

PART II

THE MAKING OF THE ALLIANCE AND THE FIRST PEACE OF PARIS.

LXX. [*F. O. Cont. Arch. I.*]

MEMORANDUM OF CABINET, DECEMBER 26th, 1813.

Present.—The Lord Chancellor, The Lord President, The Lord Privy Seal, Earl of Liverpool, Earl of Bathurst, Earl of Buckingham, Earl of Mulgrave, Viscount Sidmouth, Viscount Melville, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. B. Bathurst, Viscount Castlereagh.¹

The three Allied Powers having invited the Prince Regent to send a Plenipotentiary to the Continent charged with full powers to treat both with friendly and hostile Powers on all matters which concern the general interests; and H.R.H., having previously received from the Ministers of the said Powers in London satisfactory assurances on the Maritime question, has been pleased, in compliance with the desire of the said Allies, to direct His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to proceed forthwith to the headquarters of the allies in execution of this especial service.

Lord Castlereagh is charged in the first instance to enter into such preliminary explanation as may be necessary to ascertain with precision the basis on which it is proposed to negotiate. He is to endeavour to establish a clear and definite understanding with the Allies, not only on all matters of common interest but upon such points as are likely to be discussed with the enemy, so that the several Allied Powers may in their negotiations with France, and in perfect concert, and together maintain one common interest.

If called upon for an explanation of the views of his Government as to terms of peace, and the sacrifice of conquests which Great Britain is disposed to make for the general interest, he is to state that with respect to the latter, it must in a great measure

¹ These instructions were drawn up for Castlereagh to take with him on the Continent so that he might decide important points without delay. They were submitted to a Cabinet meeting at which, as appears on the document, all the members were present except Camden. See an article by G. W. T. Omond in the "Nineteenth Century," March, 1918.

be governed by the nature of the conditions with respect to the Continent, which the Allied Powers may be enabled to obtain from the enemy. If the maritime power of France shall be restricted within due bounds by the effectual establishment of Holland, the Peninsula, and Italy in security and independence, Great Britain, consistent with her own security, may then be induced to apply the greater proportion of her conquests to promote the general interests. If, on the contrary, the arrangements should be defective in any of these points, Great Britain must reserve a proportionate share of these conquests to render her secure against France.

If called on for a more detailed explanation, he may state that the objects *sine qua non* upon which Great Britain can venture to divest herself of her conquests in any material degree are :—
 1. The absolute exclusion of France from any naval establishment on the Scheldt, and especially at Antwerp; and 2. The security of Holland being adequately provided for by a Barrier under the House of Orange, which shall at least include Juliers and Antwerp as well as Maestricht with a suitable arrondissement of territory in addition to Holland as it stood in 1792, it being understood that Wesel shall also be in the hands of the Allied Powers.

[The Monarchies of the Peninsula must be free under their Legitimate Sovereigns, their dominions at least in Europe being guaranteed against attack by France. The Allied Powers to take engagements to this effect and to stipulate the amount of succour to be mutually furnished in each case. Great Britain is prepared to confine the *casus foederis* to the Continent. Under these circumstances Great Britain is prepared to consider her conquests as objects of negotiation. But Malta, the Mauritius and the Isle of Bourbon, Guadeloupe and the Island of Les Saintes must remain British, Mauritius being considered as necessary to protect Indian commerce, and Guadeloupe as a debt of honour to Sweden. If Guadeloupe should be made a *sine qua non*, Sweden must be compensated by Bourbon or a Dutch Colony, Holland in the latter case taking Bourbon. If Holland is secured by a Barrier, the Dutch colonies will be restored, but the Cape of Good Hope will be retained and £2,000,000 paid by Great Britain. The Danish conquests, except Heligoland, should be made instrumental to the engagements with Sweden.]

In all communications on the expediency of Peace, the same course to be pursued as heretofore, viz., to evince a desire to

conform as far as possible to the general interests of the Continent; to give to the Allies the most unequivocal assurances of a firm determination to support them in contracting for an advantageous peace and to avoid everything that might countenance a suspicion that Great Britain was inclined to push them forward in the war for our purposes. The utmost exertions to be used to prevent any relaxation in the military operations, whilst negotiations are pending.

[He is also to direct force as much as possible from all quarters upon Holland and the Low Countries, but the British force cannot exceed 10,000 men and may be withdrawn. If Austria would like the Archduke Charles to be settled in the Netherlands, the proposal is to be welcomed. But the question depends on the success of the Allies afterwards in the war, i.e., whether he can have the whole of Belgium or not. The Prince of Orange is to be discouraged from attempting to extend his dominions, without the express consent of the Allies. A marriage between the Prince of Orange and the Princess Charlotte of Wales is to be suggested. If the Dutch Barrier is not obtained, then the restoration of the Dutch colonies is to be proportionately reduced.]

As the Barrier for Holland is an object most deeply interesting to all the Allies, Great Britain is willing to purchase it by a double sacrifice, by cession both to France and to Holland. If the Allies should not carry this point, so important to their own security as well as to that of Great Britain, the latter Power will, in that case, have no other alternative than to preserve her colonial conquests as a counterpoise to the dominion of the enemy, and on these grounds to withhold those cessions which she would otherwise be prepared to make to France. The cession of conquests by Great Britain being declared to be contingent upon equivalent securities to result from the continental arrangements, and especially on the side of Holland and the Low Countries, any general stipulation which does not expressly declare the principle by which it is to be regulated and connect it pointedly with these objects, appears objectionable.

[As to Italy, the military line of the Alps and the roads lately opened in the direction of Italy to be specially attended to. It is "highly expedient" that the King of Sardinia should be restored, and he should perhaps, receive Genoa, in exchange for Savoy. If Austria connects herself with Murat, the Sicilian Family is to have Tuscany or Eiba. The Pope is to be restored. The Milanese, Modena, Parma and Placentia are to be subject to discussion. Great Britain offers mediation on the internal

German affairs. She is ready to sign a peace with the United States, in a general peace on the *status quo ante bellum* without involving in such Treaty any decision on the points in dispute at the commencement of hostilities. A direct proposition to treat in London having been lately made to the American Government, this offer not to be stated unless the subject should be brought forward. Should such an offer be made to America, a time to be stated within which her acceptance or refusal must be declared. The question as to the arrangement with Denmark to be subject to discussion with Sweden. The distribution of the Command in the North to be reserved for consideration at Head Quarters. A subsidy of £5,000,000 is to be under reserve, 1. As to sending home the Russian fleet. 2. The acceptance of a proportion in credit bills. 3. The signing of engagements especially as to Holland and the Peninsula as may justify to the British Public and the Allies so great an exertion on the part of Great Britain.]

The Treaty of Alliance *not to terminate with the war*, but to contain defensive engagements with mutual obligations to support the powers attacked by France with a certain extent of stipulated succours. The *Causa Foederis* to be an attack by France on the European dominions of any one of the contracting parties. [Spain, and if possible Holland, to be included as contracting parties. Sweden being beyond the Baltick, is less interested in being included, or rather has an interest not to participate.]

Humbly submitted for your Royal Highness' Sanction.

(Signed.) GEORGE P.R.

MEMORANDUM ON THE MARITIME PEACE.¹

Great Britain in the course of the war has conquered from her enemies the colonies and possessions according to the annexed list.² Great Britain has declared her disposition with certain exceptions to sacrifice these conquests for the welfare of the Continent, being desirous of providing for her own security by a common arrangement, rather than by an exclusive accumulation of strength and resources. Her object is to see a maritime as well as a military Balance of Power established amongst the Powers of Europe, and as the basis of this arrangement she desires to see the independence of Spain and Holland as maritime Powers effectually provided for. Upon the supposition that these

¹ This document immediately follows the Cabinet Memorandum of December 26th, and may be considered part of it. It was probably drawn up in the course of the discussions to make quite clear to the Cabinet a point in which they were much more interested than in the details of the Continental settlement.

² Not given.

two objects shall be obtained in the proposed arrangements, that the limits of France shall be reduced within proper bounds, and that the peace of the Continent shall be secured by an amicable understanding between the Allies, Great Britain will then be prepared also to return within corresponding limits and to throw her acquisitions into the scale of the general interests.

As nothing is yet defined with precision either as to the state of the enemy's limits nor as to that of the Allies, it is impossible to do more than state on the part of Great Britain the nature and extent of concession she would be prepared to make upon given data as to the continental arrangement. The object will best be effected by stating what the maximum of concession might be on the part of Great Britain upon assuming the reduction of France within her ancient limits, and the Allies having amicably arranged their own state of possession. In developing this subject it is desirable to state, 1st, the classes into which the conquests made by Great Britain resolve themselves, and 2ndly, the principles upon which the British Government is disposed to govern its decision with respect to their restitution.

With respect to the latter point they do not desire to retain any of these Colonies for their mere commercial value—~~to be~~ happy if by their restoration they can give other States an additional motive to cultivate the arts of peace. The only objects to which they desire to adhere are those which affect essentially the engagement and security of their own dominion.

And first as to the Danish Colonies enumerated in the Margin¹. If they could be the means of promoting the interest of the common cause in the North of Europe, Great Britain long since offered to restore them. A treaty of peace has recently been signed with Denmark by which all their possessions (with the exception of Heligoland) are surrendered, Denmark ceding Norway to Sweden, in satisfaction of the engagements of Russia, and joining her arms to those of the Allies.

The next class to be adverted to is the Dutch Colonies as enumerated in the Margin.²

In the East Indies, Great Britain shall restore to France, the different settlements and factories in possession of that Crown as well on the coast of Coromandel and Orisca, as on that of Malabar, as also on Bengal at the commencement of the year 1792-3, and the Government of France engages to erect no fortifications in

¹ Not given.

² Not given. The document stops here and is continued on a smaller sheet simply endorsed "East Indies."

any part of the said settlements or factories, nor to maintain any military force therein beyond what may be deemed necessary for the purposes of police, and His Britannic Majesty engages on his part to secure to the subjects of France, without the limits of their settlements and factories, an impartial administration of justice, in all matters concerning their persons and properties and to adopt such measures as may be judged requisite to enable them to carry on commerce upon the footing of the most favoured nations.¹

LXXI. [C. C. IX., 123.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Harwich, December 30th. 12 o'clock, 1813.

I have received yours and Lord Bathurst's letters. Wellington's movement seems to have reached its natural limits as a first operation. . . . The result, upon the whole, as far as it goes, is satisfactory. I only lament that the wear and tear is to fall upon the British and the Portuguese, and that the Spaniards cannot be brought forward. I have read with great interest Lord W.'s private letter,² and shall keep the subject to which it refers constantly in view. As matters *now* stand, I think *we* cannot be too careful not to adopt any equivocal proceeding, which might render our position, both with the Allies and those in France who might be induced to show themselves, most embarrassing. If *they* move of themselves, we are fully entitled to take advantage of that, as of any other incident in war: but, if we lend ourselves to the measures that are to excite it, it will be considered as a trick on our part to get rid of the negotiation, and those French who may be committed will, right or wrong, conceive themselves entitled to our protection. Should France reject the Allied terms, we are then all free to do what we like; but, having gone the length with our Allies to accept a basis on which we have declared that we are ready to negotiate, I think our line ought to be an unembarrassed one till the question of negotiation is disposed of.

¹ A variant is given of the last sentence as follows: "and to adopt such measures as may be judged requisite to enable the said subjects to carry on a safe and independent Trade."

² Wellington had written to Bathurst on November 21st: "I can only tell you that, if I were a Prince of the House of Bourbon, nothing should now prevent me from now coming forward not in a good house in London, but in the field in France." In December a Bourbon emissary arrived at his headquarters with a request that a Bourbon Prince should join his army and raise the standard of Louis XVIII. in the South of France. Gurwood. *Wellington, Dispatches XI*; 306, 381, 390.

As soon as I arrive at head-quarters, I will converse with our Allies upon the view Lord W. opens, and apprize you of their sentiments. I think we cannot assume that the view Metternich took of the question, when referred to him two months since, remains the same under the pending negotiations. I have myself so humble an opinion of the effect of a French Prince showing himself in France, without arms and money, wherewith to levy troops, that I cannot feel disposed to risk much, especially in the peculiar situation in which we now stand, to try its effect upon the enemy. I am inclined to believe, when they talk of the effect to be expected from a Bourbon showing himself, they mean a Bourbon with arms and money. Of the latter, I apprehend we have none to spare—not enough evidently to bring the Spaniards forward.

Upon the whole, my impressions are against any step which should, even in appearance, mix our system with that of the Bourbons, whilst we are embarked in discussions for peace, and ignorant how our Allies would relish such a step at the present moment; and in this view I doubt the prudence even of a declaration as to the armistice by sea and land; 1st, because it would be considered an invitation to a rising; and, 2ndly, because I doubt its efficacy even to that object; as those who reason at all cannot doubt that, were the Bourbons restored, hostilities would immediately cease. We ought always to recollect that we are suspected of having *une arrière-pensée* on the question of peace, and that we should act with the more caution.

I have written very hastily my first impressions upon your letter. They are intended for Bathurst, for whom I have a letter, as well as for yourself. From the early part of Lord Wellington's letter, I think his impressions are the same as my own; that, with all the objections to such a peace, if Buonaparte will give you your own terms, you ought not to risk yourselves and the confederacy in the labyrinth of counter-revolution. If he will not, you may then run greater risks; but even then I should wish to see more evident proofs of active disposition to throw off B.'s yoke, before I encouraged an effort.

That some fermentation exists I have no doubt; that it may increase in proportion as France is pressed is probable; but if it really prevails to an extent that renders resistance feasible, I am persuaded it will explode, without waiting for a Bourbon to give it birth.

LXXII. [C. C. LX., 130.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Erebus, at anchor in the Rowling Grounds.

2 p.m., December 31st, 1813.

[Feels the importance of despatches just received, but thinks that any step taken on behalf of the Bourbons would be premature. The presence of Monsieur¹ at the scene of Lord Wellington's operations would cause France as well as Europe to suspect an engagement between him and the British Government, and any support he might receive would be given in a confident reliance upon our protection. If Wellington denied authority to countenance his cause, reason to fear that the rising disposition in favour of the Bourbon's might be checked rather than promoted by the Prince's presence thus unsupported.]

It appears to me that, on this occasion, as on many former, the Bourbons are desirous of taking a step prematurely. Lord W[ellington], you seem to infer, wishes one of the family to come, but I apprehend only upon the supposition that, when there, he may be permitted to co-operate with him. If we are not ripe for this, Lord W[ellington]'s task will be a most embarrassing one. Supposing the disposition to move true to the extent stated on this side of Bayonne, unless it pervades the interior, and the Allies countenance it, on their side, it is more likely to lead to embarrassment than to success. It appears to me that matters have not yet sufficiently developed themselves to make an experiment prudent on a small scale, and in a quarter where we are unprepared to give it direct support. I should doubt the discretion of Monsieur hazarding such a failure as a matter of impression. If one of the family goes, and nothing arises out of it, their cause is essentially prejudiced; and what can a Bourbon, without arms, money, or the avowed support of the Allies, hope to effect by his personal presence, in a country hating their Government but still dreading its resentment.

