

inary pretension advanced by the French Government, to exclude His Majesty from any right to interfere with respect to the concerns of other Powers, unless they made a specific part of the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens, was that which it was possible to maintain, those Powers would have a right, at least, to claim the benefit of this principle, in every case of difference between the two Countries. The indignation of all Europe must surely then be excited by the declarations of the French Government, that, in the event of hostilities, those very Powers who were no parties to the Treaty of Amiens, and who were not allowed to derive any advantage from the remonstrances of His Majesty in their behalf, are nevertheless to be made the victims of a war which is alleged to arise out of the same Treaty, and are to be sacrificed in a contest which they not only have not occasioned, but which they have had no means whatever of preventing.

His Majesty judged it most expedient, under the circumstances which then affected Europe, to abstain from a recurrence to hostilities on account of the views of ambition and acts of aggression manifested by France on the continent; yet an experience of the character and dispositions of the French Government could not fail to impress His Majesty with a sense of the necessity of increased vigilance in guarding the rights and dignity of his crown, and in protecting the interests of his people.

Whilst His Majesty was actuated by these sentiments, he was called upon by the French Government to evacuate the Island of Malta. His Majesty had manifested, from the moment of the signature of the Definitive Treaty, an anxious disposition to carry into full effect the stipulation of the Treaty of Amiens relative to that Island. As soon as he was informed that an election of a Grand Master had taken place, under the auspices of the Emperor of Russia, and that it had been agreed by the different priories assembled at St. Peterburgh to acknowledge the person whom the Court of Rome should select out of those who had been named by them to be Grand Master of the Order of Saint John; His Majesty proposed to the French Government, for the purpose of avoiding any difficulties which might arise in the execution of the arrangement, to acknowledge that election to be valid; and when, in the month of August, the French Government applied to His Majesty to permit the Neapolitan troops to be sent to the Island of Malta, as a preliminary measure for preventing any unnecessary delay, His Majesty consented without hesitation to this proposal, and gave directions for the admission of the Neapolitan troops into the Island. His Majesty has thus shewn his disposition not only to throw no obstacle in the way of the execution of the Treaty but, on the contrary, to facilitate the execution of it by every means in his power. His Majesty cannot, however, admit, that any period since the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens, the French Government have had a right to call upon him, in conformity to the stipulations of the arrangement respecting Malta remained unexecuted: the election of a Grand Master had not been carried into effect. The Tenth Article had stipulated that the independence of the Island should be placed under the guarantee and protection of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia. The Emperor of Germany had acceded to the guarantee, but only on condition of a like accession on the part of other powers specified in the Article. The Emperor of Russia had refused his accession, except on the condition that the Maltese Langue should be abrogated; and the King of Prussia had given no answer whatever to the application which had been made to him to accede to the arrangement. But the fundamental principle, upon the existence of which depended the execution of the other parts of the Article, had been defeated by the changes which had taken place in the Constitution of the Order since the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace. It was to the Order of John of Jerusalem that His Majesty was, by the first stipulation of the Tenth Article, bound to restore the Island of Malta. The Order is defined to consist of those Langues which were in existence at the time of the conclusion of the Treaty: the three French Langues having been abolished, and a Maltese Langue added to the institution. The Order consisted, therefore, at the time of the following Langues, viz. the Langues of Arragon, Castile, Germany, Bavaria, and Russia. Since the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty, the Langues of Arragon and Castile have been separated from the Order by Spain, a part of the Italian Langue has been abolished by the annexation of Piedmont and Parma to France. There is a strong reason to believe that it has been in contemplation to sequester the property of the Bavarian Langue, and the intention has been avowed of keeping the Russian Langues within the dominions of the Emperor.

Under these circumstances the Order of St. John cannot now be considered as that body to which, according to the stipulations of the Treaty, the Island was to be restored; and the funds indispensably necessary for its support, and for the maintenance of the independence of the Island, have been nearly, if not wholly sequestered. Even if this had arisen from circumstances which it was not in the power of any of the contracting parties to the Treaty to controul, His Majesty would nevertheless have had a right to defer the evacuation of the Island by his forces, until such time as an equivalent arrangement had been concluded for the preservation of the independence of the Order and of the Island. But if these changes have taken place in consequence of any acts of the other parties to the Treaty; if the French Government shall appear to have proceeded upon a system of rendering the Order whose independence they had stipulated, incapable of maintaining that independence, His Majesty's right to continue in the occupation of the Island, under such circumstances, will hardly be contested. It is indisputable that the Revenues of the two Spanish Langues have been withdrawn from the Order by his Catholic Majesty; part of the Italian Langue has been abolished by France, through the unjust annexation of Piedmont and Parma, and Placentia, to the French territory. The Elector of Bavaria has been instigated by the French Government to sequester the property of the Order within his territories; and it is certain that they have not only sanctioned but encouraged the idea of the

propriety of separating the Russian Langues from the remainder of the Order.

