

years ending on the 1st of January, 1833, the importation of wheat from abroad, annually averages 1,145,000 quarters.

The present price of meat, as compared with corn, is high; but this has been in a great measure attributed to an extensive loss in the flocks of sheep, occasioned by rot, which recently prevailed among them for two or three years consecutively.

On the whole, it must be admitted, that the difficulties are great, and the burdens heavy which oppress the landed interest; but contracts, prices, and labour have a strong natural tendency to adjust themselves to the value of money, once established, and it is hoped, that the balance may be restored which will give to farming capital its fair return.

Your committee has endeavoured to trace the injurious effects of past legislation; and, to prove the caution necessary in future measures, it may be urged that they have stated many evils, but have failed to suggest remedies; it should, however, be remembered, that legislative measures, once taken and long established, can rarely be abandoned without danger, and that to retreat is occasionally more dangerous than to advance.

In conclusion, your committee avow their opinion, that hopes of melioration in the condition of the landed interest, rest rather on the cautious forbearance, than on the active interposition of Parliament.

August 2, 1833,

## II.—FOREIGN.

CORRESPONDENCE *with his MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR at PARIS, and COMMUNICATIONS from the FRENCH AMBASSADOR in LONDON, in 1830, RELATIVE to the FRENCH EXPEDITION against ALGIERS.*

No. I.—*The EARL OF ABERDEEN to LORD STUART DE ROTHESAY.*

*Foreign Office, March 5, 1830.*

My Lord—The extensive scale of the preparations for the expedition against Algiers, and the declaration in the speech of his most Christian majesty upon this subject, have naturally engaged the attention of his majesty's government. Your Excellency is already aware of the sincere desire which his majesty entertains that the injuries and affronts which have been endured by the king of France from

the regency of Algiers may be duly avenged, and that his most Christian majesty may exact the most signal reparation from this barbarous state; but the formidable force about to be embarked, and the intimation in the speech to which I have alluded, appear to indicate an intention of effecting the entire destruction of the regency rather than the infliction of chastisement. This probable change in the condition of a territory so important from its geographical position cannot be regarded by his majesty's government without much interest, and it renders some explanation of

the intentions of the French government still more desirable. I have communicated these sentiments to the duke de Laval, and have received from his Excellency the most positive assurances of the entirely disinterested views of the cabinet of the Tuileries in the future disposal of the state of Algiers. Notwithstanding his Excellency has promised to write to his government in order to obtain the means of making an official communication, I have thought it right to instruct you to bring the subject under the notice of M. de Polignac. It is probable, that the French Minister may be desirous of affording all the explanation we can desire. The intimate union and concert existing between the two countries give us reason to expect that we shall receive the full confidence of the French government in a matter touching the interests of both, and which in its result may be productive of the most important effects upon the commercial and political relations of the Mediterranean states. I am &c.,

ABERDEEN.

*Lord Stuart De Rothesay,  
G.C.B. &c.*

NO. II.—LORD STUART DE ROTHESAY to the EARL OF ABERDEEN.

*Paris, March 8, 1830.*

My Lord—I have been honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 5th instant, and have lost no time in communicating with the Prince de Polignac upon the subject to which it relates.

His Excellency informs me that a communication from the duke de Laval upon the same subject had reached him a few hours before, that he had not yet sought the King's orders, but that he should

do so without loss of time, and hopes they will enable him to address a communication to that minister, containing a satisfactory answer to the questions put forward by my government respecting the objects of the expedition, and the future destiny of the regency of Algiers in case of success.

He said that in the mean time he could enable me to convey to your lordship the assurance of his most Christian majesty's readiness to deliberate with his Majesty and with his other allies respecting the arrangement by which the government of those countries may be hereafter settled in a manner conducive to the maintenance of the tranquillity of the Mediterranean and of all Europe.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

STUART DE ROTHESAY.

*The Earl of Aberdeen, K.T. &c.*

NO. III.—THE EARL OF ABERDEEN to LORD STUART DE ROTHESAY.

*Foreign Office, March 23, 1830.*

My Lord—The duke de Laval has communicated to me, by order of his court, the copy of a despatch which his Excellency has received in answer to the inquiry which you were instructed to make into the real views and intentions of the French government in undertaking the expedition now preparing in the ports of France against the regency of Algiers.

The explanations afforded by this despatch, so far as they relate to the causes and general objects of the war have been satisfactory to his majesty's government; and this satisfaction has been increased by the voluntary offer of M. de Polignac to render these explanations still more precise and clear in those

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points where it may be thought necessary to do so.

His Majesty has long been sensible of the gross outrage and repeated insults which his most Christian Majesty has sustained by the conduct of the government of Algiers, and his Majesty has always expected that for such conduct the most signal reparation would be exacted. The additional objects which a sense of accumulated injuries has induced the French government to give to the intended expedition are such as his Majesty cannot but approve. They are such as his Majesty has himself proposed and for the attainment of which he has himself made considerable sacrifices.

I am further commanded by his Majesty to express his confidence in the disinterested views of his most Christian Majesty, and in his desire to render the consequence, of this enterprise generally beneficial to the states of Christendom. It appears, however, that the character of the expedition is of no ordinary description, for, if I correctly interpret the despatch of M. de Polignac, it is undertaken, not so much for the purpose of obtaining reparation, or of inflicting chastisement, as of carrying into execution a project which may possibly lead to a war of extermination. Under these circumstances, the declaration of his most Christian Majesty, that, in the event of the destruction of the Algerine state, he will concert with his allies the means of most effectually securing the objects proposed, can scarcely be considered as affording that entire satisfaction which we may reasonably expect to receive.