Nothing can be more satisfactory than the course Lord W[ellington] is pursuing to ascertain the temper of France, and he cannot follow up the inquiry too actively; but we must distinguish between the good-will with which he is received and a disposition to bear arms against the existing ruler. His army relieves the people of France for the time from all the evils of their own system: no conscription—no taxes—no requisitions—ready money for all supplies—and kind treatment. We must not wonder at the popularity of such a *régime*; but it is another

¹ The Comte d'Artois, later Charles X. See *infra*. p. 163.

question whether the people will or can rise in sufficient force to accomplish any great purpose. Of this Lord W[ellington] seems to deem the evidence yet received to furnish but inadequate proofs. They appear to me altogether insufficient to found any proceeding upon which they might, even in appearance, commit us, *without a combined arrangement with our Allies*; and that, as a French Prince cannot be there for any useful purpose, without our being committed more or less, my opinion leans strongly to the truth of the proposition stated by Lord W[ellington], that things are not yet ripe for a Prince to show himself; and, if it is expedient that he should be there, it is a question of too great magnitude for us to hesitate in opposing it (at least, till we can consult our Allies) in the most decisive manner. In the meantime, they may pursue their own measures in preparing the interior.

LXXIII. [C. C. IX., 169.]

CATHCART TO CASTLEREAGH.

Basle, January 16, Sunday, 1814.

. The Emperor has charged me to express to you his regret that he cannot await your lordship's arrival here; and that there are important considerations which oblige him to go away from the conversation which he was so anxious to have with you on your arrival.¹ His Imperial Majesty, however, trusts that you will bear in mind the principles which dictated the request I have by various messengers stated on his part concerning your first audience. He is aware that you cannot now avoid going into business with the Ministers you will find here; but he requests that you will leave a place in the opinions you may be led to form, and particularly in any communication of them you might be disposed to make, for the results of the conversation his Imperial Majesty hopes to have with you, at an early day, on several important topics.

The first of these is that of negotiation. The general sentiments of His Imperial Majesty are to avoid incurring the charge of neglecting to make peace when a favourable opportunity presents itself; but to avoid precipitation and to weigh well the question whether more should not previously be done by arms.

¹ Alexander had said: "I will engage you to ask Lord Castlereagh to see me before he sees any Minister either of *mine* or of any other Power on the business which brings him here." Cathcart to Castlereagh, Jan. 8th, 1814, C.C. IX., 149.

Secondly, to treat for peace *pure et simple*, proposing boundaries, and reducing the question to a categorical answer—Yes or No—and avoiding mixing in this negotiation those questions which belong to the Allies among themselves, towards ensuring the proper balance of power, and securities for the duration of peace. On this latter subject, His Imperial Majesty, is equally desirous that you should reserve yourself for a conversation with him. And you will find the Emperor equally impressed with a notion of the importance of postponing for the present all complicated questions on this subject.

I know the principal topics have been named to you—Saxony forms the principal feature, and the greatest nicety may be required to adjust that question between Austria and Prussia. I do not know that any difference of opinion has broke out, but everybody wishes to canvass you. What is very singular, Chancellor Hardenberg came to the Emperor within these few days, and reported that Prince Metternich had spontaneously declared to him that he, Prince Metternich, abounded in the same ~~sentiments~~ sentiments on the expediency of giving a frontier to Prussia in Saxony¹. I cannot undertake to say that the frontier was named; but I think to the Elster and Bohemia. Coupled with other things, the Emperor is a little inclined to think that the Chancellor has either mistaken the Prince, or that there might be an intention of sounding his Excellency.

I see the Emperor looks to a great alliance between England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, giving to each sufficient means, and prescribing the line of joint operation, in case of the future aggression of France. Russia renounces all idea of extension to the Vistula, in favour of Prussia, but will look to the demolition of the duchy and to the acquisition of so much thereof as may be necessary for her purpose.²

It is conceived that whatever is done for the King of Saxony must be on the side of Italy. His Imperial Majesty will talk to you of his readiness to support the King, and the interests of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent in Hanover

¹ But the agreement is confirmed by an entry in Hardenberg's Diary of January 8th, 1814. cf. Fournier. *Congress von Chatillon*, p. 361.

² This is an entirely erroneous report and the fact was soon clear. Nevertheless Castlereagh sent a copy of this dispatch to Alexander at Vienna on October 20th, 1814, as a proof of his continued expectation of Russian moderation. The duchy is, of course, the Duchy of Warsaw.

LXXIV. [*W. S. D. VIII.*, 535.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Basle, January 22nd, 1814.

[Alexander wished to see Castlereagh before he saw the ministers of the powers, but had to leave Basle before Castlereagh arrived. Castlereagh found letter asking him not to make up his mind on any subjects till he had seen Alexander, and this he has borne in mind in his interviews with Metternich, Stadion and Hardenberg.¹].

With respect to the spirit which animates the Allies, late events will have sufficiently established the military energy that pervades their councils. . . . [Details of the operations.] I wish I could feel quite satisfied that nothing was likely to occur to suspend the energy of the offensive operations now in progress in the interior of France ; but there are some questions pending of great importance, which, if not speedily and distinctly understood, may lead in this respect to the worst consequences. Some persons contemplate these circumstances with more apprehension than I can bring myself to entertain after the many difficulties we have already surmounted.

The first and most important, and that which will perhaps surprise you the most, is a disposition represented to be felt by the Emperor of Russia to favour the Prince Royal of Sweden's views to the throne of France. I can hardly yet bring myself to give credit to this statement, but it comes to me through so many channels of authority that I cannot hesitate to believe that the project has been countenanced by his Imperial Majesty, although I trust not to an extent that will induce a perseverance in it after the objections have been pressed upon his attention. If there were no other evil in this scheme, its effect in paralysing the Allied arms must be conclusive. I have reason to believe that, until this intention is disavowed, the Austrian army will not advance much farther in the direction of Paris. Prince Metternich's language on this subject is the most decisive possible, and the Prussians feel not less warmly upon it.

The Austrian Minister's confidential language is, that his Court have no objection to bring forward, should the French nation think fit to restore the ancient dynasty ; but that it is another question to have Madame Bernadotte substituted in the room of a Princess of the House of Hapsburgh. He considers this, however, as only a subordinate objection, deeming such a connection between Russia and France to be formidable to the

¹ See LXXIII.

liberties of Europe, and precisely that evil to guard against which the Emperor gave his daughter in marriage to Napoleon.

I have understood, in addition to the *éclat* of dethroning Buonaparte, and getting rid of a troublesome neighbour, that the Emperor was led to contemplate such a change with more favour upon a late visit he made to the Court of Baden, where he met the Queen of Sweden, and was much struck both with her and her children, and soon after expressed an earnest desire to replace them in Sweden. I still flatter myself that this impression has been a passing one, as nothing could be more discreditable, after extorting Norway from Denmark for the purpose of rendering Sweden independent, than to secure, through an intrigue with such a man, the control of both, and further to aim at establishing a preponderating influence in France itself. It is certain that the Prince Royal has been actively following up some purpose of his nature in the interior of France. He has progressively liberated officers for the purpose of passing into France, and latterly, as he stated, with the Emperor of Russia's concurrence, liberated not less than sixty in a mass. [These men were sent back by Schwarzenberg's orders. Mr. Thornton's correspondence shews that Bernadotte is actively engaged in overthrowing Buonaparte. Castlereagh has ordered Thornton not to countenance his other measures and not to allow him the command in Holland. He did not deem it right to do more than this till he had seen the Emperor of Russia.] . . .

The other questions of delicacy to which I have alluded (exclusive of that of the Bourbons, on which I shall write fully as soon as I see the Emperor) are those of Poland, Saxony, and others of a minor nature connected with interior arrangements. I do not like to flatter myself too much upon so short an observance of the temper in which these delicate questions are agitated, but I augur favourably of the result; and I am the more anxious, contrary to former impressions, to press an early decision on these arrangements, at least in all their leading features, for the reason I shall now shortly state¹. [Caulaincourt has been invited to Chatillon, and the Allies are thus pledged to discussion.]

The objects in conducting this are felt to be two: first peremptorily to resist any idea of congress as to the substance of the peace, and, as far as possible, negotiation; and secondly, to exclude France practically, but in the least offensive manner, from any interference in the arrangements beyond her own

¹ Castlereagh was doubtless led to this premature and erroneous conclusion by Cathcart's letter, LXXIII.

limits. To speak of the last point first, I believe I apprised you before I left London that this was a favourite idea of the Emperor of Russia's. I own that it appeared to me then, as it does now, too strong a measure, calculated to give Buonaparte popular grounds on which to refuse the terms to be proposed, and bearing too much the character of a blind and dishonourable capitulation, as the security or insecurity of any given extent of limits must depend on the relative state of possession in which the other Powers, at least those of the first order, are to be left.

To obviate this difficulty, it is conceived that the relative state of Europe, at least in outline, as proposed by the Allies, might be presented to the enemy at the same time the proposition with respect to his own limits was tendered to him, and that, with this knowledge, he should be called upon within a time to be limited (as was done at Prague) for an answer Yes or No. The advantage of this proceeding, if it can be satisfactorily executed in detail, would be, that all procrastination would be avoided, and the enemy obliged either to accept our own terms or to emancipate us by a refusal from the restraints and embarrassments of the *Frankfort basis*, the inconveniences of which we foresaw at the time, and feel still more now.

With respect to the nature of the arrangement which is looked to, there are various shades of sentiment. I can yet only speak generally; but I am happy to observe that Metternich's geographical notions are improved, and that he will *listen at least* to modifications of the Rhine in advance of Dusseldorf.

[Assurances have been given by Metternich in a note to Aberdeen (who deserves praise for his zeal), concerning Holland and the desire of Austria to please the Prince Regent in that respect. Castlereagh told Metternich and Hardenberg that the question involved the military position but he thought that it entitled the Allies to confine France within her ancient limits, and that at any rate Luxembourg and Mayence should be obtained and a line drawn embracing Luxembourg and following the Moselle by Treves to Mayence. All this is not necessarily to be given to Holland, and as Austria had given up her pretensions perhaps Prussia, as the second great military Power, might be brought there.] I was induced to throw out the idea of thus bringing forward Prussia, as I recollected it was a favourite scheme of Mr. Pitt¹. . . . I doubt much the policy of making Holland a power of the first order to which she would approach if she possessed the whole of these territories. I should not

¹ See I. and Appendix I.

wish to say that this *Projet* was actually *countenanced*, but it did not seem to alarm and I think a good victory at Châlons might make it very popular. The point of Antwerp and an accession to Holland both of territory and military frontier was cordially and fully admitted as indispensable. . . .

LXXV. [C. C. IX., 185.]

CASTLEREACH TO LIVERPOOL.

Basle, January 22nd, 1814.

I have had, during the last two days, several hours' conversation with the three most leading Ministers here---I mean Metternich, Stadion,¹ and Hardenberg ; but it is too soon to judge of them before I come to closer quarters with them upon the points of difficulty : I have every reason, however, so far to be satisfied, and they seem to feel my arrival as a valuable facility.

I have had a very full confidential communication with Metternich on the Bourbon question : he is highly conciliated by the line we have taken, and the forbearance with which we have used the discretion given to us by his Government through Aberdeen. I am confident that I should have great additional influence over his mind on any practical question connected with this subject that may occur, from the manner in which we have conducted ourselves upon it. My opinion is that, if we meet this event in our progress as a French measure, Austria will not embarrass it from any family considerations, and the less so from the dread she feels of Bernadotte's elevation ; but she will not speculate upon it, or commit herself upon either loose or partial grounds. She will desire always to see the public act, and to frame her decision with reference to its nature and extent, and the state in which the Allied interests at the moment stand in the war. Metternich seems strongly impressed with the feeling that, to take our terms high against France, we must not encumber ourselves with anything that can bear the appearance of an initiative on such a question on the part of the Allies. I have always strongly felt this as applied to our own interests, and that we cannot press *our* demands to the utmost, if we are at the same time *mixed* in a question which, as far as relates to the existing Government of France, supersedes all terms. He also thinks, for the interests of the Bourbons themselves, that it is a question of doubtful policy, to say the least, whether they would not lose

¹ Stadion was now on the best of terms with Metternich, but he represented of course the Anti-French Party in the Austrian counsels.

more than gain from showing themselves, in the first instance, in the camp of any of the Allied Sovereigns, and, above all, in the British camp. He seems to dread that great question being ineffectually stirred, and anxious that the Allies should not be encumbered with it, or responsible for it. In other respects, I should not despair of his concurring with the other Allied Powers in turning any public effort the French nation may make in this sense to a good account; and I am sure my means of giving his mind such a direction will be in proportion to the delicacy we may observe in not precipitating any act on our part which might compromise the Allied counsels prematurely in so vital a question. It is painful and not fair that the Bourbons should have their hands tied, whilst Bernadotte's are free; but why should they not pursue their views in some quarter which does not locally and in appearance mix them with us? I shall write more precisely on this subject from head-quarters. I think it material to say thus much now, and the rather as we are endangered not a little in our internal counsels by the number of great State problems that are at the same moment cast upon us . . .

LXXVI. [*F. O. Cont. Arch. 2.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (Private.)

Basle, January 22nd, 1814.

After closing my former letter I was anxious again to see Prince Metternich in order to remove if possible any impression from his mind which might check the movements of the armies, and I am happy to state that his alarms about Bernadotte are abated. The better to prepare his mind for our discussions at head-quarters I stated to him what occurred to me on the four alternatives to be looked to as to the Government of France. 1st., Buonaparte, 2nd., a French general, suppose Bernadotte, 3rd., a Regency, 4th., The Bourbons. I represented the 2nd. and 3rd. as both peculiarly objectionable, not stable in themselves but likely to lead to some new change—in the meantime calculated to create dissension by appearing to throw an undue weight on the one case into the scale of Russia, on the other case of Austria, perhaps in both exciting jealousy rather than giving real power. I represented that if Austria refused to reassume the imperial crown in order to avoid unconstitutional and odious authority, she ought doubly to deprecate a state of things, in which an Austrian Regency in France would be involving her in endless

jealousies and embarrassments. Prince Metternich entered fully into this reasoning and said of the four alternatives he thought it was that which Austria should most deprecate.

With respect to the second, we considered it too objectionable to be very formidable, and from a note he had this day from headquarters he appeared relieved upon it, and hopes it is not a prospect the Emperor attaches himself to with much eagerness.

I represented that the 1st. and the 4th. alternatives had the advantage of leading to no discussion among ourselves. In the first place we agreed in forcing the best possible peace upon Buonaparte and in preserving it by a defensive union when made. In the last the Government of France would devolve to its ancient and legitimate sovereigns unconnected equally with any of the Allies, and likely to be too weak for years to molest any of them.

Prince Metternich admitted equally this view of the question, and said if a wish could decide between these alternatives he could not hesitate to prefer the Bourbons, but that he would not interfere to decide what belonged to France to regulate. I left the question here having, I thought, done enough when I brought him to admit that there were only two alternatives in fact, namely Buonaparte or the Bourbons, and that the latter was the most desirable, if France took that tone upon it which could alone lead to its successful accomplishment accompanied with the good will and favourable sentiments of the nation.

LXXVII. [F. O. Cont. 2.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.¹ (No. 3.)

Langres, January 29th, 1814.

