NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER,

AND

WASHINGTON ADVERTISER.

Vol. III. | WASHINGTON CITY, PRINTED BY SAMUEL HARRISON SMITH, PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE. | No. CCCCXXVIX.

Five Dolls. per ann. | FRIDAY JULY, 22th, 1803. | Paid in Advance.

Papers laid before the British Parliament respecting the
NEGOCIATION WITH FRANCE.
(Continued.)

No. LXIII.

Extract of a dispatch from lord Whitworth to lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, April 27, 1803.

I avail myself of the opportunity of a messenger passing through from Constantinople and Vienna, to inform your lordship of the state of the negociation at this moment. I communicated to M. de Talleyrand the purport of my instructions of the 23d. yesterday at four o'clock. He immediately asked me if the possession of Malta was still insisted upon?—I told him most certainly it was; and I repeated to him the particulars of the terms on which it was yet possible to conclude the business. That these were, the possession of Malta for ten years, during which period the authority, civil and military, was to remain solely in his majesty, and that at the expiration of that term, it was to be given up to the inhabitants, and not to the order; provided also that his Sicilian majesty shall be induced to cede to his majesty the island of Lampedosa; that Holland should be evacuated by the French troops within a month after the conclusion of of a convention by which all these provisions shall be secured; and that his majesty would consent to ackowledge the new Italian states, provided stipulations were made in favor of his Sardinian majesty and of Switzerland.

I had no sooner made known these conditions than M. de Talleyrand told me it would be perfectly unnecessary to delay the official communication; for, as the possession of Malta was still insisted upon, although for a term, the first consul would not consent to them. I accordingly did repeat to him in the manner he desired; when he told me that he comprehended perfectly what we required, but that in similar cases it was usual to state the demand in writing, and he desired I would give him a note upon the subject. I told him that I would repeat to him once more, or as often as he pleased, the express terms I had stated to him, and that as my communication to him was verbal, I should of course be content with an answer in the same form. He consented at length to receive it, and to communicate to me the first consul's answer as soon as possible. I desired that he would recollect that Tuesday next must be the day of my departure.

No. LXIV.

Extract of a dispatch from lord Whitworth to lord Hawkesbury, dated April 29, 1803.

My last letter to your lordship was of yesterday evening. This morning a person came to me whom I suspect of being employed by the first consul for the purpose of ascertaining my sentiments, and told me that I should, in the course of the day, receive a letter from M. de Talleyrand, drawn up under the inspection of the first consul, which although not exactly what I might wish, was however so moderate as to afford me a well-grounded hope, and might certainly be sufficient to induce me to delay, for a short time, my departure. I told him it would be a matter of great satisfaction to me to perceive a probability of bringing the negociation to a favorable issue; and that I should be extremely sorry to spoil the business by any useless precipitation. But it must be recollected that I acted in conformity to instructions;—that those instructions were positive;—that by whom I was enjoined to leave Paris on Tuesday next, unless in the intermediate time certain conditions were agreed to. Having received no letter in the course of the day, about 4 o'clock I went to M. de Talleyrand; I told him that my anxiety to learn whether he had any thing favourable to tell me, brought me to him, and in case he had not, to recall to his recollection that Tuesday was the day on which I must leave Paris, and to request that he would have the necessary passports prepaired for me and my family. He appeared evidently embarrassed, and after some hesitation observed, that he could not suppose I should really go away but that at all events the first consul never would recall his ambassador. To this I replied, his majesty recalled me in order to put an end to the negociation, on the principle that even war was preferable to the state of suspence in which England and indeed all Europe, had been kept so long a space of time.

From the tenor of his conversation, I should rather be led to think that he does not consider the case as desperate. Upon my leaving him he repeatedly said, J'ai encore de l'Espoir.

Saturday evening.

P. S. This day has passed without any occurrence whatever. The letter in question is not yet arrived.

No. LXV.

Extract of a dispatch from lord Whitworth to lord Hawkesbury, dated May 2, 1803.