In the developement of the intentions of the French government, as afforded by the despatch of M.

de Polignac, I will not conceal from your Excellency, that the entire silence respecting the rights and interests of the Porte has been observed with some surprise. It is difficult to imagine that under any change of circumstances these claims should be neglected by his most Christian Majesty. It is true that many of the states of Europe, and France and England amongst the number, have long been accustomed to treat the regencies as independent powers, and have held their governments to be responsible for their conduct; but we have neither forgotten their relation to the Porte nor the species of sovereignty which the sultan still exercises over them. It is only very recently that his most Christian Majesty has renounced the intention of availing himself of the mediation and authority of the Turkish government, in order to effect a reconciliation with Algiers. These Barbary states are still vassal and tributary to the Porte, and when the power of the vassal ceases to exist, it is reasonable to suppose that the rights of the sovereign may meet with attention. The solicitude which his most Christian Majesty has always shown for the preservation and welfare of the Turkish empire forbids us to think otherwise.

Whatever may be the means which shall be found necessary to secure the objects of the expedition, the French government ought at least to have no difficulty in renouncing all views of territorial possession or aggrandizement. The expressions of a former despatch from the French minister, and the substance of which was communicated by the duke de Laval to his Majesty's government, were sufficiently precise in this respect, and it is therefore to be presumed that

the cabinet of the Tuilleries will feel no reluctance in giving an official assurance to the same effect.

M. de Polignac is doubtless aware of the great importance of the geographical position of the Barbary states, and of the degree of influence which, in the hands of a more civilized and enlightened government, they could not fail to exercise over the commerce and maritime interests of the Mediterranean powers. The difficulty in accomplishing any radical change in the actual state of possession by which these interests would not be unequally and injuriously affected is perhaps the chief reason for the existence of a lawless and piratical authority having been so long tolerated.

Your Excellency may recall to the recollection of the French government the conduct observed by his Majesty upon an occasion not dissimilar from the present. When his Majesty found it necessary, for the vindication of his own dignity and the reparation of his wrongs, to prepare an armament against Algiers, the instructions addressed to the commander of his Majesty's naval forces in the Mediterranean were communicated to his allies without any reserve; and the whole plan, objects, and extent of the expedition were laid open.

Your Excellency will read this despatch to M. de Polignac, and you are authorised to deliver a copy of it to his Excellency.

I am, &c., ABERDEEN.

*Lord Stuart de Rothesay,  
G.C.B., &c.*

NO. IV. — LORD STUART DE  
ROTHESAY to the EARL OF  
ABERDEEN.

*Paris, March 26, 1830.*

My Lord,—After receiving your

Lordship's despatch of the 23rd instant, I went to the prince de Polignac, and observed to his Excellency, that, although the statement of the motives for the expedition to Algiers, and the views of the French government upon that country, contained in the letter which he has caused to be communicated to your lordship, had been received with satisfaction by my government, that measure involves considerations upon which we are justified in seeking further explanation, which I could not do better than by reading the despatch I had received from your Lordship upon the subject.

After hearing the contents of that paper, the prince de Polignac said, that, having in the first instance made it known that the expedition was not undertaken with a view to obtain territorial acquisitions, he had not thought it necessary to insert the positive declaration which your lordship appears to expect, but that he can have no difficulty in giving me any assurance which may be calculated to remove the uneasiness of his Majesty's government; though he begged me to remember, that he does not mean to abandon the establishments of La Calle and Bastion de France, together with the rights which have accompanied the possession of those ports during more than a century, and which are necessary for the protection of the French fisheries on that coast. He added, that his most Christian Majesty does not dispute the sovereignty of the Porte, and will not reject the offer of that government to interfere for the purpose of obtaining the redress he is entitled to expect; and although the presence of a French negotiator has been rendered impossible by the

conduct of the Algerines, if the agents of the Porte can obtain conditions, which he has told me the French government are determined to exact, there will be no reason to send the expedition; but that they have too much experience of the utter inability of the Porte to influence the authorities at Algiers to induce him to advise his Sovereign to delay measures for obtaining this object by force.

His excellency further observed, that since France seeks no territorial advantages, in case the present government of Algiers shall be overturned, the arrangements for the settlement of the future system by which the country is to be ruled will, of course, be concerted with the sultan; and, being executed under his authority, will imply a due consultation of his rights.

He assured me, that the instructions for the conduct of the expedition had not yet been drawn up, and that he had hitherto sought in vain for the communications which had been addressed to the French government upon the departure of lord Exmouth, in order to follow the precedent established by my court upon that occasion.

His excellency asked me officially to communicate to him your lordship's despatch, or the substance of that despatch, in a note, which he might lay before the king. I did not, however, feel myself at liberty to comply with this request without a special instruction to that effect.

I have, &c.

STUART DE ROTHESAY.  
*The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T. &c.*

NO V. — LORD STUART DE  
ROTHESAY to the EARL OF  
ABERDEEN.

