

47

THE
FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH:

BEING

A HISTORY OF FRANCE

*From the Beginning of the First French Revolution to the
End of the Second Empire.*

BY

HENRI VAN LAUN.

VOL. I.

CASSELL PETTER & GALPIN:

LONDON, PARIS & NEW YORK.

[ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.]

V53:5991.L9

. A878.1

2243.

To

DR. G. GRANVILLE BANTOCK

THIS WORK

Is affectionately inscribed.

PREFACE.

"THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH" is an attempt to present to the general reader in a concise form a history of France from the beginning of the first French Revolution to the end of the second Empire. The work is chiefly based upon the fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of the *Histoire des Français*, by MM. Lavallée and Lock, though my introductory chapter and the second part of the first chapter are mainly summarised from M. Taine's admirable book on the *Ancien Régime*. I have also been much indebted to the works of Carlyle, de Goncourt, Michelet, Quinet, and other authors, who have all treated of the period which I endeavour to describe.

HENRI VAN LAUN.

LONDON,

September, 1878.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE
§ 1.—THE PRIVILEGED CLASSES.—The Clergy, the Nobles, and the King— What the Clergy has done for Civilisation and for the Oppressed— The Brigands and Petty Chieftains—The Formation of the Second Foundation of Modern Society—The Warrior—Rise of Regular Troops —The Feudal System—The Mutual Obligations of Peasant and Lord —The Serfs—Their Relations to their Lord—The Formation of Sove- reign Rule—The King—With what feelings he was regarded—The Abuse of Kingly Power	1
§ 2.—THE BURDENS OF TAXATION.—The Approximate Number of the Privileged Classes—The Exemption from Taxation by the Nobles and the Clergy—Vestiges of Ancient Feudality among the Clergy—Position of the Lord of Middle Rank—His mode of Levying Taxes—Condi- tion of the Emancipated Peasantry—Difference between the English Squire and his French Neighbour—Relations between the Nobles, the Clergy, and the Peasants	7
§ 3.—THE DECADENCE OF THE NOBILITY.—Poverty of the Nobles—Why the Noble became a Courtier—The Absentee Nobles and Clergy— The Agent—The Game Laws	13
§ 4.—THE EXACTIONS OF THE NOBILITY.—The King the sole Representa- tive of the Country—The Assembly of the Clergy and its Functions— The Isolation and Advantages of the Nobles—The Sinecures—The Sufferers—Voltaire's Article in the <i>Dictionnaire Philosophique</i> about the Country Vicar—Misery of the Country Clergy	18
§ 5.—THE IRRESPONSIBLE KING.—Administrative Centralisation—Com- parison of the System to the Building of a Ship in Present and in Former Times—Vain attempts of Louis XVI. to change the System— A Civil List broached and scouted—Causes of the Wretchedness of France	21
§ 6.—THE PEOPLE.—La Bruyère's Description of the Husbandman— Misery and Famine in the Country—Wholesale Emigration—Condition of the Country and of the Cities—Riots—Partial Improvement under Louis XVI.—The Waste Soil—The Unoccupied Castle—Arthur Young's Opinion about Agriculture in France—Scarcity of Food— The <i>Métayer</i> or Small Farmer—The Small Proprietary Husband-	

man—Ephemeral Ownership of the Land—Economy of the French Husbandman—The Small Cultivator becoming himself Proprietor—His Increased Taxation—Taxation for Persons without Property—How the Taxes are Collected—Personal Responsibility of the Collectors—The Salt Tax and its Prohibitory Clauses—The Excise Duties—Exemption of the Nobles and Clergy from Taxation—Disaffection of the Army—How it is Recruited—State of France when Louis XVI. ascended the Throne	PAGE 23
---	------------

Book I.

THE GATHERING OF THE STORM.

CHAPTER I.