[Reports a conversation with the Emperor of Russia, to whom had been previously conveyed, through General Pozzo-di-Borgo, the expectation and confidence of Great Britain in the Emperor.]

Through the same channel I took care that the Emperor should be apprized of the report in circulation that His Imperial Majesty was disposed to give countenance to the Prince Royal's views on France. As it was a point on which I felt myself bound in duty to have an explicit understanding with the Emperor, I thought it desirable that His Imperial Majesty should be previously acquainted with my having heard the report, not without considerable uneasiness, as calculated, though false, to do much mischief. This intimation produced the desired effect, and the Emperor

¹ Castlereagh arrived at Langres on the 25th January and most of this dispatch was written on the 28th. See Oncken. *Lord Castlereagh und die Ministerconferenz zu Langres*. Hist. Taschen. VI., 4, p. 5.

was pleased himself to advert, early in our conversation, to this circumstance, and to afford me an occasion of fully submitting to him the serious evils to which such a measure was calculated to lead. I own His Imperial Majesty's conversation on this point was not such as to dispel altogether my anxiety upon this subject—for altho' he disclaimed ever having expressed any intention of taking a step to favor the Prince Royal's claims, it being repugnant to his own principles to interfere in the Government of a foreign State, and assured me that nothing had passed between His Imperial Majesty and The Prince Royal that could give countenance to such a report, yet I could not but be struck with the comparative disfavour with which His Imperial Majesty spoke of the Bourbons for such a trust. Indeed His Imperial Majesty spoke without reserve of the family as not containing one individual competent to such a task, and whilst he admitted that their title had the advantage of legitimacy and whilst he looked with eagerness to the destruction of the Buonaparte's power, he certainly seemed to take no interest but the reverse in the notion of the power of the country passing into their hands, expressing his disposition to be to leave the nation to choose whom they liked.

I ventured to submit after what Europe had experienced from the resources of France being wielded with military ability, that it was not for the Allies to look with any uneasiness (should events lead to a change) to the power of France falling into the hands of an ancient family, in their policy likely to be addicted to peace; and I suggested that there might be considerable danger, if the Allied Powers could not concur in opinion on what was desirable in such an event, that an intrigue and most probably a military one, might prevail over the real sentiments of the nation. [In this and in a subsequent interview of some length, Castlereagh represented the importance of coming to an agreement on this and other points and suggested that the four great Powers should each appoint a minister to meet officially and prepare a Projet.]

I thought it right to assume the uninterrupted progress of military operations, as a principle which I considered and invariably stated as fundamental, altho' I knew there were strong objections felt in certain quarters to their being pushed to the extent of a decisive battle and a movement upon the capital, till the Allies had determined upon the line of conduct to be observed in the great crisis to which that might lead. . . . I cannot but feel extremely anxious for a discussion face to face, perceiving how progressively points of difference are exaggerated in unofficial interviews. The main points of difference seem to be, that the

Emperor of Russia urges the movement on Paris as indispensable at all risks, leaving the negotiation to take care of itself in the meantime, and admitting that if he fails in his object, which is the destruction of Buonaparte's power without any definite idea as to the future, he may deem it then necessary to make peace on inferior terms. Austria on the other hand, though now prepared on the grounds of subsequent successes and improved prospects to raise her demands largely beyond her former intentions, is not disposed to turn her back upon the Frankfort overture ; thinks that keeping Caulaincourt after moving him from Lunéville to Chatillon, any longer désouevré is not decorous in point of good faith, and wishes before new councils are taken up, to bring the former to a peremptory and decisive issue.

[The military leaders, except Blücher and Gneisenau, are against pressing on till reinforcements arrive.] The Austrians, naturally anxious for a strong peace on the side of France, had rather secure that peace by extorting it, whilst the enemy trembles both on political and military grounds, than hazard this prospect for indefinite objects, having little expectation that the Russians would long prosecute the war for such objects, if foiled in what they call the Emperor's crusade to Paris. I own I cannot but partake (deeply as we are interested in the fate of Holland and the Low Countries) to a degree in this jealousy. If the enemy should refuse the terms to be agreed on, I think Austria would then embark in any measures directed against Buonaparte's political existence, that could be reconciled with sound principles. Upon the whole they appear honestly to act up to the principles which they have professed and I do not discover any sort of tenderness in their views to the existing dynasty ; but they appear to consider it necessary both in policy and in good faith, that Buonaparte should have refused to the Allies a peace on their own terms, before they embark in measures avowedly directed to his subversion.

As far as I have hitherto felt myself called upon to give an opinion, I have stated that the British Government did not decline treating with Buonaparte as the existing ruler of France : that no public act on the part of the French nation had yet taken place to call in question the character in which he stood, and that having proceeded to the Continent under the Prince Regent's orders, upon the invitation of the Allied Powers, to take a part in a negotiation which was originated by them, I held myself in readiness to do so, and was not prepared on the part of my Court under existing circumstances, to sanction any principles inconsistent with such a purpose.

LXXVIII. [F. O. Cont. 2.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 4.)

Langres, January 29th, 1814.

When I closed my former dispatch,¹ I felt considerable anxiety upon the temper, which prevailed in the two leading cabinets ; the Austrians announcing an intention of not pushing forward, till ulterior views were ascertained ; the Russians declaring their intention to proceed *to Paris* without the Austrians, if they hesitated to advance. The Council of the four Powers alluded to in my former letter, met this morning, and I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that, after a long deliberation, the result more than answered my expectations. Austria was represented by Prince Metternich and Count Stadion, Russia by Count Nesselrode, Count Razumofsky and Pozzo-di-Borgo, Prussia by the Chancellor Hardenberg. These ministers with myself and Baron Binder as Secretary composed the meeting.

The first point discussed was whether upon the military opinions given, coupled with the pending negotiations, a forward movement ought to be made. The paper I transmit² will suggest the nature of the reasoning brought forward. On the part of the British Government I deprecated the adoption, on grounds merely political, of a principle wholly inconsistent with the overture which had brought us together, namely that no relaxation should be permitted in the operations, pending negotiations ; that the appearance of standing still, whilst negotiations were in progress, would have the worst effect, and that no sufficient motive of policy had in my judgment been brought forward to induce a departure from the principle agreed upon from the first, viz., that the war should be conducted with vigour without regard to discussions for peace. I stated at the same time whilst I urged a steady adherence to that principle, that I by no means wished to see the army improvidently hazarded, after the close of so great and rapid a movement as had secretly been made, by a direct operation upon Paris in separation from its reserves, now not many days march in the rear ; and that with respect to the enemy's capital, if their army was posted there, against the capital the movement must be made, but that for the capital alone little in my calculation ought to be put to risk : that the arrival of the Allied armies in the Metropolis might certainly serve to bring the enemy to terms, it might enable the French nation to throw off Buonaparte's yoke and seek repose under the rule of the ancient dynasty : but it might also give birth to a Jacobin explosion, or to an effort

¹ LXXVII.² A Memorandum of Schwarzenburg, dated January 26th, dealing with the military situation.

in favour of some other military chief, against which the Allies could have no remedy: and I did not hesitate to avow, that my apprehensions on the latter head had been much augmented since I came upon the Continent. The discussion on this point was neither long nor attended with any material difference of opinion. It was unanimously resolved that the operations should take their course, leaving it to the Commander-in-Chief, Prince Schwarzenberg, to conduct them with a due regard to military prudence.

The next point entered upon was the measure to be adopted towards Caulaincourt who had been waiting some days at Chatillon, having been appointed to proceed there by a letter from Prince Metternich, written with the sanction of the three sovereigns. It was as unanimously agreed that nothing had occurred to prevent the negotiation from being entered upon; and Prince Metternich was requested to address a letter to the Duc de Vicenza (copy of which is enclosed) notifying to him that the Allied Plenipotentiaries would assemble on the 3rd February at Chatillon.

The extent and nature of the terms to be proposed to the enemy were then canvassed, and some details gone into as to the frontier to be required. I thought this a desirable occasion to have the general principle examined, whether we were yet bound to negotiate upon the Frankfort basis, or whether we were not entitled now to stand upon another basis, just in itself and more conformable to our subsequent successes and existing prospects. I submitted that in reserving the rights of war, when that basis was admitted, the Allies as well as the enemy must be considered as entitled to all the legitimate results of successful war, and that in agreeing to a particular basis as the most convenient ground on which the discussions could, according to the then state of occupancy, be pitched, neither party could be considered as thereby divested of the right to push their demands further, even upon the supposition of their enemy being placed at their mercy. That if this principle were true, it was to be considered that the Allies had since terminated their war in the North—They had by the accession of Naples secured Italy, and they had established themselves in force in the centre of France.—They had done this while no illicit delay had been interposed in opening the negotiations. To suppose that the Allies could now rest satisfied with any arrangement substantially short of reducing France within her ancient limits, was to impute to them an abandonment of their most sacred duty, which, if made with a view to peace, must fail of its object, as the public mind of Europe would never remain

tranquil under so improvident an arrangement. If this were the case, it was more manly avowedly to claim a new basis, than to do violence in its application to the spirit of the former, and I submitted whether our present military positions did not impose it as a duty to take the ancient limits of France as our basis, subject on either side to modifications for mutual accommodation.

This underwent considerable discussion, and it is due to Prince Metternich to state, that he entered very liberally into the question, and concluded, as did all the ministers present, by acceding to the principle I had laid down, and we may now be considered as practically delivered from the embarrassments of the Frankfort negotiation. Prince Metternich desired to reserve the consideration of some concession to France, neither extensive nor important in itself, beyond the ancient limits. He seemed to point chiefly to some of the flat country of Savoy and possibly to some portion of territory on the left bank of the Rhine. As this suggestion appeared to connect itself with the language of the Allied Proclamation,¹ it was not considered, if taken within moderate bounds, to be inadmissible so far as it did not encroach upon the great territorial outlines to be re-established for the security of Europe.

The form of the negotiation was then considered at much length. The result was that the Allied Negotiators should act as common parties under a general instruction, and that they should consider themselves as maintaining one and the same interest on behalf of themselves and their Allies, now collectively constituting (as opposed to France) the whole of Europe with the exception of Turkey. It was agreed that the Russian proposition of denying to France any right to enquire beyond the question of her own limits was too odious a principle to be maintained. I stated that it was that to which I could not accede on the part of Great Britain. The Prince Regent had declared from the throne, that he was ready to make peace with France, in conjunction with his Allies, in terms just and honourable to both states : that that demand, if attempted to be peremptorily enforced, was precisely what was most calculated to dishonour a nation, whereas the true honour of France could not in any view be prejudiced by her being divested of her revolutionary spoils. It was left for future consideration in what manner and to what extent explanations under this head were to be afforded ; it being understood that the object was to exclude the enemy's interference in the regulation of our own concerns, a condition to which France must

¹ Of December 1st, promising that France would be left with a greater extent of territory than she possessed under her kings.

submit, if she wished speedily to terminate the war and to deliver her own limits from the presence of an hostile army.

I enclose a copy of the Protocol of this our first conference,¹ which is to be renewed with a view of coming to some understanding, first upon the precise limits to be insisted on as applied to France,—secondly, the general nature of the arrangement to be made by the Allies within their own limits—and thirdly the state of possession to be adopted in the maritime Peace with reference to such a Continental settlement.

I found the ministers perfectly sincere and cordial in the exclusion of the maritime question from the negotiations. Your Lordship will observe from the enclosed correspondence that this determination on the part of the Allies is to form the first commands to be made to the French negotiator.

All unbecoming interference in the internal affairs of France having on all sides been disclaimed, I thought it right before the meeting separated to express my earnest hope, that there was no wish in any of the Allied sovereigns inconsistent with the restoration of the ancient Family, should a change be brought on by the ~~act~~ of the nation itself. In support of this wish I shortly developed the ideas stated in my letter from Basle.² I further desired to be understood that, altho' Great Britain was at all times prepared as a general principle to treat for peace with the Government of France, and at this moment ready to do so with Buonaparte as the head de facto of that Government, I must reserve to myself a right to suspend negotiations on the part of my Court, should his character in this respect be called in such a degree into doubt as in my judgment to render him incompetent to afford the requisite security to His Britannic Majesty for the fulfilment of any engagements he might contract

LXXIX. [C. C. IX. 212.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Langres, January 30th, 1814.

I have not many minutes to write to you with unreserve. I think our greatest danger at present is from the *chevalresque* tone in which the Emperor Alexander is disposed to push the war. He

¹ Protocol of the Conference of the 29th January at Langres at 10 o'clock a.m. See *Sbornik of the Imperial Russian Historical Society*, XXXI., p. 360. It simply records the decisions described in this dispatch. There do not appear to have been any official protocols of the subsequent meetings.

² No. LXXVI.

has a *personal* feeling about Paris, distinct from all political or military combinations. He seems to seek for the occasion of entering with his magnificent guards the enemy's capital, probably to display, in his clemency and forbearance, a contrast to that desolation to which his own was devoted. The idea that a rapid negotiation might disappoint this hope added to his impatience. I hope that this is abated, and that we may not suffer from his precipitancy. Our decision of yesterday has calmed his temper, and given general satisfaction.

You may estimate some of the hazards to which affairs are exposed here, when one of the leading monarchs, in his first interview, told me that he had no confidence in his own Minister, and still less in that of his Ally. There is much intrigue, and more fear of it. Russia distrusts Austria about Saxony; and Austria dreads Russia about Poland, especially if she is mistress of the question after a peace. I have got some length with both the parties upon this subject, and I shall try to deliver them from their mutual alarms. Suspicion is the prevailing temper of the Emperor, and Metternich's character furnishes constant food for the *intriguants* to work upon. . . .

I thought the negotiation might have been put upon a short issue. It is difficult in itself. Russia leans to delay. I have no notion Buonaparte would or could, as things yet stand, yield to the latest demand; and, if peace is impracticable, we should be better rid of our plenipotentiaries.

It is right you should know my channels about Bernadotte. They were Russian as well as Austrian; and could not take the alarm without some cause. The Emperor attacked Charles¹ in a good-humoured manner as to my informants. Charles admitted he was *one*, and that he had heard it from his own people. His Imperial Majesty expressed himself, *even* to him, that he did not consider the Bourbons as the most worthy. On the other hand, Noailles and the emigrants here say the Emperor *has* given them encouragement, promised them not to make peace, and only desired they might not hoist the white cockade within the Allied positions. The Emperor told me, on the contrary, that he had given them no encouragement; and, from the marked approbation he expressed of *your* having given them none, I must suppose that this is the fact. . . .

¹ Sir Charles Stewart.

LXXX. [*F. O. Cont. 2.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 8.)

Chatillon,¹ February 6th, 1814.

[Discussion with the Allied Representatives on the restitution of the colonies.] In stating this question, I thought it material to distinguish between what Great Britain might deem it proper to do towards France, and what she might be prepared to do for the interests of her Allies. If by the course of the war, the Allies were satisfactorily secured, without aiming at unreasonable advantages, Great Britain might feel herself entitled to retain certain possessions, which, under an adequate necessity, she might be prepared to sacrifice to the interests of the Continent. As an example, I mention the island of Tobago. It being a colony purely British as against France, nothing could be more fair, and becoming, than that we should keep it. If on the other hand by doing so we put the Continental interests in the larger sense to hazard, Great Britain might not feel disposed to press the retention."