*Paris, April 9, 1830.*

My Lord, — I am to acknowledge

your lordship's despatch, No. 18, by which I observe, that your lordship attributes the delay of the French government to give a full explanation of the objects of the projected expedition, and the assurances that they entertain no views of territorial aggrandizement on the coast of Africa, to my omission to deliver the copy of your lordship's despatch, No. 13, at the time that document was read to the prince de Polignac.

If this excuse has been put forward, I must observe, the despatch, "*in extenso*," was read to and read by, M. de Polignac when it reached my hands, a fortnight ago; that, at least, a week has elapsed since the copy was delivered to his excellency, during which time I have more than once asked him if the explanation required by his majesty's government has been rendered the subject of a communication, which he promised me, on both occasions, to send to M. de Laval.

As his excellency did not render his compliance with that request dependent on the delivery of the copy of your Lordship's despatch, which, having read, he knew I could have no reason for withholding; and as he told me the explanation required would be sent to M. de Laval in the same form with his earlier communications on this subject, I am justified in rather believing his assertion to be true, that his numerous occupations are the causes of delay.

In a conversation that took place on the same subject to-day, his excellency said, that the explanation had been drawn out in terms which he feels convinced will be considered satisfactory by my government, and that it would have been sent off to-night if he had

not thought proper to place it before the cabinet at their meeting to-morrow morning.

He hinted, that the anxiety which I manifested upon the subject of this explanation indicated a feeling of mistrust which the verbal explanations I had more than once received do not warrant; that he had looked with satisfaction to this measure, because it offered an opportunity of showing to the world the mutual confidence of the two governments; and that he hopes to be consoled for the disappointment he felt in not obtaining the concurrence of my court in the active operations they are about to undertake, for a purpose of equal benefit to the commerce of all nations, by our concurrence in the future settlement of the questions to which the success of their efforts would give rise; and that, if I had full powers, he would readily sign a convention, recognizing every principle which had been put forward by my government, in the communications which had taken place on the subject.

I answered, that, feeling no inclination to discredit these assurances, I shall be happy to recognize in the explanatory letter which he has drawn out the proof of his sincere determination to remove every ground for the unfavourable feelings of which, I think, unreasonably, the French government are inclined to complain.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

STUART DE ROTHESAY.  
*The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T. &c.*

NO. VI.—*The EARL OF ABERDEEN to LORD STUART DE ROTHESAY.*

*Foreign-office, April 21, 1830.*

My Lord,—The French ambas-

sador has read to me, by order of his court, a despatch which had been addressed to his excellency for the purpose of affording to his majesty's government those additional explanations, respecting the expedition to Algiers, which, from the assurances of M. de Polignac, they had been led to expect.

The duke de Laval did not feel himself authorized to leave with me, for the information of his majesty's government, a copy of this despatch; and he has written to demand the pleasure of his court before he shall comply with my request.

I have availed myself of this opportunity to direct the attention of the ambassador of his most christian majesty to several points adverted to in the despatch in question, as well as to the general tone of remonstrance and complaint in which it appears to be drawn up. It would be difficult to receive a communication of this nature without some reply being thought necessary on the part of his majesty's government—a circumstance which, upon such an occasion, it is obvious, had much better, if possible, been avoided; but as the duke de Laval has engaged to bring these points under the consideration of his government, I abstain from entering upon the subject here, and rather confine myself to the statement of some general reflections, which I have to request that your excellency will submit to M. de Polignac with as little delay as possible.

The French government appear to mistake the motives which have induced us to ask for explanations more precise and explicit than those which we have hitherto received respecting the expedition against Algiers. They appear, also, to have

formed an erroneous estimate of the real situation of this country, and to have regarded as evidence of ill-will, of suspicion, and distrust, a conduct which has been dictated by a plain sense of duty.

His majesty's government are so far from entertaining these hostile feelings, that they have always been desirous of seeing the most ample reparation exacted from the state of Algiers, and that the efforts of the French government should succeed in obtaining for his most christian majesty all the satisfaction which his majesty might justly expect in consequence of the repeated insults and injuries which he had experienced,

Your excellency has further been informed, that if, in the prosecution of this object, his most christian majesty should be enabled to effect the total destruction of piracy, of Christian slavery, and of the imposition of tribute, by the regency of Algiers, upon Christian states, it could not but be regarded with satisfaction by the king our master. These are objects which his majesty has himself endeavoured to accomplish, and the full attainment of which must be applauded by all Christendom.

The views to which I have now referred, although sufficiently extensive, are perfectly definite and intelligible. But let us be candid; the war carried on by France against Algiers is of another character, and a different end is proposed. We are told to prepare for the utter destruction and annihilation of the state itself. Under such circumstances, and with a result of this nature, deliberately contemplated, is it unreasonable to expect from the French government something more than a general assurance of disinterestedness, and

an engagement to consult their allies before the future fate of the regency shall be finally decided?

A French army, the most numerous, it is believed, which in modern times has ever crossed the sea, is about to undertake the conquest of a territory which, from its geographical position, has always been considered as of the highest importance. No man can look without anxiety at the issue of an enterprise the ultimate objects of which are still so uncertain and undefined.

It is to be presumed, that his majesty's government will not be suspected of culpable indifference to the welfare of the illustrious family of Bourbon. Our desire must be, that the result of this expedition may prove to be favourable to their happiness and to the stability of their throne. But if we could so far forget what is due to our own sovereign and to ourselves as to rest satisfied with vague explanations in a matter so deeply affecting the interests of British commerce, as well as the political relations of the Mediterranean States, it is certain that the people of this country would not hesitate to pronounce the most unequivocal condemnation of our conduct.