- § 1.—THE FINANCES.—The Cleansing of the Augean Stables—Accession of Louis XVI.—Impending Bankruptcy—Maurepas and the Ministry—Turgot and his Plans—Gradual Change of the French Monarchy—The Rise of a New Power, that of the Mind—Increasing Influence of the Third Estate—Refusal of the Privileged Classes to adhere to Turgot's Schemes—Downfall of that Minister—The Price of Bread—The Privileged Classes refusing to register the Edict for the Abolition of Freemen's Rights—Last Words and Death of Turgot—The Advent of de Clugni—His Death—Necker and his Salon—His applying Palliatives instead of Remedies—An Attempt at creating a French Navy—The Sea-fight between Admiral Keppel and the Count d'Orvilliers—Vergennes prevents War between Austria, Bavaria, and Prussia—The Siege of Gibraltar—Conclusion of Peace and Return of the French Volunteers from America—Publication of Necker's Report on the Administration of Finances—Dismissal of Necker—Maurepas' Death—The Successors of Necker, de Fleury, d'Ormesson, and de Calonne 23
- § 2.—PUBLIC OPINION.—The Literary Men and the Philosophers—Satire a Powerful Vehicle for Truth—Jean Jacques Rousseau and his Influence—The Doctrine of Humanity and its Votaries—Neglect of Religion—Opinions about a King—Use of the word *Citizen*—Influence of Ladies of Rank—Spread of the New Ideas—Exercise of Charity by the Nobles, the Clergy, and the Parliaments—Increased Prosperity of the Third Estate—Gradual Augmentation of the Public Debt—The Middle Classes the Pioneers of the Intellect—Result of the Intermixture of Classes—Remarks of Chamfort and Siéyès upon the Nobility 52
- § 3.—A TEMPORARY LULL.—Calonne and his Plans—His Genius for Borrowing—The Convocation of the Notables—Their Objection to the Provincial Assemblies and the new Land Tax—Appointment of

CONTENTS.

xi

	PAGE
Loménie de Brienne and Resignation of Calonne—Voting of the Six Propositions—The Parliament opposes these Propositions—Popularity of that Opposition—The first use of the term "States-General"—Its Adoption by all Classes—The King holds a Bed of Justice to enforce the registering of the new Edicts—The Parliament declares them Valueless—Banishment of the Parliament to Troyes—How the Mob behaves to the Counts de Provence and d'Artois—Negotiations of de Brienne with the Parliament—He promises to convoke the States-General in five years—Return of the Parliament to Paris—The King declares his sole right to convoke the States-General—Refusal of the Parliament to register two Edicts—D'Esprémeuil and two other members of the Parliament imprisoned—Reforms of various Courts of Law and of the Parliaments, promulgated in a new Bed of Justice, and resisted—New Manœuvres of the Famine Pact—Promise of a Convocation of the States-General—Scarcity of Ready Money—Recall of Necker—Political State of Europe—Necker attempts to check the rise, of the price of Corn—He convokes the Paris Parliament, and revokes Brienne's Edicts—Public Discussions—General Demand for Double Representation of the Third Estate—Opposition of the Privileged Classes—The Elections— <i>St. Étienne</i> <i>What is the Third Estate?</i> —The <i>Cahiers</i> of the Representatives of the Third Estate, of the Nobility and of the Clergy—The number of Deputies for the States-General	64

CHAPTER II

- § 1.—THE STATES-GENERAL.—Their Opening—The Speech of the King—The verifying of Credentials—Conferences by the Three Orders—Disagreements about the Verification—The King proposes a Conciliatory Plan—The National Assembly—Its First Decrees—The Clergy unite with the Third Estate—The Court Party endeavours to counteract the Measures of the Assembly—The Hall of Meeting of the Assembly is closed under pretext of re-decoration—The Deputies meet in the Tennis Court—They assemble afterwards in the Church of Saint Louis—The King proceeds in State to the National Assembly, and orders them to divide themselves into three orders—Speech of Mirabeau, and refusal of the Assembly to disperse—Exasperation of the Court Party—The King orders the Minority to join the Majority—An Army encamped in and about Paris—Dismissal of Necker, and its Consequences—The Revolt—Refusal of the French Guards to fight against the People—The taking of the Bastille—The Massacre of Fiesmelles—Withdrawal of Bessival and his Troops from the Champ de Mars—Firmness of the National Assembly—They entreat the King to dismiss the Military—The King repairs alone to the Assembly, and informs its Members that he has ordered the Troops to leave Paris—The King comes to Paris, accompanied by a Deputation of the National Assembly—What became of the Ruins of the Bastille—Exodus of many Nobles, Foreigners, and Artists—Policy of those Nobles who remain—Recall of Necker—His

