

Memorandum
(The King)

William B. (for Sir Robert Peel & his Cabinet
written in 1835. —)

As it is impossible that the circumstances attending the recent change of Administration should not lead to Discussions in both Houses of Parliament, in which references would unavoidably be made to the course pursued by the King at periods when He was placed under the necessity of taking Counsel, more or less, from Himself, and of trusting to His own Judgement, with respect to the Decisions it became His Duty to adopt; — His Majesty thinks that it may be useful to Sir Robert Peel and to his Colleagues to receive from Himself a Statement of His general Proceedings and of the Principles by which He was guided, and that this Statement should embrace the prominent features of those Proceedings from the Period of His Majesty's Accession in June 1830 to that of the recent Change in the Administration, the Circumstances connected with the last event being alone given in any detail.

Upon the King's Accession, His Majesty, without any hesitation, determined to maintain in the Administration
of

of the Affairs of the Country those who had been the Confidential Servants of His late Brother, those whose Political Principles and Measures had continued to be, as far as a necessary and well judged deference to Public feeling and to the important object of maintaining the Peace of the Country would allow, such as had been approved by His late Father. -

To the Government so constituted the King gave His full and unqualified Support and, during the short Period of its further Existence, nothing was done, or required, by His Majesty which could produce difficulty or embarrassment to it -

In November of that Year, 1830, Sir Henry Parnell brought forward a Motion which was resisted by the Government, as being an attack on the Prerogative of the Crown, but which nevertheless received the support of a considerable Number of Members of the House of Commons who had become hostile to the Government in consequence of its Concessions to the Roman Catholics, and who were distinguished by the Appellation of Ultra Tories -

The result of this Junction with the Opposition
and

and the Majority thus obtained by the latter in the House of Commons, upon so important a Question, was the immediate resignation of the Duke of Wellington and his Colleagues, and their unanimous Opinion that His Majesty had no other Alternative than to resort to the Opposite Party for the means of forming an Administration, in which was added the advice of His Lord Chancellor that He should address himself at once to Earl Grey. -

In concurrence with this advice His Majesty sent for Lord Grey, who agreed to take upon himself the Trust proposed to him, upon a clear understanding that he should be at liberty to introduce at once the Measure, so long contemplated and advocated by him and his Party, of an extensive Reform of Parliament, and that, in the prosecution of his endeavours to effect it, he should receive the King's Countenance and Support. - This condition had been anticipated by His Majesty and by His late Advisers, and no objection could be made by them to the introduction of a Measure to which Earl Grey had pledged his Character and Political consistency. -

Earl

Earl Grey and his Colleagues lost no time in preparing
the Bills for the Reform of the Representation in the
United Kingdom and His Majesty sanctioned the
introduction of them to Parliament after some consideration
into the character of which it is unnecessary that I should
enter, as it was placed in the hands of the Duke of
Wellington and Lord Lyndhurst in May 1832. - After
some discussion, the House of Commons passed the proposed
Bill by a majority of 8 only and His Majesty was, in
consequence, advised by Earl Grey and His other
Confidential Servants to dissolve Parliament -

The King is aware that it has been remarked that
He had inconsiderately and improperly neglected the
opportunity which was afforded to Him, at this time
of emancipating Himself from the shackles of a Party
which had introduced and was pursuing Measures
of excessive and dangerous Reform, by refusing to
dissolve Parliament, and He does not deny that such
a Refusal would have been equivalent to the
Dismissal of Earl Grey and his Colleagues from His
Councils -

But

But allowing that this course could then have been adopted with due regard to the Peace and the tranquillity of the Country in which the cry for Reform had been so generally and extensively raised, His Majesty was then satisfied, as He now continues to be, that He could not have adopted it without seriously compromising His own character, as a Sovereign and a Gentleman, inasmuch as it would have exposed Him to the just imputation that, altho' He had in the moment of difficulty appealed to Lord Grey for his Aid and Services and altho' these had been given upon the understanding that His Majesty would admit the introduction and support him in the Prosecution of a great Public Measure of which his character was pledged, His Majesty had not scrupled to desert & sacrifice him at the hour of Trial, when the moment arrived which should offer the Proof whether the Compact had been made on the part of His Majesty with the honest intention of observing it -

It is very possible that, by the dismissal of His Ministers at that period and the consequent exclusion of the
Reform

Reform Bill, as it had been introduced, Measures less
objectionable might have been proposed, but His Majesty
very much doubts whether the Country was then in a
Temper which would have enabled the Administration,
succeeding that of Lord Grey, to maintain its ground long
enough to give effect to any great Measure, and whether
any other Course than that which His Majesty pursued
would not have led to changes of Administrations rapidly
succeeding each other and ^{to} the destruction in every
Quarter of that Confidence in the fair and honorable
dealing of the Sovereign which, in His Majesty's Opinion,
does, and ought to, constitute the best safeguard of the
Monarchy.