The views of the French government in this undertaking being pure and disinterested, it is difficult to conceive that M. de Polignac should experience the slightest reluctance in giving the most satisfactory explanations, or that any false notions of dignity and self-respect should operate to prevent him from doing that which, upon reflection, must appear reasonable.

In making these observations to M. de Polignac, your excellency will not only expressly declare yourself to be a stranger to all un-

friendly feelings, but you will also disclaim any desire to assume an unbecoming tone, or in any manner to wound the dignity of the French government.

Our expectations, we think, are justified by the importance of the occasion, and by the relations of confidence existing between the two governments.

We ask nothing which, under similar circumstances, we should not ourselves be ready to grant.

Your excellency is authorized to read this despatch to M. de Polignac.

I am, &c.,  
 ABERDEEN.

*Lord Stuart de Rothesay,*  
 G. C. B. &c.

No. VII. — LORD STUART DE  
 ROTHESAY to the EARL OF ABER-  
 DEEN.

(Extract.)

*Paris, April 23, 1830.*

I enclose the copy of a decree appointing general Bourmont to the command of the expedition against Algiers.

The communication upon the subject of this undertaking, which M. de Laval received orders to transmit to his majesty's government, has been very quickly followed by the publication of a document,\* to which a very slight modification of form would give the character of a manifesto, explaining the causes of the quarrel, and the intentions of the French government in case their arms should be successful.

I asked M. de Polignac if this paper is to be considered official, and especially if it does not claim a

larger extent of territory than has been hitherto understood to be comprised within the limits of the concessions which his most Christian majesty is entitled, under treaty, to possess.

He answered, that the article contains no point which is not recognized by the government to be perfectly correct; and he justified the particular paragraph to which I called his attention by a reference to engagements antecedent to the establishment of the present government at Algiers, which have been repeated and confirmed in subsequent treaties by the Porte and by the local authorities.

STUART DE ROTHESAY.  
*The Earl of Aberdeen, K.T., &c.*

No. VIII. — LORD STUART DE  
 ROTHESAY to the EARL OF ABER-  
 DEEN.

*Paris, April 24, 1830.*

My Lord, — The messenger Latchford arrived last night, and I saw prince Polignac this morning, when I did not fail to execute your lordship's instructions.

After hearing the contents of your lordship's despatch of the 21st inst., his excellency observed, that the doubts which have arisen respecting his views in Africa are to be traced to the course his majesty's government have pursued; for that the objection to the measures which had been in the first instance contemplated through the agency of Mehemet Ali, had compelled them to make preparations which he is aware must excite the attention; if not the jealousy, of every state interested in the political relations of the countries upon the shores of the Mediterranean.

I answered, that since the inter-

\* An article in the un-official part of the *Moniteur* of the 20th of April, 1830.



vention of Mehemet Ali would have involved other considerations not less embarrassing than the questions which at present occupy our attention, further discussion upon that subject would lead to no satisfactory result; and that I therefore requested him merely to let me know whether the reasoning in the despatch I communicated will induce him to give orders to M. de Laval to transmit to your lordship the assurances, in a written form, which my government is entitled to expect, that the court of France entertains no project of conquest or acquisition of territory on the coast of Africa.

He said, that this assurance was distinctly contained in the despatch which M. de Laval had read to your lordship, which declares that France will not retain possession of the town or of the regency of Algiers, though they insist upon the restoration of the establishments they possessed at the period of the rupture; and that if this declaration has not been conveyed to your lordship in writing, the omission will be remedied without delay, for that M. de Laval will receive orders to give your lordship a copy, either of the whole despatch, or of that part of it which your lordship shall consider most to the purpose.

I told him, that although I justly appreciated the value of his assurances, he must be aware that an abrogation of the projects which he must expect to learn are attributed to the French government will be more satisfactory if conveyed in a concise form, and not weakened by a reference to questions of indemnity.

He said, that without complaining of my inquiries, the susceptibility they betrayed was the true cause of his allusion to a pecuniary

indemnity; that otherwise the French government might in future be exposed to the reproach that such intention had not been made known; and that I must not therefore be surprised if, in the further communication through M. de Laval to which my representations would give rise, the indemnity would be one of the points which he will be directed to bear in mind.

The result of my interview, however, enables me to assure your lordship, that the despatch which has already been read to your lordship will be communicated *in extenso*, or in part, as may be deemed most expedient, accompanied by the more precise denial of any view of conquest or of acquisition in Africa than has been hitherto transmitted to his majesty's government. I have, &c.,

STUART DE ROTHESAY.  
*The Earl of Aberdeen, K.T., &c.*

No. IX. — LORD STUART DE ROTHESAY to the EARL OF ABERDEEN.

*Paris, April 30, 1830.*

My Lord, — Since the departure of M. de Bourmont and M. d'Haussez, the business of the departments of war and marine has been placed in the hands of the respective under-secretaries, under the control of the president of the council, which duty takes up so much time that he can only communicate with me on one day in each week.

This arrangement did not permit me to see prince Polignac until yesterday, when I was surprised to learn, that he had not sent the orders to M. de Laval to give your lordship the copy of the despatch in which he proposed to develop the views of the French government in Africa, and that the

further explanations he had likewise promised had not been sent off.