Another day has passed over without producing any change. I determined to go myself to M. de Talleyrand, and to deliver, instead of sending, the inclosed letter. I told him that it was with great reluctance that I came to make this last application to him. That I had long since informed him of the extent of the term which had been assigned for my stay at Paris, and that as I had received to this moment no answer whatever to the proposal I had repeatedly made, I could no longer delay requiring him to furnish me with the necessary passports for the return to myself, my family, and the remainder of the mission, to England. Upon this I gave him the letter, a copy of which I inclose, and on reading it he appeared somewhat startled. He lamented that so much time had been lost; but said that enough remained, if I was authorised to negociate upon other terms. I could of course but repeat to him, that I had no other terms to propose, and that therefore unless the first consul could so far gain upon himself as to sacrifice a false punctilio to the certainty of a war of which no one could foresee the consequence, nothing could possibly prevent my departure to-morrow night. He hoped, he said, this was not so near;—that he would communicate my letter, and what I had said, to the first consul immediately; and that in all probability I should hear from him this evening. I thought it right, however, to apprize him that it was quite impossible that I could be induced to obey my majesty's orders, and protract a negociation on terms so disadvantageous to ourselves, unless he should furnish me with such a justification as would leave me no room to hesitate; and that I did not see any thing short of a full acquiescence in his majesty's demands could have that effect. he repeated that he would report the conversation to the first consul; and that I should shortly hear from him.

In this state the business now rests; I am expecting either a proposition or my passports, and am consequently taking every measure for setting out to-morrow night.

(Translation referred to in No. LXV.)
Paris, May 2, 1803.

Sir,

When I had the honor on Tuesday last of communicating to you officially the last propositions which I was instructed by my court to submit to the French government, for the sake of removing the present difficulties, I had the honor to announce to you, that in case the first consul should not consent to these propositions, I should find myself under the necessity of leaving Paris in eight days. We are nearly arrived at the end of this period, without my having received any answer to this communication. It remains for me only, therefore, to obey the orders of the King my master to return to him; and for this purpose I entreat you, sir, to have the goodness to furnish me with the necessary passports.

I seize this opportunity of renewing to your excellency the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.
His Excellency M. de Talleyrand.

No. LXVI.

Extract of a dispatch from lord Whitworth to lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, Wednesday morning, May 4, 1803.

Soon after I had dispatched the messenger the night before last, with my dispatches of the 3d, I received a communication from M. de Talleyrand, of which I enclose a copy, the purport of which is so completely short of every thing which could be satisfactory, that I did not think myself authorised to enter into any discussion upon it; and as early as I could on the following morning I returned the answer of which the inclosed is a copy.

After this I concluded, of course, that there was an end to the negociation.—I had for some days past been preparing for my departure; every measure was taken for setting out at 4 o'clock this morning, and we were expecting only the passport which I demanded, for the purpose of ordering the post horses.—The day and the evening passed without the passports having been sent; and whilst we were deliberating on the motives of such a delay, about 12 o'clock at night, a gentleman who was with me received a communication which convinced me that it was not meant to give me my passports without another attempt and I was, therefore, not surprised when about one o'clock I received the inclosed note from M. de Talleyrand.

In this situation I am waiting the hour of rendezvous with M. de Talleyrand.

First inclosure referred to in No. 66.
Translation.

The undersigned has reported to the First Consul the conversation which he had with his excellency lord Whitworth on the second of this month, and in which his majesty had ordered him to make verbally, in his name the following demands:

1st. That his Britannic majesty should retain his troops at Malta for ten years.

2d. That the island of Lampedosa should be ceded to him in full possession.

3d. That the French troops should evacuate Holland. And that if no convention on this basis should have been signed within a week, his excellency lord Whitworth had orders to terminate his mission and to return to London.

On the demand made by the undersigned, that lord Whitworth would, in conformity to the usages of all countries, give in writing what he himself called the ultimatum of his governmen, his excellency declared, that his instructions expressly forbade him to transmit on this object any written note.

The intentions of the First Consul being entirely pacific, the undersigned dispenses with making any observation on so new and so strange a manner of treating on affairs of this importance.

And, in order to give a fresh testimony of the value which he attaches to the continuance of peace, the First Consul has directed the undersigned to make the following notification in the accustomed style and forms.

