

a petty officer, but was disgraced and turned before the mast about three months before the mutiny broke out. He was executed on board the Sandwich on the 30th of June.

The alarm inspired by these mutinies may be gathered from the expressions of public men. Sheridan said in the House of Commons, "If there was, indeed, a rot in the wooden walls of Old England, our decay could not be very distant." Lord Mornington could see no way out of these troubles. "How discipline and subordination are ever again to be restored, on any permanent basis, surpasses my understanding to conceive."\* On the 9th of May, Lord Cornwallis wrote, "Unless the business of the fleet can be speedily adjusted, a few days must place a French army in Ireland." The alarm of the moneyed and commercial interests was sufficiently expressed by the fall in the funds. Throughout the four years of war, indeed, the price of stocks may be taken as the index of public confidence. In January, 1793, the three per cents were at 79; in January, 1796, they were at 67; in January, 1797, they were at 57; and in April, May, and June, of that year, they had fallen to 47. The crisis was indeed alarming. Public bodies, including the Common Council of London, called for the dismissal of the king's ministers, as the most likely means of securing a speedy and permanent peace. Lord Grenville wrote to his brother at the end of April, "The panic here is so disgraceful that the country will not allow us to do them justice." He thought how pleasant it were for the nation "to be quiet and suffer themselves to be saved." He looks at "the good people of England" from a point of view which sees much, but does not see all, and which sees many things "through a glass darkly." There is truth in what he says, but not the whole truth: "To desire war without reflection, to be unreasonably elated with success, to be still more unreasonably depressed by difficulties, and to call out for peace with an impatience which makes suitable terms unattainable, are the established maxims and the regular progress of the popular mind in this country." † Pitt, with all his sanguine hopes of success in a prolonged resistance to France, had far more respect for "the popular mind in this country" than the cold and haughty Grenville. There was a war party in the Cabinet and a pacific party. Pitt, encouraged by his attached disciple Canning, was resolved to brave the hostility of Grenville, Windham, and the war party, and once more to open negotiations for peace with France. Lord Malmesbury, after the mutiny in the fleet had been suppressed, was again appointed to conduct negotiations; with the assurance

\* "Court and Cabinets of Geo. III." vol. ii. p. 373.

† *Ibid.*, p. 376.

from Pitt that "he would stifle every feeling of pride to the utmost to produce the desired results."\* Malmesbury met the Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic at Lisle, in the beginning of July. On the 9th of July, the great seer, who would have again raised his voice to cry "No Peace with Regicide," ceased to live. On the 14th, Canning wrote to his friend Ellis, who formed one of the suite of this embassy, "I ought to tell you something of what has been passing here since you left us. There is but one event, but that is an event for the world—Burke is dead. . . . It is of a piece with the peddling sense of these days, that it should be determined to be imprudent for the House of Commons to vote him a monument. He is the man that will mark this age, marked as it is in itself by events, to all times." †

The British government, in entering upon the negotiations at Lisle, was not embarrassed, as in the previous negotiations at Paris, by its engagements with other powers. Our sole ally was Portugal. The court of Vienna, under the pressure of the victorious arms of Bonaparte, had on the 18th of April signed at Leoben the preliminaries of peace with the French Republic. At the beginning of the year Mantua, continuing to hold out against its besiegers, Alvinzi advanced to its relief with a new Austrian army of fifty thousand men. He crossed the Adige, and having attacked the French general, Joubert, compelled him to retreat to Rivoli. Bonaparte, who had waited at Verona till he had ascertained the direction in which the Austrian general would advance, now moved with his wonted rapidity to the aid of Joubert. The battle of Rivoli began on the morning of the 14th of January. The Austrians fought with a determination which rendered the issue for a long time doubtful. Rivoli was taken by the Austrians, and retaken by the French, twice in that day of carnage. A judicious movement of Alvinzi on the left of Rivoli might have changed the fortunes of that field; but the effort was an hour too late. The Austrians, said Bonaparte, did not sufficiently calculate the value of time. Alvinzi retired to the Tyrol, pursued by the victorious republicans. Meanwhile Provera had marched to the relief of Mantua. On the field of Rivoli Bonaparte heard that this Austrian general was before the place on the 15th. He at once took his resolution. He left Joubert to pursue the fugitive troops of Alvinzi, and by a march of thirty-five miles in twenty-four hours, was engaged with Provera on the morning of the 16th, and compelled him to surrender with five thousand men. Mantua capitulated on the 2d of February. Bona-