He said, that the king had directed him to write a fuller explanation, containing a detailed account of the several questions at issue with the regency of Algiers, and more precisely indicating the intentions of the government in case the result of the expedition shall be as favourable as the magnitude of the preparations entitles them to expect.

My answer, that a very concise assurance that they entertain no views of conquest and territorial acquisition would save much trouble and would be more satisfactory to his majesty's government, was met by the observation that our anxiety to prevent the participation of the pacha of Egypt in the undertaking was too recent a proof of the susceptibility of the British cabinet upon this question to allow them to hazard the possibility of misinterpretation by the omission of a particle of the explanation which we may be supposed to have a right to expect.

He then said, that our objection to the negotiations with that chief-tain had alone induced him to give way to the plans of M. de Bourmont to reduce Algiers by the expedition they had prepared; that he had shown his anxiety to prevent the possibility of the viceroy's future interference by writing and publishing the enclosed letter to the Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles; and that he is willing to do as much respecting all other points upon which I may manifest uneasiness, though he must hope that our susceptibility will not push him to declarations which the opponents to the present ministry may be enabled to render grounds of attack upon his government.

Though I felt unwilling, after these assurances, to show more than reasonable distrust, I cannot think that the sort of generality by which his expressions are qualified is quite satisfactory. When I objected to conquest and military possession, I observed that his denials were accompanied by the manifestation of the determination to recover the property, which he says the French government have lost at Algiers, and the necessity of preventing future attempts to take it from them. He harped also upon the intention of obtaining the pecuniary indemnity which the country can afford.

Under such circumstances, as I shall not see his excellency again until the further explanation he promises shall have been sent away, I think I cannot in conscience anticipate that your lordship will be contented with the result.

I have, &c.,

STUART DE ROTHESAY.

*The Earl of Aberdeen,*  
K.T., &c., &c.

No. X.—*The EARL OF ABERDEEN*  
to LORD STUART DE ROTHESAY.

*Foreign-Office, May 4, 1830.*

My Lord,—The delay which has taken place in furnishing your excellency with more precise and official explanations respecting the ulterior projects of the French government in their expedition against Algiers has been observed with much concern. The assurances of M. de Polignac, that these explanations would be promptly afforded have been so positive, and so frequently repeated, that his majesty's government are at a loss to comprehend by what justifiable motives the delay has been produced. The affair, in truth, begins to wear a

sinister appearance, and to give rise to doubts and suspicions which it would be very far from the desire of his majesty's government to entertain.

M. de Polignac expresses a hope, that our expectations may not be so unreasonable as to force him to declarations which must prove injurious to the government of his most Christian majesty. It can scarcely be necessary for your excellency to assure the French minister, that such a result could not be contemplated by us with any degree of satisfaction. The whole character and language of my despatch of 21st April, which you were directed to read to M. de Polignac, sufficiently attest the cordial and friendly feelings of his majesty's government; but we have a duty to perform from which we cannot shrink. It is clearly our duty to require an official explanation of the designs of the French government in equipping and fitting out a military expedition of unexampled magnitude, and thereby calculated to excite speculation and apprehension throughout the south of Europe. From our confidential relations with the court of France, we are entitled to receive this information, which is so much the more due in consequence of the conduct observed by the British government on a similar occasion. Your excellency cannot be ignorant that the language of persons possessing much influence in France, and of those nearly connected with the government, is very much at variance with the verbal assurances which you have received, and therefore renders some official explanation more indispensable. If the projects of the French cabinet be as pure and disinterested as is asserted by M. de Polignac, he can

have no real difficulty in giving us the most entire satisfaction. A concise and simple declaration would not only answer the purpose better, but it would appear to be more natural than the course which your excellency states that the French minister has been commanded by his most Christian majesty to adopt. To envelop in much reasoning, and to mingle considerations of national dignity and punctilio with the statement of intentions such as I have mentioned, appear less calculated to produce conviction and to convey the impression of sincerity and frankness.

Should the promised explanations not yet have been forwarded to the French ambassador at this Court, your excellency will endeavour to see M. de Polignac without loss of time, and you will represent to him the serious effects of further delay. After all that has passed, the French minister cannot be surprised if injurious suspicions should be created and confirmed; and he must be aware that he will make himself responsible for the consequences, however unfortunate, which may attend a state of distrust and apprehension.

I am, &c., ABERDEEN.  
*Lord Stuart de Rothesay,*  
*G. C. B., &c. &c.*

No. XI.—*The EARL OF ABERDEEN to LORD STUART DE ROTHESAY.*

(Extract)

*Foreign-office, May 11, 1830.*

By my despatch of the 23rd of March, your excellency was informed of the reasons which had induced his majesty's government to seek for some more precise and official explanation of the ulterior objects of the expedition, in addition

to that which had been already communicated in this form by the duke de Laval.

In your despatch of April 9, your excellency observes, that M. de Polignac had assured you, that the explanation required would be sent to M. de Laval in the same form as the preceding; and in the course of the conversation the French minister strikingly illustrated his desire to satisfy his majesty's government, by declaring that if you had full powers he would readily sign a convention recognizing every principle which had been put forward by your government in the communications which had taken place on the subject.

In your despatch of April 24th, in answer to a question from your excellency, whether M. de Laval would be authorized to give the additional assurances in a written form, you describe M. de Polignac to state, that the French ambassador would be instructed to communicate to his majesty's government either the whole despatch from his court, or such part of it as should be considered by his majesty's government most to the purpose.

