

PART III

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA



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CVI. [C. C. X. 76.]

CASTLEREAGH TO WELLINGTON.<sup>1</sup>

Downing Street, August 7th, 1814.

I enclose, for your Grace's private information, an extract of a letter received from the Prince of Benevent,<sup>2</sup> together with my answer ; and I have to request that you will, as early as possible after your arrival at Paris, endeavour to learn his Highness's views upon the subjects that are likely to occupy the attention of Congress, and especially upon the points of Poland and Naples. It is desirable that I should be as fully informed of the sentiments of the French Government as possible, before I meet the Allied Ministers at Vienna, where I have promised to be about the 10th of September.

Your Grace will observe that I have explained to the Prince of Benevent the object of these preliminary conferences. So far as you can regulate the Princes' arrival, I should wish him to be there about the 25th. The Emperor comes on the 27th, and we should then have time to discuss the more difficult matters previous to the assembly of the Congress on the 1st of October, having previously methodized the less complicated parts of the arrangement. You will, I hope, be able to obviate any jealousy of these previous deliberations : they are the necessary result of our former relations, which must throw upon the four principal Allied Powers the initiative in most of the arrangements.

It is material your Grace should endeavour to ascertain how far France is prepared, under any and what circumstances, to support her views on these two leading questions by arms. It is particularly desirable to learn whether the French and Spanish Governments limit their hostile views against Murat to a refusal to acknowledge him ; or whether, in the event of other Powers (Austria included) declining to give him aid, they would be disposed to employ their arms to replace the King of Sicily on the throne of Naples.

I should also wish to know whether the French Government has opened itself at all to the Prussian Government on the subject of Poland, as well as on the jealousy they appear, from the enclosed

<sup>1</sup> Wellington was appointed Ambassador at Paris on August 6th, 1814, and took up his duties there on the 24th August.

<sup>2</sup> 27th July and 7th August respectively in F. O. France 99.

letter from Sir Charles Stuart,<sup>1</sup> to entertain of the views of Russia in the north of Europe. If not, I should recommend their doing so without loss of time. The position and strength of Benningsen's army justify an apprehension that the Norwegian question may be made, both by Russia and Sweden, a pretext for dismembering Denmark, notwithstanding the King, in the judgment of the Allied Commissioners, has done what depended on him to transfer Norway; but also from perceiving that the Emperor of Russia, before he left this country, was prone to hostile measures towards Denmark.<sup>2</sup>

CVII. [C. C. X. 93.]

WELLINGTON TO CASTLEREAGH.

Mons, August 18th, 1814.

I received last night your letters and despatch of the 14th.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chargé d'affaires at Paris, not to be confused with Castlereagh's half-brother, who, however, becomes Lord Stewart on his appointment to the Embassy at Vienna. The letter of Sir Charles Stuart is one of a series by which Talleyrand's views had been placed before Castlereagh.

<sup>2</sup> Castlereagh was also drawing Hardenberg's attention to this point as a letter to him of August 8th shows. . . . "Some of my letters from the North speak of an augmentation of Benningsen's Corps, of plans of dismembering Denmark in favour of the Duke of Oldenbourg, and I hope you keep your eye upon this force. I have reason to believe that the French Government partakes strongly of the general alarm produced by the accumulating armament on the Russian frontier, and by the organisation of a purely Polish army. I have every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of Talleyrand on the late abortive attempt to revive a French party in the Netherlands and believe you will find him very reasonable and disposed to act at Vienna in concert with us. He will view with great displeasure the introduction of Russian influence into the North of Europe: I was much gratified to find this, as I know nothing more fatal to Prussian authority than to have the Russians on both flanks. I hope you will sift to the bottom before we meet the state of force, designs, etc., both on the Polish and Holstein frontier. . . ." F. O. Cont. Arch. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Castlereagh to Sir Charles Stuart, August 14th, 1814.

"The disposition evinced by the French Government is highly important and satisfactory, and we shall be most desirous of turning it to the best account; but the Prince of Benevente, if he wishes us to do good, must not expect us to separate from our old connexions, in the midst of our concert. We have no partialities that he need be jealous of; and, if he desires to render our influence a salutary check upon improvident schemes and undue pretensions, in whatever quarter they may be found to exist, he must allow me to work this out without doing violence to habits established under circumstances to which we owe the blessings of having a Government in France, to which we can feel ourselves associated in common views of policy and interest.

"If it is thought desirable, I shall be perfectly ready to confer with him on my way to Vienna, and to look without reserve at the difficulties we shall have to deal with at the Congress; but he must not expect me to depart from any engagements to meet my former colleagues at Vienna about the 10th of September: nor must he interpret unfavourably our previously conferring upon the system which has grown out of engagements which subsisted long before we could reckon France amongst the number of our friends, and which the Prince himself proposed should be taken as the basis of our discussions at Vienna." C. C. X. 91.

The situation of affairs in the world will naturally constitute England and France as arbitrators at the Congress, if those Powers *understand* each other ; and such an understanding may preserve the general peace. But I think your object would be defeated, and England would lose her high character and station, if the line of Monseieur Talleyrand is adopted, which appears to me to be tantamount to the declaration by the two Powers that they will be arbitrators of all the differences which may arise.

We must not forget that only a few months ago it was wished to exclude the interference and influence of France from the Congress entirely. I believe that your view and mine are precisely the same ; but, however well Stuart and I may understand you, I am convinced that neither of us will explain so satisfactorily as yourself to Monsieur Talleyrand the necessity of your previous interview with the Ministers of the Allies, and the nature of your concert and mediation ; and it is desirable on this ground that you should come to Paris.

Your coming there, and your departure so long previous to his, may occasion the same unpleasant sensation in the public mind at Paris which you observed that the information of your previous conferences at Vienna had occasioned to the Duc de Berri. It must also be recollected that the Allies will be aware of your journey to Paris, and may be jealous of your intimacy with Talleyrand. But I conceive that these considerations are nothing, when balanced with the great object of your establishing a perfect understanding with Talleyrand on your measures, and on the mode in which you will carry them into execution, which, in my opinion, nobody can do for you as well as you can for yourself. . . .

CVIII. [*F. O. Cont.* 7.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 1.)

Geneva, September 3rd, 1814.

[No time to report from Brussels on Paris.] . . . The letters I received at Brussels, especially from the Duke of Wellington,<sup>1</sup> determined me to go to Paris, and I considered that the result has fully justified the considerations which dictated this measure, however inconvenient in its execution, as it enabled me to dissipate many doubts, to bring the French Government to a more temperate view of the description of understanding which ought to subsist between us, and to precede the Prince de Benevent to Vienna with a much more formed notion of the mode of thinking of his court than I could have otherwise obtained.

<sup>1</sup> CVII.

I cannot pretend, in the compass of a despatch, to give Your Lordship, even in outline, the substance of two long interviews with that minister occupying no less than five hours, in which, as he assured me by the King's command, he discussed the various topics likely to come under consideration at Vienna with perfect unreserve. I was honoured also by the King with a private audience of above two hours, in which His Majesty went, seriatim, through the same points. I could observe shades of opinion on some of the points, but as to their desire and determination to cultivate a connection with Great Britain, the King and his minister were equally cordial and explicit.

My task was rather to repress the exuberance of this sentiment, and to prevent its assuming a shape, which, by exciting jealousy in other States might impare our respective means of being really useful. I flatter myself I succeeded in this, and, as a proof, I have reason to believe that M. de Talleyrand, laying aside his former jealousy, regarded with satisfaction my preceding him to Vienna; and as no inconsiderable indication of confidence, he left me at liberty to use at my own discretion, in my intercourse with the Allied ministers previous to his arrival, what I had found to be the sentiments of his Court.

This authority may be material in my preparatory discussions with Count Nesselrode. I found the sentiments of the French Government with respect to Poland perfectly analogous to our own.—A decided repugnance to the Russian Project, as the most dangerous and unjust of the three; a strong abstract preference (especially in the King's mind) for the re-existence of Poland as an independent State in the House of Saxony, but this idea subdued by a sense of the danger of the attempt, into a desire not to subvert but to regulate the existing principle of partition.

My object in examining this and other questions, was to discuss and not to conclude; this was fully understood. The point of Poland gave me a favourable opportunity of opening to M. Talleyrand the Dutch and Swedish arrangements,<sup>1</sup> as affording a salutary influence over the Russian Councils. M. Talleyrand seemed much pleased with the manner in which this had been conducted, and seemed to expect that it would prove a useful instrument. He expressed no objection to the colonial part of the

<sup>1</sup> An Act recognising the Sovereignty of the House of Orange over Belgium was signed on July 21st, a Convention compensating Sweden for her surrender of Guadelope on August 13th, and on the same date a Convention regulating the return of the Dutch colonies except the Cape and one or two minor islands, compensation being paid to Holland in the form of a grant of £2,000,000 for the fortification of Belgium.

arrangement, which I represented not as a measure of original policy, but as arising out of the efforts which Great Britain was willing to make in favour of other States, in which France had her full share.

As I was apparently treated with much candour both by the King and his minister, I regretted that I should have had still a reserve to observe towards them with respect to our Treaty with Spain.<sup>1</sup> I left instructions, however, with the Duke of Wellington not only to take the earliest opportunity, when authorized by the Government of Spain, to remedy this, but to express my personal regret at not having received the sanction I had solicited whilst at Paris. I took, however, advantage of the question of Naples to express that we felt no objection but the reverse to the restoration of this branch of the House of Bourbon, that we were aware that the power and influence of France must be thereby materially augmented; but that we felt no repugnance to the natural and legitimate influence of the family so long as the two principal Crowns abstained from a connection which made them one State for the purpose of aggression. I urged this topic strongly both with the King and Talleyrand, and it was received with complacency at least by both. I told them I pressed it with the more earnestness and unreserve as I considered it indispensable to a good understanding between Great Britain and France. . . .

CIX. [*F. O. Cont.* 7.<sup>2</sup>]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Vienna, September 24th, 1814.

My letter of the 21st instant will have apprized your Lordship of my arrival here.<sup>3</sup> I found the Russian Minister, Count Nesselrode, and the Chancellor Hardenberg, reached Vienna the day but one after. The Ministers of the Allied Powers have had four conferences, which have been principally occupied in discussing the form and course of our future proceedings. There has been but one opinion on the point, "that the conduct of the business must practically rest with the leading Powers"; and with the exception of a doubt on the part of the Russian minister, whether the Emperor may not press the introduction of the Swedish

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the secret article in the Treaty of July 5th, by which the Family Compact was expressly forbidden.

<sup>2</sup> Printed, except for the last paragraph, in my *Congress of Vienna*, Appendix I., where will also be found other documents relating to the organisation of the Congress.

<sup>3</sup> On the 13th September.

plenipotentiary, we are agreed that the effective Cabinet should not be carried beyond the six Powers of the first order, with an auxiliary council of the five principal States of Germany for the special concerns of Germany. You will observe from the protocol [A.],<sup>1</sup> that the Allied Powers have deemed it necessary to preserve the initiative in their own hands. I have concurred in thinking this line expedient; but, considering the complexion of the protocol prepared upon this subject (which is Prussian) to be rather repulsive to France, and a little more conclusive in its expressions than I quite liked, I thought it right to give my acquiescence to it with the qualification contained in the note annexed to it.<sup>2</sup>

The mode of assembling the Congress and conducting business next occupied our attention; and that you may see the succession of ideas that have prevailed upon this subject, I enclose unofficially and confidentially for your perusal the memoranda which have been given in, rather as throwing out ideas than containing a formal opinion on the part of those who prepared them.<sup>3</sup> The idea that first occurred naturally was to constitute the Congress, and when constituted to propose to nominate a committee to prepare a *Projet* of arrangement for the consideration of Congress. But this course of proceeding was soon dismissed, as involving us without previous concert in all the preliminary questions of difficulty—namely, what Powers shall be admitted to sit and deliberate, and what only to petition and negotiate; what are to be the functions and attribution of the Congress; and by what mode they are to act and conclude. This led to another view of the question, which you will find in two papers of mine,<sup>4</sup> the object of which was to see whether, saving all questions in the first instance, we might not, through a preliminary meeting of plenipotentiaries, get the conduct of the business with a general acquiescence into the hands of the six Powers, with their auxiliary Council for German affairs.

The assembling of such a preliminary meeting of plenipotentiaries is certainly by no means free from objection. You will find this subject investigated in a further memorandum, prepared by Baron Humboldt, who assists Prince Hardenberg;<sup>5</sup> but the

<sup>1</sup> Protocol of September 22nd, 1814. B. and F. State Papers II. 554.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 555. Castlereagh's qualification was that France was to be treated as a friendly, not a hostile Power and he reserved the right to dissent from the decisions of the "Four."

<sup>3</sup> See the *Congress of Vienna*. Appendices II. and IV.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Appendix III.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Appendices V. and VI.



substitute he proposes has its awkwardness, as it too broadly and ostensibly assumes the right to do what may be generally acquiesced in, if not offensively announced, but which the secondary Powers may protest against, if recorded to their humiliation in the face of Europe.