	PAGE
vain Attempts to restore Order and Prosperity—Murder of Foulon and Berthier—Risings in the Provinces—M. de Marmay's Fête—Conspiracy of the Nobility against the People—The Abolition of all Privileges—Retraction of the Nobility and Clergy—The King refuses to sign the Decrees of Abolition—The different Parties in the Assembly—Its Orators—Portrait of Mirabeau—The Declaration of the Rights of Man—The Assembly Votes for one Chamber, and gives the King a Suspensive <i>Veto</i> —The supposed Plots of the Court—The Banquet at Versailles, and its Consequences—The Mob make their Entrance into the Palace—The King and his Family return to Paris to reside there—The Duke of Orleans and Mirabeau accused of being the Instigators of the Mob.	88
§ 2.—THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.—Triumph of the People—The Patriotic Gifts—A Fever of Discussion possessing all Minds—The Clubs—The "Friends of the Constitution"—Women's Clubs—The Constituent Assembly—The Promulgation of Martial Law—The Labours of the Assembly—Division of France into Departments—The Administration of each Department—Manner of Election of the Members of the Constituent Assembly—How Justice was to be administered—Opposition to these Changes—A Decree promulgated to sell Ecclesiastical Property—The Emission of Municipal Notes, afterwards changed into <i>assignats</i> , and secured by Ecclesiastical Property—The Clergy attempts to frustrate the Decrees of the Assembly—The Assembly proclaims the Abolition of all Monasteries and Convents, and the Equality of all Religions—The Clergy continue the Contest—The Abbé Maury and Mirabeau-Tonneau—The Abbé's Clerical Opponents—A Prophecy of Frederick the Great about the Suppression of Convents and Abbeys—What the Monks did after they were secularised—What became of the Nuns—The Constitutional Clergy—The Nobles ceasing to exist as a body—The Stage becomes Political—Examples of this—Destruction of Crests and Heraldic Devices—War against Liveries and Titles—Change of Names in "the Noble Game of Goos"—The Behaviour of the Nobles—The Position of the Court—Hopes of Foreign Intervention—Spread of Revolutionary Principles throughout Europe—Behaviour of the Foreign Powers—The taking of the Civil Oath by the Deputies—The <i>Fête de la Fédération</i> —The Intrigues begin again after this Fête—Behaviour of Necker to the Assembly—Feeling of the King with regard to his Concessions—Mutinous Conduct of the Soldiers—Plans to destroy the Revolution—Letter of Louis XVI. to the King of Prussia—Vacillation of the King—Mirabeau assists the Monarchy—His Advice—His Death—His Funeral—Louis' Attempted Flight frustrated at Varennes—His Return to Paris—Violent Discussions in the Assembly—Suspension of Louis—Rage of the Jacobins at this Decree—Collision between the Mob and the National Guard at the Champ de Mars—The French King's Brother arrives at Brussels—The King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria threaten to invade France—Indignation of the People—Behaviour of the Assembly—The Constitution finished	126

CONTENTS.