In your despatch of April 30th, throughout the whole narrative of your conference with M. de Polignac, it is clearly implied, that this communication was to be made in a written form; and the observations of the French minister show an anxiety to prepare the statement in such a manner as to give satisfaction to the British government.

The request, indeed, contained in my despatch of March 23rd, of an official assurance necessarily precludes any other mode of communication; and, as you were instructed to deliver a copy of that despatch to M. de Polignac, it is

not possible that the French government should have laboured under any misconception.

Your excellency will not fail to draw the serious attention of the president of the council to the promises which you have received, and the pledges repeatedly given, as well as to the manner in which it is now proposed that they should be redeemed.

When you shall have reported the result of the appeal thus made to the consistency and good faith of M. de Polignac, it will be my duty humbly to take his majesty's commands respecting such further instructions to your excellency as the occasion may seem to require.

ABERDEEN.

*Lord Stuart de Rothesay,  
G. C. B. &c. &c.*

No. XII. — LORD STUART DE ROTHESAY to the EARL OF ABERDEEN.

(Extract)

*Paris, May 14, 1830.*

The prince de Polignac yesterday read to me a despatch which he has addressed to the several ministers accredited to the Courts in alliance with France, containing a further exposure of the objects of the expedition.

The copy of this despatch will, he tells me, be delivered to the ministers by whom it may be required.

It was certainly the desire of M. de Polignac to confine the operations of this country against Algiers to the employment of their navy, leaving the attack by land wholly to be executed by the Viceroy of Egypt; and he was induced to abandon this project by the remonstrances of his majesty's government, joined to the arguments

of his colleague for the war department.

STUART DE ROTHESAY.  
*The Earl of Aberdeen, K.T. &c. &c.*

NO. XIII.—LORD STUART DE ROTHESAY to the EARL OF ABERDEEN.

(Extract)

*Paris, May 24, 1830.*

I have received your lordship's despatch of the 21st of May, pointing out the manifest contradiction between the explanations on the subject of the French expedition to Algiers, contained in a letter which has been read to your lordship by the duke de Laval, and the assurances of the French minister to myself, if I have not misrepresented the language of M. de Polignac in my despatches.

I could not more distinctly execute your lordship's instructions in asking an explanation of this contradiction, than by reading the contents of this despatch to prince Polignac, reminding his excellency upon what occasions he had authorized me to convey to my government the assurances to which your lordship adverts, and repeating to his excellency the observations which I had brought forward in several conversations, that these assurances are inconsistent with the course he has pursued.

His excellency did not deny, that the considerations which had arisen between the period when he had conferred with me, and that when he sent off these despatches to M. de Laval, had led to some variation between the form as well as the nature of his verbal and written explanations, but that the time was fast approaching, when I should be compelled to admit the truth of all the assurances I had received; that,

if upon the appearance of the expedition before Algiers, the dey shall consent to the terms proposed, their immediate return to France will put an end to every question; while, if the resistance of the Algerines shall lead to a struggle which terminates in the dissolution of the government, that the measures to be adopted for the re-settlement of that country, whether by placing it under the rule of a Turkish pacha, or such other arrangements as may be thought expedient, will be concerted in a conference of the representatives of the allies, and not exclusively decided by the French ministers; and that the general commanding the expedition had therefore received orders not to commit his government by any engagement which can stand in the way of the resolutions.

After this statement he cannot conceive, that more explanation than has been contained in the despatch which M. de Laval was yesterday directed to deliver to your lordship, will be required.

STUART DE ROTHESAY.  
*The Earl of Aberdeen, K.T. &c. &c.*

NO. XIV.—*The EARL OF ABERDEEN to LORD STUART DE ROTHESAY.*

*Foreign-office, May, 31, 1830.*

My Lord,—I enclose to your excellency the draught of a note which your excellency will address to the prince de Polignac, in answer to the official communications which have been made by the ambassador of his most christian majesty at this Court to his majesty's government respecting the French expedition to Algiers. I am, &c.

ABERDEEN.

*Lord Stuart de Rothesay,*  
*G.C.B. &c.*

(Enclosure in No. 14.)

NOTE PRESENTED to the PRINCE DE POLIGNAC by LORD STUART DE ROTHESAY, dated June 3, 1830.

The undersigned has received instructions to lay before the cabinet of the Tuileries the following observations, in answer to the official communications which have been made to his Court respecting the expedition of a French force against Algiers.

The cabinet of the Tuileries is no stranger to the sentiments which have been constantly entertained and frequently expressed by the British government upon this subject. The undersigned is now commanded to repeat, that the king his master has long been sensible of the injuries sustained by his most Christian majesty from the regency of Algiers, and he has always expected that such injuries would be duly avenged.

If, in exacting reparation for outrages committed against himself, his most Christian majesty should be enabled entirely to put an end to the evils of piracy and of christian slavery, the benefit must be acknowledged by all Christendom.

In case it should be found impracticable to attain these objects without the total subversion of the Algerine state, his most Christian majesty has desired to receive the opinion and counsel of his allies respecting the manner in which this conquest might be rendered most advantageous to the general interests of Europe.