[A statement was then made by Castlereagh as to the lines on which he proposed to proceed, viz., "to restore what France had always set the first value upon and only to retain what was of inconsiderable value to her but which in the hands of another power was liable to be used against us as an instrument both of annoyance and danger." Thus, besides restoring all the Danish and Dutch colonies except the Cape of Good Hope, he was willing that France should receive back all her West Indian colonies except Guadeloupe, Les Saintes, and perhaps Tobago. In the East Indies France must be limited to commercial stations only. Malta must of course, as was fully admitted, remain British, but he was prepared to surrender the Ionian Islands so long as France was excluded from them.]

In closing this statement I begged it might be understood, that it was the wish of my Government in peace and in war to connect their interests with those of the Continent—that whilst the state of Europe afforded little hope of a better order of things, Great Britain had no other course left, than to create an independent existence for herself, but that now that she might look forward to a return to ancient principles, she was ready to make the necessary sacrifices on her part, to reconstruct a balance in Europe. Before, however, Great Britain could proceed to the length of actually signing away her conquests, that there were three prelimin-

¹ Castlereagh alone of the principal Ministers proceeded to Chatillon to watch over the negotiations with Caulaincourt. He was not, however, an official member of the Conference. The first sitting of the Conference took place on the 5th February.

ary conditions on which she felt herself entitled to insist, all of them being, in her view, essential to that state of things, which would justify the surrender of so much strength and power.

The first was that France should submit to retire, if not literally, substantially within her ancient limits ;

Secondly—that Great Britain should have an assurance by an amicable arrangement of limits between the three great Powers, that, having reduced France by their union, they were not likely to re-establish her authority by differences amongst themselves ;

And thirdly—that we should be satisfied, that the arrangements in favour of the Powers of whose interests we were more especially the guardian were likely to be attended to, and especially those of Holland and Sicily—the point of Spain being abandoned by France herself.

I thought it necessary to make these points now as the two latter depended, not upon the enemy but upon the Allies—a consideration which seemed, in addition to its other advantages, to suggest the importance of an explanation on these subjects proceeding if possible *de front* with the other negotiations.

The explanation throughout was received with evident satisfaction. The possibility of something being found to give to France in exchange for Guadeloupe and the Mauritius was thrown out, and Prince Metternich suggested the idea of such a sacrifice on the part of Spain and Holland. I observed that this was a proposition which could not originate with the British Government—that it was not their practice to call upon their Allies to pay the price of acquisitions made by them—that I saw no reason why France after such a war should be relieved from all direct sacrifice. Since the Plenipotentiaries assembled here, I have again adverted to the necessity of explanations amongst the leading Powers as to their immediate views, and that they should be prepared for such a claim from the British negotiators, when the latter were called upon to state the restitutions, which Great Britain was prepared to state.

LXXXI. [F. O. Cont. 2.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 12.)

Chatillon sur Seine, February 16th, 1814.

[The Russian Plenipotentiaries have received orders from Alexander to suspend negotiations.] As the advance of the armies rendered their early arrival in the capital a presumeable

...¹ By a letter from Nesselrode of the 8th February.

event, I had signified my intention before this order was received of going to Head Quarters for the purpose of arguing the importance of a distinct understanding between the Allies as to the measures to be pursued under the delicate and important circumstances to which their entry into Paris might give birth. I found on my arrival at Troyes¹ that the order had been dispatched without any concert or communication with either of the other Allied Courts on the spot and that it originated in an intention on the part of His Imperial Majesty to suspend any further discussions till he should arrive at Paris where it was his purpose to assemble a representation of the nation to decide on the future sovereignty of France, not meaning however to exclude Buonaparte if the choice should fall on him.

This intelligence Your Lordship may imagine, after what I had occasion to state in former letters, was received with considerable alarm, an alarm which was augmented by learning that the Prince Royal of Sweden was on the point of arriving on the Rhine, with an intention of immediately putting himself at the head of Winzingerode's corps, being the division of his army most advanced in the interior, viz., near Rheims. I also found La Harpe, lately returned from an excursion to Paris, attendant on the Emperor's person, as a confidential adviser of this enterprize.

The Emperor did not appoint me to attend him till the day after my arrival. I had then, and on the following day, when commanded to dine with His Imperial Majesty in private, two very long interviews, in which the Emperor was pleased to permit (I might say to encourage) me to discuss without any reserve the important questions that arose out of the present state of affairs.

I presumed to express to His Imperial Majesty my regret that the order sent to Chatillon, was not previously concerted with the Allies, and sent according to the understanding as a joint order, which would have taken from the French minister the advantage of all comment or inference as to a separation of views amongst the Allied Courts. His Imperial Majesty said he only meant the order as suspensive, but certainly with the intention of attempting during the suspension the dethronement of Buonaparte : and His Imperial Majesty repeated his intention of leaving the nation freely to choose a successor, or even to establish Napoleon on the

¹ The Chatillon Conference was suspended on February 9th, and Castlereagh arrived at Troyes on the 12th. The conversation reported in this dispatch therefore took place on the 13th February. Castlereagh arrived back at Chatillon on the 16th February and then wrote his report of the meeting at Troyes.

throne. Your Lordship will find the Emperor's views fully explained in the official answers given by the Russian Secretary of State to the Austrian Queries.¹

To an enquiry as to the mode in which it was proposed to collect the sense of the nation, the Emperor said his intention was that the corps legislative and other leading bodies of the State, with such other persons "marquantes," as might be deemed proper, should be invited to assemble and declare the national will as to the Crown of France. I suggested the difficulty as well as the danger that might attend such proceedings. In the first place if the constituted authorities were looked to for an opinion they probably would be gone. Napoleon returning with his army to the Loire would naturally send his Government and his "employés" before him: and if such an assembly could be collected for such a purpose, the Allies might wait long at Paris, before they could constitute such a meeting of individuals even of competent respectability. But supposing the difficulty got over, the assembly was then to deliberate and decide, controlled by no acknowledged principle of preference arising either from possession or legitimacy. They were open to the intrigues of rival pretensions; chosen by Napoleon, they might from favour or fear decide in his favour, and thus give fresh vigour to his authority; or they might very probably insist on offering the crown upon conditions to the object of their choice, which would embark the Allies, and the new monarch in all the delays and details of a new constitution.

The Emperor said he never would consent to this. I represented however that if the deliberation was to be free, His Imperial Majesty could have no negative, and the only protection against such evils was to avoid giving existence to their source.

The pretensions of Louis XVIII. were then discussed. The Emperor was still unfavourable to the Bourbons, but particularly to the King, as personally incapable. His Imperial Majesty however said that he saw the prevailing sentiment amongst the Allies was for the Bourbons, and presumed the choice would fall upon one of the family, probably one of the younger branches. The Duke of Orleans was mentioned as possible but not to me.

The Duke of Vicenza's letter, * herewith sent, was then spoken

¹ Printed in the *Sborník* op. cit. p. 377-379. See note on p. 152.

* To Metternich of the 9th February asking for an armistice.

of and the difficulty of voluntarily risking such a transaction, as that of exciting a revolution in France, if it could no longer be alledged to be essential to the professed purpose for which the Allies entered France, was examined. Baron de Stein having observed at dinner that the Allies could not with honour desert the people who had already shown them so much good will since they entered France, referring to this remark I ventured to suggest to His Imperial Majesty, if there existed any such claim at present, where no overt act had taken place, what would be the extent of the claim if the Allies, by going to Paris expressly to invite a declaration, were the occasion of calling forth sufficient of public sentiment to sacrifice individuals but not enough either to enable or justify the Allies to commit themselves in a civil war to give a monarch to France. The Emperor professed his intention of acting with great caution, and said he should have the means of judging, when there, what he might hazard without committing either the Allies or individuals. I pressed upon His Imperial Majesty that, this might be so, if in the legitimate pursuit of his own object, he found himself at Paris, but that, if he unnecessarily sought Paris for another object, he would make himself responsible for the consequences; that it was a risk not to be lightly run, and, if made at all, it should be with decision. I gave him my opinion that, if any attempt was to be made, it could only be creditably or honourably hazarded in favour of the legitimate claimant, and that to support one usurper against another would dissolve the Alliance, and probably end in confusion. I frankly stated that in my opinion such an attempt could not properly originate directly or indirectly with foreign Powers, and that the utmost they could justify was to act according to circumstances upon a self created effort. That as yet no sort of a disposition to a movement had been evinced in any part of France, altho' the concentration of the French and the presence of the Allied Armies had given the utmost facilities to an explosion, whilst the troops of Napoleon on all occasions fought bravely, and there had yet been no public and decisive proof of disaffection either amongst his military or civil officers.

The Emperor's mind was so bent upon finding himself at Paris, whether the events of the war naturally led him there or not, and the general feeling was so strong the other way amongst the Allies, that I thought it right, in order, if possible, to bring opinions more to a common standard to submit to His Imperial Majesty's consideration the difficulties we should have in sustaining Louis XVIII., if Buonaparte retired with his army and government

from Paris. The first difficulty would be where to find French subjects of sufficient weight in the public opinion, and of sufficient political boldness, to induce them to undertake his Government. The next would be how to give him an army: to compose it of his own subjects would require large funds and arms. The Emperor thought this impracticable from want of officers, etc. I then asked His Imperial Majesty how long he would undertake to *keep his army* in France to fight the battles of a Bourbon against Buonaparte, and whether his Allies would engage for theirs. But there was a more important consideration, supposing the Allied sovereigns agreed upon this point; how would the people of France feel towards a King supported by Russian, Austrian, and Prussian troops, all living at free quarters, not paying like Lord Wellington but encroaching on the sustenance of the people without reserve or recompence? The people bore it now, considering it the inevitable consequence of an invasion professedly made to conquer a peace, in the accomplishment of which they feel the deepest interest, but tell them a peace *on their own terms* has been rejected by the Allies, such a peace as never was before realized, and that, contrary to their declared purpose on entering France, the Allied armies are now living upon them to uphold a Bourbon against Buonaparte, and the consequences must be fatal, possibly to the armies themselves, but at all events to the cause they support.

The Emperor asked me what had been the result of our conferences in the morning (the ministers of the four Powers having met in council). I stated to His Imperial Majesty that they had come to no decision, but that the leaning of their judgment was strongly against breaking new grounds, and now, for the first time, after inviting him to negotiate, making the dethronement of Buonaparte not the incidental consequence, but the direct object of the war:—that they felt this a course full of hazard, at direct variance with the principles upon which the confederacy had been cemented amongst the Allies, and supported by Europe, —and that they feared it might lead to failure, disgrace, and disunion.

His Imperial Majesty had seen the queries accompanying the Duc de Vicenza's letter to Prince Metternich. I apprized the Emperor that answers had been given to these queries by the Prussian and Austrian ministers as well as by Count Nesselrode by His Imperial Majesty's orders, and that I proposed, as soon as

I had an opportunity of considering these several opinions, humbly to offer my own.¹

The Emperor said he observed my view of the question was different from what he had reason to believe prevailed in England.² I observed to His Imperial Majesty that in England the wish was strong against the individual and in favour of the legitimate claimant, but that wish was subordinate to the principles upon which the King's Government publicly professed to act: that my persuasion was the proposed change of policy would not under the circumstances of the case receive the sanction of the British Government, but that, acting here in discharge of a responsible trust, I must be guided by the dictates of my own judgment, and not suffer myself to be biassed by any supposed wishes formed in England, in ignorance of the real circumstances upon which we were now called upon to decide. I expressed great regret at perceiving that I had the misfortune not to see this question altogether in the same light as His Imperial Majesty, and the more so from the condescension with which I had been permitted to state my sentiments. The Emperor said he always wished to encourage discussion and His Imperial Majesty's manner of promoting a free examination of all subjects is highly honorable to his character.

[Enclosures give the propositions submitted to the ministers and their answers. The whole was submitted to Alexander with the *Projet* of the Treaty of Peace, upon which Alexander wrote a confidential letter to Nesselrode. After considering the Duc de Vicenza's letter offering an armistice, it was thought better to compel him to arrive at his object through an arrangement of Preliminaries. He was thus precluded from charging the Allies with an indirect purpose in continuing hostilities. If he was really anxious for peace, he would be prepared to agree to fix the frontiers of France on the basis of 1792 and this was now definitely offered to him.] As this³ is the document upon which, if the negotiations break off, the appeal will be made, I thought it expedient to put the British terms forward in a liberal shape. If

¹ The Austrian queries had asked if an armistice was to be granted and what steps were to be taken to ascertain the views of the French nation as to a change of dynasty, especially if Paris declared for the Bourbons and the Allies occupied it. Alexander wished to refuse an armistice, push on to Paris, and allow the matter to be there decided, the Bourbons being given no special privileges. Austria and Prussia wished to sign peace with Napoleon on the basis of the ancient limits of France if he would do so. They were more friendly to the Bourbons than Alexander. Castlereagh's reply is appended to this dispatch.

² See below. LXXXIII.

³ The *projet* of a preliminary treaty of peace.

the question had taken the course of the negotiation, I might possibly have contended for an absolute exclusion from the continent of India ; but in my judgment we should have injured our reputation in the Continent by giving France this fact of monopoly to comment upon ; and I, therefore, being driven to an ultimatum, preferred confining to the article as prepared by Lord Buckinghamshire, and lately transmitted to me. . . . [Details as to Colonies.]² . . . What will be the fate of the whole I cannot guess, but we have acted consistently and honorably : and if we are still exposed to Buonaparte, with a defensive alliance upon which I have made useful progress, and such a peace, we need not trouble for the future.

I flatter myself that in performing the somewhat painful duty of combating the Emperor of Russia's Parisian plans, I have brought His Majesty's mind to look deliberately into the detail of this measure, and that if the events of the war yet lead us to the enemy's capital, our conduct there will be both more united, and more circumspect. To guard as far as possible against the danger, that might [await]³ us upon our arrival at Paris, after much discussion the enclosed projet of a convention* was prepared by Prince Metternich, and has been seen and not disapproved by the Emperor of Russia. The mode in which the Bourbon question is treated therein must be considered highly creditable to Austria, and justifies the opinion I had formed upon this point : viz. that their policy is uninfluenced by the family connection. This convention may serve another valuable purpose in bringing back the Emperor of Russia to some fixed and sound principles as to the throne of France. It was intimated to me, that, if I desired it, Great Britain might be a signing party to this Treaty. I thought it upon the whole better to decline it, and to rest satisfied with its being officially communicated. This opinion was founded upon a consideration that the Treaty, tho' other questions were incidentally introduced, was in its main purpose intended to regulate the occupation of Paris. Great Britain having no army engaged on the spot, is not naturally a party to such a measure, and I thought it better not to have a British minister mixed unnecessarily in delicate questions relating to the interior of France.

In concluding this dispatch I think it right to acquaint Your Lordship, that notwithstanding the state of the negotiations, and

¹ These do not differ materially from those mentioned in LXXX.

² An indecipherable word.

³ Projet of a Convention as to the methods to be employed on the occupation of Paris, dated February 14th, Oncken, *Leitungen* li. 765. See below, p. 171.

the delay given to the operations from the successive checks to which Marshall Blucher's army has been exposed, it is by no means yet impossible that the Allies may get possession of the enemy's capital. What may be the extent of the movement, if any, is very differently estimated. I have not myself any information, which justifies me in believing, more especially if Buonaparte avoids a general battle, and retires into the interior, that the spirit of the nation will be so loud against him, as to divest him of the means of continuing the contest.