Therefore, whether right or wrong in Policy, His Majesty's
Decision was made on a Principle which He feels to
have been correct, and, such being His feeling, He would
not, if He had ^{not} acted upon it, have relied, with the same
confidence, on the Aid and Support of others, whenever
He might have occasion to resort to them -

To proceed, - The Discussion on the Reform Bill
was

was resumed in the new Parliament and prosecuted
in a manner and under circumstances, to which it would
be foreign to the object of this Paper to revert, until the
apprehension of a Defeat in the House of Lords induced
Lord Grey, at the urgent Solicitation of some of his Colleagues,
and ultimately with their unanimous consent to submit
to the King that an Addition should be made to the
~~Representative~~ Peerage, to which, as at first hinted,
His Majesty agreed, after considerable hesitation and
objection. - But, to obviate so obvious an expedient, as
well as the Risk of a Collision between the two Houses,
which was equally the subject of serious apprehension,
communications were admitted and encouraged by
His Majesty with a view to some compromise, and
to such modification of certain Clauses, as should
render the Bill more palatable to the Majority of
its Opponents in the House of Lords. - These failed, and
the failure having had the effect of increasing the
violence of the Opposition, rather than of allaying it,
Lord Grey and his Colleagues brought forward a
Proposition

Proposition for an Increase of the Peers, which appeared to His Majesty so unreasonably extensive, and so injurious to the Character of that Branch of the Legislature and so degrading, in its effects, to the Authority of the Court, that He refused to acquiesce in it -

The result of this Decision was, as might be expected, the resignation of Earl Grey and his Colleagues, in May, 1832, and His Majesty sent for Lord Lyndhurst, who had been His High Chancellor, and requested him to communicate with the Duke of Wellington and others who might be disposed to come to His assistance and to attempt to form an Administration. -

The Appeal was nobly met by His Grace, but, after some ineffectual attempts to accomplish the purpose, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Lyndhurst stated to His Majesty that their Endeavors had become hopeless, and advised His Majesty to resort again to Earl Grey and to make the best Terms He could with him with respect to the Peers Question, if His Lordship should consent to return to the Direction of His Councils -

Fortunately, the Interval had been short, nothing had occurred to raise any angry feelings, His Majesty perceived no difficulty in prevailing upon Lord Grey to resume the Administration and He is bound to do that Nobleman the justice to say that, neither then, nor at any subsequent Period, did he show the least disposition to take advantage of the Position in which His Majesty had placed Himself towards him and his Party, by the unsuccessful attempt to charge the Government and to defeat the Measure for which they had contended -

But the natural and unavoidable result of this return to Lord Grey was the abandonment of His Majesty's objection to the proposed increase of the ~~Representation~~ ^{Representation} ~~Perage~~ ^{Perage}, provided it could not be obviated by prevailing upon the Opponents of the Reform Bill to drop their Opposition to it and, sensible as His Majesty had become of the inutilty of any attempt to obtain sufficient and efficient Support in the opposite Party, apprehensive as He was of a Collision between the two Houses, of the
Lords

Lords should persist in their Opposition and anxious
He had ever been to prevent what he viewed as the
Degradation of that Body, His Majesty did take some
Steps towards inducing them to abandon their
Opposition which had the desired effect, altho' many
who did not fairly estimate the difficulties of His
Majesty's Situation, questioned the propriety of His Majesty's
proceedings on this occasion.

The King is aware that another Step, taken by him
at a subsequent Period, became the Subject of
animadversion. He alludes to the Letter which he
addressed to the Arch Bishop of Canterbury in deprecation
of the Course pursued by the Ecclesiastical Members of the
House of Lords, and with a view to prevent upon them
to abstain from taking so prominent and so warm a
part in general Disunion as might increase the
Distinction and the Prejudice which had been
already excited and manifested against them.

The King does not deny that, in endeavouring to moderate
the unwarlike zeal of some of the High Dignitaries
of

of the Church, He sought to extricate himself and
 His Government from difficulty, but He is justified in
 taking credit to himself also for an anxious desire to
 screen those respectable Individuals from the increasing
 effect of the hostile feeling and the Popular Clamour,
 of which they were becoming the Objects, at a period
 when the Established Church was threatened with
 encroachment, and ^{when} it appeared to Him desirable to
 conciliate, as well as to resist, -

The King will pass on to the period of the Reception
 in May last, of Mr. Stanley, the Duke of Richmond,
 Lord Ripon and Sir James Graham from the Government,
 whereby its efficiency and consistency were so much
 shaken, that Lord Grey would readily have resigned
 his Situation, and, if His Majesty had wished to
 avail himself of that opportunity, of dissolving the
 Administration, He might have taken advantage
 of the Opening afforded to Him by his Lordship. -

But, after the failure on a former occasion,
 His Majesty naturally felt the necessity of extreme

caution

caution in all His Proceedings, He felt also that Lord
Grey and some of his Colleagues had established a strong
Claim to His regard, confidence and gratitude, by
the manner in which they had acted towards Him
at that Period and since they had returned to His
Councils, and it was therefore with perfect sincerity
that He urged Lord Grey to retain his Situation and
to endeavor to make an arrangement for supplying
the Vacancies which had arisen.