The repeated disavowal of all projects of ambition and aggrandizement made by the prince de Polignac, and the assurances which have been received from the ambassador of his most Christian majesty in London, forbid the suspicion

of any design on the part of the French government to establish a permanent military occupation of the regency, or to accomplish such a change in the state of territorial possession on the shores of the Mediterranean as should affect the interests of European powers.

The undersigned cannot avoid calling the attention of the prince de Polignac to the peculiar situation of Algiers in its relation to the Ottoman Porte. Various governments of Europe have contracted engagements with the regency as with an independent state, and, in virtue of conventions with the Porte to that effect, have made the Algerine rulers responsible for the acts of their subjects. Other powers continue to regard the Barbary states as essentially dependent on the Turkish empire, and claim accordingly from the Turkish government compensation and indemnity for all injuries received from these states. The supremacy of the sultan is admitted, however, by all; and his most Christian majesty himself has only recently renounced the hope of reconciling his differences with the regency by means of the intervention of the Porte. A Turkish commissioner has actually arrived at Toulon, having been prevented by the French blockading squadron from landing at Algiers, whither he had been sent from Constantinople in order to enforce compliance with the just demands of the French government.

If the main object of this expedition should be the conquest of Algiers, rather than the reparation of injuries and the chastisement of the regency, the undersigned would submit to the serious consideration of the prince de Polignac what must be the effect of a precedent

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which thus disposes of the rights of a third party against whom no complaint whatever has been alleged.

No. XV.—**LORD STUART DE ROTHESAY, to the EARL OF ABERDEEN.**

(Extract.)

*Paris, May 31, 1830.*

So soon as the telegraphic despatch announcing the arrival of Tahir Pacha at Toulon came to my knowledge, I lost no time in asking the Prince de Polignac to explain to me the cause of that event.

His excellency said, that the telegraphic despatch contained all the information he had received, by which it appeared, that the Turkish vessel in which Tahir Pacha had taken his passage to Algiers, having been repulsed from that port by the blockading squadron, had steered for the French coast, and had met with the expedition the day after they sailed. Tahir Pacha had gone on board the Admiral's ship, and after a long conference with count Bourmont, he determined to continue his course to Toulon, where he announced that he was the bearer of propositions to the French government, and that a letter to that effect had been immediately sent off, but had not been hitherto delivered.

Prince Polignac declared his utter ignorance of the tenor of this communication, though he does not seem to doubt that Tahir Pacha will think it expedient to proceed to Paris.

I observed to his excellency, that, however imperfectly I had learned the object of the voyage of this personage, I knew he was directed by the Sultan to use

his best endeavours to prevent hostilities, by directing the Dey to submit to every just demand which the French government is entitled to bring forward; that it appears strange he should not have been allowed to pass the blockading squadron; and yet more strange that, after communicating with the commander of the expedition, he should not have accompanied them to Algiers, for the purpose of carrying the orders of the Sultan to the knowledge of the local authorities; that, at Toulon, he will, without doubt, be detained in quarantine; and, if he intends coming to Paris, he may possibly not reach Algiers till long after it shall be too late to take a part in the negotiations which are likely to follow the capture of the place.

**STUART DE ROTHESAY.**

No. XVI.—**LORD STUART DE ROTHESAY to the EARL OF ABERDEEN.**

(Extract.)

*Paris, July 16, 1830.*

I saw M. de Polignac within a few hours of the departure of the last messenger.

I told his excellency, that as soon as I heard of the complete success of the expedition against Algiers, and the attainment of the avowed object of the undertaking, I came to offer him my congratulations, in the conviction, that they will keep their faith with my Court; and that, notwithstanding all that has been written and said to the contrary, they will not take advantage of the moment of success to fall from the assurances he has given me, in the name of his sovereign, that the expedition was undertaken for the sole purpose of vindicating the national honour,

and not with views of acquisition or conquest.

His excellency answered me, by declaring his readiness to repeat his former assurances, from which he declared that their late success gives the French government no inclination to depart.

STUART DE ROTHESAY.

No. XVII. — COMMUNICATION  
*from the DUKE DE LAVAL to  
the EARL OF ABERDEEN.*

(Received March 20, 1830.)

PRINCE POLIGNAC to the DUKE  
DE LAVAL.

*Paris, March 12, 1830.*

Monsieur le Duc,—When we communicated to our allies the destination of the armaments now preparing in the ports of France, we spoke of the results to which they might lead, with a reserve which appeared to us to be called for by the uncertainty of the chances of war. Many cabinets having since invited us to declare to them, in a more precise manner, the object which we purpose to attain by our expedition against the regency of Algiers, his majesty is pleased to comply with this desire, so far as depends upon him; and he authorizes me to give to the several cabinets the following explanations: you may address them, Monsieur le Duc, to the government of his Britannic majesty.

The public insult offered by the dey to our consul was the immediate cause of a rupture, which was moreover but too well justified by numerous infractions of treaties, by the violation of rights which a possession of many ages' duration had consecrated, and by the injury done to interests of very high value and importance.

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To obtain satisfaction for the insult offered to one of his agents, suitable reparation for the injuries experienced by France, and the performance of the engagements which the dey refused to fulfil,—such was at first the object which the king proposed to attain.

Events have subsequently given a more extended development to the projects of his majesty.