As the Island of Lampedosa does not belong to France, it is not for the First Consul either to accede to or refuse the desire testified by his Britannic Majesty, of having this island in his possession.

With regard to the Island of Malta, as the demand made respecting it by his Britannic Majesty would change a formal disposition in the treaty of Amiens, the First Consul cannot but previously communicate it to his Majesty the King of Spain, and to the Batavian Republic, contracting parties to the said treaty in order to know their opinion; and besides, as the stipulation relative to Malta have been guaranteed by their Majesties the Emperor of Germany, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, the contracting parties to the treaty of Amiens, before they agree to any change in the article of Malta, are bound to concert with the guaranteeing powers.

The First Consul will not refuse this concert, but it belongs not to him to propose it, since it is not he who urges any change in the guaranteed stipulations.

With regard to the evacuation of Holland by the French troops, the First Consul has no difficulty in directing the undersigned to repeat, that the French troops shall evacuate Holland at the instant that the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens shall be executed in every quarter of the globe.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to his Excellency the English Ambassador, the assurance of his high consideration.

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.
Paris, 12 Floreal, Year 11 (2d May, 1803.

Translation.—(Second inclosure rrefered to in No. 66.)

The undersigned, in answer to the note which M. de Talleyrand transmitted to him yesterday evening, has the honour to observe to him, that the King has had no other motive in seeking to accelerate the proceedings of the negociation, than to relieve as soon as possible the two countries the most interested, and Europe in general, from the state of suspence in which they are placed. It is with great regret that he perceives nothing in his Excellency's note which can correspond with this intention, and consequently nothing can justify him in delaying to obey the orders of his court. It remains, therefore, only to request the minister of foreign affairs to give him the means of obeying them, by furnishing him with the necessary passports for his return. It is, however, necessary for him to rectify a mistake which has crept into M. de Talleyrand's note. The undersigned did not say he was expressly forbidden to transmit any written note on the object of the discussion, but that he was not authorised to do it, and that he would not take that responsibility on himself.

He avails himself of this opportunity to renew to his Excellency M. de Talleyrand the assurances of his highest consideration.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.
Paris, May 3, 1803.

No. LXVII.

Extract of a dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, Wednesday evening May 4, 1803.

"I am this moment come from M. de Talleyrand. The inclosed note will shew your Lordship, that the idea which has been thrown out, is to give Malta to Russia."

My only inducement for having undertaken to refer again to your Lordship, is to avoid every reproach of precipitation. The difference will be but five days, and I have declared that I see so many objections to the plan, that although I would not refuse their solicitation to send it, I could give no hope whatever of its being accepted as a ground of negociation.

Inclosure referred to in No. 68.

The undersigned has submitted to the First Consul his Britannic Majesty's Ambassadors note of the 3d inst.

After the communication addressed to his excellency, It is more difficult to conceive how a great powerful and enlightened nation can be willing to take upon itself to declare war which would be accompanied by such heavy calamities, and the cause of which would be so insignificant, the object in question being a miserable rock.

His Excellency must have been aware that the two fold necessity of making an agreement with guarantering powers of the treaty of Amiens, and of not violating a compact in the execution of which the honor of France, the security for the future, and the good faith of the diplomatic intercourse between the nations of Europe, were so deeply interested, had imposed a law upon the French government of discarding every proposition diametrically contrary to the treaty of Amiens. Nevertheless the First Consul, accustomed for two months to make every species of sacrifice for the maintenance of peace, would not reject a Mezzo-termino of a nature to conciliate the interests and dignity of the two countries.

His Britannic Majesty appears to have been of opinion, that the Neapolitan garrison which was to have been placed at Malta, would not afford a sufficient force for securing the actual independence of the island.

This motive being the only one which can explain his Majesty's refusal to evacuate the island, the First Consul is ready to consent that the island of Malta shall be placed in the hands of one of the three powers who have guaranteed its independence, eithe rcontracting or acceding to the treaty of Amiens, to consent to it.