Events succeeded which produced the Resignation
of Lord Grey, and as these are before the Public, and
His Majesty had no concern whatever in producing
them, and could not have prevented them, He need
not dwell upon them.

It occurred to Him that advantage might be
taken of this State of Affairs to endeavor to effect an
Union of Parties of which the object should be Conservative
and this became the Subject of communications to
Lord Melbourne and, thro' him, to the Duke of Wellington,
Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Hanby.

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The result proved that His Majesty was mistaken in His expectation, and ⁱⁿ disappointed hopes which He had long cherished. - He was aware that Impassions prevailed in some Quarters that this opportunity might have been taken of effecting a change in His Councils, but He could not satisfy Himself that this could be then attempted with such a prospect of success as would justify the risk, and secure Him against the consequences of a failure, and, after fully weighing every contingency, He determined to entrust to Viscount Melbourne, whom He had employed in the communications which have been already noticed, the Re-constitution of the Administration.

As the whole correspondence which passed on this occasion (in July last) is in the hands of Sir Robert Peel, it is quite unnecessary that His Majesty should enter into any particulars. - But He cannot help calling the attention of Sir Robert Peel and that of those of His Colleagues to whom he may communicate this Paper to the candid manner in which He exposed

to Lord Melbourne, in His Memorandum of the 17th July
The grounds upon which He adopted the alternative,
stated His Protection for Conservative Measures and
for those who advocated them, and endeavored to guard
Himself against further encroachments, and against the
introduction to His Councils of Individuals on whose
Principles He could not rely as He would on those of
Lord Melbourne and some of his tried Colleagues. —

Mr Robert Peel will find in these Documents, and
in another Letter of a subsequent date, proofs of His
Majesty's consistency of feeling and purpose with respect
to the maintenance of the Established Church, and
the old Institutions of the Country; he will observe how
thoroughly His Majesty contended that, when He signed
the Commission of Enquiry into the State of the Church
of Ireland, He had pledged Himself to nothing in
anticipation of its results, and, if it were necessary, He
could prove, by reference to His Correspondence during
the last four years, that He has studiously watched
and scrutinised all that has ever been brought
forward or suggested that would be considered as
in

in any degree, a spoiling or endangering those valuable
Objects, or affecting the Constitutional Rights of the Crown,
or those of the Aristocracy -

It was natural that His Majesty's earnest and vigilant
attention should be given to all this during the Progress
of Measures emanating from a Government deemed
popular, and He cannot charge Himself with having
neglected or spent a part of His Duty with having
hesitated to remonstrate and to object, as far, ^{as} the
circumstances in which He was placed would admit.

He owes this Justice to Himself, but He is bound
also to do Earl Grey and Viscount Melbourne, and some of
their Colleagues, the justice to say that He ever found
in them a disposition to meet and support His Majesty
in these Views and, altho' they may ^{have} erred in introducing
so extensive a Measure of Reform, He verily believes
them to have become, in the progress of their Ministerial
Duties, sensible of this Error and earnestly desirous
of checking those who persisted in a Course of which
they had not equally discovered the destructive
Tendency -

N^othing

Nothing material occurred, until His Majesty received, from Lord Melbourne, an account of the critical state of the late Earl Spencer -

The correspondence which ensued, until the 14th November inclusive, is also in the hands of Sir Robert Peel, and will shew Lord Melbourne's immediate apprehensions of the difficulty and embarrassment under which the Government would be placed by the death of Earl Spencer and the removal of the present Earl to the House of Lords, as well as His Majesty's concurrence in the feeling so strongly expressed -

The King's first conclusion was that Lord Melbourne (who had, as well as Lord Grey attached (after the accession of Mr. Stanley) a paramount importance to Lord Althorp's services in the House of Commons) would resign whenever the contemplated event should take place, but in the next letter, as far as His Majesty recollects (for he has not reserved any copies) Lord Melbourne stated a hope that Lord Althorp might be prevailed upon to continue in the Administration, altho' a Member of the House of Lords, and His Majesty's Answer did not give any
Opinion

Opinion that this would facilitate the Arrangement to be made. - In fact, His Majesty did not contemplate the possibility of Lord Melbourne's submitting any that could prove satisfactory, and, when he intimated his intention of coming to Brighton, His Majesty had persuaded himself that he was coming to tender his Resignation and had made up his mind to accept it.