The question remains open till the French and Spanish plenipotentiaries join us. Perhaps the most prudent course may be between the two propositions, and that the declaration of the six Powers should not contain any public avowal of what they mean in point of form to do ; but that it should state reasons why the Congress should not be constituted till the plenipotentiaries, after their assembly at Vienna, have had full opportunity for confidential intercourse, and till there is a prospect that by such communications (without saying of what nature) some Project of general arrangement may be devised, more likely than anything that could now be hazarded, to meet the sentiments and provide for the interests of all concerned.

I have endeavoured, as much as possible, to effect a coincidence of sentiment between the French and Allied Ministers, and I hope I have in a considerable degree succeeded ; but, whatever may be their differences with each other, the three Continental Courts seem to feel equal jealousy of admitting France either to arbitrate between them or to assume any leading influence in the arrangements consequent upon the peace.

The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia are expected tomorrow. Count Nesselrode brought with him no authority to make any modification of the Emperor's former plans with respect to Poland : at the same time the impression is that His Imperial Majesty, (without however admitting any stipulation to that effect) will desist from his political but persevere in his territorial views with respect to Poland ; the folly of ever stirring the former point can only be equalled by the total want of judgment in giving a discreditable grasping and menacing character to his councils upon such a point.

CX. [C. C. X. 142.]

CASTLEREAGH TO WELLINGTON.

Vienna, October 1st, 1814.

[Hardenberg's proposals for the distribution of territory in Germany : Bavaria to be indemnified on the right of the Maine, Prussia being placed behind the Rhine, with a *lisière* only on the

Austria refuse to agree. Prussia accordingly suggests that Bavaria should reassume the Palatinate, strengthened by the territory and fortress of Luxemburg; Mayence to be an imperial fortress, with regulations to secure the free navigation of the Main to the Southern States. This would give the provinces on the left bank of the Rhine a permanent security against France, an impossibility except by giving them a footing beyond the Rhine.]

If this reasoning is solid, there can be no doubt that the support of so highly military a Power as Bavaria on the left flank, with Prussia in second line to Holland, and Bavaria as proposed in the present plan, presents a much more imposing front to France than Holland spread out to the Moselle, as suggested in the former plan, with Prussia behind the Rhine, and the territories between the Moselle and the Rhine *morcellés*, as mere indemnities, between the Grand Duke of Baden and other petty princes.

The arrangement, as suggested, is less liberal, in a territorial point of view, to the House of Orange than could be wished: perhaps in this respect, some modification may be effected, but the great question for them, as well as for us, is to weigh what is the best security for peace, and for keeping the Low Countries out of the hands of France. In this view of the subject, beyond all others the most essential for Great Britain to look to, I doubt the policy of building our system of defence exclusively upon the Prince of Orange's power, enfeebled as it must be for great military exertions by the genius of his people, and by the principles of his Government.

You will weigh this in deciding on the alternatives into which the question resolves itself. We should both wish to press what was most acceptable to the Prince of Orange, but the point ought to be ruled upon larger principles, and, in examining them, I am always led to revert with considerable favour to a policy which Mr. Pitt, in the year 1806,<sup>1</sup> had strongly at heart, which was to tempt Prussia to put herself forward on the left bank of the Rhine, more in military contact with France. I know there may be objections to this, as placing a Power peculiarly military, and consequently somewhat encroaching, so extensively in contact with Holland and the Low Countries. But, as this is only a secondary danger, we should not sacrifice to it our first object, which is to provide effectually against the systematic views of France to possess herself of the Low Countries and the territories on the left bank of the Rhine—a plan which, however, discoun-

<sup>1</sup> 1805 is meant. See LXXIV. p. 135.

tenanced by the present French Government, will infallibly revive, whenever circumstances favour its execution.

CXI. [*F. O. Cont. 7.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 3.)

Vienna, October 2nd, 1814.

. . . . The day after his arrival, I received the Emperor of Russia's commands to attend him and was honoured with an audience of two hours and a half. His Imperial Majesty received me with great personal kindness, which was not abated at any period of the conversation notwithstanding the adverse views of the question I felt myself obliged to press upon his attention. I closed without any relaxation of the sentiments brought forward on the part of the Emperor, but it was distinguished from former interviews on the same subject, by the absence of any decisive declaration in the nature of a decision: on the contrary His Imperial Majesty more than once pressed me to weigh the arguments he had adduced, and expressed a desire to renew the conversation. He expressed a desire to conciliate, and promised me to hear the opinions of the other Ministers here. This, as far as the form of the proceeding is concerned, would justify hopes of a better understanding. I am not however warranted in drawing this conclusion either from the substance of His Imperial Majesty's conversation with me, nor from what I understand from Prince Metternich to have since passed in a still longer conversation with him.

Very early in the interview the Emperor opened his views with respect to Poland in considerable detail—the substance did not vary in any essential degree from what had always been understood to be his plan, namely to retain the whole of the Duchy of Warsaw with the exception of a small portion to the westward of Kalish, which he meant to assign to Prussia, erecting the remainder together with his Polish Provinces formerly dismembered into a Kingdom under the dominion of Russia, with a national administration congenial to the sentiments of the people.

The Emperor endeavoured to establish how favourable such a system must prove to the happiness of the people; that he was not prompted to it by any views of ambition. That he was ready to give the neighbouring States every security as to their possessions. That it was a sense of moral duty which dictated the measure and that it could not but prove grateful to the British Nation.

I represented that most certainly the British Government would view with great satisfaction the restoration of Poland to its independence as a Nation, but that they took a broad distinction between the erection of a part of Poland into a Kingdom merged in the Crown of Russia, and the restoration of the whole or greater part into a distinct and independent State. That to the latter measure they would feel every friendly disposition if it could be effected with the concurrence and support of the neighbouring Powers, and if I was not authorised to press such a measure upon His Imperial Majesty's attention, it arose only from the reluctance the Prince Regent felt to suggest any measure for the adoption of his Allies, which might be felt by them to call for an unreasonable sacrifice of interest after the great exertions they had lately been called upon to make—but that if the question of restoring Poland was to be stirred at all, the British Government were of opinion to be either just in itself, or safe in its operation, that it ought to be taken up upon a broad and liberal basis ; and that I had reason to believe neither Austria nor Prussia would hesitate to unite themselves with His Imperial Majesty for such a purpose, however strongly they deprecated the proposed measure.

The Emperor frankly acknowledged that he was not prepared to make this extent of sacrifice on the part of his Empire, but continued to argue the safety of the measure to his Allies—its advantages to the Poles, and favourable collateral influence upon Russia.

In reply to these views of the subject, I represented that it was impossible to suppose that so great a change could be effected in Russian Poland, without the Austrian and Prussian Provinces being involved in its consequences. If, as his Imperial Majesty supposed, it would satisfy his Polish subjects and make them look for nothing more, in the same proportion must their former fellow subjects become discontented and impatient to re-assemble under the same standard. That if, on the contrary, as I had the strongest reason to know, the Poles regarded this qualified restoration under Russia as only a temporary and intermediate arrangement, and if the national spirit was thus aroused to all those intrigues and exertions which were to advance them to their national and never ceasing object—the ten millions of Poles, whilst they did adhere to Russia, would, for all military purposes tell with double force on the side of Russia, whilst the five million belonging to Austria and Prussia now inert would become disaffected. It was obvious that such a state of things must not only sow distrust and jealousy between the three Powers, but destroy in a double or triple ratio, their proportional strength as derived

from Polish acquisitions, whilst it must give birth to a political fermentation which could only end in separation.

I further pressed the repugnance felt to the measure by his own Russian subjects, and how arduous the attempt was on the part of His Imperial Majesty, to undertake to conduct two such adverse and rival interests within his Empire. That if his personal ascendancy kept it alive during his reign, it would probably be deliberately destroyed, or perish in the hands of a successor. I ventured to assure His Imperial Majesty that a measure of this partial and disquieting nature would be disapproved by all Europe, and that it was odious and alarming in the extreme to both his Allies: that if the King of Prussia, from personal deference and regard, was apparently more acquiescent, His Majesty's repugnance and that of his subjects was not the less strong. That such was the universal sentiment, His Imperial Majesty would find from all the Ministers present, and were the general impression even founded in prejudice, and not in reason it was in vain to hope that an attempt so repugnant to the prevailing feeling of Europe could be productive of good.

I submitted that I had argued the question more as a Russian than a British Minister, at least than as a British Minister having any sinister view with respect to Russian interests; that if I wished to involve His Imperial Majesty in internal difficulties, to embarrass his administration and to embroil him with his neighbours, I should urge His Imperial Majesty to pursue the course he had stated; but that the object of my Government was to promote quiet, and there was nothing they more desired than to preserve their connection with Russia and to see His Imperial Majesty enjoy the fruits of his most glorious labours. . . .

CXII. [F. O. Cont. 7.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 4.)

Vienna, October 2nd, 1814.

The day after my interview with the Emperor, Count Nesselrode called on me, apparently to learn the impression made upon me by my conversation with His Imperial Majesty. I expressed my sense of the reception I had met with whilst I had to regret that the views of our respective Governments were still so wide of each other.

I thought it material to explain myself to Count Nesselrode upon one view of the subject, which the nature of my discussion with the Emperor did not enable me to touch upon, namely upon the

possibility of His Imperial Majesty abandoning the political but adhering to the territorial part of his plan. I told him that, feeling as the British Government did upon the question of Polish independence, it could not be expected that we should consent to bear the odium of any disappointment the Nation might experience, whilst Russia carried into effect her views of aggrandizement against the declared sentiments of her Allies, and, as I believe, equally against the general sense of Europe. That it was not only dangerous but degrading to Austria and Prussia in the eyes of their own subjects as well as of Europe, to deny them the semblance of a military frontier, and it was no remedy for such a menacing arrangement, to hold out to these Courts indemnifications elsewhere, to reconcile them to this undisguised state of military dependence upon Russia.

That such a system originating in a previous unjustifiable pretention on the part of Russia would acquire a character the more obnoxious as being an extension of the principle of partitioning by the three Powers of Europe, which had been sufficiently odious when confined to Poland. That it would have the colour of an attempt to revive the system we had all united to destroy, namely one colossal military Power holding two other powerful States in a species of dependence and subjection, and through them making her influence felt in the remotest parts of Europe. That such an attempt would, in the course of time, probably be in like manner resisted and overthrown, but that its revival in any shape was repugnant to the principles on which the Powers had acted, and although it might not lead to immediate war, its remote effects were not less certain, and its immediate consequences must be to cast a shade over the councils of the Emperor as an object of alarm instead of confidence.

I further pressed the embarrassments it must expose us to in Congress especially the plenipotentiaries of those Powers who had publicly to defend the system to which they gave their sanction : That I looked with more pain to any difference of this nature, wishing to find myself enabled to act in concert with the Allies throughout, but that to do so, they must give me a system which I could defend.

Having effected my purpose of undeceiving Count Nesselrode, if he supposed the concession of the political part of the plan would reconcile my Government to the territorial, I left the question here, without receiving from him any explanation. It was impossible however he should have been insensible to the difficulties I had placed before him.

CXIII. [F. O. Cont. 7.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 6.)

Vienna, October 9th, 1814.

. . . I acquainted Your Lordship by my last courier, that I feared no effectual resistance could be made to the views of Russia in that quarter, and that the two neighbouring Powers were more likely to seek their own aggrandisement in other directions, than oppose themselves to the pretensions of their more powerful neighbour.

I was not the less confirmed in this impression, from perceiving that the extravagant tone of war which Austria had held, was accompanied by an equal jealousy of Prussia on the side of Saxony, and of France in Italy, which at once proved, that compromise and not resistance was really intended, and further from knowing, that Prussia, feeling she had no other support than Russia to secure to her Saxony against the views both of Austria and France, could not afford to risk that support, by too decisive an opposition to the Emperor's designs with respect to Poland.

Under these circumstances I conceived, that the only chance of doing good was to take up some ground of opposition short of war, and to endeavour to bring Austria and Prussia to a compromise in Germany, in order that they might unite against Russia upon the Polish question.

The existing Congress appeared to me to furnish a suitable expedient, as it enabled those Powers to represent to Russia, without menacing her with war, that they could not make themselves, in the face of Europe, the instruments of their own humiliation, by recommending *that* as just, wise and proper, against which they had been so long engaged in remonstrances—that it was one thing silently to submit, and another to originate a measure of national danger.

With this view, I desired an audience of the King of Prussia. I found His Majesty, as in England, the advocate of the Emperor of Russia, although personally adverse to his measures. I represented that the evil might yet, with proper management, be arrested without a contest. I pressed His Majesty not to abandon the interests of his monarchy in despair, and begged that he would oppose every obstacle, short of arms, to an arrangement which left his provinces uncovered, and his State in obvious dependence upon another Power.

I then opened myself unreservedly to Prince Metternich and Prince Hardenberg, and endeavoured to make them feel the dangers to which their disunion exposed both their monarchies.

The latter explained himself very frankly, that whilst Saxony was in doubt, and with it the possibility of Prussia being suitably reconstructed it was impossible for him, more especially feeling as his King did, to risk the favour of Russia, but that if Saxony was assured to him by Austria and England, he could then unite with Austria, to oppose such resistance as prudence might justify, to Russian encroachments.