xiii

PAGE

§ 3.—THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.—Causes of the brief Existence of the Constitution—The Parties in the New Assembly—Their Principal Leaders—The Tactics of the Royalists in and out of France—The Assembly summons all <i>Émigrés</i> to return under Penalty of Death and Confiscation— <i>Veto</i> of the King and issue of a new Royal Manifesto—Decrees against Priests who will not take the Civil Oath—The King refuses his Sanction—Armies raised against the <i>Émigrés</i> —Mistrust of the People—Dissensions among the Ministry—Its Resignation—Appointment of a Girondist Ministry—War declared against Austria—Dumouriez's plan of conquering Belgium—Defeats at Tournay and at Mons—The <i>Sans Culottes</i> —Fresh Decrees of the Assembly against refractory Priests—Re-modelling of the Constitutional Guard, and Formation in Paris of a Camp of Twenty Thousand Men—Refusal of the King to sanction these Decrees—Dismissal of part of the Ministry—Resignation of Dumouriez—Letter of Lafayette to the Assembly, accusing the Jacobins—Position of the <i>Fevillants</i> —The Jacobins and their Chiefs—The Mob invading the Tuileries—Reaction in Paris and in the Provinces against this Outrage—Lafayette is coolly received by the Assembly and by the Court—The threatened Foreign Invasion restores the Supremacy of the Jacobins—The Country is declared to be in Danger—The Resignation of the Ministry not accepted—A Levy of Fifty Thousand Volunteers is ordered—Hatred against the King—The Assembly reinstates Pétion—Plan of an Insurrection—The <i>Marseillais</i> —Threatening Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick—The King disclaims any Participation in the Document—His Deposition is demanded by the Sections of Paris—The King rejects all offers of Assistance—The Attack of the Federal Troops upon the Tuileries—The King, and his Family leave the Tuileries, and go to the Assembly for Safety—Suspension of the King	193
—THE LAST FORTY DAYS.—Appointment of Commissioners and Ministers by the Assembly—New Decrees of the Commune—The Character of Danton—Character of Robespierre—Character of Marat—The Assembly decrees the Formation of a new Tribunal, the Forfeiture of the Property of the <i>Émigrés</i> , the compulsory taking of the Civil Oath by the Clergy, and the right of the Municipalities to make Domiciliary Visits—Advance of the Army of the Allies—Flight of Lafayette—Dumouriez appointed Commander-in-Chief—Capitulation of Longwy—The Assembly calls out fresh Levies—The Commune passes New Measures for Defence—Intended Massacre of the Royalists—Surrender of Verdun to the Allies—Universal Call to Arms—Murder of 267 Priests by the Parisian Mob—Further Assassinations at the Prisons—Paris paralysed by Terror—The Watch Committee inviting other Communes to imitate its Conduct—Delay of the Duke of Brunswick in his Advance—The Tide turning in favour of France—Retreat of the Prussians—The French Armies in Germany, the Low Countries, Savoy, and Italy	232

Book II.

THE REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER I.

- § 1.—THE CONVENTION.—Election of Members generally hostile to the Capital.—The Party of the Gironde and its Expectations.—The Mountain.—The Plain.—The Convention decrees the Abolition of Royalty.—Further Decrees of the Convention.—Accusation brought by the Girondins against the Commune of Paris.—Danton replies by accusing the Girondins of wishing to make of France a Federation of petty Republics.—Mutual Accusations of Dictatorship.—The Republic declared "one and indivisible"—Mistakes of the Girondins.—Conquest of Belgium.—The Convention proclaims to Support all Nations who wished to regain their national Freedom.—Discussions about the Fate of Louis XVI.—Judgment of the King.—His Demourour during his Imprisonment.—His Trial.—His Condemnation to Death.—The King's Appeal to the Nation.—Its Rejection.—Death of the King by the Guillotine.—Hostility of Pitt to the French Revolution, and Recall of the British Ambassador.—Dismissal of the French Ambassador from England.—Nearly all the European Powers unite in a War against France.—The French Nation rises.—The Campaign opens with Two Hundred and Seventy Thousand Men.—The Several Army-Corps.—Behaviour of the Army in Belgium.—Position of the Gironde.—Conduct of the Jacobins.—State of the Country.—Dumouriez's defeat at Neerwinden.—His Plan.—Four Deputies sent to Dumouriez as well as the Minister of War.—He delivers them into the hands of the Austrians, and takes Refuge with the Enemy.—Fatal Consequences of Dumouriez's Conduct for the Girondins.—Formation of the Committees of Public Salvation and General Safety.—Condition and Strife between the two Parties in the Provinces.—Insurrection in the Vendée.—Decrees of the Paris Commune about a fresh Levy, a forced Loan, and the formation of a Revolutionary Committee in every Section.—Spread of the Revolt in the Provinces against the Convention.—Reverses on the Frontiers.—Appointment of a Committee of Investigation of Twelve Members.—Opposition between that Committee and the Commune.—Suppression of the Committee of Twelve.—Its Reinstallation.—Revolt of the Sections.—The Convention invaded.—Final Suppression of the Committee of Twelve 249
- § 2.—THE VICTORY OF THE MOUNTAIN.—The Mountain becomes defensive.—Some of the Girondist Deputies attempt to rouse the Provinces.—An Insurrectionary Assembly established at Caen.—Struggle at Lyons.—Fifty Departments in open Revolt against the Capital.—The Vendée proclaiming Louis XVII.—The whole of Europe and three parts of France against Paris and about Twenty Departments.—Framing of a new Democratic Constitution.—Assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday.—The Troops of the Insurgent Departments defeated everywhere.—Submission of Bordeaux and Caen.—Lyons in open Revolt—