Lord Melbourne came to the King on the 13th November and the conversation between them was free, unreserved and dispassionate. - The only arrangement which His Lordship brought forward, as he stated, with the concurrent Opinion and Advice of all his Colleagues, and those most competent to suggest any with respect to the feeling of the House of Commons, was that Lord John Russell should succeed Lord Althorpe as Leader. - His Majesty objected strongly to Lord John Russell; He stated, without reserve, His Opinion that he had not the Abilities nor the influence which qualified him for the Task and observed that he would make a wretched figure when opposed to Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Hanley -

Lord

Lord Melbourne thought that the King had more
strength, than was justifiable upon the necessity of being
a good Speaker or a ready Debater, those being
advantages which Lord Althorp did not possess, when
he exercised an extraordinary influence in the House of
Commons. - He did not pretend to say that Lord John
Russell, or any other Member of the Government, could
in this respect, effectually replace Lord Althorp, but
he did not allow that there was any reason to apprehend
that the Business of the Government might not be
carried on satisfactorily -

The King objected equally, if not more, to Mr.
Meredith, whose Name appeared to have been
also suggested to Lord Melbourne, as had Sir John
Robinson, and Lord Melbourne did not seem to think
either eligible, any more than Mr. Spring Rice, whose
Name His Majesty stated he expected to have been
proposed to Him. -

Lord Melbourne therefore persisted in urging,
preferably, the Nomination of Lord John Russell. But
His Majesty had further objections, He considered Lord
John Russell to have pledged himself to certain
Encroachments

Encroachments upon the Church, which His Majesty had made up His mind and expressed His determination to resist and Lord Melbourne could not deny that he had done so, as had others of his Colleagues, especially as to the results of the Commission of Inquiry into the State of the Irish Church, and His Majesty did not disguise His apprehension that, whenever that Question should be brought forward, His opposition to the Measure, which might be suggested would produce a serious difference between Him and His Government, nor that His Apprehension had been increased by communications from Lord Duncannon who, before he went to Ireland and on his return, had, at two Audiences, suggested the propriety of suspending the Noncure Parishes, and had increased His Majesty's alarm with respect to the projected encroachments upon the Integrity and Constitution of the Established Church.

Nor, did His Majesty conceal from Lord Melbourne that the injudicious and extravagant conduct of Lord Brougham had tended to shake His confidence in the course which might be pursued by the Administration of which he formed so prominent
and

and so active a feature, and in its Consistency. -

Lord Melbourne did not appear surprised that the King should have so strong a feeling with respect to the Measures which might be proposed, as arising out of the Pledges of Lord John Russell and some of his Colleagues, but observed that, with respect to these Measures, or the Results of the Commission of Enquiry, His Majesty had not pledged Himself and therefore would be at full liberty to refuse His Assent to any Measure submitted to Him. He added that he (Lord Melbourne) had not pledged or committed himself -

His Lordship admitted indeed that one or two of his Colleagues had a strong feeling upon the Church Question which might induce them to go to the full length of His Majesty's objection, and His Majesty thinks he named Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Spring Rice and that he stated that the introduction of the Measures supposed to be contemplated by Lord John Russell and some of his Colleagues would probably occasion their Resignation. But

But His Majesty may properly have misunderstood him. —
 Be this as it may, Lord Lansdowne had distinctly
 stated to the King, at the period of the Accession of
 M^{rs} Hanley and of those who retired with him,
 that he concurred most decidedly in their feelings on
 the Church Question, and that the earnest solicitation
 of Lord Grey, and his Declaration that he would resign,
 if Lord Lansdowne withdrew himself, had alone
 induced him to continue a Member of the Administration.
 M^{rs} Spring Rice had also, upon various occasions,
 stated to the King that he was opposed to en-
 croachments on the Church Establishments —

But Lord Melbourne did not, upon this occasion,
 state, nor had he, at any former, stated to the King that
 differences of Opinion prevailed in the Cabinet, which
 might produce its Dissolution before the Meeting of
 Parliament, or when Measures might be proposed
 upon which they should not agree, nor did he express
 any doubt of his ability to carry on the Government
 with the aid of those who had been admitted, or
 might be admitted, to His Majesty's Councils. —