I found Prince Metternich without any fixed plan. In descending from his war language he appeared to me to fall into the other extreme, and to think in fact only of compromise. I represented the necessity of an understanding with Prussia, as the only chance of present good, or possibly of future safety. Prince Metternich, the following day, had an interview with Prince Hardenberg, and professed his willingness to enter into his views with respect to Saxony, provided an understanding could thereby be established with respect to Poland and certain German points of minor importance.<sup>1</sup> The parties profess a mutual desire to understand each other, but there is a certain degree of mutual distrust, and fear of Russia, which does not justify me in speaking confidently of the result.

I endeavoured to derive some aid in this attempt from the appui of France—but, unfortunately, the manner in which Prince Talleyrand has conducted himself here, rather excited apprehension in both the Austrian and Prussian ministers, than inspired them with any confidence in his views. Although adverse to the designs of Russia in Poland, he betrayed not less hostility to theirs in Germany and Italy, and both, perhaps not unnaturally, seem equally to dread the appearance of a French force at present in the field.

The question must then take its course amidst all the difficulties that surround it. I shall do my best to give it a safe and creditable direction. If I fail, I shall endeavour to separate the British Government as far as possible from any share in its determination.

CXIV. [*F. O. Cont.* 7.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 8.)

Vienna, October 9th, 1814.

I enclose a copy of a declaration which after much discussion has been agreed to by the ministers of the eight Powers who signed

<sup>1</sup> The fortress of Mayence which Austria wished Bavaria to have as compensation for cessions to herself, while Prussia wished to garrison it, was, however, scarcely a point of minor importance.



the Peace of Paris.<sup>1</sup> The several inclosures which accompany it will give your Lordship an idea of the various stages of discussion with which we have at last arrived at this measure.

Prince Talleyrand's<sup>2</sup> official note of the 1st inst., having transpired, it led to a meeting of 13 of the smaller German Powers who applied to Bavaria to join them, and to support France in resisting what they called, the usurpation of the great Powers. This gave a most unpleasant complexion to our discussions, and produced an impression, that the object of the French minister was to sow dissension in Germany, and to put himself at the head of the discontented States. Prince Talleyrand also urged, a little out of time, a declaration against the admission of Murat's ministers; this the Austrian minister opposed as premature and unreasonable and the discussion became warm. Your Lordship will perceive that our first measures have not been without difficulty, and certainly as yet our prospects are not from any quarter promising. In proportion as the question was discussed, it was evident, that a Congress never could exist as a deliberative assembly, with a power of decision by plurality of voices—that Prince Talleyrand's proposition of a delegated authority to frame a plan was impracticable, as we should have had a question upon the selection of the plenipotentiaries on the first instance, and that as the business must take before Congress the form of a negotiation rather than of a decision upon a question put, the only course that could facilitate our formal proceedings was to give time for informal discussion in the first instance. This principle, Prince Talleyrand at last acceded to, and in announcing it to the other plenipotentiaries, we have endeavoured to cloath it in language of as little pretention as possible.

The confidential conferences will now go forward, but until the question of Poland is disposed of, little progress can be expected to be made.

CXV. [*W. S. D. IX. 323.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Vienna, October 9th, 1814.

My public letter<sup>3</sup> will have put you au fait of the state of parties

<sup>1</sup> Postponing the opening of the Congress. Talleyrand's protest prevented the acceptance of the schemes of the "Four" for the regulation of the Congress, but he did not succeed in obtaining a position at their side until January.

<sup>2</sup> Talleyrand, for very good reasons, dropped his title of Bénévente at this time, and Castlereagh therefore ceased to use it in his public dispatches.

<sup>3</sup> CXIII.

here. I wish I could send you a more satisfactory statement. However unpromising, we must not despair of getting it into some better form.

I had a long interview with Prince Hardenberg this morning. He has made a communication of his views this day to Prince Metternich, which, though in certain points exigent, may lead to an understanding and concert. The Austrian Minister will have much to retrench.

I afterwards payed Prince Talleyrand a visit. I had a long interview with him, in which I took the liberty of representing to him without reserve the errors into which he appeared to me to have fallen, since his arrival here, in conducting the views of his Court, if they had been correctly understood by me at Paris, when I was permitted to confer upon them with His Highness and the King of France.

That I could not disguise from him that the general impression resulting from his demeanour had been to excite distrust and alarm with respect to the views of France ; and that the effect of this had been to deprive him of his just and natural influence for the purposes of moderating excessive pretensions, whilst it united all to preserve the general system ; that instead of presenting himself here as disposed to cavil, to traverse, and to create a discontented party in Germany, he ought to have come to carry his own avowed object (which I understand he had limited to Naples), and to moderate excessive pretensions from whatever quarter, but with a disposition to support the councils of the confederacy against anarchy and petty intrigue.

That it was not for the Bourbons, who had been restored by the Allies to assume the tone of reprobating or throwing odium upon the arrangements which had kept the confederacy together. That it was impossible to suppose that, in conducting so great and complicated a cause to a successful issue, concessions to interested views were not at moments wise and requisite. That France having been delivered by this combination, and the legitimate family restored, both ought to regard the means which had been applied to this end in the spirit of favour and indulgence, and not endeavour to thwart it upon general reasoning, without any due consideration of the circumstances of the moment.

That in estimating his means of usefully moderating the arrangements in progress, it was a gratuitous sacrifice of influence

to be opposing at once the favourite objects of all the respective Powers, instead of suffering the general sentiment to effect its first object, of modifying as far as possible the extravagant pretensions of Russia on the side of Poland ; in the event of succeeding in which it would have been then open for him, without complication and counteraction, to try either to moderate the demands of Prussia upon Saxony, or to urge the union of all the Powers in support of the Sicilian family. But that as His Highness had conducted it, he had sacrificed all useful influence, and united all against himself.

I pressed upon his attention that, more especially with respect to success on the Neapolitan point, conciliation was his duty. That so far from wishing to bring it into early decision, and upon a collateral point, his object should be (so long, at least, as the nature of the proceeding did not involve any concession of principle in favour of Murat) to keep it out of the way till the great Powers, assured of their own objects, felt themselves at liberty to take up such a question as this.

Prince Talleyrand received with perfect good humour my remonstrances except so far as to justify his past intentions ; but he did not combat my statement with respect to the future. On the contrary, he indicated a disposition to take the questions in the order I had stated, and seemed to admit that for any useful purpose the resistance ought not to be pushed beyond what certain of the Allied Powers could support.

I cannot answer for this explanation with the Prince de Talleyrand being a protection against the revival of inconvenient and fruitless controversy ; but I think it has given him more precise notions of the mode in which he may render service, if he be so disposed. The course His Highness adopted at the instant, and the impression produced, left me no alternative but to uphold decisively the authority of the Alliance, which had advanced us to our present position. Whilst this conduct was tempered with every endeavour to conciliate France, it may, I trust, induce Prince Talleyrand to direct his exertions rather to modify our course than to speculate either upon disuniting or overpowering us, if such can have been his object, which I hardly believe to have been the case.

I left him in a temper apparently to be of use ; but I have lived now long enough with my foreign colleagues not to rely very implicitly upon any appearances.

CXVI. [F. O. Cont. 7.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 9.)

Vienna, October 14th, 1814.

Since I last wrote, I received the enclosed communication from Prince Hardenberg.<sup>1</sup> As there seemed to be much indecision in the Austrian councils, I considered that there ought to be the less hesitation on the part of the Prince Regent, in marking the decided interest His Royal Highness takes in the effectual re-construction of Prussia. I accordingly addressed to His Highness the enclosed letters.<sup>2</sup> Prince Metternich's answer has not yet been received.

I also thought it desirable as the Emperor of Russia was daily committing himself in conversation upon the question of Poland, to ask an audience, in which I might impress His Imperial Majesty's mind with the difficulties of the course he was pursuing, both under his Treaties, and upon principles of general policy.

Having solicited an audience, His Imperial Majesty was so gracious as to signify his intention of calling yesterday on Lady Castlereagh, after which I was honoured with an interview of an hour and a half. In order to avoid the inaccuracy with which such questions are examined in conversation, and that no doubt might rest as to my sentiments (His Imperial Majesty having taken credit in a conversation with my brother, for Prince Metternich's concurrence in his views) I thought it right to address the inclosed letter to the Emperor transmitting it in the memorandum<sup>3</sup> which was forwarded to Your Lordship by the last messenger, and I gave these documents to His Imperial Majesty at the close of our discussion, as an unreserved record of what I felt it my duty to submit to him on this important subject.

I am sorry to have to report to your Lordship that the interview ended without any relaxation of opinion on either side, His Imperial Majesty appearing to adhere with much warmth and tenacity to his views, both political and territorial, than when I last waited upon him. He seemed to reject any idea of compromise with respect to the mode of ameliorating Poland, and put forward his assumption of the crown as indispensable to his object. The Emperor endeavoured to defend his plan, upon the ground that,

<sup>1</sup> Hardenberg to Castlereagh and Metternich, October 9th, 1814, formally asking for the assent of Austria and England to the incorporation of Saxony in Prussia. D'Angeberg, *Le Congrès de Vienne*, 1934.

<sup>2</sup> Castlereagh to Hardenberg, October 11th, 1814, giving assent on condition of Prussian co-operation on the Polish point.

<sup>3</sup> A précis of the letter and Memorandum follows this dispatch. The first Memorandum had been drawn up originally by Castlereagh to establish a basis of discussion for Austria and Prussia on the Polish question which he could defend as a British minister.

by thus establishing a Polish Kingdom, he would create a balance and check upon Russian power. That Russia, as at present constituted, was too large, but that when the Russian Provinces were united under a free system, and his Russian army withdrawn beyond the Niemen, Europe would have nothing to fear.

I represented that, with a view to war, the cantonment of one branch of his military force somewhat further to the rear, would make, at most, the difference of three weeks, in its assembly for service at the opening of a campaign; that the question for Europe was the gross amount of his force, and that so far from being tranquillized by this species of distribution, they would consider it only as a means to actively call forth the military energies of Poland in his support, by flattering the pride of the nation.

In pressing upon the Emperor the rights of Austria under the Treaty of the 27th June [1813] His Imperial Majesty was at first embarrassed, and appeared to have forgot the articles. After some reflection, he attempted to bring his intended arrangement within the words of the Treaty, by stating, that he meant to cede the half of the Salines which belonged to the Dutchy, to Austria, an object too trifling to have deserved notice, much less to be put forward in satisfaction of such an engagement<sup>1</sup>.

When driven in argument upon the territorial question, His Imperial Majesty again took shelter under his moral duty, that if it was merely a question of territory, he would yield it without a struggle, but that it involved the happiness of the Poles, and the people would never forgive his ceding them. I asked His Imperial Majesty how he distinguished between his duty to the Poles on one side of his line and on the other, and that, where he could not satisfy his principle without denying even to Prussia any share, he should not do violence to his engagements with Austria, to please the Poles.

I further represented, that if the principle of moral duty was so far limited as to be controlled and even extinguished by deference for Russian interests, which His Imperial Majesty had declared it was, in the instance of making Poland really free, he must not expect other States to admit this consideration as binding upon them, to the sacrifice of interests not less essential.

I met the Emperor afterwards in the evening at court. His Imperial Majesty assumed a very gracious manner, and said he always respected my *franchise*, although he differed with me in

<sup>1</sup> By the Treaty of Reichenbach [See p. 6] Poland was to be partitioned between the three Powers. The Salines are the salt mines of Williczka.

opinion. I must reserve till another opportunity to inform Your Lordship of the steps taken by me in consequence of this conversation with the Emperor, and of the impression produced by it upon the ministers of the other Powers.

P.S. I forgot to mention that towards the close of the conversation the Emperor regretted the slowness of our progress, and stated the necessity of giving more activity to our march. I ventured to observe, that it could not be otherwise than slow, when upon the first great question, which was, in its nature, preliminary to all others, we had the misfortune to find ourselves all opposed in sentiment to His Imperial Majesty. The Emperor insinuated that this question could only end in one way as he was in possession. I observed, that it was very true, His Imperial Majesty was in possession and he must know that no one was less disposed than myself hostilely to dispute that possession, but I was sure His Imperial Majesty would not feel satisfied to rest his pretensions on a title of conquest in opposition to the general sentiment of Europe. That Great Britain had not acted upon such a principle as making her conquests the measure of her claims, and that it was perhaps to a very different principle acted upon on her part, that His Imperial Majesty had achieved what he had done and acquired the possession in question.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH TO THE EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS.<sup>1</sup>

Vienna, October 12th, 1814.

Since Great Britain is the last Power whose interests could be endangered by any determination of H.I.M. on the side of Poland, Castlereagh may be mistaken in his judgment, but on no question can he be considered a more impartial authority. Although he is opposed to H.I.M.'s pretensions on the Duchy of Warsaw he is not, therefore, against a liberal and important aggrandizement of the Polish frontier, it is only to the extent and method of the increase to which he objects. H.I.M. may receive an ample pledge of European gratitude without imposing upon his neighbours an arrangement inconsistent with the relations of independent States with each other.