The Royalists retire from Marseilles to Toulon—They hand over that Port to the English Admiral Hood—Royalist Successes in the Vendée—Capitulation of Mayence and Valenciennes—A new Committee of Public Salvation appointed—It proposes fresh and Vigorous Measures—It assumes the supreme Control over the Executive, the Army, and the Constituted Bodies—France victorious in the North—Reverses in the Eastern Pyrenees—Surrender of Lyons—Capitulation of Toulon—Victory over the insurgents of the Vendée at Sevenay—Sufferings of the People—Descriptions of Republicans by St. Just and Collet d'Herbois—The Reign of Terror—Its Victims—Terrorist excesses at Lyons and at Nantes—Two Fractions of the Mountain applying themselves to substitute new Ideas in the Government of France—Change in the Calendar—The Mountain represents the three Political Schools of the Eighteenth Century—Hébert and his Partisans—Renunciation of the Roman Catholic Religion by Gobel, Bishop of Paris, and his Vicars—The Temple of Reason—Attempt of part of the Mountain to re-establish Order—Attack against the Hébertists—Fresh Decrees of the Committee of Public Salvation—Execution of the Hébertists—Attempts at a counter-Revolution—Arrest of Danton and his Party—Their Execution—The Remainder of the Hébertists and Indulgents led to the Scaffold—Resources of France to oppose the Allies—Tactics of the War—The Army of the North and its Battles—Surrender of Ypres—The Army of the Moselle—Surrender of Charleroi—Defeat of the Prince of Saxe-Coburg—Separation of the Armies of Pichegru and Jourdan—The English and Austrian Armies dividing also—Pichegru pursues the English—Jourdan defeats the Austrians at Louvain—The Battle of Saorgio—Dugommier defeats the Spaniards—Reverses at Sea—Spread of Distress in the Interior—State of the Capital—Increase of the Executions—What Robespierre and his Coadjutors wished to bring about—Profession of Faith of Robespierre—Inauguration of the new Religion—Robespierre resolves to end the Reign of Terror—League against him—His Proposal to extend and accelerate the Powers of the Revolutionary Tribunal—It is passed by the Convention—The Final Resolution of the Convention to reserve to itself the Right of Arresting its own Members—Catherine Théot and her Friends are sent to Prison—Robespierre is offended—He absents himself from the Committee and from the Convention for Forty Days—The Terror at its Height—Robespierre's Supporters and Enemies—His Speech and Failure in the Convention—The Attack against him—He is refused a Hearing—He, his Brother, and three of his Friends are arrested—The Commune and the Jacobins become Insurgent—Robespierre and Henriot are set at Liberty—Two Hundred Guns are pointed against the Convention—The Troops of the Convention and the Sections surround the Hôtel-de-Ville—Robespierre and his Fellow-conspirators are arrested and put to Death—End of the Reign of Terror 278

CHAPTER II.