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It was observed to Lord Melbourne that His Majesty had always been told by Lord Grey that the removal of Lord Althorp from the House of Commons, after the loss of Mr. Hanley, would be, of itself, a sufficient cause for breaking up his Administration, and that Lord Melbourne had laid the same stress upon the retention of Lord Althorp's services in the House of Commons when he succeeded Lord Grey. - The opinion of the Supporters of the Government, to the same effect, had been unequivocally manifested by their Address to Lord Althorp. - His Majesty was therefore not prepared for the removal of those difficulties, and the impression on his mind produced, partly by these previous circumstances, and partly by his own view of the Resources of the Government in the House of Commons, was that they could not carry on the Business satisfactorily and, at any rate, that, to carry it on at all, they must count and depend upon the Support ~~and changes~~ of those whose views, especially with respect to the Church, were at variance with the King's, and must eventually, and probably soon after Parliament met, lead to a serious difference. - That His Majesty

had the highest confidence in Lord Melbourne and in some of his Colleagues, and that he believed them to be Conservative, and, in Principle and Purpose, opposed to the Designs which he deprecated, but that he had not the same confidence in others of his Colleagues, he dreaded their Principles, and, under these circumstances, he could not but apprehend putting off the evil day, especially as he felt that any accession of Strength must be sought in the Ranks of those who would urge and advocate extreme Measures, and would therefore hasten rather than avert the Crisis.

The Question was not brought to Issue on the 13th and it was agreed that His Majesty should give His full consideration to what Lord Melbourne had submitted and should see him again on the following morning.

The King was sensible of the frank and unreserved manner in which Lord Melbourne had discussed the whole Subject and had replied to the various Questions he had put to him, but His Majesty had failed in convincing him that any arrangement could be made which would enable him to carry on

on the Government satisfactorily, or which could prevent the early dissolution of the Administration at a period more inconvenient than the present, and more pregnant with exciting Causes -

Under these circumstances, and considering also that if he delayed coming to a decision, the opportunity of dissolving Parliament during its Prorogation (if it should be deemed advisable) would be lost, His Majesty at once made up His mind to communicate to Lord Melbourne, on the following morning, His regard that circumstances did not, in His Opinion, justify His sanctioning the arrangement he had proposed or the continued existence of an Administration so situated, and this intimation was reduced to writing to prevent any misconception, and in order that His Majesty might relieve Himself from the embarrassment of the verbal opening of a painful communication -

The King saw Lord Melbourne again on the following morning (the 14th ^{Inst}) and gave him the Note which

It is unnecessary to transcribe here, as Sir Robert Peel
has paper a Copy of it -

Lord Melbourne, in the handsomest manner, and
from a feeling of Devotion and Attachment to which
His Majesty is anxious to do the fullest justice, suggested
a partial alteration which, without changing the
General Sense, devoted this communication of all
that could give offence to any Individual, and it
will appear that the declared and ostensible ground
of His Majesty's decision was His conviction, that the
General weight and consideration of the Government
had been so much diminished in the House of
Commons and with the Country at large as to
render it impossible that they should continue to
conduct the Public Affairs with advantage -

His Majesty was then satisfied, and, upon a
careful review of all that has passed, He continues
satisfied that the ground thus assigned, doubtless
also that which had a principal share in influencing
His decision, was borne out by all the contingencies
of the Case, and was not only justifiable, but such as
imposed

imposed upon him the obligation of adopting a Resolution
which he admits not to have been free from the
apprehension of risk and difficulty -

The King knows that it is, or has been the Opinion of
some that he has acted prematurely and that if he had
agreed to the arrangement proposed by Lord Melbourne
the Administration would have fallen to pieces and
dissolved itself, soon after the opening of the Session.

But His Majesty could not have sanctioned the
Nomination of Lord John Russell to the Office of
Chancellor of the Exchequer without bringing into
Question the sincerity of his declaration that he
would resist the encroachments, to the prosecution of
which that Individual had pledged himself, nor
without exposing himself to the imputation of having
misled him and his Colleagues, as well as the Country,
by appearing to have conceded the point, when he
persisted in his determination to contest it, with
the obvious view to the event which Lord Melbourne
wished to avert -

His Majesty might properly have brought Lord
Melbourne

Melbourne and his Colleagues into greater difficulty by subjecting the appointment of Lord John Russell to a Declaration of his Views and Intentions to which the unanimous Assent of his Colleagues should be attached, or He might have made his disapprobation of the Course pursued by Lord Brougham the chief ground of His objection and have required from Lord Melbourne that he should be removed from His Councils.

But His Majesty had no desire to place Lord Melbourne in difficulty, or to embarrass him by the nature of His Proceeding. He preferred to meet him on the frank and honest Terms on which his Lordship had ever shewn his disposition to deal with His Majesty, and He is satisfied that He has adopted, on this occasion, the plain and simple Course which best becomes Him, and which best entitles Him to the confidence of His Subjects in general and more particularly to the confidence of those who have so handsomely and kindly met His recent Appeal to Their valuable Support and Services. - He flatters Himself that He has established another, not immaterial, Claim

to their confidence, in the absence of all attempts
during every period of the preceding Administrations
at communication with them, direct or indirect,
which would afford the slightest cause of jealousy or
suspicion to those who formed those Administrations,
notwithstanding the serious difficulty and doubt in
which His Majesty was at times placed; and the present
Ministers are well aware that this reserve was maintained
to the very last moment and that when he came to the
determination on the 11th Nov^r, there had been no
communication of any sort, from which he could
learn their sentiments, or their means of relieving
him from the difficulty in which he had felt it to
be his Duty to place himself -