Past experience relieves the British Government from any suspicion of a policy adverse to the interests of Russia: Castlereagh refers to their recent policy as regards Norway, in Turkey, and in Persia, as evidence of this. He does so from an anxiety that his motives shall not be misinterpreted if he is compelled in this, "the fourth instance of Russian aggrandizement within a few years," to press for a modification of H.I.M.'s pretensions.

The future fate and interests of Europe are likely to be deeply influenced by the issue of the present Congress: the character of its transactions will depend upon the mode and temper in which it shall be wound up: a million of population more or less must be secondary in H.I.M.'s mind compared to the glory and the service rendered by setting Europe an example of generosity and moderation. Castlereagh declares his "solemn conviction that it depends exclusively upon the temper in which your Imperial Majesty shall meet the questions which more immediately concern your own empire, whether the present Congress shall prove a blessing to mankind, or only exhibit a scene of

<sup>1</sup> Précis of letter in W. S. D. IX. 329.

discordant intrigue, and a lawless scramble for power." H.I.M.'s position in Europe enables him to do anything for the general happiness if he founds his intervention upon just principles : if he should leave public opinion behind him there could be no just and stable order of things in Europe and H.I.M. would be regarded for the first time as an object of alarm instead of confidence.

Castlereagh is persuaded that there is a course open to H.I.M. which will combine his beneficent intentions to his Polish subjects with what his Allies claim at his hands. They do not desire him to enter into engagements restrictive of his sovereign authority over his own provinces ; they only wish him to ameliorate gradually the frame of his Polish administration, and to avoid that species of measure which may create alarm both in Russia and the neighbouring states, and which, " however it may gratify the ambition of a few individuals of great family in Poland, may, in fact, bring less of real liberty and happiness to the people than a more measured and unostentatious change in the system of their administration."

If the political question could be settled it would only remain for H.I.M. to arrange his frontier according to the Treaty of the 27th June, 1813, which might be done, leaving H.I.M. in possession of the greater part of the Duchy of Warsaw, whilst his Allies would obtain " that species of frontier which no independent Power can forego either with dignity or with safety." . . .

#### FIRST MEMORANDUM ON THE POLISH QUESTION.<sup>1</sup>

Quotes from the Treaty of Kalisch, signed by Russia and Prussia on February 28th, 1813, the principles on which that Treaty was founded and which were to be the rule for the future conduct of the two Powers, also the Treaties of June 27th, and September 9th entered into by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, by which they bound themselves to procure a friendly arrangement with regard to the future of the Duchy of Warsaw.

Nevertheless, H.I.M. considers himself entitled to dispose of the whole Duchy and, with the exception of territory which he will assign to Prussia as a matter of grace and favour, he intends to unite it with his own Polish provinces and erect a separate monarchy to be governed by himself as King of Poland to the consequent alarm of Austria and Prussia and the general apprehension of Europe. The forced annexation of so large a territory to Russia, already much increased by her recent conquests ; her advance into the heart of Germany ; and the prospect of renewed contests between the Poles and their neighbours, make tranquility impossible and justify these alarms. The public mind is unable to conceive upon what grounds the measure is adopted and alleges that it is in direct opposition to the engagements made with Austria and Prussia. It cannot be supposed that, when Austria and Prussia stipulated *for the dissolution of the Duchy of Warsaw*, they would have agreed to so dangerous a revival of it under the Crown of Russia, an arrangement much more alarming to their respective States. H.I.M. must be sensible that his policy is against the faith of his most solemn engagements, and it is trusted that when he seriously examines these engagements he will be the first to recognise them and to desist from any inconsistent projects.

It is no less difficult to conceive how the plan can be regarded as a moral duty. If H.I.M. is seriously impressed with the necessity of ameliorating the condition of the Poles, the power is sufficiently in his hands at present with regard to his own Polish provinces and his fair proportion of the Duchy of Warsaw without attempting an aggrandizement so enormous and so menacing. If moral duty requires so decisive a change as the revival of the Polish monarchy, let them be rendered again really independent as a nation instead of making two-thirds of them a mere formidable military instrument in the hands of a single Power. Such a measure would be applauded by all Europe and would be cheerfully acquiesced in both Austria and Prussia.

<sup>1</sup> Précis of document in W. S. D. IX. 332.

<sup>2</sup> See *Supra*, pp. 6 and 81.

It is further alleged that, so long as H.I.M. adheres to this project, it is impossible that any plan for the reconstruction of Europe can be brought forward, or that the present Congress can be assembled to discuss any such arrangement. It cannot be expected that Austria and Prussia should come forward of their own accord and propose to leave their dominions without a military frontier. How unfortunate will be the predicament of Europe if H.I.M. shall adhere to his purpose against the general sense, and if the Plenipotentiaries of the other Powers shall be obliged to inform the representatives of all the States assembled at Vienna that they are deprived, by such a line of conduct on the part of Russia, of any hope of proposing such a settlement as they have pledged themselves to give to Europe! It seems that no other course can be adopted unless H.I.M. shall consider seriously the consequences which must result from his present measure.

CXVII. [W. S. D. LX. 342.]

LIVERPOOL TO CASTLEREAGH.

Fife House, October 14th, 1814.

However this question of Poland may now end, it cannot be settled either creditably or satisfactorily. The Emperor of Russia need never have stirred it, and in that case the Powers of Europe would have left the three States most interested to settle the question *à l'aimable* amongst themselves; but as it has been once mooted, it becomes a question of serious embarrassment, and it is very material that we should lose no character by the part we take in it.

I am inclined to think that the less we have to do with it, except as far as regards giving our opinion, the better. I have sent you a short Memorandum on the subject, containing the ideas which have occurred to me upon it. They very much correspond with what passed at a meeting at your house before you left England; but the train of reasoning is drawn out with more precision than occurred to me at that time, and the idea of the Duchy of Warsaw being preserved as an independent State under an independent sovereign, I think it may be of importance to put forward, for the reasons given in the Memorandum.

It is impossible to know how far you may have advanced on this and other subjects before you receive this letter; but at all events the Memorandum can do no harm, and you will make such use of the contents of it as you may judge upon the whole most advisable.

MEMORANDUM RESPECTING POLAND.

October 14th, 1814.

It is obvious that an arrangement may be made with respect to the Duchy of Warsaw upon either of the three following principles:—

1st. It may be divided between the three great Powers, and so made to constitute a part of each of their dominions. Or

2ndly. It may be preserved as an independent State under an independent prince. Or

3rdly. It may be assigned to one of the three great Powers as an independent State, which under the present circumstances would be Russia.



Of these three alternatives, I should certainly consider the third the worst for the general interests of Europe.

The second would preserve the principle of Polish independence, and might lead the inhabitants of the dismembered provinces to look to their reunion at some period more or less remote with the Duchy of Warsaw; but the weakness of the Power itself would in this case afford a reasonable security to the neighbouring Powers against the accomplishment of any such object, and at all events the three Powers would be upon an equal footing, and have a common interest in opposing any measure which was likely to produce such an effect. But if the Duchy of Warsaw is to be an independent State under the Emperor of Russia, the independent principle will not only be preserved, but it will be preserved under a monarch whose power will be sufficient to give encouragement to the disaffected in the Austrian and Prussian Polish provinces, to seize the first opportunity of resisting their acknowledged Sovereigns, and of reuniting themselves under a head whom they will consider as strong enough to protect them, and who will be the Sovereign of a country which will be regarded as the parent stock of Polish independence.

I cannot, however, conceal from you that this last project would be less unpopular in this country than the measure of complete partition, and consequently of Polish annihilation. If we are to come to either of these alternatives, I think it would be very desirable that there should, if possible, be some record of our having expressed our opinion how desirable it would be to restore Poland on the principle of 1792, and of our having made some effort for that which we are more entitled to ask, the independence of the Duchy of Warsaw under a neutral Sovereign.

CXVIII. (*F. O. Cont. 7.*)

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 11.)

Vienna, October 20th, 1814.

Since my conversation with the Emperor, I cannot report to your Lordship that the negotiations here have assumed any more decisive aspect.

I communicated confidentially to the Austrian and Prussian ministers what had passed, also the letter I had addressed to His Imperial Majesty.<sup>1</sup> They both expressed their sense of the part I had taken, and desired to be permitted to put their respective sovereigns in possession of both the documents, that had been delivered to the Emperor. Hitherto no decisive explanation has taken place on the part of Austria upon the confidential overture from Prussia. Both courts possess a conviction, that nothing but a strict and intimate union between Austria and Prussia can preserve their independence, but I have not been yet able to bring Prince Metternich to give an answer to Prince Hardenberg's letter.<sup>2</sup> He has, as I learn, made up his mind, and received the Emperor's authority on the point of Saxony, and has given a verbal consent to the provisional administration being assumed by Prussia; but nothing yet in writing has passed.

<sup>1</sup> See CXVI.

<sup>2</sup> Of the 9th October. See CXVI. p. 206, note 1.

CXIX. [*F. O. Cont.* 7.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 12.)

October 24th, 1814.

[Transmits the Austrian answer to the Prussian demand for Saxony.<sup>1</sup>] . . . Having been shown the brouillon of the proposed answer on the night of the 22nd, I took the earliest opportunity of preparing Prince Hardenberg for it, foreseeing that the point of Mayence was likely to prove a serious impediment in the way of an understanding. I found him, when I saw him next morning, extremely warm upon this subject. I did not combat the validity of his reasoning, but represented that, important as this fortress was, it should not be made an obstacle to so salutary a measure, as the union of the two great German Powers at such a conjuncture.

That the wishes as well as the interests of Great Britain must be on the side of the Northern States, but when Austria chose to rely upon Bavaria, and to incur the greater risque upon such a combination, it appeared to me, that Prussia never could persuade the world, that she, *bonâ fide*, desired the Alliance, if she broke off upon this single condition, after Austria had made to her so great a sacrifice as the Saxon point.

It was agreed that the Austrian and Prussian ministers should meet the following day (Sunday) at my house, and I have the gratification to state, that the result was satisfactory. Prince Hardenberg expressed himself satisfied with the explanations he had received on the point of Saxony, reserving to himself to reply to Prince Metternich's reasoning against the total incorporation of Saxony with Prussia. He stated strongly his objections to entrusting so important a fortress as Mayence to Bavaria alone; but was ready to reserve these points for further discussion (satisfied that they could not impede the desired union) and proceed at once to act in concert with Austria, and England upon the Polish question.

The measures to be jointly adopted with this view were then discussed: and they desired me to prepare a Memorandum of the result, a copy of which (No. 4)<sup>2</sup> I now enclose, on which they mean to take the pleasure of their respective sovereigns.

I took occasion to see Prince Talleyrand soon after, anxious to render his course, as far as possible, conformable to our views.

<sup>1</sup> Metternich to Hardenberg, October 22nd, 1814, which, while stating explicitly all the objections to the incorporation of all Saxony in Prussia, gave Austria's consent to the Prussian demands on condition that the Polish negotiations were successful and that Mayence went to Bavaria. D'Angeberg, 1316.

<sup>2</sup> Appended at the close of this dispatch.

I found he had had an interview with the Emperor of Russia, in which he had been pressing his Saxon views (and if I may credit His Imperial Majesty's confidential report of the conversation to me) with a disposition to make his line on the Polish question subservient to them. The Emperor, however, was equally obdurate with him upon both. In this fact their respective reports concurred, but there can be no doubt that attempts are making, principally through Prince Czartoriski, to play a back game of this description. I have done my best to counteract it, and shall desire the Duke of Wellington, as from himself, to insinuate through M. de Blacas, that any attempt on the part of France to make such a collateral point as that of Saxony a question of war, in subversion of the more important object of opposing a barrier to Russia, must, in all probability, not only destroy their friendly relations with England, but lead to immediate hostilities, and that its obvious and first effect must be to compel England to sign a peace with Murat, in order to place Austria in security on the side of Italy, and thus enable her to direct her efforts to her Polish frontier. Whereas, if France acts upon the broad principles of European equilibrium, instead of fighting smaller points of local influence, in the event of success attending the common effort with respect to Poland, she would have improved means of urging amicably upon Prussia some modification of her demands upon Saxony : that in thus pursuing the questions in the order of their importance, success, more or less, might attend her exertions on the one or on both : but that, in the inverse order, failure and political confusion were likely to ensue.

The Emperor of Russia leaves Vienna to-morrow for Buda and returns on the 30th. The Emperor of Austria and King of Prussia commenced their journey this morning.

MEMORANDUM ON THE BEST METHOD OF HANDLING THE POLISH QUESTION.<sup>1</sup>

The question of Poland, and the Treaties affecting it, having been in the fullest manner under deliberate consideration of the Emperor of Russia, any further hesitation in bringing His Imperial Majesty to a distinct decision, can be productive of no possible advantage, and may lead to an injurious interpretation of the determination of his Allies thereupon.

It is conceived to be of the utmost importance, even before H.I.M. proceeds to Buda, that he should be apprized of the serious purpose which his Allies entertain of pressing upon H.I.M. what they consider themselves as well by their treaties as by general principles of policy and justice entitled to claim from His Imperial Majesty.