Your Lordship will observe that Austria, upon a satisfactory case, and upon adequate means and engagements previously secured, is not unwilling to bear her share, in what may be deemed best for the general good. But considering her own and the Prussian dominions as most exposed by any attempt of this nature imprudently made and failed in, she will not embark without new treaties, *especially with Russia*, of the adventurous temper of whose councils it is my duty to inform Your Lordship there is a much more general impression, than of their steady and persevering application to the establishment of a solid peace, particularly on this side of the Rhine.

Your Lordship will not be surprised from what I have stated, and the interests which the adherents of the Bourbons have in circulating such an impression, that attempts should be made, however unjustly, to insinuate that the British Government is insincere in their negotiations for peace, and that they are indirectly exciting a movement in France. I have reason also to believe that an impression prevails and that assurances are circulated, that if the effort against Buonaparte can once be set agoing, English money and English arms may be relied on and that the game of Spain will, on the part of Great Britain, be played over again in France. This is so great a question in all its parts; it is one which may so easily assume a shape upon which some practicable decision must be taken, and upon which explanations may be required by the Allies from me, of what they may expect of aid from Great Britain on embarking in such a contest; that I feel it my duty to request it may receive the earliest and most mature consideration of the Prince Regent's Government.

The power of the individual may at once melt away, or be dissolved by a great defeat, but there is no apparent reason as yet to assume such a result; and, as I consider a protracted contest in the heart of France upon grounds personal to its ruler, to

be a very new and different question from that which the nation has maintained for years, with such unexampled firmness in the Peninsula, I have not felt it consistent with my duty to give the smallest countenance on the part of my Court to such an effort, confining my endeavours strictly to the conduct of the negotiation confided to my care, and to the counteraction of any views which appeared to me calculated in the event of a change, to give it a direction prejudicial to the general interests. The charge with which I have been entrusted is sufficiently arduous to make me desirous of receiving the sentiments of my Government upon the course which has been pursued. I must likewise request to know in what degree they are prepared to embark with respect of the future, and to what extent in point of resources. I shall in the meantime not hesitate to act upon my own responsibility in the manner which I conceive may upon the whole be most conducive to the honour and interests of the Prince Regent's Government.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH'S ANSWER TO THE AUSTRIAN QUERIES.¹

Troyes, February 13th, 1814.

. . . The difference of sentiment which pervades the Allied Councils (I trust an amicable one) on this important question, arises from a doubt whether we should accept from France a peace on our own terms, or pursue the war further for the purpose of rendering the enjoyment of that peace more secure by the dethronement of the individual who now exercises the Government of France.

I am of opinion that in public duty we are precluded from taking up this new object in the war for two reasons. 1st. because it is not wise, and 2ndly because if it were so, we have by public and solemn acts of our Governments precluded ourselves from doing so. The Allies have entered France avowedly to conquer the peace, which they did not find within their reach on the Rhine. So far from invading France to effect a change in the internal Government, they voluntarily addressed themselves to the existing ruler, they invited him to a negotiation, and they admitted thereby his faculty to treat and in that negotiation they are at present engaged, no public manifestation of national sentiment having since taken place to alter the grounds on which they originally proceeded; I do not therefore conceive that the Allies can now

¹ F.O. Cont. 2. There is a French translation in Fournier, *loc. cit.*, p. 285.

recede from the principle of their own venture and render that contest personal, which was understood to be one of conditions alone.

I think it is unwise because it is of hazardous policy in the execution, and it is rendered the more so, by the obvious difference of opinion that prevails amongst the Allies, as to the mode and principles upon which it should be attempted.

The appeal to be made to the French nation at Paris, to adjudge the crown of France appears to me pregnant with danger; the measure of putting forward the pretensions of Louis XVIII., of very doubtful success, and both to be questions on which the Allies, more especially if the avowed and legitimate objects of their own war should be within their reach, are wholly incompetent to provoke a discussion, involving as it must do, the fate of individuals, as well as the tranquillity of the nation. In justice to their own subjects, I conceive they cannot incur the responsibility, which such a line of conduct would impose upon them, to the people of another State.

I am therefore of opinion that whenever a peace, such as Europe may now command from the enemy can be reduced into proper form by the negotiation now in progress, that both in policy and good faith it ought to be seized, if no intervening act of the nation itself shall bring into doubt the competence of Buonaparte to treat and to contract.

And I am further of opinion that altho' an armistice in the ordinary sense of the term is wholly inadmissible pending negotiations, yet there may be military sacrifices on the part of the enemy, constituting in themselves so complete and perfect a security for the attainment of the objects of the war, as to make it inconsistent for those who would accept the peace, to refuse an armistice so regulated.

I am therefore of opinion that the Allies should entertain the principle of the Duc de Vicenza's proposition so far as to agree to negotiate upon it, but with a determination not to suffer their military operations to be suspended by any armistice, which they do not consider to be in point of security equivalent to a treaty of peace. [Whilst I differ from the opinion which has been expressed on the part of the Emperor of Russia, I am ready to do homage to the sentiments, which induced His Imperial Majesty to interest himself so deeply in the future security of Europe, and the freedom and happiness of the French nation.]¹

¹ This last sentence was deleted before the answer was dispatched. Oncken, *Hist. Taschen*. VI. p. 32.

LXXXII. [*F. O. Cont.* 2.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 14).

Chatillon, February 18th, 1814.

Considering the stability of any peace which might be concluded with Buonaparte to depend upon the preservation of the existing Alliance of the Great Powers and upon their being bound together by defensive engagements to succour each other hereafter against an attack from France, I lost no time in conformity to the sentiments of my government to prepare a project of such a Treaty which I have submitted with the accompanying note to the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian ministers. The state of the negotiations and of the campaign has not hitherto admitted of my officially inviting them to a discussion on this important arrangement, but I have received satisfactory assurances from the respective ministers that their Courts are favourably inclined to the principle of the measure. Count Nesselrode acquainted me that, in confining the *Casus Foederis* to the *European* dominions of the contracting Powers, I had obviated the principal objection to which the Emperor of Russia had deemed the arrangement liable. He further added that he was authorized to enter upon the discussion whenever he received an invitation from me to that effect. I shall not fail to take the earliest opportunity of bringing this measure into regular negotiation.

LXXXIII. [*C. C. IX.*, 266.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Chatillon, February 18th, 1814.

[Encloses a letter from Lieven¹ to Nesselrode, which has been expressly referred to on more than one occasion by Alexander, as containing the sentiments of the British Government.] It is the more necessary that you should be in possession of it, and that I should receive your explanation, from the very embarrassing publicity that has been given here to this document. The first knowledge I had of it was from Prince Metternich, to whom the Emperor had reported its contents, and with the singular candour of adding that he (Prince Metternich) was personally rather roughly handled in the despatch. I next heard of it from Hardenberg, the Prussian, and again from Münster, before it was sent to me. I have since had the mortification to learn that it was

¹ Dated 26th January, 1814, which claimed that the Prince Regent and Liverpool wished the Bourbons to be restored. This was true, so far as the Prince Regent himself was concerned, and several members of the Cabinet were of the same opinion, but Lieven had no right to report the conversations.

sent to this place to Count Rasumoffsky, to be communicated confidentially to Lord Cathcart. It is so much the system of foreign Courts to act by double and contradictory channels, that it may make less sensation here, and the knowledge of the transaction rest where it is ; but, as I cannot doubt your sentiments upon the utter inadmissibility of this system, as it has already placed me personally in the most distressing predicament, so it has essentially complicated the business with which I have been charged, and exposed the Prince Regent's name to be very unpleasantly compromised—I cannot, either in justice to his Royal Highness, to you, or to myself, avoid placing the whole in your hands, convinced that you will do what is most proper upon it.

I have felt myself bound, with all deference to Count Lieven, to express my entire disbelief of the accuracy of his conception of the sentiments which he has thus attempted to convey. More than this it was impossible for me to state as to the substance of the letter. I could only represent to the Emperor of Russia, which I did, of course, with great pain to myself, that I should feel it my bounden duty, as the responsible servant of the Crown, acting on the spot, to deliver my opinion, on the part of my Court, in direct opposition to the instruction which that despatch was supposed to convey.

LXXXIV. [*F. O. Cont.*¹ 2.]

CASTLEREAGH TO PRINCE METTERNICH.

Chatillon, February 18th, 1814.

Count Stadion has been so obliging as to communicate to me your letter of yesterday from Troyes. I cannot express to you how much I regret the proposition of armistice which Prince Schwarzenberg appears to have made under the sanction of the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia, but without any authority from his own government or any adequate necessity which could justify so precipitate a step. An offer so inconsistent with the proceedings here, and of so little dignity in itself cannot fail to invite the enemy to assume a tone of authority.

I feel it more than ever necessary to conjure you and your colleagues at headquarters, not to suffer yourselves to descend from the substance of your peace. You owe it, such as you have announced it to the enemy, to yourselves, and to *Europe*, and you

¹ This important letter is a good example of the vigour which Castlereagh could use on occasion when he was much moved. On Feb. 20th he left Chatillon for headquarters to reinforce his letter by personal intercourse.

will now more than ever make a fatal sacrifice both of moral and political impression, if under the pressure of those slight reverses which are incident to war, and some embarrassments in your Council which I should hope are at an end, the great edifice of peace was suffered to be disfigured in its proportions. Recollect what your military position is. You have 200,000 men *in France* yet unbroken. You have in reversion the prospect of drawing 100,000 in the spring from Ita'y. You may rely on above 100,000 on the side of Spain. Including your own reserves, you can assemble 100,000 on the Upper Rhine and between the Prince Royal, the British Dutch and Hanoverian levies, you are certain of 100,000 men on the side of Flanders. If we act with *military* and *political* prudence, how can France resist a just peace demanded by 600,000 warriors? Let her, if she dare and the day you can declare that fact to the French nation, rest assured Buonaparte is subdued.

I protest, therefore, against any relaxation in our terms of peace. As to the securities to be demanded I desire nothing offensive or dishonourable to France. If the surrender of the three French fortresses is revolting, I should be satisfied to waive it; our line may be secured by their being observed or blockaded. If the enemy will consent to evacuate all the fortresses within the territories to be ceded, allowing the garrisons to remain (if required) within the lines of the Allies till the definite Treaty is signed, which need not occupy much time, I should see no objection to the removal of the Allied army from France progressively as the places were given up, so that French territory should be ceded in exchange for Allied fortresses—France taking no increase of military force from the garrisons extra France till she shall become irrevocably bound to the peace itself.

I shall always be ready to attend at Headquarters when I can be of service to the Allied Cause. In the meantime you may make what use you please of these my sentiments. The Confederacy has already done wonders. There can be in good sense but one interest among the Powers; namely to end nobly the great work they have conducted so near to its close. They must not differ upon new objects or small shades of policy. Let them be intrepid and persevering upon the object of the war as long avowed and agreed upon, and if on these the enemy breaks off (which is by no means improbable) let the Allies set him at defiance. They need not fear for an early and glorious result if their operations are conducted with common military prudence.

LXXXV. [*F. O. Cont.* 3.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

(No. 20. Most secret and confidential.)

Chaumont, February 26th, 1814.

I cannot conceal from you that the internal temper here is very embarrassing, if not alarming.¹ The criminations and recriminations between the Austrians and Russians are at their height, and my patience is worn out combatting both. Austria both in Army and Government is a timid Power. Her minister is constitutionally temporising—he is charged with more faults than belong to him, but he has his full share, mixed however with considerable means for carrying forward the machine—more than any other person I have met with at Headquarters. Russia could have enormous influence to correct the faults of Austria, if her Emperor was more measured in his projects, more accessible in Council, and more intelligible as to his own views.

I have been labouring to procure an understanding on the point of Poland but the Emperor always evades it and now Czartoriski is invited here to throw more alarm into the Austrian Councils—perhaps this may be of use; when things are at their worst, they mend. If he had been explicit about the Bourbons he would probably have carried Austria with him, but he is with fine qualities both suspicious and undecided and cannot bear to have a minister about him who is capable of serving him.

After the defeat of the several detached corps the Emperor was the first to descend from the project of Paris to that of armistice, and I received last night a message from His Imperial Majesty by Count Nesselrode, probably embroidered by the bearer, to urge the expediency of an early peace. But I do not yet altogether despair of his perseverance, and if I can get him to speak out to Austria, and allay all her alarms, real or pretended, I am confident she could not leave us upon the main question. But we must not go to sea in search of adventures with such a bark as we sail in. The misfortune has been that Russia has spoiled both games in the mode she played them, both that of peace and dethronement.

¹ "I was very much grieved . . . to learn . . . that Prince Schwarzenberg had again recurred to the proposition of an armistice . . . I had last night a conference of the four Ministers at the Chancellor Hardenberg's at Bar-sur-Aube. I could not but perceive the altered tone of my colleagues—their impressions being strongly tinged with the demoralising influence of a rapid transition from an advance made under very lofty pretensions to a retreat of some embarrassment and of much disappointment and recrimination." Castlereagh to Liverpool [No. 19] February 26th, 1814. *F.O. Cont.* 3. The situation was saved by Castlereagh insisting on placing part of the troops commanded by Bernadotte under Blücher's orders.

Caulaincourt's letter offering old France required five days discussion before we could procure a decision, and in the meantime the enemy had successes, and we had then the folly to go to him. It is lamentable to look back, and not a little anxious to look forward; we must, however, not be discouraged.

The Emperor of Russia, not quite satisfied with himself is loud against the Austrians for not giving battle on the Seine near Nogent, and told me that Schwarzenberg had secret orders from his court not to fight a general action in the then state of the negotiations. The fact is the advance from Langres was against the military opinions: Austria agreed to it in hopes of forcing the peace, Russia meaning to defeat the peace in order to reach Paris. Nothing keeps either Power firm but the consciousness that without Great Britain the peace cannot be made. They have all been lowering their tone to me; but I have explicitly told them, that if the Continent can and will make a peace with Buonaparte upon a principle of authority, for such a peace Great Britain will make the greatest sacrifices: but that if they neither will nor can, we must for their sake as well as our own, rest in position against France.

I thought it necessary to state this sentiment strongly to Prince Schwarzenberg and Radisky¹ [sic.] at the council, having received some very desponding insinuations from them, through Lord Burghersh. Whatever may be the issue I have thought our line to do any good must be alone decided, and I have represented to them all the hopelessness of their future security against France re-established, if they shrink now from the contest when they are reunited, and the enemy, though still formidable, essentially shaken in his military power and resources. The reinforcements drawn from Spain have made an impression which I trust Lord Wellington's early operations will efface.

LXXXVI. [*F. O. Cont. 1.*]

BATHURST TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 4.)

February 27th, 1814.

[Having received the dispatches relating to the Troyes meeting² the Government expects the Allies to adhere substantially to the project of the Preliminary Treaty which has been presented to the French, and in which England announces definitely the sacrifices she is prepared to make.]

The Prince Regent trusts therefore, that if the French Government decline these terms there will be no abatement of them in any material point; and an appeal to the French nation as to the

¹ *i.e.* Radetsky.