The King does not indeed deny that, while taking
this step, he entertained sanguine expectations, amounting
almost to conviction, that he would find in those
of a kindred feeling the Aid and Support which
he felt to be so essential and important towards
enabling him to hold his own, to uphold the ancient
and sacred Institutions of the Country and to
maintain

maintain the Rights of all Clauses of the People, that
He would, in His Appeal to the Country, experience
the Cooperation or the Support of those who had
shown and declared that they felt, as His Majesty
did, that it had become imperiously necessary to
endeavor to stem the Torrent of Encroachment, and
to prevent useful and judicious Reforms from being
converted into Engines of Destruction - But it must
be obvious from all that has passed, and from His
Majesty's Statement of it, that the Decision to which
He came and the Judgement which produced it,
were directed more by the circumstances under His
immediate consideration, and by the dread of the
danger and embarrassment which might result from
indecision and delay, than by any calculation of the
nature and extent of the Support He might obtain,
and therefore that they could not be weighed either by
the unreasonable expectation of unquestionable success, or
by the dread of ^{ultimate} failure or disappointment.
His Majesty did not, in making His Resolutions,
place

place out of view the possibility of an arduous
struggle, nor did He commit Himself without
having made up His mind firmly to persevere in a
course, adopted on what He considered sound principle
and suggested by a deep sense of sacred and moral
obligations - His Majesty trusts that, with the help of
God, He shall be able steadily to pursue that course
to a successful issue, without endangering the
existence of the Monarchy, or the Peace of the Country.

The King feels that He ought not to close this
communication without adverting briefly to the chief
features of the Foreign Policy of His late Government,
which received, in general, His approbation, the
main principle of it having been the maintenance
of the Peace of Europe, so essential to the prosperity
of every State and more particularly to that of His
Country -

The Accession of Lord Grey and his Colleagues to
Office had been immediately preceded by Revolution
in France and Belgium, to the pernicious influence
of which may be, in great measure, ascribed the
equipment

excitement and the increased spirit of agitation in this country -

The change of government in France had been acknowledged at once and without hesitation by Lord Grey's Predecessors in office, and there had been no intervention in the struggle between the King of the Netherlands and His revolted Belgian Subjects - But the endeavors to render its effects less disastrous to the House of Orange, which were used by the successive governments of this country were defeated by the obstinacy of the King of the Netherlands and by the jealousy of the Prince of Orange, His Son, in whose favor there was every prospect of a successful Reaction; nor was it until every hope of a more desirable arrangement had been thus destroyed, that His Majesty's Government countenanced the views of Prince Leopold to the Sovereignty of Belgium, one of its Objects in so doing being to counteract the Designs of the King of the French, who sought to place the Crown of Belgium upon the Head of one of His own Sons and thereby to pave the way for its annexation to France -

It is not His Majesty's intention to place this Belgian Question

Question

Question thro' its various Stages and endless intricacies
and obstructions, but He is bound to state that the
Delay and Impediments Thrown in the way of its Settlement
are to be ascribed chiefly ^{to} the continued obstinacy and
the tergiversations of the King of the Netherlands -

To conquer these, various expedients were adopted
with and without the concurrence of the Northern
Powers - Those to which They did not subscribe were
the Blockade of the Dutch Ports and the Attack upon
Antwerp - His Majesty admits that He readily
sanctioned the first of these expedients, and that He
would as readily have agreed to the adoption of
Measures yet more calculated to press upon the
Financial Resources of Holland, persuaded as He was
that there would have a better prospect of bringing
the Question to a speedy Issue, without increasing the
risk of a general Collision on the Continent -

But His Majesty, from first to last, objected to
the Attack upon Antwerp by a large French Army,
whose continued occupation of Belgium He apprehended
and the presence and the Operations of which, might
have produced those Collisions on the Continent
which

which His Majesty was so desirous to avert, not only from His Majesty's Successor's Peace, but from His sense of the equivocal Position in which they might have placed England - His Majesty objected to this Measure also as being of local effect and as tending to cause rather than to subdue the national Feeling of the Dutch which hinges so much upon Calculations of gain and loss which could not be affected by the Profession of Neutrality -

Altho' the King was desirous of continuing upon good Terms with France and therefore never objected to any Measure of conciliation, and altho' he believes that the apparent Union of Policy between this Country and France tended to the preservation of general Peace, he never trusted France, nor placed any Confidence in the Appearances and Professions of Louis Philippe and his Government - The uncertain Situation in which they occasionally found themselves, the apprehension of fresh Revolutions, and the dread of War which might bring into action a Spirit of Agitation the Effect of which might recoil on themselves, all contributed to produce the leaning to a connexion with

with England which they would readily drop whenever
they should be satisfied that it had ceased to serve
their Purpose -

In the review of the Policy observed with respect to
France there is one point which His Majesty cannot
pass without notice, namely, His earnest and unremitting
Indeavors to prevail upon His Government, and more
especially upon the Individuals entrusted with the
Administration of its Foreign Affairs, to check the
Disposition which had been shewn by the French Government
to tolerate, if not to encourage and countenance, a
System of Propagandism, tending to disturb and
agitate the neighbouring States, and His Majesty cannot
say that he was satisfied with the attention given
to this Point, nor with the inclination shewn by the
French Government to drop so mischievous a System.