That they should further inform the Emperor, that immediately upon His Imperial Majesty's return to Vienna, they propose to make another attempt to

<sup>1</sup> *F. O. Continent*, 7. French translation in *D'Angeberg*, 291, where, however, it is wrongly dated.

settle this question amicably and confidentially with him ; in the event of succeeding in which they flatter themselves to be enabled very speedily to bring to a satisfactory arrangement the other affairs of Europe, and would for that purpose desire a further adjournment of the Congress.

If, on the contrary, they should unfortunately fail in arriving at the conclusion which they so much desire, they will in that case feel it their duty to suffer the Congress to meet as now fixed, before whom the subject must be entered upon formally and officially.

It is proposed, in order that the Ministers of the two Powers should be fully prepared to submit to the Emperor their final determination on his return, that they should forthwith meet to settle the minimum of concession on the part of the Emperor that would satisfy their claims.

That in laying this determination before the Emperor, in the names of their respective Courts, they should explain to him, that, for the sake of preserving unimpaired the harmony which had throughout distinguished the Alliance, they had reduced their proposals within the narrowest possible limits.

That in the event of being compelled to adopt a different course, they must be considered as fully entitled to propose other and more extended terms.

That it may be desirable even in this confidential overture to propose to the Emperor, alterations on the political branch of the question in order to keep it always in view, that it is Russia alone, and not the other Courts, which really forms the obstacles of Polish liberation.

In the event of the question becoming one of discussion in Congress, it is suggested that the proceeding may properly originate in an official note from the Austrian Minister, separately or conjointly with the Prussian, addressed to the Ministers of Russia and claiming from that Power the execution of the secret and separate Article of the Treaty of the 27th of June, 1813, and that, the said note, after fully exposing the views, rights, and sentiments of the said Powers, should conclude by offering to the Emperor's option, one or other of the following alterations :—

First. The complete and entire reunion of Poland under an independent Sovereign as it existed previous to the first Partition, to the accomplishment of which arrangement, if it shall be acceptable to the Emperor, Austria and Prussia are ready to make the requisite sacrifices.

Second. If the Emperor objects to this measure as involving too great a sacrifice of territory and dominions on the part of Russia the Courts of Austria and Prussia are willing to consent to a similar measure as applicable to the Kingdom of Poland as it stood in 1791, when it gave itself a free constitution under Poniatowski.

Thirdly. Or if the Emperor of Russia shall reject the erection of Poland upon a territorial scale, however modified, into a Kingdom really independent, and shall prefer adhering to the principle of Partition, then the two Powers (protesting against his right to act with respect to his division of Poland in defiance of the stipulation of the Convention of 1797) are willing to agree to adhere to the said principle of Partition, provided the same be equitably applied and with a due regard to the security in a military point of view, of their respective States.

In execution of which principle they propose that the Vistula throughout the Duchy of Warsaw to Sandomir should be the Russian Boundary, Prussia receiving them on the right bank, if the Emperor should desire to possess Warsaw on the left.

That in addition to the above, Austria should address a separate note to Prussia, claiming her intervention under the Treaty of September, 1813, by which she engages to see the obligations of the Treaty of June, 1813, executed *à l'aimable*.

That copies of these several notes should be laid before Congress, and that the several Powers of Europe should be invited to support the said overture, and to declare to the Emperor of Russia, to what extent and upon what conditions, Europe in Congress can or cannot admit His Imperial Majesty's pretensions to an aggrandizement in Poland.

It is desirable that the Emperor should be made distinctly to understand, that, however willing the Allies may be to avert so painful an appeal, by every possible modification of their just claims, in the spirit of which sentiment they had agreed to the minimum proposed to His Imperial Majesty, yet that when driven to make that appeal in the presence of Europe, by refusal of such modification, they must then adhere more rigidly to the scale of their just pretensions, and that it would rest with the Powers in Congress assembled to decide upon the measures which should be called for by so alarming an infraction of Treaties, and by an encroachment upon the military security of independent and neighbouring Allied States, in contravention of the express stipulations of subsisting engagements.

CXX. [*F. O. Cont. 7.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 13.)

Vienna, October 25th, 1814.

I think it right to acquaint Your Lordship, that notwithstanding the Duke of Wellington's repeated agitations of the question at Paris, and my own representations to Prince Talleyrand here, no answer whatever has yet been returned to my official note of the 8th<sup>1</sup> instant on the Slave Trade.

The more I have occasion to observe the temper of foreign Powers on the question of the abolition, the more strongly impressed I am with a sense of the prejudice that results not only to the interests of the question itself, but of our foreign relations generally from the display of popular impatience which has been excited and is kept up in England upon this subject.

It is impossible to persuade foreign nations that this sentiment is unmixed with the views of colonial policy, and their Cabinets, who can better estimate the real and virtuous motives which guide us on this question, see in the very impatience of the nation a powerful instrument which they expect to force, at a convenient moment, the British Government upon some favourite object of policy.

I am conscious that we have done an act of indispensable duty, under the circumstances in which we have been placed, in making to the French and Spanish Governments the propositions we have done, but I am still more firmly persuaded, that we should be at this moment in fact nearer our object if the Government had been permitted to pursue this object with its ordinary means of influence and persuasion instead of being placed in the predicament of being expected to purchase concessions on this point almost at any sacrifice.

<sup>1</sup> This carried on a negotiation begun at Paris. France had been offered the return of a Colony or monetary compensation, if she would abolish the Slave Trade immediately. A similar proposal had been made to Spain through Sir Henry Wellesley.

It will be my duty as it will be my personal pride to employ every possible effort to further this object, but I never can cease to feel, that the manner in which the efforts of the Government in this cause were last year received, and the coldness if not the tone of disapprobation, in which the most efficient arrangements towards a final abolition which had yet been achieved were met both in Parliament and in the Country, has neither augmented our means of discharging our public duties upon this, nor any other question of foreign policy.

I hope in the course of a few days to have an abrégé [*sic*] of the evidence taken before the committee of the House of Commons, which I have caused to be translated into French, in a state to deliver to the several plenipotentiaries now here. I inclose a short introductory preface to prepare their minds for the measure of excluding, if necessary, from their markets colonial produce grown within the dominion of States who shall refuse to enter into concert for abolishing the trade in slaves.

I received a more compendious abstract of this nature, which was prepared at Paris, I believe by Mr. Clarkson, under the Duke of Wellington's directions, but I did not wish to rely exclusively upon this, as it omitted several of the latter chapters of the work, from which it was taken, and which I am satisfied are not the least important with a view to impression here. I mean those that go to prove the measure of abolition to be consistent with the private interest of the planter and with the due cultivation of the country.

Your Lordship is sufficiently apprized of the state in which matters have hitherto stood here, to be aware that I could not possibly have brought this question hitherto into discussion. I shall seize the first favourable moment for doing so, but for the reasons already stated, I had rather not hazard a decision till the principal questions of a political nature are at least further advanced towards a decision.

CXXI. [*F. O. Cont. 7.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 14.)

Vienna, October 25th, 1814.

In order that the Duke of Wellington might observe with the more effect the temper of the French Government on the events in progress here, and also that His Grace might be enabled to correct erroneous impressions, I have invariably transmitted all my dispatches home under flying seal for his perusal. I now

send Your Lordship copy of a private letter received from His Grace with my answer.<sup>1</sup> My opinion is, that, until the French Government shall be distinctly convinced that they cannot make the Saxon question a point of authority, they will continue to embarrass themselves and us by their mode of treating it.

If France would lay her shoulders fairly to the Polish point, I should not despair of getting additional territorial means on that side, to re-construct Prussia, in which case I should hope, that the unpopularity of entirely extinguishing Saxony might reconcile Prussia to a modification of her pretensions, but to have any weight at the proper moment on such a question, I should deem it highly impolitic in me to enter it by anticipation or to depart from the acquiescence I have throughout the last twelve months, under every change of fortune, uniformly expressed on the part of my Court, that the fate of Saxony should be considered subordinate, after the glorious efforts of Prussia in the war, to the effectual re-construction of that Power.

P.S. The Emperor of Russia told me he was preparing an answer to my communication relative to Poland. I understand that it is written by Prince Czartoriski.

CXXII. [W. S. D. IX. 372.]

CASTLEREAGH TO WELLINGTON.

Vienna, October 25th, 1814.

The events of the few last days, coupled with your letter of the 8th, have rendered me apprehensive that any decisive effort to abate the Russian demands may be defeated by the counter-acting exertions of France on the Saxon point. It has occurred to me that you might keep down any rising temper at the Tuileries by throwing before M. de Blacas<sup>2</sup> the possible consequences to which a hostile interference, such as he appears to countenance on the part of France, might lead.

You will perceive, from my several despatches, that the difference in principle between M. Talleyrand and me is chiefly that I wish to direct my main efforts to secure an equilibrium in Europe; to which objects, as far as principle will permit, I wish to make all local points subordinate. M. Talleyrand appears to me, on the contrary, more intent upon particular points of influence than upon the general balance to be estab-

<sup>1</sup> Wellington to Castlereagh, October 8th, 1814, stating that France wished to preserve Saxony, W.S.D. IX. 325. Castlereagh's reply follows (CXXII.)

<sup>2</sup> The principal Minister of Louis XVIII, an émigré who was by no means well disposed towards Talleyrand.

lished ; and his efforts upon the Neapolitan and Saxon questions are frequently made at the expense of the more important question of Poland, without essentially serving either of those interests upon which he is most intent.

I was, from the outset, aware of the extreme difficulty of making Prussia a useful ally in the present discussions, connected closely as she has been with Russia ; but it appeared to me that, notwithstanding the King's *liaison* with the Emperor, it ought not to be despaired of, under the known sentiments of the Prussian Cabinet, more especially as it was difficult to found a satisfactory system of balance in Europe, unless Prussia could be induced to take a part.

Two alternatives alone presented themselves for consideration—a union of the two great German Powers, supported by Great Britain, and thus combining the minor States of Germany, together with Holland, in an intermediary system between Russia and France—or a union of Austria, France, and the Southern States against the Northern Powers, with Russia and Prussia in close alliance.

It would have been to be wished that the arrangements upon a peace could have been effected in Europe without giving rise to any combination whatever of this nature, and that, at the end of so long a struggle, the several Powers might have enjoyed some repose, without forming calculations that always augment the risks of war ; but the tone and conduct of Russia have disappointed this hope, and forced upon us fresh considerations.

In weighing the conveniences and inconveniences of the latter of these alternatives, the objections appeared to me strongly to preponderate, and especially as affecting *our* interests. Necessity might dictate such a system, but not choice. It appeared, in the first instance, difficult to cement, on account of the fundamental jealousy existing between Austria and France, especially upon the point of Italian preponderance. If adopted in order to control Russian power, and, with this view, should it be supported by Great Britain, it rendered Holland and the Low Countries dependant on France for their support, instead of having Prussia and the Northern States of Germany as their natural protectors. It presented the further inconvenience, in case of war, of exposing all the recent cessions by France to re-occupation by French armies, as the seat of war might happen to present itself.

These considerations were sufficiently weighty to induce me to be of opinion that, however pure the intentions of the King of France were, and however friendly, we ought not to risk so much upon French connexion, and that it was wiser to preserve, as far



as possible, the good-will of France, whilst we laboured to unite Germany for its own preservation against Russia.

I was induced to prefer this course, first, as affording the best chance, if Prussia could be brought forward, of averting the Polish danger without a war; and, secondly, if we failed in this object, as opposing the best barrier to further encroachments on the part of Russia, whilst it afforded that natural cover to our interests on the side of Flanders, without leaving them at the mercy of a combination formed somewhat out of the natural course of political interest.

I have troubled you with this outline of the policy upon which I have been acting here, that you may use your own discretion, as occasions arise, of preparing and reconciling the mind of the French Government to a concert between the two limitrophe Powers against Russian encroachment and dictation. You will find their minds (at least Prince Talleyrand's is) very averse to Russia, and impatient of the notion of any union between Austria and Prussia; yet, while they most inconsistently object to such a union, they admit that it is the only mode in which Russia can be kept within due bounds.

If France were a feeble and menaced Power, she might well feel jealous of such a German alliance; but, as her direct interests are out of all danger, it is unreasonable that she should impede the sole means that remain to Germany of preserving its independence, in order either to indulge a sentiment towards the King of Saxony, or to create a French party amongst the minor States. France need never dread a German league: it is in its nature inoffensive, and there is no reason to fear that the union between Austria and Prussia will be such as to endanger the liberties of other States.

Until the determination of Austria and Prussia is more fully established, I have to beg your Grace will make your reasoning general, and not admit that any negotiation is in progress.

CXXIII. [*W. S. D. IX.* 382.]

LIVERPOOL TO CASTLEREAGH.

Fife House, October 28th, 1814.

I send you enclosed a memorandum of Vansittart's<sup>1</sup> on reading your despatches of the 14th inst. I think his paper contains very much the impression of several of our other colleagues, viz., that we have done enough on this question of Poland, and that if our

<sup>1</sup> Appended to this letter. Vansittart was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

efforts should not have been successful, the time is now come when, according to one of your former despatches, it would be far better that we should withdraw ourselves from the question altogether, and reserve ourselves for points on which we have a more immediate and direct interest.