² See LXXXI.

sincerity of their ruler in his professed desire for peace will rest, H.R.H. is convinced, satisfactorily upon the ground of these propositions.

The next point for consideration is what should be the policy of the Allies, if these terms of peace should have been rejected. The Prince Regent's Government concur in the opinion of the other Allied Powers that a manifesto should be published, which, they think, should contain the terms which had been proposed and should express the sincere anxiety, which the Allies had felt and still feel, for relieving the French nation from the calamities and burthens of war, and the conviction, which they were persuaded would now be entertained throughout France that the personal ambition of its ruler, which had already carried the horrors of war into so many and such distant countries, was alone the obstacle of tranquillity and repose in the French dominions ; that from the nature of the terms offered, the honor of the French nation could not be involved in the war ; that although nothing could be more foreign to the intentions of the Allied Powers, than any attempt to prescribe to an independent nation, either the person of its sovereign or the form of its Government, yet they could not conceal their opinion founded upon long experience, and confirmed by the rejection of the terms now proposed, that a restoration of the house of Bourbon, would afford the best prospect of procuring permanent happiness and tranquility to France itself and to the rest of Europe.

It might further be added that, compelled to continue the contest against the present ruler of France, by the rejection of the terms now offered, the Allies would think themselves entitled to the advantage of any further success with which Providence might bless their arms ; but that upon concluding a peace with the ancient dynasty they would be ready jointly to guarantee to France the limits described on the terms proposed by the Allies.

Such a declaration could scarcely fail of producing a considerable effect, particularly if the spirit of the Allied armies is unbroken, if their numbers are augmented by powerful reinforcements (now on their way to join them), if they can continue to maintain themselves in the interior of France, and if Lord Wellington should be enabled to advance from the South with the distinguished armies under his command.

In communicating to you the sentiments of the Prince Regent's Government as to the manifesto which it would be expedient under these circumstances to address to the French nation, we are nevertheless of opinion that it would not be advisable to adopt any measure which would preclude the Allies from making peace upon proper terms with the Government of France *de facto*, in whatever hands it might be placed.

[Great Britain is ready to continue the subsidies for the present year, and beyond it so far as is possible. Portugal, Sicily, and Sweden should be included as signatories of the Treaty of Peace, so that they may not think themselves neglected by the Allies.]

LXXXVII. [*F. O. Cont. Arch.*, 3.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 23.)

Chaumont, March 3rd, 1814.

[Military reports. Napoleon has gone against Blücher. News that the latter is too scattered, but after his recent experience hopes that he will have learnt a lesson.] I had a long interview yesterday with the Emperor of Russia. Allowing for an amicable reference to former points of difference, I was better pleased with His Imperial Majesty's conversation than on any former occasion. It was temperate and firm; looking to the issue of the war as that to which all were bound to devote their utmost exertions. Such was the temper of yesterday and I flatter myself it may prove solid. There can be no doubt of the Emperor's good will to the cause, and if we can avoid *calamity* notwithstanding the Peace faction in his army is strong I think the Emperor will go on with the war.

Monsieur¹ is at Vesoul—he gives out that he has received encouragement, but as yet nothing moves and I can perceive no symptoms nor do I learn that any demonstration of any consequence has taken place. His Royal Highness has desired an interview with the Emperor of Russia to make to him some important communications; but, if conviction and not *éclat* was the object, why press for a personal interview?

I have had communications with the Princes Czartoriski and Radzivil on the affairs of Poland, and I hope I have succeeded in discrediting their views considering them as in truth a diversion

¹ The Comte d'Artois, later Charles X.

in favour of France—the former who is a person both of principle and merit promised to absent himself from the Headquarters if his presence was considered as calculated to create disunion, which I ventured with every possible sentiment of regard, to assure him was the fact.

LXXXVIII. [*C. C. IX.*, 311.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Chaumont, March 5th, 1814.

Robinson¹ arrived at Chatillon the fourth day from his leaving London, and joined me here last night. He came by Paris, where he stayed a few hours, without hearing or seeing anything particular.

Your private letter is entirely satisfactory to all my feelings, public and private, and it will altogether remove any possible prejudice which might have resulted to the public service from misconception, as to my language not being sanctioned. I took occasion this morning to show it to the Emperor, saying everything that might protect Lieven against any unfavourable impression as to what had passed. I also read to his Imperial Majesty part of your private letter of the 12th, in order to satisfy him that our views have been consistent and essentially coincident throughout.

The discussions at Troyes were necessarily painful, and gave to my intercourse with the Emperor a more controversial character than I could have wished ; and I have reason to know that he was not a little impatient of the opposition he had met with from me ; but this is all gone by, and His Imperial Majesty now encourages me to come to him without form. I see him almost every day, and he receives me with great kindness, and converses with me freely on all subjects.

. . . I don't know that the negotiation, as it has turned out, has had any effect whatever upon the operations, however it may, from the extraordinary circumstances under which it was brought forward, have tempted the enemy to presume upon the Allies politically ; and, in ending so, I hope we have so managed as to recover our position of authority, which has restored harmony and confidence amongst ourselves. . . .

¹ He had been sent home in consequence of Lieven's dispatch. [See LXXXIII.]

LXXXIX. [F. O. Cont. Arch. 3.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 32.)

Chaumont, March 10th, 1814.

[Encloses the Treaty of Chaumont.] Your Lordship will observe that this Treaty is founded upon the *Projet* of Peace delivered on the part of the Allies at Chatillon to the French negotiants, and provides equally for the alternative of a prolongation of the war, or a termination of the contest. Your Lordship, who has been enabled to observe the shades of feeling to which coalitions are liable in the progress of events, will be enabled correctly to estimate the value of such a measure at the present moment, not only as a systematic pledge of preserving concert amongst the leading Powers, but as a refuge under which all the minor states, especially those on the Rhine, may look forward to find their security upon the return of peace, relieved from the necessity of seeking a compromise with France. Its influence even upon the restless ambition of the enemy cannot well fail to be important.

For the accomplishment of this object at the present conjuncture I have gone to the full extent of my instructions on the subject of subsidy. In the 3rd. secret article perhaps I have exceeded them, but I could not hesitate upon the propriety of participating in the burthen of successfully winding up that continental system to the creation of which the nation has so long devoted its utmost exertions. I am confident this Treaty will have the most decisive and beneficial influence throughout the Confederacy in firmly cementing their union against France.

XC. [C. C. IX., 335.]

CASTLEREAGH TO MR. HAMILTON.*

Chaumont, March 10th, 1814.

I have been a very bad correspondent, but I have found it difficult to supply one intelligible report of the many events

* The Treaty was dated March 1st. It not only bound the Four Powers to continue the present war with armies of at least 150,000 men, but also to maintain the Alliance for twenty years after peace was concluded, with armies of at least 60,000 men. Castlereagh had thus obtained, though in a different form to that first proposed, the Treaty of Alliance which he had been trying to obtain since September, 1813. See *supra* p. 24. There were also three Secret Articles (1) confirming the decisions already arrived at as to Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, and Holland; (2) inviting Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and Holland to accede to the Treaty; and (3) agreeing to keep forces on foot for a year after peace with France had been made.

* The permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

passing here. In order to avoid trouble in classing, I have addressed the whole to Liverpool. When I return, I can settle with him what despatches shall be made official, in which case Lord B[athurst]'s name can be substituted.¹

I send you my treaty, which I hope you will approve. We four Ministers, when signing, happened to be sitting at a whist-table. It was agreed that never were the stakes so high at any former party. My modesty would have prevented me offering it; but, as they chose to make us a military Power, I was determined not to play a second fiddle. The fact is, that upon the face of the Treaty this year, our engagement is equivalent to theirs united. We give 150,000 men and five millions, equal to as many more—total, 300,000. They give 450,000, of which we, however, supply 150,000, leaving their own number 300,000. The fact, however, is that, sick, lame, and lazy, they pay a great number more. On the other hand, we give to the value of 125,000 men beyond the 300,000. What an extraordinary display of power! This, I trust, will put an end to any doubts as to the claim we have to an opinion on continental matters.²

I am not aware of anything in the treaty which may require revision. As it is an instrument of great moment, I shall, however, stay the ratifications here till the return of the messenger, whom I beg you will expedite. If it can be avoided, better make no change; if there is any essential error, being all assembled, we could, without any serious inconvenience, execute new copies, and cancel these. As soon as I hear from you, I shall send off the ratification of the three Powers, to be exchanged in London. By laying the treaty before Parliament before the holidays, we can discuss it immediately on my return.

XCI. [F. O. Cont. I.]

BATHURST TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 7.)

March 19th, 1814.

[The Prince Regent warmly approves the Treaty of Chaumont, but has read with deep concern the reports of the Conference at

¹ This was never done, and the official despatches are addressed to Liverpool though Bathurst signs the official instructions to Castlereagh.

² Cf. Castlereagh to Liverpool, March 10th, 1814. "If the engagement is safe in itself and par within the scale we have hitherto acted upon or are likely to act upon during the war, there can be no reason why Great Britain should not assume that station in Europe as one of the great military Powers to which the exploits of her armies and the scale of her resources have so justly entitled her to lay claim." *F. O. Cont. Arch.* 3. It was Alexander who insisted on Great Britain accepting the same military responsibilities as the other Great Powers.

Chatillon of the 10th and 13th inst, sent by Lord Aberdeen. He had been persuaded that the original *Projet* of peace made by the Allies was substantially an ultimatum, and it was upon this condition that he approved of stating the whole of the colonial sacrifices which Great Britain was prepared to make ; but this is not so, if the *Projet* is not an ultimatum but a document on which the Powers are to negotiate. The French Plenipotentiary ought only to be allowed to suggest alternatives in details which do not affect the main *Projet*. But this has never been done and the original *Projet* is admitted to be only a basis for negotiation.] It is not improbable that the negotiation will have been brought to some issue before you receive this dispatch, but the Prince Regent thinks it right to declare that he cannot consider himself bound by anything that has passed to agree to any Treaty with France which shall substantially differ from the *Projet* delivered by the Allied Ministers on the 17th of February.

The next point to which I am directed to call your attention, is the many inconveniences which arise from the protraction of the negotiation. When the *Projet* was delivered on the 17th of February, it was obviously the intention of the Allied Powers, to bring the negotiation to a short issue. On the 17th of March, after the expiration of four and twenty days, no material progress has been made in it. Nor will it soon be brought to a conclusion, unless by some peremptory proceeding on the part of the Allied Powers.

The advantages of delay to Buonaparte are incalculable. He is fully apprized of the ultimatum of the Allies, and he may suppose therefore that he knows the terms upon which under any military calamity he might obtain peace. On the other hand he has bound himself to nothing so that he may imagine that he can raise his pretensions and improve his proposals at any time, if the fortune of war should happen to favour him. This delay is likewise productive of another very serious inconvenience. It has precluded the Allies from taking any step for making an appeal to the French nation against Buonaparte and from giving the assistance which they might otherwise be desirous of affording to those persons, particularly in the Western and Southern provinces of France, who may have manifested a disposition to resist his power.

[Thus negotiations must be brought to a speedy close or Castle-reagh is to inform the Allies that the British offers were made on condition that the matter would be quickly settled, and if there is delay that the Prince Regent considers himself at liberty

to withdraw them. Protest must also be made against Caulaincourt's declaration in the Conference of the 10th inst.¹ from which it might be supposed the cessions of Great Britain were actually in the possession of France instead of being already at the disposal of Great Britain.]

XCII. [*F. O. Cont. Arch. 3.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 40.)

Bar-sur-Aube, March 22nd, 1814.

[The Allies felt the necessity of terminating the Chatillon Conference, and thus "it was determined to give the most peremptory character to our proceedings."]

I wish it had been possible with less sacrifice in point of time, to have ascertained in a manner that would satisfy the world of the fact, the impracticability of concluding peace with the existing ruler of France, but it has at length been accomplished in a manner which I am persuaded, can leave no reasonable doubt in the view even of the French nation, that Napoleon is the true and only obstacle to an early, honourable, and solid peace, a truth the more important to establish, as it is impossible the sentiments of the nation should not be speedily pointed, with an active indignation, against those to whom they may be led to attribute the sufferings to which they are now exposed by the presence of such numerous armies in the interior of the Empire. . . . It is due to M. de Caulaincourt to state that his personal conduct throughout the negotiation has been altogether unexceptionable, in the execution of the orders of his Government.

XCIII. [*F. O. Cont. 3.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 41.)

Bar-sur-Aube, March 22nd, 1814.

There is nothing which has surprised me more, since the entry of the Allies into France, than the total absence of any authenticated communication from the interior, especially from Paris, having for its object the establishment of a concert with the Allies, for the destruction of Buonaparte's authority, as the great obstacle to peace.

¹ This refers to an ingenious sophism of Caulaincourt that France had still to cede the *legal* sovereignty over the conquered colonial possessions.

A communication of this nature, which in many respects appears entitled to considerable attention, has, however, within these few days been received. It is conveyed through a channel¹ peculiarly competent in point of ability to develop the views of those concerned; and he appears to be sent by and to act in concert with persons of no mean weight in France. The general view he presented for consideration you will receive enclosed No. 1.² The enclosure No. 2³ will give you the results of our deliberations on this important question, and I hope before the dispatch is forwarded to accompany it with at least the projet of declaration, which the Allied Governments propose to issue upon the rupture of the negotiation.

The individual alluded to has felt it essential to the object of his mission, to see Monsieur before he returns to Paris: he will report to us the result of his explanations, and receive such communications as the Allied Ministers may have to make to his friends. He attributes the delay in the overture to the expectation entertained in France, that Napoleon would not hesitate to accept the peace offered to him from Frankfort, and that it has now originated in an impression that the negotiation was not likely to end in peace. You will not consider the paper No. 2 as more as yet, than a memorandum drawn up for the consideration and approbation of the sovereigns (upon a full conference, however, amongst their ministers). It has been drawn with much ability as it appears to me, by Prince Metternich, who has throughout this transaction, and in failure of obtaining the peace demanded, acted fairly up to the sentiments, which I reported to Your Lordship as having been expressed by him at Basle, and subsequently.

¹ This was the appearance of Baron de Vitrolles. See his *Memoirs*, Vol. I., pp. 119-170.

² Vitrolles' demands, as given in this paper, were (1) That the Allies should no longer treat with Napoleon but only either with the representatives of the nation or, better still, with the representatives of Louis XVIII. (2) That a Bourbon "quartier general" should be placed vis-a-vis to each Napoleonic army as a rallying point. (3) That the Allies should supply the Comte d'Artois with funds. In return the Royalists would raise as much of France as possible.

³ This cautious paper of Metternich's declared that the French people would never take the initiative on behalf of the Bourbons and that the Allies could not impose them on France, but it suggested that Monsieur should be encouraged to take action and given the revenues of any provinces that adhered to his cause. Vitrolles was to tell his Paris friends of Allied sympathy and to promise that if the Bourbon cause were not eventually successful, an amnesty for them would be included in the Treaty of Peace.

Considering that every claim in point of good faith, arising out of the Frankfort overture to treat with Napoleon has been scrupulously satisfied, that the line to be pursued affecting the interior of France, has become solely one of expediency, and that the safety of the Allied Armies in France, as well as the successful prosecution of the war requires the adoption of every justifiable measure, which may have the tendency to point the national resentment against the real author of their calamities, and to conciliate an interest in France to the cause of the Allies, I have not hesitated to give my cordial concurrence to the principles, upon which this question has been considered.