The Course of Events has however produced the result
to which His Majesty's remonstrances had been unavailing^{ly}
directed, Louis Philippe having discovered that his own
security is deeply concerned in checking the general
Progress of the Mischief -

His Majesty has at all times felt solicitous to

Mansfield

maintain the most friendly Relations with Austria
and Prussia, and, taking all circumstances into con-
sideration, He is bound to give credit to the late
Administration for its Inclination to pursue a Course
which should be in accordance with His Majesty's wishes.
He is sensible indeed that too great a disposition was
manifested on some occasions to interfere in the
internal arrangements and regulations of other States,
and this disposition may possibly be attributed to a
predilection for liberal Institutions and Constitutional
Innovations which it might be considered advisable
or necessary to manifest, in deference to Popular Opinion
and Support -

This Remark applies more particularly to interferences
with respect to the internal affairs of the German
Confederation which was more than once the Subject
of objection on the part of His Majesty, but, in saying
this, He is bound to add that He concurred with His
Government in considering that, as a Party to the
Treaty of Vienna of 1815, and a Guarantor of its stipulations,
with respect to the general Establishment & Constitution
of the German Confederacy, England had a right to
participate in the Discussion of certain general
Questions

Questions, from which Austria and Prussia sought
to exclude Her

In all that related to the Affairs of the Italian
States and of Switzerland His Majesty considers His late
Government to have acted with great prudence and
caution, and He is sensible that there have been
Periods, when any departure from that Course might
have brought very inflammable matter to an
Explosion -

With respect to the Contest in Portugal of which
the Issue was so long doubtful, His Majesty does not
deny that He concurred decidedly with His Government
in the Policy and the Propriety of supporting the Cause
of His present Queen, not indeed from any predilection
for Her late Father, Don Pedro, or from any desire
to encourage the introduction of a Constitutional
form of Government, which He was sensible that the
great Mass of the Portuguese Nation rejected, but
because He considered the continued Sovereignty of
Don Miguel the greater evil of the two and that which
threatened the greatest mischief to British Interests -
The

The result of this Contest and the Prospects which are now open will, His Majesty trusts, realize His hopes that Peace and Prosperity may be gradually restored to that long distracted and impoverished Country, and that the re-establishment of a predominant British Influence may tend to its future advantage and security -

The King has uniformly approved of the Policy adopted by His late Government with regard to the Affairs of Spain and above all of its abstaining from intervention and ^{of its} using its influence with France towards procuring a similar line of conduct. - But His Majesty does not think that sufficient attention was paid to His early suggestion that the Spanish Government should be urged and advised to endeavor to conciliate the Provinces which are the seat of a destructive and murderous Civil War, by offering to confirm to them their ancient Rights and Privileges, the attachment to which His Majesty believes to influence them in a much greater degree, than
does

does affect either the Cause or Person of Don Carlos —

It remains only for the King to notice the conduct which has been pursued with respect to Russia, and there is no Branch of the Foreign Policy of this Country which He has watched with greater solicitude, none which, in its results, has given Him less satisfaction especially as it embraces the Affairs of the Levant.

The Porte had been so much crippled in Her Naval resources by the unfortunate combination against Her of England, France, and Russia, and by the "unfortunate" Action of Navarino, and subsequently, in a more general sense, by the War with Russia, which was terminated by the Peace of Adrianople; Both had entailed such sacrifice of Territory and loss of Revenue as to have left the Sultan in a State ill calculated to cope with His rebellious Subjects in various Quarters and more especially with the Pacha of Egypt, who had been preparing to take extensive advantage of the Situation in which His Sovereign might be reduced —

These

These circumstances added to the disorderd State of Greece and the occupation of Algiers and other points on the Coast of Barbary by the French, had induced the King repeatedly to press upon His Government the importance of strengthening materially the Naval Force in the Mediterranean and in the Archipelago, and He urged this ~~was~~ yet more earnestly when He learnt the rapid strides of Mehemet Ali and the alarm they had excited at Constantinople, - This was done some time previously to the first Mission of Namik Pacha to England, and there is every reason to presume that the presence of 4 or 5 Sail of the Line in the Mediterranean at that period, and their appearance off Alexandria would have effectually checked the Designs and the Progress of Mehemet Ali and relieved the Sultan from the necessity of making a very unwilling Appeal to the dangerous protection of his powerful and ambitious Neighbour.