I am the more strongly inclined to this opinion because I am fully persuaded, as I have already said, that no arrangement respecting Poland can now be either creditable or satisfactory.

I think it very material that we should likewise consider that our war with America will probably now be of some duration. We owe it, therefore, to ourselves not to make enemies in other quarters if we can avoid it, for I cannot but feel apprehensive that some of our European Allies will not be indisposed to favour the Americans; and if the Emperor of Russia should be desirous of taking up their cause, we are well aware, from some of Lord Walpole's late communications, that there is a most powerful party in Russia to support him. . . .

MEMORANDUM BY MR. VANSITTART.

I begin to apprehend that we are making ourselves too much principals in the disputes respecting Poland. The pretensions of Russia evidently endanger the security and independence of Austria and Prussia; but those Powers are at least wavering in their resistance, if not disposed to acquiesce, for the sake of securing objects still more interesting to them. We run the risk, therefore, of being disavowed, and represented abroad as actuated by a jealousy of the greatness of Russia, and at home as the advocates and instigators of a system of partition.

I cannot look without apprehension at the means by which (if at all) the views of Russia can be counteracted. I can see no other than by bringing forward France as a leading Power either in war or negotiation, and re-establishing her influence in the centre of Europe, which it has cost us so much to overturn.

After all, we can have no security against some treacherous compromise between France and Russia; and there is even a great probability that in resentment of our interference, the Emperor of Russia may be disposed to listen to some suggestion for bringing forward questions of maritime law at the Congress.

With respect to the Polish question itself, I cannot help thinking there is some weight in the Emperor's observation to Lord Castlereagh, "that Russia would gain more power by acquiring half the Duchy of Warsaw as a province than the whole as a Kingdom." The Emperor, in accepting the crown of Poland, becomes bound to give the kingdom a constitution; and whether he restores the constitution of 1790, or the old one, or frames a new one, he will infallibly cripple the powers of his government, and render the Poles much less manageable than when directly subjects of Russia. There is, besides, the greatest probability that in the course of one or two generations, at the utmost, the nominal independence of Poland would become real. A minority, or a weak reign, in Russia would bring about a separation which all the other Powers of Europe would be inclined to countenance.

In the meantime, as far as British interests are concerned, I think the decision of the question of no great political importance to us either way; and that in a commercial point of view we should reap considerable advantage even from

a nominal independence of Poland. Russia, from whatever cause, shows the strongest spirit of hostility against our trade ; and nothing could so effectually defeat her restrictive regulations as the opening the ports of an adjoining kingdom, in which, even if similar prohibitions were nominally imposed, they would be constantly evaded. It is, indeed, well known that previously to the final partition of Poland large quantities of British goods, prohibited in Russia, always found their way there through the Polish ports ; and the same thing, I am told, in a degree takes place at present in the uncertainty of the final settlement.

These ideas occurred to me upon reading the conversations of the Emperor of Russia with Lord Castlereagh and Lord Stuart, and they lead me to this practical conclusion, that though we were bound to support to a certain extent the endeavours of Austria and Prussia to prevent the extension of a dominion dangerous to their independence, yet that we have now fully performed all that could be expected from us, and that we ought to avoid irritating Russia by a pertinacious opposition which is so unlikely to be successful.

CXXIV. [W. S. D. IX. 401.]

LIVERPOOL TO CASTLEREAGH.

Five House, November 2nd, 1814.

. . . I should hope, however, that you will soon be able to make some way in the negotiations. The first point on these occasions, if not the greatest difficulty, always takes more time in settling than any other. In this case it is the principal, and most complicated difficulty, not only from its own importance, but in consequence of the variety of interests which must be decided with reference to it. The subject in point of argument has, however, been nearly, if not entirely, exhausted, and we must come to some decision upon it. We shall, above all things, I hope, avoid a renewal of the war.

You will have heard from many quarters of the combustible state of the interior of France, and the expectation which exists of some explosion. If the war, under such circumstances, were to be renewed, there is no saying where it would end. It would very probably plunge Europe again in all the horrors from which we have had the credit of extricating it. Between such an evil and any arrangement more or less good for Poland, Saxony, or Italy, I should not hesitate. I do not say that I would not give my opinion fairly as to what was best, but having given it, I would certainly recommend compromise to avoid rupture.

I see little prospect of our negotiations at Ghent ending in peace, and I am apprehensive that they may be brought to a conclusion under circumstances which will render it necessary to lay the papers before Parliament, and to call for a vote upon them previous to the Christmas recess. Of this, however, I shall probably be enabled to speak more positively some days hence.

The continuance of the American war will entail upon us a prodigious expense, much more than we had any idea of; and I cannot, therefore, avoid pressing upon you the importance of not entailing upon us any part of the Russian debt to Holland if you can avoid it. Consider only what this charge will be in addition to our war expenditure and to our pecuniary obligations to Holland and Sweden. It would be in principle one of the most difficult questions to defend that ever was brought forward in Parliament. If we had been at peace with all the world, and the arrangements to be made at Vienna were likely to contain anything very gratifying to the feelings of this country, we might have met the question with some degree of confidence; but as matters now stand, everything that is really valuable will be considered as having been gained before, and we shall be asked whether we can really meet such a charge in addition to all the burthens which the American war will bring upon us.

I recommend these considerations to your most serious attention. . . .

CXXV. [*F. O. Cont.* 8.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 15.)

Vienna, November 5th, 1814.

The day but one after the return of the sovereigns from Buda, the enclosed communication<sup>1</sup> was delivered to me by an aide de camp of the Emperor of Russia. It was prepared during His Imperial Majesty's absence by Prince Czartoriski, the memorandum being written in concert with M. Anstette, a conseiller d'état in the bureau. I have reason to believe that Count Nesselrode was not consulted.

The Emperor has latterly, on the question of Poland, ceased to act through his regular servants. It is unfortunately his habit to be his own minister, and to select as the instrument of his immediate purpose the person who may happen to fall in most with his views. This has been particularly the case on the present question, all the Russians, I believe without an exception, being adverse to his projects, considering them both as dangerous to himself and injurious to his Allies. With respect to the Memorandum<sup>2</sup> which I now enclose, there has been a strong feeling of satisfaction amongst them, considering the Emperor as compromised, by having been made the channel for so weak and dishonest an argument.

<sup>1</sup> A précis is appended to this dispatch.

I should certainly have never presumed to address my first letter with its enclosure to the Emperor, if I had conceived that I imposed on His Imperial Majesty thereby the necessity of a reply. I delivered it after a long audience, as containing the substance of the topics that had been urged. The memorandum it enclosed was not originally written to meet the Emperor's eye, but having been given to Prince Metternich and Prince Hardenberg, I thought it more becoming to submit it to His Imperial Majesty, with the apology contained in the letter, than to have any concealment from him, after the encouragement I had received from His Majesty to explain myself on the subject without reserve. The sentiments of the Emperor's own mind certainly never led him to feel any particular umbrage at the communication, nor to think of giving an answer to it, till his Polish advisers pressed it upon him, probably with a view of pledging His Imperial Majesty more deeply to their schemes. I believe I mentioned to Your Lordship that the Emperor, after he had read the letter, expressed himself very graciously to me upon it, and afterwards in a conversation with Lord Cathcart, more pointedly expressed his approbation of the "franchise," as His Imperial Majesty termed it, with which I conducted myself. That he was persuaded that I adopted the same course in other quarters. That he thought he understood perfectly my motives for the course I had taken, namely, that of effecting a compromise; and His Imperial Majesty was further pleased to add that if he had been in my place, he would have done the same.

Upon the receipt of the Emperor's letter I felt considerable embarrassment with respect to the part it became me to take. I was unwilling to abuse the indulgence of a direct intercourse with a sovereign, and not less so to acquiesce in imputations and principles, against both of which I deemed it my duty to protest. Upon the best reflection I determined to separate the Memorandum as much as possible from both the letter and the person of the Emperor, and to direct my reasoning wholly to that, as a ministerial document, which has reached me through His Imperial Majesty's intervention, but to which he was in no other sense a party. I yesterday accordingly sent the reply<sup>1</sup> which I now enclose, accompanied by an explanatory letter to the Emperor, by my brother, as the most respectful and the least formal channel of conveyance.

I should have wished that this species of discussion had fallen into more able hands, and especially that it could have been con-

<sup>1</sup> A précis is appended to this dispatch.

ducted by the minister of one of the Powers more immediately interested in the Polish question ; but when I saw the service suffering from inaction, I found it difficult to be passive, and Your Lordship may be assured that England is still the only Power that either can, or dares, raise her voice against the powerful and the oppressor.

I wish I could lead Your Lordship to expect a favourable issue to these Polish discussions. I shall furnish you with the details of their intermediate progress since my last in a separate despatch. My object has been that, at least, the Prince Regent should stand justified in the eyes of Europe, whatever may be the event, and that if the Powers most immediately interested should find themselves obliged to submit to an unjust and illiberal act of power, that H.R.H.'s ministers may have been found true to those principles, which have distinguished the British Government throughout the war, and which have conciliated to her councils the respect and confidence of the Continent.

THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.<sup>1</sup>

*Vienna, October 30th, 1814.*

Castlereagh has said that he will see with satisfaction a liberal aggrandizement which is not inconsistent with the relations of independent States with each other. The reply to the Memorandum will prove that the Emperor has never departed from this intention. With reference to the assistance which Russia has received from England, he points out that all the acquisitions which Russia has made up to the present have only been of defensive value ; without the tranquillity which they afforded she would have been unable to carry on the war.

The Emperor agrees that on the issue of the present Congress depends the future fate of Europe. The object of all his efforts has been to see the members of the Alliance acquire dimensions capable of maintaining the general equilibrium and he fails to see how, with such principles, the Congress can become a centre of intrigue and hate. It is for the world to judge whether the desires of gaining a million more or less of population or that of assuring himself of a preponderance, were capable of animating him or of guiding any of his proceedings. If he holds to the order of things which he wishes to establish in Poland it is because he is convinced that it would be for the general advantage more than his personal interest.

The details and the reasoning contained in the reply will serve to calm Castlereagh's fears for the future of those States to whom the Emperor is bound by indissoluble friendship and from whom he counts on an equal return. When such elements exist one need not fear that there will not result from the Congress a state of things honourable and tranquil for all. As to that which concerns what he owes to his own subjects, it is for him to decide.

MEMORANDUM.

The writer of the British Memorandum introduces his paper by the preamble of the Treaty of Kalisch. The efforts and the sacrifices of Russia are not the conclusions which he wishes to draw : he wishes to prove that the Emperor is deviating from his first principles, that he is disregarding the faith of Treaties,

<sup>1</sup> Précis of document in W.S.D. IX. 386.

and that he is threatening the safety of his neighbours. H.M. has read with calm these strange charges : his conduct refutes them beforehand, and he hopes that this reply will allay all fears and render superfluous any fresh remonstrances of this kind.

In order to support his reasoning the writer of the Memorandum cites the Treaty of Kalisch ; from that he passes to the conventions of June 27th and September 9th, and infers that in spite of these engagements H.M. considers himself entitled to dispose of the Duchy of Warsaw, that he intends to create a separate monarchy to be ruled by himself as King of Poland, and that this determination is founded on the moral duty of ameliorating the conditions of the Poles. Quotations from the treaty of June 27th show that this treaty was purely " eventual " ; its first stipulations were no longer applicable, and in proportion as Austria and Prussia acquired the prospect of immense acquisitions, Russia also acquired the right of claiming compensations less limited. The Allied Powers felt the truth of this fact in the treaty of September 9th ; either the drawing up of that article is insidious or the rights of Russia are clearly recognised there, but in any case it overthrows the article in the Treaty of Reichenbach.

Let us consider the Treaty of September 9th, and see if its conditions are fulfilled. Austria and Prussia have both received parts of the Duchy of Warsaw and Russia's share cannot truthfully be called immense in comparison with the value of theirs. Military questions are equally exaggerated in the British Memorandum which stresses the political evils which must assail Europe as an inevitable consequence of the reunion of the Duchy. To give some weight to his remarks, the writer endeavours to show that Russia has become enormous by acquisitions in Finland, Bessarabia, and Persia. In all these cases the Emperor has only applied himself to establish a system of defence and not of aggression. It is in vain that the writer exclaims that the capitals of Austria and Prussia are threatened without any means of defence, and that he depicts the renewal of the contest between the Poles and their neighbours. These dangers are shown to be imaginary by a consideration of the frontiers of Austria and Prussia.

The objection to the restoration of the name of the Kingdom of Poland in support of which the writer produces the secret article of the treaty of 1797. For this article to remain in force, it would be necessary for things to have remained in the same state. When Austria and Prussia have contributed as Allies of France to despoil Russia of the greater part of her Polish provinces, and when the Duchy of Warsaw is to-day a compensation for the enormous sacrifices of Russia, it becomes a question of a new division and the stipulations of that of 1797 no longer exist. To wish to disregard the public right in this is to seek gratuitously to complicate affairs and to multiply difficulties. No dangers would result for Austria and Prussia from the Emperor's plan since he offers to both a formal guarantee of the parts of Poland which remain under their rule, and since the least attempt on his part against the system of Austria, Prussia, France, or Great Britain, would unite all the Powers against him. The national rights given back to the Poles are not dangerous, but on the contrary will be the secret means of calming their restlessness.

