that was dear to them—subjected to a yoke which the happiness they had formerly enjoyed made them feel still heavier—revolted at last. . . . The insurrection began, from the impulse of the moment, without plan, without concert, and almost without hopes." * It broke out at La Florent in Anjou, where the young men made a forcible resistance to the Commissioners who

* "Memoirs of the Marchioness de la Rochejaquelein," English translation, p. 53.

were superintending the ballot for the levy of troops. Jaques Cathelineau, a hawker of woollens, put himself at the head of his countrymen, who were all accustomed to field-sports, and some familiar with the use of arms. Their numbers soon amounted to a thousand; but after several successful encounters with the republican troops, they suddenly dispersed; for Easter was at hand, and they must keep the sacred festival in their own homes. But the Vendeans were soon again in the field, many under the command of M. de Charette; who became the principal chief of the district of Bas Poitou. Another leader, the most popular of the insurgents, was young Henri de la Rochejaquelein, who said to his ten thousand followers, "Follow me when I advance against the enemy; kill me when I turn my back upon them; revenge me, if they bring me down." M. de Lescure, the first husband of the fair historian of La Vendée, was equally beloved. There were other chiefs who held commands, some of whom had served in the army. But the discipline of the insurgents was very imperfect, and their organization still more loose. It was an army of partizans, who fought well, but had little effectual concert in their operations.

To trace the course of civil war in La Vendée would exceed the limits of this history, and would be a departure from its objects. After various successes against the republicans, the contest assumed the most formidable dimensions. Cathelineau was appointed to the chief command of the insurgents; but was soon after killed. General Westermann was dispatched by the Convention, with orders to lay waste and burn the whole district. The royalists attacked Westermann at Chatillon; and his defeat was followed by fearful massacres of the republicans in revenge of their vindictive acts. The whole country was in the agonies of an internecine conflict. During the summer the English government offered assistance through an emigrant from Brittany, M. de Tinteniac, who brought despatches from Mr. Dundas. The ignorance of the English, in all that related to the position of the Vendeans, is described as complete; and M. de Tinteniac, although he stated that the English government appeared disposed to assist, and that all seemed ready for a landing on the coast of France, could not help suspecting its lukewarmness, on account of "the conduct of the English ministry towards the emigrants." The Vendean chiefs proposed a place of landing for a British force, and promised to join with fifty thousand men. For months the Vendeans thought that the promised help would come. The war went on without any assistance from the ministry of Mr. Pitt. It was probably out of his power to render any effectual aid, with a number of other

objects in hand, each requiring a few thousand men. We did not make war, as Carnot made war, by throwing a great force upon one point. The Convention sent two hundred thousand men into La Vendée, with orders that the whole inhabitants should be exterminated without regard to age or sex, the woods in which they sheltered cut down, the habitations given to the flames. Terrible was the resistance to these sanguinary decrees. Some of the Vendean chiefs, such as M. de Lescure and Henri de la Rochejaquelein, were humane; others, such as Charette, repaid cruelty by cruelty. The Vendeans obtained a victory over Kleber, at Chollett in September; but another battle was fought on the same ground, when the overwhelming forces of the republic drove the insurgents to the low country on the bank of the Loire. M. de Bonchamps, one of the most efficient commanders, was mortally wounded at Chollet. M. de Lescure had been previously wounded, and met a lingering death. Henri de la Rochejaquelein was now elected to the chief command. The passage of the Loire into Brittany, where the people invited the fugitives to come over and join their fates to theirs, has been described by the Marchioness de la Rochejaquelein with a power which an eye-witness could only attain. She paints the heights of St. Florent forming a semicircular boundary to a vast level strand reaching to the wide Loire; eighty thousand people crowded in the valley; soldiers, women, children, aged, wounded, flying from destruction; the burning villages behind; another multitude on the opposite shore. There were five thousand republican prisoners with the Vendean army. It was proposed to shoot them. The wounded De Lescure interfered, and they were spared. But another spirit soon came over this devoted royalist almost in his dying hours. He was carried with the army in a carriage. On his way "somebody came and read to him from a newspaper the details of the queen's death. He cried out, 'Ah! the monsters have then killed her! I fought to deliver her! If I live it will be to revenge her. No more quarter.' This idea never quitted him." * The details of that murder, if truly told, would excuse this outburst. The long imprisonment in the temple; the brutal separation of the mother from her son; her removal to the dens of the Conciergerie; her mock trial and exposure to the obscene insults of the judges of the infamous Tribunal; her lofty contempt; her pious fortitude;—these were indeed details to move even a merciful leader of a royalist insurrection to think only of revenge. De Lescure died: but his words were not forgotten. Then came a series of battles in