	PAGE
§ 1.—THE REACTION.—Moderation prevails—Changes in the Committees and in the Revolutionary Tribunal—The Commune abolished—Commissioners sent into the Departments to purify the Administration—An Amnesty offered, the Prisons emptied, and many other Alterations made—The Reaction—The “Gilded Youth” lift up their Heads—The Club of the Jacobins closed—The proscribed Deputies are recalled—Fouquier-Tinville, Carrier, and their Friends arrested—Trial of Carrier and his Execution—Abolition of the fixed price for Provisions and of the Requisitions—A Fictitious Dearth aggravated by a severe Winter—The Convention institutes Normal Schools, a Museum, and a <i>Conseil</i> of Arts and Trades—Billand-Varennes, Collot-d’Herbois, and Barrère arrested by order of the Convention—The outlawed <i>Girondins</i> recalled—The Army of the North invades Holland—The Army of Italy—The Army in the Eastern and Western Pyrenees—The Vendée pacified—The <i>Chouannerie</i> —Peace with Tuscany—With Holland—With Prussia—With Spain—With the smaller States—England and Austria, the only Enemies of France—The <i>Girondins</i> regain Power—A Royalist Agency established in Paris—The Famine increases—Feelings of the People—The Mob demands the Liberation of Billand-Varennes and his Two Friends—Transportation of Billand and three other Deputies—Arrest of Sixteen Deputies—The Re-organisation of the National Guard, the Suppression of the Revolutionary Tribunal, the Restitution of all Confiscated Property, and the Appointment of a Committee of Twelve to frame a new Constitution—Increased Boldness of the Royalists—Fouquier-Tinville and Fifteen Members of the Revolutionary Tribunal executed—Fruitless Revolt of the Suburbs against the Convention—The Convention consolidates itself—Six Deputies of the Mountain condemned to Death—Energetic Measures taken—Paris occupied by Troops—The Revolution in the Hands of the Middle Classes—Reprisals of the Royalists—The Convention their Accomplice—Disorganisation of the Troops—Pichegru deposed from his Command—The <i>Émigrés</i> and an English Fleet land at Quiberon—Their Defeat—Seven Hundred and Eleven <i>Émigrés</i> taken Prisoners, and executed—Two Thousand Republican Prisoners are massacred—A proposed new Constitution—The Legislative Powers vested in a Council of 500 Members, and in one of 250—The Executive confided to a Directory of Five Members—The Convention decrees two-thirds of the Members of the new Legislative to be chosen from their midst—The Royalists driven to Despair—They combine with the Jacobins and instigate the Sections to rebel—The Convention declares itself permanent—Menou, despatched to quell the Insurrection, contents himself with negotiations—Barras and Bonaparte appointed Generals by the Convention—The Revolt is subdued after some severe Fighting—Fresh stringent Measures taken against the Royalists	327

CONTENTS.

xvii

Book III.

THE DIRECTORY.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
§ 1.—A NEW GOVERNMENT.—The Council of the Ancients—The Council of the Five Hundred—The Five Directors—Wretched Condition of the Finances—Their Improvement—Gradual return of Order and Prosperity—Republicans and Royalists in the Councils—Political System of the Directory—The Count d'Artois and his Troops return to England—Charette attempts a Rising, fails, is taken and shot—The Conspiracy of Babeuf defeated—Carnot's Plan—The Victories of the Army in Italy under Schérer—Situation of that Army when Napoleon arrived—His Address to the Troops—Disposition of the Allied and French Armies—Victories of Montenotte, Millesimo, and Dego—Victory of Mondovì—Armistice with Sardinia—Further Advance of Bonaparte into Italy—He enters Milan—Armistice with the Dukes of Parma and Modena—Napoleon levies Twenty Million Francs in Lombardy—He sends Half to the Directory and One Million to Moreau—The Directory wishes to alter the Plans of Napoleon—Bonaparte offers his Resignation—Occupation of Peschiera—Critical Situation of the French—March of Bonaparte on Naples—Armistice with the Pope—Wurmser and the Austrians appear on the Trent—Victories at Lonato and Castiglione—Verona and Legnago re-taken by the French—Victory of Roveredo—Victories at Primolano and Bassano—Wurmser reaches Mantua—He shuts himself up within the Fortress—The Army of the Rhine not entirely successful—Bonaparte concludes Treaties with different Italian States—Compact between France and Spain—Vaubois and Masséna's Troops thrown back by Davidowich and Alvinzi—Bonaparte compelled to re-enter Verona—He succeeds in turning the Enemy's Left Flank—The Battle of Arcola—Retreat of Alvinzi—Battles of Rivoli, La Favorite, and Corona—Surrender of Mantua—Treaty of Tolentino—Capitulation of Kehl—France, Holland, and Spain war against England—Seizure of several Colonies by the English—Failure of the Expedition to Ireland—Austria raises a Third Army, commanded by Archduke Charles—Defeat of that Army—Secret Alliance between Venice and Austria—Bonaparte crosses again the Alps and signs Peace with Austria at Leoben—The two Armies of the Rhine enter upon the Campaign, and defeat the Austrians—Venice and Genoa punished for their Rebellions—Financial and Political Embarrassments of France—Election of Monarchical Deputies—Pichegru President of the Five Hundred, Barbé-Marbois President of the Ancients—Barthélemy replaces Letourneur in the Directory—Royalist Intrigues—Composition of the Three Armies of the Republic—Fifteen Thousand Troops brought within a certain distance from Paris—The Royalist Conspiracy defeated and the Directory triumphant—Fifty-three Deputies transported—The Lenient Laws repealed—The Contributors of Forty-one Newspapers sentenced	