The writer of the British Memorandum must reproach himself that he has accused the Emperor of abusing the language of his Treaties. He can no longer maintain his argument that, because the Emperor thinks to restore the Kingdom of Poland, all the advantages gained by the Allies are lost and the Congress must separate without having achieved its object. If, having read this reply, he still holds these opinions, the Emperor will have nothing with which to reproach himself. It will show to Europe and to England the nature of his demands, and the peoples who have seen him fight for their liberties will learn what is the cause which has been opposed to the re-establishment of order, happiness and tranquillity.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH TO THE EMPEROR OF ALL RUSSIAS.<sup>1</sup>*Vienna, November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1814.*

Having received the Memorandum which H.I.M. has transmitted to him, Castlereagh considers it the strongest proof of H.I.M.'s desire still to examine the question in detail. Regarding the paper not as H.I.M.'s but as the arguments of the person who is the advocate of these measures, he presumes to submit some remarks upon it. If they are written in the freedom of discussion, it is only to bring before H.I.M. the principles upon which he dissents from the writer of the Memorandum, and if any expression of warmth is to be traced in those observations it has alone been dictated by an impatience of any statement which could represent him as defective in sentiments of respectful deference to H.I.M.

## SECOND MEMORANDUM.

A public duty not to suffer the Memorandum to which this is an answer, to pass without remark, not only on account of the importance of the subject, but as disclosing maxims of public law novel in themselves and subversive of every principle of good faith between States.

The writer denies the Treaty of Reichenbach to be now in force on grounds that in consequence of the successes of the war it ceased to be binding and also that it was annulled by the treaty of September 9<sup>th</sup>. The treaty of Reichenbach was that by which Austria bound herself to engage in the war if her mediation failed to effect a peace; she stipulated two conditions: the recovery of her Illyrian provinces, and that she should receive a proportion of the Duchy of Warsaw. As the only grounds for depriving Austria of her rights it is said that the treaty was "eventual"; not "eventual" upon Austria fulfilling her engagements, nor upon there being the means of giving what was promised, but upon the extraordinary principle that, there being more than ample means, Russia had a new right to decide whether Austria should obtain the object stipulated or accept in lieu of it what Russia deemed an equivalent. The question under the Treaty is not whether the Emperor of Austria has received a full compensation, but whether he consented, in consideration of an extension of his former possessions in Italy, to relinquish his rights to be protected on the side of Poland. Did the parties to the Peace of Paris, when assigning the Po as the Austrian boundary in Italy, suppose they were sanctioning this as such an exchange? Unless that were so the Treaty of Reichenbach is still in force. The same reasoning applies to Prussia.

The Memorandum alleges that, admitting the rights contended for under the treaty of June, these rights were extinguished by the Treaty of Toeplitz,<sup>2</sup> and the claims of Austria and Prussia upon the Duchy were no longer the same. It is impossible to argue from the then state of the campaign that Austria would have signed a new treaty gratuitously surrendering pretensions to which she had in June attached the first importance. Neither can it be inferred from the mere change in the wording of the article. The treaty of September was not intended to annul that of June but to confirm and extend its provisions; the fate of the Duchy of Warsaw was again brought forward and the rights of the three Powers to arrange its disposal solemnly recognised.

It is urged that the position of the Duchy in the hands of Russia is not menacing to the other Powers, and that H.I.M.'s known character renders such a course unimportant. Upon the first point it will be difficult to persuade Europe; if Austria and Prussia are to be really independent their claim to have an adequate frontier assigned to them is irresistible and cannot be reasonably combated on any grounds. The argument drawn from the Emperor's personal character is not less exceptionable, since the liberties and security of States cannot be built upon personal confidence or upon the life of an individual.

<sup>1</sup> Précis of document in W. S. D. IX. 410.

<sup>2</sup> Of September 9<sup>th</sup>.



The article of 1797 is said to be dissolved by the change of circumstances, the argument being that successful war justifies a demand for additional compensation; but, admitting the Treaties to be still binding, the arrangements intended by Russia will amply fulfill their stipulations. Castlereagh annexes official tables to illustrate the inaccuracy of the statistics given and protests against the studied misrepresentations of the paper. The appeal to the Emperor's justice is represented there as an appeal to arms whereas it is well known that the question has never been reasoned upon a hostile principle; the statements concerning the recent acquisitions of Russia are said to be exaggerated, but they were, on the contrary, treated with moderation.

It has been established that the Treaties of Reichenbach and Toeplitz are in full force, that Russia has no right to annul or alter their stipulations except upon the consent of the other parties, and that the success of the war does not entitle any of the parties to aggrandize themselves unduly to the prejudice of weaker States. It should be remembered that the Powers fought for the liberties of Europe and not for the extension of their dominions; it is a false principle that nations have a right in all cases to claim additional territories in compensation for expenses incurred in war.

[An official Table of Austria's losses in Poland is appended.]

CXXVI. [W. S. D. IX. 417.]

WELLINGTON TO CASTLEREAGH.

Paris, November 5th, 1814.

I have this instant had an interview with Monsieur de Blacas. I found him much displeas'd at the continued obstinacy of the Emperor of Russia respecting Poland, on which he says that he understands that his Imperial Majesty declared, before he quitted Vienna, to go into Hungary, that he considered all matters settled; that he was to be King of Poland, and the King of Prussia King of Saxony; and that he had given Monsieur de Talleyrand to understand that he would not depart from his plan on either of those countries. Monsieur de Blacas said that the result would be that the King, and most probably the Prince Regent, would withdraw their ministers from the Congress, declaring that they could not acknowledge these arrangements, and that Europe would remain in a feverish state, which sooner or later must end in war.

I again urged him in the strongest manner to have instructions sent to Monsieur de Talleyrand to lay aside all considerations upon small points, and to unite cordially with you in a great effort to produce the union of all the Powers in Europe against the projected aggrandizement of Russia. Monsieur de Blacas then said that he considered that these were three great objects for arrangement—Poland, Naples, and Saxony—upon which the King felt an almost equal interest, and that he did not think Your Lordship was inclined to act so directly to effect the views which the Government of both countries professed to have as he had expected, and that

he wished that you should receive further instructions on the subject from home. I told him that he was quite mistaken ; that I had not the papers to show him, but could assure him that language could not be stronger than that which you had used, both verbally and in writing, to the Emperor of Russia, to dissuade him from his Polish scheme, which was the foundation of all the mischief, and that you were directing all your efforts to connect the ministers of the other Powers of Europe in the same views and measures with you, on this point ; that you considered other points as comparatively unimportant ; and that, moreover, the ultimate decision of them depended more or less on the decision as to the Polish question, which went to whether there should or not be in Europe any system whatever of equilibrium. I reminded him that I had already apprized him that Monsieur de Talleyrand was running after these small objects, instead of looking to that principal one ; and he admitted that he was not himself satisfied with his conduct. He then proposed that Great Britain, France, Spain, and Holland, should agree by treaty not to recognise the Polish arrangement ; and he pressed this point strongly and repeatedly, as being the best mode of drawing with us Austria and Prussia. I told him that all combinations of this description created jealousy, and that the first and immediate effect of such an arrangement would be to separate us from our old Allies.

He gave up this idea, and he went away at last, as he said, convinced that the best method to be adopted was all to unite for the object of opposing the Emperor's views in Poland, laying all minor points aside, and promising to endeavour to remove from the King's mind the impression that you were not decided in your measures on this point. . . .

CXXVII. [W. S. D. IX. 421.]

WELLINGTON TO CASTLEREAGH.

Paris, November 7th, 1814.

. . . I saw M. de Blacas again last night. He told me that he had repeated to the King what I had mentioned to him on Saturday, and that his Majesty had received it with the greatest satisfaction, and gave entire credit to the assurances which I had given him on your determination to give every opposition in your power to the views of Russia, and to endeavour to unite all the great Powers in Europe against those views. He told me that orders were to go this day to M. de Talleyrand, to direct him to co-

operate with you in every way to produce an effectual opposition to the Emperor's Polish schemes, which the King concurred with us in thinking the foundation of all the evil which was likely to result from the Congress of Vienna.

They are quite convinced, not only that M. de Talleyrand has acted foolishly himself, but that he has led them into error by encouraging representations of your conduct and views. M. de Blacas desired me to apprise you that you might depend upon the King's concurrence in your views, and upon his support; and said that, if I was not satisfied with what he had said to me, I might see the King, who would give me the same assurances himself.

Both the palace and I are so much observed, that I thought it better to decline this offer, with which Blacas appeared pleased; but he told me that he could let me see the King whenever I wished it, without its being known. . . .

CXXVIII. [*F. O. Cont.* 8.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 16.)

Vienna, November 11th, 1814.

I reported to your Lordship in my dispatch No. 12<sup>1</sup> the result of the confidential interview that took place at my house between the Austrian and Prussian Secretaries of State. On the following day, and before the Emperor of Russia's departure for Buda, Prince Metternich had an interview with him, which led to a discussion of much warmth, especially on the part of His Imperial Majesty.

Upon the return of the Emperor of Austria to Vienna, Prince Metternich received His Imperial Majesty's directions to transmit the note, of which the enclosed is a copy,<sup>2</sup> to Prince Hardenberg, as the basis of the intended negotiation with the Emperor of Russia. Your Lordship will observe that in the third alternative, the Austrian Minister proposes to release Russia from all restraint as to the erection of her Polish dominions into a Monarchy, (which would then contain nearly ten millions of people) under the Russian sceptre, provided the two other Powers received the Vistula as their frontier. It was Prince Metternich's intention to have proposed as a fourth alternative, in case Russia insisted upon passing the Vistula, that the two other Powers should accept the Warta and the Nidda as their frontiers, but in this case, that Russia should be called upon to renew the Treaty of 1797. This

<sup>1</sup> CXIX.

<sup>2</sup> Metternich to Hardenberg, November 2nd, 1814. D'Angeberg, p. 379. The proposals follow very much the lines laid down by Castlereagh [CXIX.]

latter proposition was, I understand, struck out by the Austrian Cabinet, who are under very great alarm upon the subject, and blame Prince Metternich for having been too complying and they leave it to Russia to originate such counter propositions, as she might think fit.

That Your Lordship may judge of the degree of importance attached to this question in the Prussian Cabinet, I send you a memoir written by General Knesebeck, whose weight and confidential situation in their councils my brother correctly describes. It was drawn up by him upon an inspection of the military reasoning contained in the Memorandum I received from the Emperor of Russia. There is no military opinion held in higher estimation here than General Knesebeck's, and his authority is the more deserving of attention from the caution that distinguishes his character, and from the reluctance he must feel to embark his court in an unnecessary controversy with an allied power.

Your Lordship will have observed from the Memorandum transmitted in my dispatch No. 12,<sup>1</sup> that the hope then entertained was, that the Emperor of Russia, to avoid an official *démarche* upon principles that must place him on disadvantageous grounds in Europe as well as in Poland, might be induced to come into some amicable arrangement, to give effect to which there would have existed every disposition to make the utmost sacrifice ; but, as yet, we have no substantial grounds to hope for such a result ; and I fear, that in the manner of attempting to bring the Emperor to reasonable views, so much appearance of indecision has been shewn, as must weaken, if not render abortive, the formal overture should it be brought forward.

The failure of the efforts hitherto made is chiefly owing to the personal ascendancy, which the Emperor has unfortunately acquired over the King of Prussia. When at Buda His Imperial Majesty omitted no exertion to operate on the minds of both the other sovereigns. His usual mode is to represent their ministers as the obstacle to harmony, and that the whole system of their policy ought to be settled by the sovereigns themselves. This language, which was particularly directed against Prince Metternich, made no sort of impression on *his* master, but the Emperor was more successful in a long conversation with Prince Hardenberg, in presence of the King of Prussia, by which he contrived not only to embarrass that minister, but to deprive his intervention of much of its weight.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 213.

I was induced when I first arrived here, to undervalue the importance attached by the Austrian and Prussian Cabinets to the Polish question, and to suppose that they both might be more easily reconciled by arrangements elsewhere, to suffer the Emperor to execute his purpose than has proved to be the fact. The prospect of reconciling their differences on German affairs was no sooner opened, than both Austria and Prussia resumed their former earnestness on this point, which was much augmented by a variety of collateral indications of the intriguing spirit, which actuated the Russian councils in other quarters.

I deemed it of great importance to contribute as far as depended upon me, to this concert : considering the establishment of Russia in the heart of Germany not only as constituting a great danger in itself, but as calculated to establish a most pernicious influence both in the Austrian and Prussian Cabinets ; and I also foresaw, that if these two Powers, from distrust of each other, gave up the Polish point as desperate, the contest in negotiation would then turn upon Saxony, Mayence and other German points, and through the contentions of Austria and Prussia, the supremacy of Russia would be established in all directions, and upon every question ; whereas an understanding previously established on German affairs, gave some chance of ameliorating the Polish arrangement, and, in case of its failure, afforded the best, if not the only means of counteracting the Russian influence in the other European arrangements, to the tendency of which, it was impossible not to look with alarm, whilst she kept an army of 60,000 men under Beningsen upon the Elbe, still treating Holstein, without a pretence for doing so, almost as an enemy country.