His Majesty believes those composing His Government to have been more or less alive to the importance of being prepared in due time for the Course and the
possible?

possible event of the Contest between the Sultan and
Mehemet Ali, and willing to act upon Sir Megdley's suggestion
but withheld by the apprehension of not experiencing
with a view to any Foreign or other, that Support from
the House of Commons which would ensure the necessary
Supplies, & by the fear of bringing forward any Measure
which might deprive them of the good will of those
who were continually urging economy and Reduction
to the exclusion of all other considerations -

Thus the opportune moment of preserving or of recovering
our long established Influence in the Councils of the Porte
was lost and it was transferred to a Power which, after
having so materially contributed to lower the Resources of
the Porte, was watching for any and every opportunity of
turning her exhausted State to its own advantage -

The Progress of Mehemet Ali was unresisted, and, altho' the
interposition of England and France was not without
effect upon this occasion, as acknowledged by Mehemet
Ali, the actual presence of a Russian Fleet and Army
stationed at Constantinople, as might be expected,
the whole credit of this event -

Russia did not neglect to avail herself of the influence
Thus

Thus acquired and one of the first fruits of her Protection -
- ship was the conclusion of the Treaty of the 8th July 1833
obviously effected with the view to secure to herself
advantages of Navigation from which other Powers should
be excluded -

Against this Treaty England and France protested,
they declared that they should consider the Treaty non
avenue, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg replied that it
should consider the Protest non avenue, and afterwards
assumed that the Question had thus been brought
to a satisfactory close - France, which was disappointed
in the Question appears to have dropped it, while
England has, through its Minister at Constantinople,
called for Explanations, which, under the influence of
Russia, have been evaded. -

In the mean time a British Squadron has been
assembled and has for a considerable Period maintained
in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles a Station which
may fairly be presumed to have produced a more
conciliatory tone at St. Petersburg and greater caution
in its Measures, tho' no abandonment of Designs which
may

may be carried on by ~~lap~~ when the more ^{overt} ~~obvious~~ attack
is felt to be exposed to direct Opposition -

The King has dwelt upon these circumstances, as He
is anxious to state to His present Government His conviction
arising out of them and often expressed to His late Government
that, notwithstanding all Her professions of moderation
and disinterestedness with regard to the Porte, Russia
has not abandoned and will never lose sight of Her
ambitious Projects in that Quarter, and that, notwithstanding
the Veil which She endeavours to cast over Her Proceedings,
They may easily be traced to be at variance with Her
Professions. Of this a proof may be found in Her recent
Opposition to the projected Establishment of a Steam
communication with India by the Suez Canal which
if it could be carried into effect without the
contingent apprehension of interruption from the
actual condition of the Country which it must
necessitate, would doubtless tend to the essential benefit
of all concerned in it -

Russia has indeed recently concurred with
England and France in preventing the renewal of
hostilities.

Hostilities between the Sultan and Mehmet Ali
and this might be construed into a desire to consult
the welfare of the Porte and to relieve herself from the
necessity of again hastening to its Protection if there
were not reason to suspect that she apprehends that
the presence of a British Squadron might prove as
efficacious as the dreaded approach of a Russian Army
in checking the Operations of Mehmet Ali, and that the
burden of protecting the Sultan from insult might
be transferred from herself to England. - Her Majesty
is indeed satisfied that the maintenance of an
adequate British Naval Force in the Mediterranean
will tend more than any apprehension of Russian
interference to keep Mehmet Ali in check, and although
she is persuaded that the Porte cannot recover her
Power, while so great a portion of her Territory and
Resources remain under the Control and at the disposal
of this ambitious Yusef, Her Majesty fears also that the
renewal of the Struggle between them, would exhaust
the Resources of both, to the ultimate advantage of
Russia, which on the other hand, if left at liberty
H

To take its own independent Course, would encourage
such renewal of it, in the hope of its affording a Plea
and opportunity of again interfering, and for a more
permanent occupation of Constantinople -

If these Remarks be well grounded the King conceives
that He is justified in attaching so much importance
to the continuance of the Squadron in the Mediterranean
as offering the best security against the further encroachments
of Mehmet Ali and against the eventual Designs of
Russia -

It is possible indeed that circumstances may arise
which may favor the application of a British Naval
Force to the emancipation of the Porte from the
difficulty and embarrassment in which it is kept
by the usurpation of Mehmet Ali, and His Majesty
cannot but feel persuaded that whenever this can
be accomplished by British Intervention, it will be
the most severe blow that Russian Policy ever received.

Carlton Brighton

January 14 - 1835 -

(Signed) William R.