\* Malmesbury's "Diaries and Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 355.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 383.

parte treated his aged antagonist, Wurmser, who had gallantly defended Mantua, with a delicacy almost chivalrous. In the interval between the surrender of Provera and the fall of Mantua, Bonaparte had marched into the Papal States, and when within forty miles of Rome had granted peace to the terrified Pope. Another Austrian army had been collected under the Archduke Charles, against which the French marched in three divisions. Bonaparte advanced on the 10th of March to encounter the Archduke, who had formed his line of defence on the Tagliamento. Bernadotte joined him with twenty thousand men from the army of the Rhine. On the 16th of March the French forced their way across the Tagliamento, the Austrians retreating before them. The retreat of the Archduke continued through March, as if it were a pre-determined plan of operations to draw the French on to the hereditary States of the Emperor, where a battle might be fought with advantage; whilst Hungarians, and Tyrolese, and Venetians were gathering round the invaders. Bonaparte on the 31st of March wrote to the Archduke Charles, to implore him to induce the Emperor to listen to the terms of peace which the French Directory had offered. The Archduke returned for answer that he would communicate with Vienna. Bonaparte continued to advance; and on the 2d of April defeated the Archduke at Neumarkt. Alarm and despondency now prevailed in the imperial counsels, instead of a determination to hazard a battle under the walls of Vienna. A suspension of arms proposed by the Emperor was agreed to on the 7th of April. The preliminaries of peace were signed at Leoben on the 18th. The interval in the greater operations of the Italian campaign gave the indefatigable general of the French the opportunity of avenging himself upon the republic of Venice, which, of all the Italian States, had displayed the greatest disinclination to fraternize with France. When Bonaparte was supposed to be in danger in the Austrian provinces, the hatred of the Venetians displayed itself in acts of cruelty and outrage towards the French who remained amongst them, particularly at Verona. On the 3rd of May Bonaparte issued a manifesto declaring war against the Venetian Republic. The French troops overran all the Venetian territory; took a signal vengeance on the Veronese; finally entered Venice on the 16th of May, and put an end to that famous government which had maintained its independence and its power during centuries of change. The last and greatest convulsion of Europe made the Queen of the Adriatic, first a prize to a revolutionary democracy, and then the slave of an unteachable absolutism.

Such was the position of Europe when lord Malmesbury opened his negotiation at Lisle. As the French Directory was then constituted, there was a partial disposition to meet with an equal sincerity the evident desire of the British government to put an end to this desolating conflict. The demands first put forth by the French plenipotentiaries were extravagant—that Great Britain should relinquish all her conquests, whether of French, Dutch, or Spanish possessions, and that France should retain all she had acquired by the war. It was the opinion of the British negotiators that these demands would be gradually reduced; that Carnot and Barthelemi, two of the five Directors who were decidedly advocates for peace, would win over Barras; and that the majority would be disposed to accept the conditions resolved upon by the British government, namely, to give up all the conquests made from France, and retain the Spanish possession of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions of Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope. Lord Malmesbury had a channel of private information which he could trust; and he wrote to lord Grenville on the 25th of July, “The fate of the negotiation will depend much less on what passes in our conferences here than on what may happen very shortly in Paris.” \* Another Revolutionary crisis was approaching. Barras, Reubell, and La Réveillère, Lépaux, were preparing to eject Carnot and Barthelemi, and to purge the two Legislative Councils of members who were suspected of Royalist designs, and of those who, without desiring the restoration of the monarchy, were opposed to the venality and abuse of power by the majority of the Directors. Bonaparte was cognizant of the dangers of the Triumviri,—Barras, Reubell and Lépaux,—and was ready to support them by his soldiery. The military arm, which was soon to supersede every other authority in France, was now to be the instrument of accomplishing one of those acts of violence with which we have become familiar under the name of a *coup-d'état*. General Augereau was sent by Bonaparte to Paris to do the bidding of the majority of the Directors. On the morning of the 4th of September, Augereau surrounded the Tuileries with troops, and arrested about sixty members of the Legislative Councils, with orders also to arrest Carnot and Barthelemi. Carnot escaped; but his brother Director, the members of the Councils who had been seized, and many journalists and other writers, were banished to Guiana. Amongst the number was Pichegru. This was the Revolution of the Eighteenth Fructidor. It was decisive as to the issue of the negotiations at Lisle. Lord Malmesbury wrote to Mr. Pitt on the 9th of Septem-