	PAGE
to Transportation—Barthélemy and Carnot take to Flight—Merlin de Douai and François de Neufchâteau replace them—Peace Negotiations with England broken off—Peace concluded with Austria at Campo-Formio—Bonaparte appointed Plenipotentiary to the Congress at Rastadt—His Triumphant Entry into Paris	355
§ 2. THE COMING MAN.—Incapacity of the Directory—Stringent Measures adopted—The New Elections draw near—The Government annuls the Elections of the Majority—Treilhard replaces Neufchâteau in the Directory—Attempts to democratise Europe—General Duphot killed at Rome—The Roman Republic proclaimed—The Helvetian Republic proclaimed—Preparations made for a War against England—Bonaparte proposes to the Directory an Expedition to Egypt—Consent of the Directory—Its inauspicious Time—The Fleet and Troops starting for Egypt—Surrender of Malta—Taking of Alexandria—The Two Beys in Egypt—The Battle of Chebreiss—The Battle of the Pyramids—The Battle of Aboukir (or of the Nile)—Coalition of England, Turkey, Russia, and Naples—Austria demands Indemnities—The French desire Peace—The Directory prepares Measures of Defence—The Law of Conscription passed—The Neapolitans march into the Roman States—Mack is defeated by Championnet—Naples taken by the French—The Parthenopean Republic proclaimed—Piedmont and Tuscany occupied by the French—The Coalition hurries its Preparations—Disposition of its Troops—The Troops of the Directory—Victorious Operations of Lecourbe, Desolles, and Masséna—Jourdan twice defeated—Schérer defeated at Magnano—Murder of two of the French Plenipotentiaries at Rastadt—The Directory appeals to the Nation—Position of the French and Allied Armies—Advance of Suwarroff—Moreau evacuates Milan—Macdonald's Troops join Victor's—Defeat of Macdonald by Suwarroff—Joubert appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Italy—He is killed at the Battle of Novi—Italy lost to the French—An English Expedition sent to Holland—Reverses of the French—Outcry against the Government—The Director Rewbell replaced by Siéyès—The Legislative harasses the Directory—Gohier, Roger-Ducos, and General Moulins replace the Directors Treilhard, Laréveillère-Lepaux, and Merlin—Rise of Ultra-Republican Ideas—The Danger increases daily—The Directory closes the Democratic Clubs and suspends Eleven Journals—Critical Situation of the Country—Victories of Bonaparte in Egypt—Massacre of Jaffa—Fruitless Attempt to take Acre—Battle of Aboukir—Departure of Bonaparte from Egypt—Modification of Plan of Campaign by the Allies—Victory of Masséna at Zurich—Victory of Soult—Defeat of Suwarroff—French Successes in the North—The French defeated at Genoa—Interior Troubles of France—Bonaparte lands at Fréjus—He sides with the Moderate Party—Union between Siéyès and Bonaparte—The 18th of Brumaire—The Legislative removed to St. Cloud—Bonaparte presents himself in the Hall of the Ancients, accompanied by Soldiers—His Appearance before the Five Hundred—Its Members expelled by Force—The Directory suppressed—Bonaparte, Siéyès, and Roger-Ducos appointed Consuls	356

CONTENTS.

xix

Book IV.