Your Lordship will observe that the Allied Powers are prepared to make a very wise sacrifice in favour of the cause of peace, by surrendering up to their immediate administration the revenues of all such provinces as shall declare in favour of the antient family, even those conquered and now occupied by themselves; thus proving at once the purity of their views and rendering thereby the cause of the French people truly national. . . .

With such an example of liberality on the part of the Allies, I shall not deem it consistent, either with the good of the public service, or with the known sentiments of the Prince Regent, or his ministers to decline charging myself with the personal responsibility of making such reasonably pecuniary advances as the exigency of the case may at the outset appear to require, but as I know the difficulties of controlling an expenditure of this nature, more especially through British agents, I have expressed an earnest desire, that the three Allied Powers may exclusively charge themselves with the surveillance of whatever means are to be applied to this object, whether arising from revenue, or advances, and that such aid as Great Britain can afford to grant (necessarily limited as it must be in amount by the vast extent of her existing engagements) should be appropriated to this object, under their application, rather than as a direct grant to be made to the French Princes from the British Government.

I consider this course of proceeding as not only the most prudent in a financial point of view, as rendering the expense definite on our part, but as relieving the question from much of the political difficulty, which must always attend, in a Government like ours, the voting a sum of money for effectuating a change in the Government of France. It places the case on its true grounds. The great military Powers of the continent contend for a solid peace. They fail to obtain this object by negotiation. Their armies are in the heart of France. They feel it desirable to ally

themselves if possible with the majority of the nation, in prosecution of an object of common interest, viz., peace, and to wage war upon Napoleon and his party alone. Pledged by every principle as well as interest to support the Continental Powers in the war and in the manner most effectual according to their conviction to the end in view, we afford them aid to this effect. The question thus becomes essentially military, and is at once relieved from any imputation of a desire to intermeddle idly and unnecessarily in the political Government of France.

The Project of a convention,¹ which the Allied Sovereigns framed amongst themselves to regulate their conduct in the event of the occupation of the enemy's capital . . . will with some extension and alteration effectuate the object I have in view, which is, to bring Great Britain forward, in whatever may regard the interior of France, rather as the ally and auxiliary of the continental Powers, than as charging herself in chief, and making herself responsible, for what cannot be conducted under the superintendence of her own Government.

XCIV. [*F. O. Cont. I.*]

BATHURST TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 8.)

March 22nd, 1814.

[News from Wellington that Bordeaux has been entered by the British. They were well received there and the White Cockade by Wellington's orders was hoisted, though Beresford did not encourage the inhabitants and told them of the risks they ran.] I have further to add, that in no instance have either money or arms been advanced under the authority of the British Government to any inhabitants of the southern provinces of France, who have manifested a disposition to resist the Government of Bonaparte, and to support the cause of the Bourbons. Under these circumstances the Prince Regent is of the opinion that the case has in a great measure occurred for which Your Lordship fought so judiciously, as appears by your dispatch No. 4 at the Conference held at Langres between the Ministers of the Allied Sovereigns on the 29th of January, and that it may now be a matter of doubt how far Bonaparte may continue to be competent to fulfil his engagements which he has or may have contracted. The Prince Regent has commanded me, therefore, to instruct Your Lordship to use your utmost efforts with the Allied Powers to break off the

¹ See LXXXI, p. 153.² LXXVIII, p. 144.

negotiations unless preliminaries shall have been signed previous to the receipt of this dispatch. Such a proceeding can alone put the sentiments of the French nation fairly to the test. We are not now proposing to found our conduct upon the speculation of individuals, but upon the overt act of the second or third city in France directed solely by the impulse of its own feelings and supported, as we are informed from Lord Wellington, by the general disposition of the people in the adjoining provinces.

The delay which has taken place in the negotiation at Chatillon since the middle of February, which is solely to be ascribed to the French Government, will, in the opinion of the Prince Regent, fully justify, under such circumstances and upon such an event, the adoption of the proposed measure. If your Lordship shall, however, find it impossible to prevail upon the Allies to break off the negotiation you will acquaint them that you are authorised to direct the British Plenipotentiaries not to be parties to the Treaty, under these circumstances, without a further reference; and you will inform me of the sentiments of the several Allied Powers after the whole of the inclosed information shall have been laid before them, in order that the Prince Regent may give such further instructions on the subject as he shall then judge expedient. Lastly, if the preliminaries shall have been actually signed by the several Plenipotentiaries previous to the receipt of this dispatch, I think it right to apprise your Lordship, that it is the Prince Regent's intention to suspend the ratification until he shall have been informed of the sentiments of the Allies, whether the case shall have fully and substantially arisen, to which the reservation made by your Lordship on the 29th of January was intended to apply. In all your communications with the Allied Sovereigns or their Ministers upon this subject you will assure them of the unaltered and unalterable attachment of the Prince Regent to the principles of the Alliance so happily formed between H.R.H. and the great Powers of Europe: and that in the course which he has adopted on the present occasion, he has no other motive than strenuously and cordially to co-operate towards the most complete attainment of that great object of all their efforts, a peace not only just and honourable in its terms, but promising durable tranquillity to Europe.

[Wellington, by his private letters, shows that he considers the Bourbon cause popular, and that, if negotiations with Napoleon were broken off, there would be a general rising, if encouraged.]

XCV. [F. O. Cont. Arch. 3.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 45.)

Dijon, March 30th, 1814.

The person¹ therein referred to has not yet returned from Monsieur who was at Nancy when the last courier left that place. The sudden removal of part of the Head Quarters to this town, in separation from the Emperor of Russia, has given some interruption to our proceedings upon this subject, but His Imperial Majesty's general sentiments being sufficiently known, it has been deemed expedient not to wait for an express authority, but to send a *confidential* mission to Monsieur, to concert with His Royal Highness as to the course to be pursued. As it appeared to me of the highest importance to mark, that the Emperor of Austria was prepared cordially to concur with his Allies in the policy to be pursued towards the Bourbons, I strongly urged, that an Austrian agent should be sent, the better to satisfy Monsieur and those who are disposed to support Louis XVIII.—that this with His Imperial Majesty is a national and not a family question.

[Bombelles sent to-night to Nancy for this purpose. Encloses his instructions² in which the Emperor of Austria's sentiments are sufficiently marked.] In the management of this business, Prince Metternich is anxious to found the cause as much as possible upon a French interest,—that this should be created by the Bourbons accepting the peace which Buonaparte has rejected and thus making themselves the immediate and only resource to which the nation can appeal, to deliver them from their present difficulties. In this view it was the general opinion that the invitation to recur to the antient family ought not, in the first instance, to appear in the Allied declaration, and that their disposition to support the cause should follow and not precede the proclamation of Monsieur.

The declaration of Bordeaux is a providential feature in the question. If Lyons should imitate the example everything may be hoped. I understand Monsieur has been well received at Nancy. In this town there is a good disposition, which the news

¹ The Baron de Vitrolles. See XCIII.

² These laid down four conditions, "(1) L'engagement du roi de régner constitutionnellement. (2) La sanction royale explicite et sans détour de la validité des acquisitions de biens nationaux. (3) Le sanction de la dette publique. (4) Le maintien des fonctionnaires publics tant civils que militaires."

from all the armies and the London Extraordinary Gazette, reprinted and placarded on the walls, may ripen into a more active sentiment. Marshal Beresford's private letter announcing the "Cocarde Blanche" attracts much attention.

XCVI. [*F. O. Cont. Arch. 4.*]¹

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 50.)

Dijon, April 4th, 1814.

[Unfortunately the messenger mentioned in the dispatch of the 22nd March², after an interview with Monsieur, was taken by armed peasants. However, in consequence of a letter from Castlereagh to a friend in Paris "whom I knew to be with the party likely to conduct the expected movement," a new agent was sent to the Allies, from Paris.]³ Prince Metternich, Baron Hardenberg, and myself saw him together, satisfied all his wishes and sent him back with our joint signatures to establish the fact of our full concert and trusting to his fidelity for a faithful report. His arrival, which we have heard of, has no doubt had the best effects.

The Declaration which has been signed by the Emperor of Russia is not a very orthodox instrument—in so far as it is a pledge to guarantee a constitution without knowing what it is. At the same time I am not afraid of any mischief. The communications we receive are quite decisive in favour of the Bourbons. The Emperor is weaned of his false notions on this point, and we have a secret intimation from Nesselrode through Schwarzenberg, that the Prince Royal's intrigue with Joseph is understood and that Talleyrand and others in authority will counteract it. This is fortunate, as I find Charles Jean⁴ (evidently in expectation of a crises) is gone to Headquarters. The plan was an intermediate system ostensibly to favour the return of the Bourbons at the head of which Bernadotte expected to appear as dictator for a limited time, Joseph looking through his influence to some suitable settlement.

I had the satisfaction of stating this morning to a deputation from Lyons the course we have pursued throughout, especially the generous, loyal, and manly language of Lord Wellington to the

¹ Sent in cipher.

² See XCIII.

³ I can find no details as to the personality of this second messenger.

⁴ Bernadotte.

people of Bordeaux. It is impossible the Prince Regent could wish to add to the sentiments of admiration which his perseverance and liberality to the Continental Powers has occasioned. The prevailing opinion is that, although the natural sentiment has been checked by the conferences at Chatillon, and by a doubt as to the intentions of the Allies, the result will be rendered more certain in consequence of the forbearance shown by them in leaving the initiative to the nation.

XCVII. [*F. O. Cont. Arch.* 4¹.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 54.)

Paris, April 13th, 1814.

[Castlereagh arrived at Paris on the 10th in the evening. Little to add to the reports of Lord Cathcart and Lord Stewart. Explains his attitude concerning the Treaty of Fontainebleau, April 11th with Napoleon. On arrival he found that arrangements with Napoleon were on the point of execution and would have been signed by the Russian Minister had not the arrival of the Allied Ministers been announced.] The motives for accelerating the immediate conclusion of this act were the inconvenience, if not the danger, of Napoleon's remaining at Fontainebleau, surrounded by troops who still, in a considerable degree, remain faithful to him, the apprehension of intrigues in the army and in the capital, and the importance attached by a considerable portion of the officers to some arrangement favourable to their chief, in satisfaction of their own personal honour before they left him.

On the night of my arrival the four ministers had a conference with the Prince de Benevent on the subject of the proposed convention, to which I stated my objections, desiring at the same time, to be understood as not urging them then, at the hazard of the internal tranquillity of France, nor in impeachment of what was due, in good faith, to the assurance given under the exigency of the movement by Russia. The Prince of Benevent admitted the weight of many of the objections stated, but declared that he did consider it, on the part of the Provisional Government as an object of the first importance to avoid anything that might assume the character of a civil war, even for the shortest time: that he also found some such *Pont d'or* essential to make the army

¹ This dispatch was laid before Parliament on April 7th, 1815, when the Treaty of Fontainebleau was first officially communicated. Some of the critical passages were, however, omitted. *Hansard* xxx. 376.

pass over in a temper to be made use of. Upon these declarations and the Count de Nesselrode's that the Emperor his Master had felt it necessary, in the absence of the Allies, to act for the best in their name as well as his own, I withdrew any further opposition to the principle of the measure, suggesting only some alterations in the details. I desired, however, to decline on the part of my Government being more than an acceding party to the Treaty, and declared that the act of accession on the part of Great Britain should not go beyond the territorial arrangements proposed in the Treaty. My objections to our being unnecessarily mixed in its forms, especially in the recognition of Napoleon's title under present circumstances were considered as perfectly reasonable At my suggestion the recognition of the Imperial Titles in the family were limited to their respective lives, for which there was a precedent in the case of the King of Poland, when he became Elector of Saxony.

To the arrangement in favour of the Empress I felt not only no objection (except so far as it might embarrass our Sicilian indemnities), but considered it due to the distinguished sacrifice of domestic feeling which the Emperor of Austria has made to the cause of Europe. I should have wished to substitute another position in lieu of Elba for the seat of Napoleon's retirement, but none having the quality of security, on which he insisted, seemed disposeable, to which equal objections did not occur, and I did not feel that I could encourage the alternative which Caulaincourt assured me Buonaparte repeatedly mentioned, namely, an asylum in England.

On the same night the Allied Ministers had a conference with Caulaincourt and the Marshals at which I assisted; and a very singular cabinet it was, as any it has fallen to my lot to attend. The Treaty was gone through and agreed to with alterations; it has since been signed and ratified, and Buonaparte will commence his movement towards the South to-morrow or the day following.

I felt I own the utmost repugnance to anything like a Treaty with him after his *déchéance* had been pronounced. The sordid nature of the transaction strips it perhaps of a real danger, and I really hope both his character and his fortunes are now sufficiently lowered to render him but little formidable. I should have wished, however, if he was humble enough to accept a pension, that it had been an act of grace and not of stipulation. It is, however, in all its parts, a question which should not be suffered to cloud for a moment the lustre of the transaction with

which it is connected, to which perhaps it may have indirectly contributed.

[Details of Monsieur's entry. Reception of Emperor of Austria arranged.]

XCVIII. [C. C. IX., 472.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Paris, April 19th, 1814.

In the present state of things, I am anxious, as far as possible, to put you personally *au fait* of *nuances* here, and to possess myself of your ideas, before I am driven to the necessity of acting upon them.

And first, as to our peace¹—we have agreed to enter upon its negotiation with Talleyrand, under full powers from Monsieur, in order that it may be ready for signature on the King's arrival. With respect to the nature of the arrangement, we shall all be agreed to take our Chatillon *projet* as the basis ; but, in the present state of things, there is just cause for some modification ; and there is disposition in the Emperor of Russia inconveniently to favour a relaxation in our demands.

As far as I can judge, we shall be unanimously disposed to strip the arrangement of any thing bearing upon it the character of particular distrust. We propose to admit the French Ambassador to the general Congress ; and, having the English restitutions necessarily in hand as a security for the peace, we are disposed, by the Convention for the suspension of hostilities, to allow the evacuation of old France by the Allied troops, and of the fortresses beyond those limits by the French troops, to go hand in hand, . . .

With respect to the future limits of France—I hope the Emperor will not be disposed to press any departure from the antient frontier which, in a military point of view, can be objectionable. The flat part of Savoy, not affecting the line of the Alps, and Avignon, are the augmentation to which, from the first discussions at Chatillon, it was thought France might be suffered not unreasonably to aspire. I believe, upon similar principles, something in the Palatinate had been thought of ; but this must depend upon German arrangements.

¹ Castlereagh wrote singularly little home in either private or public letters about the negotiations for the first Peace of Paris. The reports of Münster throw, however, some further light on events, though details on many important points are lacking.

With respect to the power of France so augmented, I see no present cause for alarm; and there is a strong motive for giving to our peace with the Bourbons somewhat of a more liberal complexion.