\* “Diaries and Correspondence,” vol. iii. p. 406.

ber, "The violent revolution which has taken place at Paris has overset all our hopes, and defeated all our reckonings. I consider it as the most unlucky event that could have happened. We were certainly very near obtaining the great object of our wishes, and I fear we are now more driven out to sea again than ever." \* Mr. Pitt was inclined "to believe and hope that the party now predominant will think the enjoyment of their triumph more likely to be both complete and secure in peace than in war." † He was grievously mistaken. New plenipotentiaries were sent by the Directory to Lisle. They required that Great Britain should surrender all the conquests she had made, not only the colonies taken from France, but from her allies, without any equivalent; intimating that if this peremptory condition was not acceded to, Lord Malmesbury must depart in twenty-four hours. When Malmesbury said that he had no powers which would enable him to accede to such a proposal, he was insolently answered, "then go and fetch them." The embassy quitted Lisle on the 18th of September. Truly did Canning write to a friend, "It was not any question of terms, of giving up this, or retaining that. It was a settled determination to get rid of the chance of peace on the part of the three scoundrelly Directors that put an end to the negotiation." ‡

During these conferences no one was more sanguine than Canning. In his position of Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, he laboured incessantly, in concert with Pitt and Malmesbury, to neutralize the opposition made by some members of the Cabinet to a pacific policy. His disappointment was proportionately bitter. He started the "Anti-Jacobin," the first number of which appeared on the 20th of November, 1797. William Gifford and John Hookham Frere were his principal coadjutors. It came, with new armory, to fight the battle which Burke had fought for seven years. A pacification with France appearing hopeless, it came to denounce the principles and the policy of her government with a determined hatred. To make the literary eulogists of French triumphs odious, and the sentimental declaimers against social wrongs ridiculous, was to be accomplished by witty personalities, rather than by impassioned eloquence. Amidst much that is scurrilous and much that is dull, the "Anti-Jacobin" sent forth brilliant satire; not in the vain endeavour to "cut blocks with a razor," but to pierce through the sensitive skins of the poetical enthusiasts who still clung to their first hopes of a regenerated world that should rise out of the darkness of the French Revolution. The somewhat profane

\* "Diaries and Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 406.

† *Ibid.*, p. 522.

‡ Malmesbury's "Diaries and Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 570.

parody of the *Benedicite*, with which this remarkable publication was wound up after seven months' existence, is a sort of catalogue of the public instructors that Canning and his friends had gibbeted, either in fear or in contempt. \* It was awkward when the more illustrious of their victims became converts to Anti-Jacobinism, and had long to endure the reproach of being apostates from the cause of freedom. They were all huddled together,—the men of genius and the hack journalists; those whose names have lived, and those who are forgotten—in one common invocation to join in the praise of "the Sovereign Priest" amongst "the Anointed Five" of the Directory—"Lépaux, whom Atheists worship":—"Couriers and Stars,"—"Morning Chronicle and Morning Post,"—"five wandering Bards" led by "Coleridge and Southey"—"Priestley and Wakefield"—"Thelwall, and ye that lecture as ye go"—"each Jacobin, or fool, or knave"—

"All creeping creatures, venomous and low,  
Paine, Williams, Godwin, Holcroft, praise Lépaux."

\* "Anti-Jacobin," vol. ii. p. 635.