THE CONSULATE.

CHAPTER I.

- § 1.—A MILITARY DICTATOR.—Paris overjoyed at the Appointment of the Consuls—Annuling of nearly all Prohibitive Laws—The New Constitution—Bonaparte appointed First, Cambacérès Second, and Lebrun Third Consul—A New Ministry—The System of Centralisation—Bonaparte employing the Democrats and the Royalists—He dupes the latter—Insurrection in the West repressed—The First Consul proposes Peace to the English King—Refusal of the British Cabinet—Rise of the warlike Spirit of the French Nation—Plan of the Austrian Campaign—Plan of Bonaparte—Melas defeating the French—Masséna shut up in Genoa—Retreat of Suchet—Moreau defeats the Austrians—Bonaparte and his Army cross the Alps—The French arrested by the Fort of Bard—The Difficulty surmounted—The Austrians defeated at Ivree—Bonaparte enters Milan—Elmütz defeated by Suchet—Siege and Capitulation of Genoa—Critical Position of Melas—The Battle of Marengo—Death of Desaix—Melas signs an Armistice at Alessandria—Kray concludes an Armistice at Parsdorf—Negotiations between France and Austria broken off—Victories of Augereau—Moreau defeats the Army under the Archduke John—Peace concluded between France and the German States—Peace concluded between France and Naples—The Right of searching Neutral Vessels maintained by England—Objections of the Northern Powers—Proceedings of the English Fleet—Attack on Copenhagen—An Armistice concluded between England and Denmark—Assassination of the Emperor of Russia—French Preparations to descend on the English Coasts frustrated—Occupation of Two Provinces of Portugal by French Troops—Treaty of El-Arish—The Treaty declared null and void by the English—Battle of Matarieh—Battle of Balbeis—Kleber takes Cairo—He is assassinated—Menou succeeds him—The French obliged to capitulate in Egypt—Peace signed at Amiens between England and France . 451
- § 2.—THE FUTURE EMPEROR.—Increase of Prosperity in France—The Civil Code—Attempts on the Life of the First Consul—His Disgrace at a Moderate Opposition—A Concordat concluded with the Pope—He grants an Amnesty to the *Émigrés*—Creation of a University—Creation of the Legion of Honour—Bonaparte elected Consul for Life—A New Constitution promulgated—Change of the Dutch, Cisalpine, and Ligurian Constitutions—Fate of Piedmont, Parma, and Tuscany—Change in the Helvetic Constitution—Attempt of Bonaparte to recover the Colonial Power of France—Revolution of St. Domingo—Toussaint Louverture, the Bonaparte of the Antilles—Attempt of the French to reduce the Negroes—Defeat of the French—The Haitian Republic declares its Independence—England protests against the violation of Treaties—The English Ambassador demands his Passports and leaves Paris—England places an Embargo on French and Dutch Ships—It

captures all Ships crossing the Seas—Bonaparte orders the Arrest of all English Subjects then in France—He prohibits the Landing of English Merchandise, and declares Vessels coming from British Ports liable to be seized—Preparations for War—Victory of the French in Hanover—Attempts at another Coalition against France—Conspiracy against the Life of Bonaparte—Moreau accused of Complicity—The Duke d'Enghien taken and shot—Attempt to involve the English Ministers at Munich and Stuttgard in the Plot against the First Consul's Life—Pichegru commits Suicide in Prison—Twenty of the Conspirators condemned to Death—Fifteen acquitted—Moreau exiled—Bonaparte declared Emperor of the French—Creation of Six Grand Dignitaries—Creation of Grand Officers of the Empire—The Foundation of the Imperial <i>Régime</i> excites but little enthusiasm—Bonaparte the incarnation of the Revolution and Jacobinism	PAGE 481
--	-------------