As the conduct of the Governments of France and Spain have, therefore, in some instances directly, and in others indirectly, contributed to the charges which have taken place in the Order, and thus destroyed its means of supporting its independence, it is to those Governments, and not to His Majesty, that the non-execution of the Tenth Article of the Treaty of Amiens must be ascribed.

Such would be the just conclusion if the Tenth Article of that Treaty were considered as an arrangement by itself. It must be observed, however, that this Article forms a part only of a Treaty of Peace, the whole of which is connected together, and the stipulations of which must, upon a principle, common to all Treaties, be construed as having a reference to each other.

His Majesty was induced by the Treaty of Peace to consent to abandon, and to restore to the Order of St. John the Island of Malta, on condition of its independence and neutrality. But a further condition which must necessarily be supposed to have had considerable influence with His Majesty in inducing him to make so important a concession was the acquiescence of the French Government in an arrangement for the security of the Levant, by the Eighth and Ninth Articles in the Treaty, stipulating the integrity of the Turkish Empire, and the independence of the Ionian Islands. His Majesty has, however, since learnt, that the French Government have entertained views hostile to both these objects; and that they have even suggested the idea of a partition of the Turkish Empire. These views must now be manifest to all the world, from the official publication of the report of Col. Sebastiani; from the conduct of that Officer, and the other French Agents in Egypt, Syria, and the Ionian Islands; and from the distinct Admission of the First Consul himself, in his communication with Lord Whitworth. His Majesty was, therefore, warranted in considering it to be the determination of the French Government to violate those Articles of the Treaty of Peace, which stipulated for the integrity and independence of the Turkish Empire; and of the Ionian Islands, and consequently he would not have been justified in evacuating the Island of Malta, without receiving some other security, which might equally provide for these important objects. His Majesty accordingly feels that he has an incontestable claim, in consequence of the conduct of France since the Treaty of Peace, and with reference to the objects which made part of the stipulations of that Treaty, to refuse, under the present circumstances, to relinquish the possession of the Island of Malta.

Yet notwithstanding this right so clear and so unquestionable, the alternative presented by the French Government to His Majesty, in language the most peremptory and menacing was the evacuation of Malta, or a renewal of War.

If the views of ambition and aggrandizement, which have thus been manifested by the French Government since the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, have in so particular a manner attracted the attention of His Majesty, it has been equally impossible for him not to feel, and not to notice the repeated indignities which have been offered by that Government to his Crown, and to his People.

The Report of Col. Sebastiani contains the most unwarrantable insinuations and charges against His Majesty's Government, against the Officer who command his forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter.—This paper cannot be considered as the publication of a private individual; it has been avowed, and indeed bears evidence upon the face of it, that it is the official Report of an accredited Agent, published by the authority of the Government to which it was addressed, who have thereby given it their express sanction.

This Report had been published a very short time, when another indignity was offered to this Country in the communication of the First Consul of France to the Legislative Body. In this communication he presumes to affirm, in the character of Chief Magistrate of that Country—That Great-Britain cannot singly contend against the Power of France; an assertion as unfounded as it is indecent, disproved by the events of many Wars, and by none more than by those of the War which has been recently concluded. Such an assertion, advanced in the most solemn official act of a Government, and thereby meant to be avowed to all the Powers of Europe, can be considered as no other light than as a defiance publicly offered to His Majesty, and to a brave and powerful People, who are both willing and able to defend his just rights, and those of their Country, against every insult and aggression.

The conduct of the First Consul to His Majesty's Ambassador at his audience, in presence of the Ministers of most of the Sovereigns and States of Europe, furnishes another instance of provocation on the part of the French Government which it would be improper not to notice on the present occasion, and the subsequent explanation of this transaction may be considered as having the effect of aggravating instead of palliating the affront.

At the very time when His Majesty was demanding satisfaction and explanation on some of the points above-mentioned, the French Minister at Hamburg endeavoured to obtain the insertion in a Hamburg paper of a most gross and opprobrious libel against His Majesty, and when difficulties were made respecting the insertion of it, he availed himself of his official character of Minister of the French Republic to require the publication of it by order of his Government in the Gazette of the Senate of that town. With this requisition so made, the Senate of Hamburg were induced to comply; and thus has the independence of that Town been violated, and a free State made the instrument, by the menace of the French Government, of propagating throughout Europe, upon their authority, the most offensive and unfounded calumnies against His Majesty and his Government. His Majesty might add to this list of indignities, the requisition which the French Government have repeatedly urged, that the laws and constitution of his Country should be changed relative to the Liberty of the Press. His Majesty might likewise add the calls which the French Government have on several occasions made upon him to

violate the laws of hospitality with respect to persons who had found an asylum within his dominions, and against whose conduct no charge whatever has at any time been substantiated. It is impossible to reflect on these different proceedings, and the course which the French Government has thought proper to adopt respecting them, without the strongest conviction that they are not the effect of accident; but that they form a part of a system which has been adopted for the purpose of degrading, vilifying, and insulting His Majesty and his Government.