* "Memoirs," p. 312.

which no quarter was given on either side. The harassed fugitives again tried to repass the Loire, reduced in number to ten thousand survivors. The final destruction of "the Catholic army" soon closed that first great struggle of the Vendeans. The brave Henri de la Rochejaquelein was killed. The horrible proceedings of the Jacobin Proconsul Carrier at Nantes—his *noyades*, in which boat-loads of victims were sunk daily by this exulting ruffian,—these formed the climax of the horrors of the royalist war. The details of these tragedies are heart-sickening. "Cruel is the panther of the woods, the she bear bereaved of her whelps; but there is in man a hatred crueller than that." *

Whilst all these struggles in La Vendée, heroic but hopeless, were proceeding during that eventful year, the British government having twice been in communication with the royalists, at length roused itself to make an effort for their assistance. At the moment when the Vendeans had re-crossed the Loire, unable to maintain their position in Brittany, an expedition under the command of lord Moira, with eight English battalions and ten thousand Hanoverians and emigrants, was dispatched to their assistance. There was no signal from the shore. The help had come too late.

* Carlyle, book v., chap.

CHAPTER II.

The Reign of Terror in France.—Sentence upon Muir and Palmer in Scotland.—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.—Trials for High-treason of Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall.—Invasion threatened.—National Defence.—State of the Navy.—Howe's Naval Victory of the first of June.—French decree of No Quarter for Englishmen and Hanoverians.—Jacobinism recognizes the Supreme Being.—The Fall of Robespierre.—Rottenness of the Coalition against France.—Successes of the French.—Recall of the Duke of York from the command of the British forces.—Holland lost.—Remnant of the British army leaves the Continent.—Poland finally enslaved when Kosciusko fell.—Corsica.—Siege of Bastia.

On the opening of the Session of Parliament in January, 1794, the earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley) delivered a most remarkable speech, in which he traced the whole course of the French Revolution, contending that it was impossible to make peace with those who directed the government of France. His eloquent peroration was in some degree prophetic of the vicissitudes that the then possessors of revolutionary authority might be expected to undergo. Would a great nation rely upon her own sword, or entrust the whole frame of her laws, her liberties, and her religion, "to whatever may be the accidental caprice of any new band of malefactors, who, in the last convulsions of their exhausted country, may be destined to drag the present tyrants to their own scaffolds, to seize their lawless power, to emulate the depravity of their example, and to rival the enormity of their crimes?" * Assuredly the Revolution was then steadily pursuing the process of "eating its own children." The Girondins had all vanished—some by the scaffold, some by starvation, some by poison. Other chiefs of rival factions were about to follow. On the 24th of March, the Hébertistes were guillotined. On the 3rd of April, the Dantonists were guillotined. Hébert,—the most filthy of writers, the most violent of insurrectionists,—and a strange assortment of his disciples, were condemned for their love of blood. Danton, and Camille Desmoulins, who had grown sick of revolutionary horrors, stood equally in the way of Robespierre, and were condemned for their moderation. The Notabilities of the Revolution fall in quick succession; but the guillotine knows no distinction of

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxx. col. 1213.