The dey has ruined and utterly destroyed all our establishments on the coast of Africa; a three years' blockade has only increased his insolence; and, instead of the reparation due to us, he has spoken only of claims and pretensions which he himself reckoned upon making good against France. In short, he has replied to the pacific propositions which one of the commanders of our navy was sent to convey to him, even in his own palace, by an absolute refusal; and at the moment when the vessel employed for the negotiation, and carrying a flag of truce, was preparing to leave the port, it was suddenly attacked by the fire of all the nearest batteries, upon a signal given from the very castle which was occupied by the chief of the regency.

The king, Monsieur le Duc, has therefore been compelled to acknowledge that no arrangement would be practicable with the dey; and that, even if it should be possible to induce him to conclude any treaty whatsoever, the previous conduct of the regency, compared with the more recent events, left no security that such an arrangement would be better observed than our conventions, so often renewed, and so often violated by the Algerine government.

These considerations have convinced us of the necessity of giving a more extended development to

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the war. From that period also it became incumbent upon us to consider how to give to this war an object, the importance of which would correspond with the extent of the sacrifices which it would impose upon us; and the king, no longer confining his projects to obtaining reparation for the particular wrongs of France, determined to turn to the advantage of all Christendom the expedition for which he was ordering the preparations to be made; and his majesty adopted, as the object and recompense of his efforts—

The complete destruction of piracy.

The total abolition of Christian slavery.

The suppression of the tribute which Christian powers pay to the regency.

Such, if Providence assists the arms of the king, will be the result of the enterprise for which preparations are now making in the ports of France. His majesty is determined to prosecute it by the employment of all the means which may be necessary to secure its success; and if, in the struggle which is about to take place, it should happen that the existing government at Algiers should even be dissolved, in that case, Monsieur le Duc, the king, whose views upon this important question are perfectly disinterested, will concert with his allies for the purpose of deciding what shall be the new order of things which may be substituted, with the greatest benefit to Christendom, for the system which has been destroyed, and which may be best calculated to secure the triple object which his majesty proposes to attain.

You may convey these communications, Monsieur le Duc, to the

knowledge of the government of his Britannic majesty; and, if Lord Aberdeen wishes to have a copy of the present despatch, the king authorizes you to give it to him.

Accept, &c.,  
Le Prince de POLIGNAC.

No. XVIII. — COMMUNICATION  
*from the DUKE DE LAVAL to  
the EARL OF ABERDEEN.*

(Received May 17, 1830.)

PRINCE POLIGNAC to the DUKE DE  
LAVAL.

*Paris, May 12, 1830.*

Monsieur le Duc,—At the moment when the fleet which conveys our army to Africa is leaving France, the king feels the necessity of making known to his allies how sensible he has been of the marks of interest and friendship which he has received from them during the important conjuncture of circumstances which preceded the departure of the expedition directed against Algiers. His majesty has applied for their concurrence with perfect confidence; he has treated, it may be said publicly, a question which he has thought fit to make common to all Europe; his allies have responded to his confidence, and they have afforded him sanction and encouragement, the remembrance of which will never be effaced from his mind.

To make a return for conduct so loyal and friendly, his majesty is now desirous of laying before them again, at the moment of the departure of the French fleet, the object and aim of the expedition which he is sending against the regency of Algiers.

Two interests, which by their nature are distinct, but which are closely connected in the mind of

the King, have led to the armaments which have been prepared in our ports. The one more especially concerns France; it is to vindicate the honour of our flag, to obtain redress of the wrongs which have been the immediate cause of hostilities, to preserve our possessions from the aggressions and acts of violence to which they have been so often subjected, and to obtain for us a pecuniary indemnity, which may relieve us, so far as the state of Algiers will allow, from the expenses of a war which we have not provoked; the other, which regards Christendom in general, embraces the abolition of slavery, of piracy, and of the tributes which Europe still pays to the regency of Algiers.

The king is firmly resolved not to lay down his arms, or to recall his troops from Algiers, until this double object shall have been attained and sufficiently secured; and it is with the view of coming to an understanding as to the means of arriving at this end, so far as regards the general interests of Europe, that his majesty, on the 12th of March last, announced to his allies his desire to take measures in concert with them, in the event of the dissolution of the government actually existing at Algiers, in the struggle which is about to take

place. It would be the object of this concert to discuss the new order of things which it might be expedient to establish in that country for the greater benefit of Christendom. His majesty thinks it right at once to assure his allies, that he would enter into those deliberations prepared to afford all the explanations which they might still desire, disposed to take into consideration the rights and interests of all parties, himself unfettered by any previous engagement, at liberty to accept any proposition which might be considered proper for the attainment of the object in question, and free from any feeling of personal interest; and as the state of things foreseen by his majesty may very shortly be realized, if Providence deigns to protect our arms, the king now invites his allies to furnish their ambassadors at Paris with contingent instructions upon this subject.

You will have the goodness, M. le Duc, to make this proposition to lord Aberdeen, and if that minister wishes it, you will give him a copy of this despatch.

Accept, &c.,

Le Prince de POLIGNAC.  
M. le Prince D. de Laval,  
Montmorency, &c.

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#### GREAT BRITAIN and BUENOS AYRES.

The following correspondence, relative to the occupation of the Malvinas by Great Britain, has been published by the Government of Buenos Ayres:—

TO THE HON. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

*Buenos-Ayres, Jan. 24, 1839,*

*24th year of the Liberty, and  
18th of the Independence, of  
the Republic.*

If great has been the pain which the government has felt on receiving the news of the violent abuse of power exercised in the Malvinas by a vessel of war belong-