Under all these insults and provocations, His Majesty, not without a due sense of his dignity, has proceeded with every degree of temper and moderation to obtain satisfaction and redress, while he has neglected no means consistent with his honour and the safety of his dominions, to induce the Government of France to concede to him, what is in judgment, absolutely necessary for the future tranquillity of Europe. His efforts in this respect have proved abortive, and he has therefore judged it necessary to order his Ambassador to leave Paris. In having recourse to this proceeding it has been His Majesty's object to put an end to the fruitless discussions which have two long subsisted between the two Governments, and to close a period of suspense peculiarly injurious to the subjects of His Majesty.

But though the provocation which His Majesty has received might entitle him to larger claims than those which he has advanced, yet anxious to prevent calamities which might thus be extended to every part of Europe, he is willing as far as consistent with his own honour, and the interests of his people, to afford every facility to any just and honourable arrangement, by which such evils may be averted. He has, therefore, no difficulty in declaring to all Europe, that notwithstanding all the changes which have taken place since the Treaty of Peace, notwithstanding the extension of the power of France, in repugnance to the Treaty, and to the spirit of Peace, that His Majesty will not avail himself of these circumstances, to demand in compensation all that he is entitled to require, but will be ready to concur, even now, in an arrangement by which satisfaction shall be given to him, for the indignities which have been offered to his Crown and to his People, and substantial security afforded against further encroachments on the part of France.

His Majesty has thus distinctly and unreservedly stated the reasons of those proceedings to which he has found himself compelled to resort. He is actuated by no disposition to interfere in the internal concerns of any other State; by no projects of conquest and aggrandizement: but solely by a sense of what is due to the honour of his Crown, and the interests of his People, and by an anxious desire to obtrude the further progress of a system, which if not resisted, may prove fatal to every part of the civilized world.

EXTRACT FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE No. 37.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkebury, dated Paris, February 17, 1803.

I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that I began by telling him that I had nothing new to communicate to him; but merely to confirm officially that which had already from myself premised. I did not, however, pass over with the same indifference, the arguments with which your Lordship has furnished me. I recapitulated them all; the principle on which the Treaty of Amiens was founded; and the right which naturally arose from that principle of interference on our part for the purpose of satisfaction or compensation, for any essential differences which may have arisen in the relative situation of the two Countries. I inlanced the cases, beginning with Italy and concluding with Switzerland, in which the territory or influence of France, had been extended subsequent to the Treaty of Amiens.

I presented to him that this principle of compensation had been fully and formally admitted by the French Government, in the course of the Negotiation at Amiens. I then told him that notwithstanding the indisputable right which His Majesty might have derived of claiming some counterpoise for such acquisitions, instructions would have been given me, by which I should have been empowered to declare His Majesty's readiness to carry into effect the full intent of the 10th Article of the Treaty, if the attention of His Majesty's Government had not been roused by the official publication of Col. Sebastiani's Report to the First Consul. It was useless to recapitulate the particulars of this very extraordinary report; but I appealed to him whether it was not of a nature, exclusive of the personal allusions it contained, to excite the utmost jealousy in the minds of His Majesty's Ministers, and to demand on their part every measure of precaution. I concluded with the distinct declaration that it was impossible for His Majesty to enter into any farther discussion relative to Malta, unless he receives satisfactory explanations on the subject of the First Consul's views.

M. de Talleyrand in his reply, did not attempt to dispute the drift of my argument. He admitted, with an affected tone of candour, that the jealousy we felt on the score of Egypt, with a view to our possessions in India was natural. But he could not admit that anything had appeared in the conduct of the French Government in justification of the alarm we expressed. After repeating what he had said to me on a former conversation on the subject of Sebastiani's mission, which he asserted to be STRICTLY COMMERCIAL, he expatiated at great length on the sincere desire of the First Consul to maintain inviolable the Peace which had been so lately concluded; adding, that the situation of the French finances were such, that were not this desire of Peace in the First Consul an effect of system, it would be most imperiously dictated to him by the total impossibility in which this Country found itself of carrying on that extensive state of warfare, which even a partial rupture would naturally lead to. He expressed great surprise, therefore, that any suspicion should attach, when the means of disturbing the public tranquillity were, as must be well known in England, completely wanting; and desired to know what