With respect to our own peace, I consider Malta, the Cape, Mauritius, and Tobago, as *sine qua non*; also the regulations limiting the French to a commercial occupation of their factories in the East Indies. I should wish, as at present circumstanced, not to press the Saintes. It is not worth swelling the catalogue with a demand of this nature. It is easily reduced, at the outset of a war, and will not be strengthened by the Bourbons: their finances for years will be deplorably deranged. They have an army of officers to pension, and will find it difficult to keep things going. Points may occur in the discussions upon which I can refer, but I wish to know your wishes as to the spirit in which we should conduct ourselves. I am myself inclined to a liberal line upon subordinate questions, having secured the Continent, the ancient family, and the leading features of our own peace. Let me have an answer to this as soon as you can.

P.S.—I still feel great doubts about the acquisition in sovereignty of so many Dutch colonies. I am sure our reputation on the Continent, as a feature of strength, power, and confidence, is of more real moment to us than an acquisition thus made. The British merchants ought to be satisfied, if we secure them a direct import. Holland cannot well refuse this, nor Sweden, if she acquires Berbice, which ought to satisfy. More than this, I think Holland ought not to lose, even though compensated on the side of the Netherlands.

XCIX. [C. C. IX. 478.]

CASTLEAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Paris, April 20th, 1814.

I still wish you would persuade the Prince to invite both the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia to visit England. I am confident we ought not to make Russia our *only* feature, for reasons I will explain when we meet; nor is it wise for us to make a Power exclusively popular, circumstanced as Russia is both towards France and us. Be assured, the Emperor will not *reciprocate* such a principle.

You can best judge how far this Junta would answer. So far as the King of Prussia is concerned, it would be all smooth: he *wishes* to go—falls naturally into the Emperor's wake—and, I know

from the Chancellor Hardenberg, expects an invitation : indeed, he persuades himself that he has already been invited. The Emperor would be more reluctant, but still, I think, would go, if the Prince pressed it, and it was understood through me that it was really wished, and that his situation would be upheld.

The Emperor of Russia, from various circumstances, exploits, manners, etc., must make his brother Emperor, though the first in rank, the second in *éclat*. He always, however, personally treats the Emperor of Austria with the most perfect attention, placing himself *en seconde ligne*.

If the Prince sees the political advantage of this combination, I think he can work it out without any diminution of attention to Russia ; but, in this case, he must either write himself to the three Sovereigns, or direct me *officially* to convey his wishes ; and it ought to be done without delay, as the Emperor of Russia expects to set out from hence by the 15th of May at furthest, for London.

I see no difficulty in executing this measure now, as far as the Prince of Sweden is concerned. We owe him no compliments, and he has business enough in Norway to look after. In this object, for our own sakes, we must assist him. We cannot punish the Swedes for his faults ; and hesitation in our mode of acting will only add to our own difficulties, by encouraging the Norwegians to persevere. This is the feeling both of Russia and Austria. There is no other Allied Sovereign that can take offence ; and the line draws itself, when confined to the four great Powers who have conducted the whole. The conduct of Austria has been throughout so good, under difficult circumstances, and recently so very distinguished, that the Prince will raise himself and his Government by re-echoing the general sentiments ; and I can assure you the influence of Austria in France not only has been, but still is of immense importance to the completion of our work. It is still more important to our views in the Netherlands. You may command her entire exertions on both points by good management, and without any sacrifice.

When I recommend you to dilute the libation to Russia, I am the last to wish it should be less palatable. The Emperor has the greatest merit, and must be held high, but he ought to be grouped, and not made the sole feature for admiration. The interview in England will have a sensible influence on the politics of the Continent. His Imperial Majesty is all kindness to me.

C. [*F. O. Cont. Arch.* 4.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 58.)

Paris, May 5th, 1814.

[Little progress in the Treaty of Peace. It is necessary to examine whether any or what extension could be given to the French frontiers of 1792.] This and a strong desire felt by Prussia and Austria to bring both Russia and France to some understanding upon the main principles of the Continental arrangements, in a secret article or otherwise previous to our stipulating away our conquests, has led to a tedious and elaborate examination of this very complicated and arduous question. I now send you a report¹ upon this subject drawn up by the Chancellor Hardenberg after repeated discussions. It is to be submitted this day to the Emperor of Russia. I am afraid there will be difficulties in that quarter, as His Imperial Majesty has still, I apprehend, more extensive views on the side of Poland than this projet countenances.

[The unsettled condition of affairs and the pressure of business on Talleyrand also prevented progress. . . .]

CI. [*C. C. X.* 8.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Paris, May 5th, 1814.

I am truly sorry to occasion any embarrassment at home, by being absent from my post ; but I really work as hard as a man can well do, in such a town as Paris, to finish my work ; and I cannot persuade myself that it would be safe to leave it incomplete. Robinson holds himself in readiness, upon the return of the messenger, to join you, if you still think it necessary ; but, in that case, you must spare me Hamilton, as the quantity of business here is considerable. I can hardly conceive the Opposition will persevere in pressing discussion. . . .

You will see, by Lord William's official despatches, that we shall have something to unravel in Corsica, and also at Genoa.² It was inconsiderate his making a declaration in favour of the old system, at the latter place, knowing, as he must do, that there is little disposition in the Allies to re-establish it. My persuasion is-

¹ "Plan pour l'arrangement futur de l'Europe." Paris, April 29th, 1814. This document discussed in detail the whole European settlement.

² Bentinck, after his entry into Genoa, issued on the 26th April, a declaration guaranteeing the independence of the Republic which Castlereagh, who had already agreed that Genoa should be absorbed in Piedmont, had immediately to repudiate.

if the war had gone on much longer in France, we should have had a most disastrous complication in Italy, and that Lord William's corps, acting separately, would have been probably the first sacrifice. He seems bent upon throwing all Italy loose: this might be well against France, but against Austria and the King of Sardinia, with all the new constitutions which now menace the world with fresh convulsions, it is most absurd.

Campbell's¹ letter will amuse you. General Schuwaloff, the Russian Commissary, assures me he [Buonaparte] showed little or no fortitude in his difficulties. If his taste for an asylum in England should continue, would you allow him to reside in some distant province? It would obviate much alarm on the Continent. Joseph, now in Switzerland, has expressly solicited a passport. What am I to say?

CII. [C. C. X. 17.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.

Paris, May 7th, 1814.

. . . I shall take care not to compromise any of the parties referred to in your secret letter.² I fully approve of your giving the *Projet* no countenance; nor can I bring myself to wish that the too extensive experiment already in operation throughout Europe, in the science of Government, should be at once augmented by similar creations in Italy.

It is impossible not to perceive a great moral change coming on in Europe, and that the principles of freedom are in full operation. The danger is, that the transition may be too sudden to ripen into anything likely to make the world better or happier. We have new constitutions launched in France, Spain, Holland, and Sicily. Let us see the results before we encourage farther attempts. The attempts may be made, and we must abide the consequences; but I am sure it is better to retard than accelerate the operation of this most hazardous principle which is abroad.

In Italy, it is now the more necessary to abstain, if we wish to act in concert with Austria and Sardinia. Whilst we had to drive the French out of Italy, we were justified in running all risks; but the

¹ The British Commissioner at Elba.

² This dispatch and the next are included as showing Castlereagh's attitude towards the cause of constitutional liberty. It must be remembered, however, that in this dispatch he was writing to a vehement and impractical Whig, whose conduct in Italy had nearly wrecked the Allied schemes for bringing fresh forces against Napoleon in that quarter. The secret letter refers to projects for setting up a constitution in Naples.

present state of Europe requires no such expedient ; and, with a view to general peace and tranquillity, I should prefer seeing the Italians await the insensible influence of what is going on elsewhere, than hazard their own internal quiet by an effort at this moment. . . .

CIII. [C. C. X. 25.]

CASTLEREAGH TO SIR HENRY WELLESLEY, K.B.¹

Paris, May 10th, 1814.

. . . . I entirely approve of the language held by you to the King of Spain, in the present critical circumstances of his affairs. The mode in which your Excellency's advice was asked did not denote, on the part of his Catholic Majesty, any disposition to abide by it ; and, if so, more especially under the extreme difficulties of the question, it would have been highly inadvisable for your Excellency to have made yourself responsible for measures over which you could have exercised little or no control.

Although the conduct of the Cortes and Regency has latterly been marked by a firm adherence to the principles of the Alliance, so far as the mere existence of the Constitution is at stake, it is impossible to conceive that any change tranquilly effected can well be for the worse. We are entitled to pronounce now, upon a certain extent of experience, that, in practice as in theory, it is amongst the worst of the modern productions of that nature.

I am glad to hear that the King is not disposed, in looking to a change, to aim at the restoration of the ancient order of things. I am confident there is not vigour and ability enough amongst his adherents to sustain such a system against the temper of the times, and the party which exists in Spain favourable to a form of Government more or less free. If his Majesty announces to the nation his determination to give effect to the main principles of a constitutional *régime*, I think it is probable he may extinguish the existing arrangement with impunity, and re-establish one more consistent with the efficiency of the executive power, and which may restore the great landed proprietors and the clergy to a due share of authority : but, to succeed in establishing a permanent system, he must speak to the nation, and not give it the character of a military resolution ; in doing which, the language of Louis XVIII. may afford him some useful hints.

I hope, if we are to encounter the hazards of a new constitutional experiment in Spain, in addition to the many others now in progress

¹ Wellington's brother, Minister to Spain.

in Europe, that the persons charged with the work will not again fall into the inconceivable absurdity of banishing from the legislature the Ministers of the Crown ; to which error, more perhaps than to any other, may be attributed the incapacity which has distinguished the march of every one of these systems which has placed the main authorities of the Constitution in hostility, instead of alliance, with each other.

I have every confidence in the discretion with which you will act in the impending crisis. You will not hesitate to afford your counsel and support, where you may be of opinion that the just influence of the British Government can promote the happiness of our Ally ; but, where you cannot see your way clear as to the probable result, I should wish you to abstain, rather than commit your Government by any systematic, precipitate, or too ostensible interference in the internal affairs of Spain. . . .

CIV. [F. O. Cont. 4.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 59.)

May 19th, 1814.

[Sends the *Projet* and French Counter-*Projet* on the Peace. In the British *Projet* Castlereagh has adhered to the views of the Government except that St. Lucia is substituted for the *Saintes*. Calling on Talleyrand for the Counter-*Projet*, Castlereagh was disappointed to find that the sketch which he had prepared for the King was entirely subversive of all British views. It was silent on St. Lucia and Tobago, demanded compensation for the Mauritius, and did not discuss the Slave Trade.]

It was fortunate I saw the Minister before he went to the King, as it gave me an opportunity of making him distinctly understand the course I should pursue. It was necessary as a considerable change of tone had been disclosed on the preceding day by the Court. The Marshals had talked high language and His Majesty had expressed himself somewhat in the same manner to the Emperor of Austria. I thought it therefore wise to be quite explicit and to recall the French Government to a sense of our claims, to the forbearance shewn, and to the true relations of the parties.

The point of all others upon which I have had the most difficulty to encounter is the Slave Trade, not any indisposition in M. de Talleyrand himself, but from a general sentiment, first that it is derogating to French honor to submit to a *stipulation* on this subject, as the condition of receiving back their colonies ; and

secondly from an impression however erroneous, which he describes as prevalent in all the commercial towns, that with such a restriction the cession itself of their Colonies would be illusory. M. de Talleyrand entreated me with great earnestness to impress this view of the subject upon the British Government. He knew the difficulties *they* had to contend with, representing however *his own* as going fundamentally to the authority and stability of the new Government, which must accommodate [sic] to the prejudices of commercial men, if they hoped to revive a spirit in France more congenial with peace, than had grown out of the later system.

I represented all the duties and embarrassments of our situation, and especially the discontent which would follow the importation in islands ceded by us, especially when contrasted with the line adopted towards Sweden and Denmark, and intended to be followed up towards Holland. I told him that to do nothing was impossible, and that I could not answer for my Government being satisfied with anything short of the stipulation I had proposed, but that if France was prepared to make the abolition on her own part absolute at a fixed and remote date, and in the meantime (and especially at the approaching Congress) to unite her exertions and influence with ours to make the abolition general at that period, I would bring under the view of my colleagues fully and fairly the considerations which opposed themselves on the part of France to the abandonment of all discretion with respect to such preparatory measures as the interest of her colonial system might appear to require.

I particularly guarded myself against any committal on the subject. I cannot, however, forbear recommending that our demands should not be pushed to an extreme upon this point. The probable importations into Martinique and Guadelope in the next five years cannot be considerable, circumstanced as their population and cultivation now is. Many people look to the recovery of Saint Domingo but altho' this is a prospect, which the Government cannot afford to damp, and (you will observe) feel it necessary to secure against opposition on our part, yet it appears to me too visionary and impracticable a scheme in its execution to be the occasion of any large importation of slaves in the time limited. Where all trace at least of European property in land is lost, I have no conception that any man would risk money in the purchase of slaves to carry with him to St. Domingo. My feeling is that on grounds of general policy we ought not to attempt to tie France too tight on this question. If we do it will make the abolition odious in France and we shall be considered as influenced by a secret wish to prevent the removal of her colonial interests. The

friends of abolition ought also to weigh the immense value of having France pledged to this question, and the subject brought before the Congress with the aid of France and Russia, both of which I can in that case answer for. We have convincing proof how small the progress is that can be practically made in this measure unless the abolition can be made general. If we get France on our side we shall have a preponderance of authority; without her aid I shall despair of bringing Spain and Portugal into our views.

[Further details of the Treaty discussed. France endeavouring to obtain concessions on the side of the Netherlands.] I have been compelled peremptorily to oppose this as incompatible with the only defence of Brabant, and as disclosing a desire to encroach in that direction, which has been the source of so many wars. I spoke yesterday strongly to Talleyrand on this subject, and shall feel it my duty before I leave Paris, to represent to the King the necessity, if he wishes the peace to last, of extinguishing in the minds of the army this false notion of Flanders being necessary to France. . . . In order to bring the whole to an early issue I have prevailed upon the Allied Governments positively to fix their departure for the end of this month, after which period, if the peace is not signed, the conference must be removed to London. [This will encourage the French to hasten the peace.]

CV. [C. C. X. 10.]

CASTLEREACH TO LIVERPOOL.

Paris, Monday [23rd¹ May.]

I received your letter of the 19th. to-day. I shall discuss the points to-morrow, and you shall then know the result.

I send you the remainder of the Treaty in the rough. You will see I have secured the consent of France to the incorporation of the Low Countries with Holland. I felt it of the last importance not to go to a Congress without having this most essential point acquiesced in by that Power. The annexed map will give you a rough idea of the proposed frontier. The black line is old France; the red, in advance, the accessions granted; the brown *enclaves* are the *réunions*—the whole does not exceed a population of 600,000, and concedes no military point.² I thought it also material to

¹ Undated in the *Correspondence* and placed by the editor among the dispatches of May 5th, but the original in the Archives is dated as above.

² See *Hertslet*. Map of Europe by Treaty vol. I. France was reduced to the limits of 1792, with some extension on her North-Eastern frontier and a considerable addition in Savoy.

secure Genoa as a free port, and to extinguish Antwerp as a naval station.

You will see, by the extent of matter comprised, that the pecuniary reclamations have been a most troublesome and difficult concern. After endless controversy, they have all, with a good grace, come into the principle I recommended from the first, viz., clear scores in respect to State claims, France engaging to do justice to individuals whose claims rest upon contract, in contradistinction to military spoliation and warfare.