Were it possible that this proposition should not be accepted, it would be manifest not only that England never intended to comply with the terms of the treaty of Amiens, but that she has not been actuated by good faith in any of her demands, and that in proportion as France conceded one point, the British government advanced another. If this should be demonstrated, the first consul will at least have given another proof of his sincerity, of his anxiety to devise the means of avoiding war, of his eagerness to embrace them, and of the value which he would place on their being adopted.

No. LXVIII.
Downing Street, May 7, 1803.

My Lord,

Your excellency's dispatches have been received, and laid before the king.

The propositions which have been made to you on the part of the French government, and which have induced your excellency to delay your departure until the return of the messenger Sylvester, are in every respect so loose, indecisive, and unsatisfactory, and fall so far short of the just pretensions of his majesty, that it is impossible that the French government could have expected them to have been accepted. During the whole of the discussions which have lately occurred, his majesty has had a right to consider himself in the character of the injured party. No means have been omitted on his part to induce the French government to make a full and early explanation of their views, and to affard to his majesty that satisfaction and security to which he considered himself to be entitled. It was in consequence of the apparent determination of the French government to evade all discussion on the points of difference between the two countries, that his majesty was induced to state the grounds on which, according to his views, an arrangement might be concluded satisfactory to both governments; and he accordingly authorised your excellency to communicate the three projects which at different times I had forwarded to you.

Until the very moment when your excellency was about to leave Paris, the French government have avoided making any distinct proposition for the settlement of the differences between the two countries, and when at the very instant of your departure, the French government felt themselves compelled to bring forward some proposition, they confined that proposition to a part only of the subject in discussion, and on that part of it, what they have brought forward is wholly inadmissible.

The French government propose that his majesty should give up the island of Malta to a Russian, Austrian, or Prussian garrison. If his majesty could be disposed to wave his demand for a temporary occupation of the island of Malta, the Emperor of Russia would be the only sovereign to whom, in the present state of Europe, he could consent that the island should be assigned; and his majesty has certain and authentic information, that the emperor of Russia would on no account consent to garrison Malta. Under these circumstances his majesty perseveres in his determination to adhere to the substance of his third project as his ultimatum: as, however, the principal objection stated by the French government to his majesty's proposition is understood to be confined to the insertion of an article in a public treaty by which his majesty shall have a right to remain in the possession of the island of Malta for a definite number of years, his majesty will consent that the number of years (being in no case less than ten) may be stated in a secret article; and the public articles may be agreed to conformably to the inclosed project. By this expedient, the supposed point of honor of the French government might be saved. The independence of the island of Malta would, in principle, be acknowledged, and the temporary occupation of his majesty would be made to depend alone on the present state of the island of Lampedosa.

You may propose this idea to M. Talleyrand, at the same time assuring him, that his majesty is determined to adhere to the substance of his ultimatum. And if you shall not be able to conclude the minute of an arrangement on this principle, you will on no account remain in Paris more than thirty-six hours after the receipt of this dispatch.

I observe by your dispatch, you did not consider yourself as authorised to deliver to the French government any note or project in writing. The words of my dispatch were, that you were to communicate the terms officially, which left it at your own discretion to communicate them verbally or in writing, as you might judge most expedient.—You were certainly right in communicating them, in the first instance, verbally; but as so much stress has been laid by M. Talleyrand on this distinction, it is important that I should inform you, that his majesty neither had nor has any objection to your delivering the inclosed project as an ultimatum, accompanied by a short note in writing.

I cannot conclude this dispatch without recalling again your attention to the conduct of the French minister at Hamburgh, and referring you to my instruction, by which you should abstain from concluding the arrangement, unless you have received from M. Talleyrand an assurance that his conduct would be publicly disavowed.

I have the honor to be,
(Signed) HAWKESBURY.
To his excellency lord Whitworth, K. B. &c. &c.

LXIX.

Extract of a dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, May 9, 1803.

The messenger Sylvester is arrived with your lordship's dispatch, No. 15, of the 7th of May.

As soon as I received your lordship's instructions, I prepared a translated copy of the project furnished me by your lordship, and a short note with which it is my intention to accompany the communication. I then sent a person to Monsieur de Talleyrand, to know when I could see him, and I was informed that he was at St. Cloud. I soon after learnt, that he was gone there in consequence of the accident which hap-

(Continued on last page.)