It appeared to me of particular importance to our own views on the side of Holland to do so. If the Low Countries could be covered by a German League, we might venture to resent Russian injustice on the side of Poland, by refusing her the beneficial arrangements relative to the Dutch loan, to which we were *sub modo* pledged, without exposing the Prince of Orange's interests by doing so : but if, triumphing in Poland, the Emperor could disunite Germany, the motives for refusing this aid might be augmented, but so might the danger in refusing it ; and we might find ourselves obliged to yield this tribute to Russia, under the most humiliating circumstances.

I therefore was of opinion that every consideration of policy combined to make it our particular interest, as well as duty to promote the concert in question, and, for the reasons I have stated, I trust Your Lordship will see, that to have been indifferent

to the Polish question would have augmented, instead of diminishing, our own immediate difficulties. On the contrary, it appeared to me, that it was better for Great Britain, in order to secure her own objects, to contend for an European question of great magnitude in the true spirit of the policy that has marked her conduct throughout the war, than to seem indifferent to that policy, and to reserve herself for an object, viz.: the Low Countries, which is regarded on the Continent as particularly connected with her own power, and which, as I have observed above, might have been exposed to a very unpleasant question, under a disunion between the great German Powers.

I have certainly been led, from circumstances, to take a more active share in the discussions on this question, than I should have permitted myself to do, if it had been any part of my policy to push the Polish point to a hostile issue. In preparing for so serious an alternative, I should have felt the propriety, as a British Minister, of preserving a greater degree of reserve; it being the province of Great Britain to support, rather than lead, on such occasions. But in proportion as I felt that an effort ought to be made successively by conciliation, by moderation, by persuasion, by pressure of argument, and ultimately if necessary by an imposing negotiation, uniting the general sentiments of Europe upon sound and popular grounds, and not by arms, I felt the less precluded from taking a forward part. Some advantages perhaps have resulted from my being the person to do so, as the same arguments, had they been urged by the parties most interested, might have rendered accommodation more difficult. Such are the principles upon which my conduct has hitherto been founded. It will be highly gratifying to me should they be honored with the Prince Regent's gracious approbation, and with the concurrence of my colleagues in the Government.

Since I have been on the Continent, in my intercourse with the several Cabinets, I have conceived it my duty to keep in view the following principles, considering them as those on which it was the intention of His Royal Highness' Government that I should act. In the first place, so to conduct the arrangements to be framed for Congress, as to make the establishment of a just equilibrium in Europe the first object of my attention, and to consider the assertion of minor points of interest as subordinate to this great end. Secondly, to use my best endeavour to support the Powers who had contributed to save Europe by their exertions, in their just pretensions to be liberally re-established upon the scale to which their Treaties entitled them to lay claim, and not to be

deterred from doing so, by the necessity of adopting, for this end, measures, which, although not unjust, are nevertheless painful and unpopular in themselves. And thirdly to endeavour to combine this latter duty to our friends and Allies, with as much mildness and indulgence even to the offending States, as circumstances would permit.

I have pursued these views, with a fixed and anxious purpose, if possible, not to suffer the peace of Europe to be disturbed, even upon just grounds, if by any compromise or even reasonable sacrifice it could be avoided. If in discharge of this duty, I have felt myself obliged strongly to remonstrate against the principles and temper disclosed by the Russian councils, I hope I have maintained honest principles, and I am confident that the relations between the two Governments would not have been improved by a more pliant tone on my part, opposed to that in which the Emperor has of late been disposed to dictate.

Your Lordship may rest assured that no effort on my part shall be omitted to prevent disunion, and still more, war; but I am confident I speak the universal sentiment, when I declare my perfect conviction, that unless the Emperor of Russia can be brought to a more moderate and sound course of public conduct, the peace, which we have so dearly purchased, will be but of short duration.

CXXXIX. *F. O. Cont. 8.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 19.)

Vienna, November 21st, 1814.

[Castlereagh has attempted to prepare the minds of the plenipotentiaries on the Slave Trade before regular negotiations. France has refused to abolish completely. Spain has agreed to abolish within eight years and at once partially. Castlereagh is negotiating with Portugal for partial abolition in return for money compensations and a new commercial treaty.]

That I may be the better enabled to profit by your suggestion on the best mode of bringing the question of abolition before the Congress, I enclose a Memorandum of what has occurred to me on this subject. I particularly recommend to your consideration the advantage of having a sort of permanent European Congress in existence, as therein proposed upon this particular subject. I am of opinion that this may be made in itself a most powerful instrument to enforce with good faith the engagements of the several Powers, and as I foresee, that from defect of powers or other

causes, we may be disappointed in obtaining such an arrangement during the Congress as Parliament would deem satisfactory as a final measure, it may satisfy feelings much as well as contribute to the success of our views, if our exertions are only adjourned over, to be followed up in London and at Paris by the united exertions of the Ministers of the respective Powers.

MEMORANDUM AS TO THE MODE OF CONDUCTING THE NEGOTIATIONS IN CONGRESS FOR THE FINAL ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

The first effort should be directed to effect an immediate and general abolition of the traffick; with this view a joint representation should be made by the Powers (viz: Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark) already declared in favour of this measure to France, to induce her to concur in giving at once effect to the system which she is pledged to carry into execution at the end of five years.

Should France decline acceding to this representation an attempt to be then made by the same Powers to induce the French Government to reduce the period from five to three years and to give effect without delay to the abolition north of the line as promised to Great Britain.

In the event of France refusing to depart from the decision she has hitherto pronounced, there being in that case no hope of bringing Spain and Portugal to a more favourable determination, the seven Powers above named may unite their efforts with those of France to induce the Governments of Spain and Portugal to conform themselves to the engagements taken by France.

Should Spain and Portugal refuse to adopt the limitation of five years, but propose to render the abolition absolute at the end of eight years, with an immediate cessation of the traffick north of the line, the question then will be, should the eight Powers acquiesce and consider the whole of the Powers as then embarked in one common interest, viz: to carry into full effect this regulated measure of abolition, according to the stipulations of the respective Powers or ought the Powers who have engaged to abolish immediately, or at the end of five years, to separate their councils in the Congress from those of Spain and Portugal, and employ all justifiable means still to enforce upon those Powers the necessity of a more early abolition.

The measure of immediate abolition in States growing more colonial produce than they can themselves consume, may be effected in two ways, either by the law of the State itself prohibiting the import of slaves, or by a law on the part of all other States, excluding the colonial produce of such State as shall refuse to comply with the system of abolition.

With respect to the efficacy of this remedy, if adopted sincerely by the eight Powers, there can be no question. There might be evasion of such a law to a certain extent, but a prohibition enforced with ordinary attention in all the principal markets against the produce of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies would at once deter their planters from the further purchase of slaves.

The justice of the remedy if otherwise prudent cannot be questioned, as a means of giving effect to a system to which so many Powers have made a sacrifice of colonial interests, and which are all morally bound with their utmost means to carry into full execution. It may however deserve consideration whether this extreme measure should not be waved in favour of some reasonable compromise with those Powers, or if that cannot be effected during the sitting of the present Congress from their plenipotentiaries being restricted by their instructions, whether the application of the principle of exclusion should be not suspended till further discussion shall have taken place with their respective Courts.

As it is clear, that the final and effectual extension of the traffick in slaves must be a work of some time, and the success of the effort must depend upon the effectual execution of the regulations adopted by the respective States, it is



proposed that the ministers of the several Powers engaged in the cause of abolition resident in London and Paris, should by their respective Courts be ordered to act together in concert for watching over the effectual execution of these regulations, that for this purpose, they should assemble together from time to time in each capital to enquire into the progress made and the extent of the evil remaining. That they should consult upon the most effectual means of counteracting evasion, and of promoting the common object, and that they should require on the [ ] of [ ] in each year to draw out a joint report for the information of their respective Courts, stating the result of the former years' exertions, as far as the same can be ascertained. The missions in London and Paris to correspond and act in concert.

There are two further questions of great delicacy and importance connected with the suppression of this unnatural and criminal traffick, which deserves to be examined. The 1st is to what extent and under what regulations the nations of Europe, who desire to effect the abolition, can actually trust each others ships of war with the detention of vessels acting on the coast of Africa in violation of the regulations of their particular states? For the elucidation of this subject a *Projet* of treaty is annexed.<sup>1</sup>

The 2nd question is, how far, after the trade in slaves shall have been abolished by all or nearly all Christian States, the Governments of the said States may be justified in consideration of those engaged in the traffick of whatever nation, as engaged in an offence proscribed by civilized nations, and as such not to be peaceably tolerated? These questions are suggested for consideration without any judgment being pronounced thereon.

CXXX. [*W. S. D. IX.* 438.]

LIVERPOOL TO CASTLEREAGH.

Fife House, November 18th, 1814.

[Transmits a letter offering the Duke of Wellington the command in America, but announcing the determination of the Cabinet to make peace if possible in view of the attitude of Parliament and Wellington's opinion that no material military success is likely to be obtained in America.]

Our Parliamentary campaign has hitherto gone on very well, but the Opposition are particularly rancorous, and evidently mean to find us good employment. We shall most probably be able to adjourn about the end of the first or beginning of the second week in December, and we can carry our adjournment, I think, to about the 7th of February. I still hope that you may be able to settle all that is material before the end of January.

I ought to apprise you that there is a strong feeling in this country respecting Saxony. The case against the King appears to me, I confess, to be complete, if it is expedient to act upon it; but the objection is to the annihilation of the whole of Saxony as an independent Power, particularly considering the part which the Saxon troops took in the operation on the Elbe. Considering the prominent part which Saxony has always taken in the affairs of

<sup>1</sup> Not given.

Germany, it would certainly be very desirable that a *noyau* of it at least should be preserved, even if it were under some other branch of the Saxon family ; and I am fully convinced that the King of Prussia would gain more in character and influence by agreeing to such an arrangement than he would lose by any reasonable sacrifice which he might make for this purpose of territory. . . .

CXXXI. [*F. O. Cont.* 8.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 20.)

Vienna, November 21st, 1814.

I regret that it has not been in my power to report to Your Lordship a more rapid advance of business, with which we are here charged. The length to which the discussions on the Polish question have gone, and the connection necessarily subsisting between the decision of one territorial question and another, has hitherto prevented a final decision being taken, almost on any one point. Your Lordship must not infer however from this, that the plenipotentiaries have been idle, or that considerable progress has not been made in examining, preparatory to a decision, the several branches into which the European arrangement naturally divides itself.

In framing the successive protocols herewith transmitted of the deliberations of the eight Powers who signed the Peace of Paris, you will perceive that it has not been deemed advisable, in the present state of the business, to assemble the plenipotentiaries at large in Congress, there being nothing as yet sufficiently matured to submit to them for their ultimate confirmation.

In proportion as the subject underwent consideration, it became apparent that the Congress was incompetent to act as a constituted and deliberative assembly, possessing the power of binding dissentient voices by the majority of the votes : that it could not delegate to commissions powers which it did not itself possess, and that the preparatory negotiations must originate with the parties naturally interested.

This has at last led to an arrangement which seems sufficient for every practical purpose and to which there seems no longer any objection. The plenipotentiaries of the eight Powers, in number twenty, vizt : Austria two, Russia three, Great Britain four, France four, Prussia two, Portugal three, Spain one, and Sweden one, meet together occasionally as a directing body. In the interval the several subjects are treated of nearly under the following distribution.

The affairs of Poland are left to the three Powers locally interested, with the intervention of Great Britain: the Prince de Talleyrand and the other plenipotentiaries have always considered this as a suitable mode of discussing that subject, in the first instance, and he has confined himself to occasional explanations of the sentiments of his Court thereupon in his interviews with the sovereigns, and the parties interested. The details of these discussions have already been submitted to the Prince Regent.

At a very early period, a species of commission consisting of the five principal German Powers, vizt: Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, and Wirtemberg, charged themselves with German affairs. They have made considerable progress in framing a Project of confederation for Germany in pursuance of the principle laid down in the Treaty of Paris. The labours of these commissioners are exclusively confined to the constitutional organisation of Germany, but its territorial distribution has been also a subject of frequent discussion between them, and the other European Powers principally interested: and altho' nothing can definitely be settled till we know what is disposable in Poland to be assigned to the two great German Powers, yet the whole has been examined so carefully, and in so many points of view, that I consider material progress has been made towards a final decision, if the principal Powers could agree upon the two fundamental questions of Saxony and Poland, which must, in a great measure determine the quantum of means disposable to satisfy the various claims.

The affairs of Switzerland have been referred to a commission nominated by the four Allied Powers, consisting of Baron Wessenberg for Austria, Baron Stein for Russia, Lord Stewart for Great Britain, and Baron Humboldt for Prussia. These ministers are charged upon communication with the several deputies from Switzerland, to frame a report, which is afterwards to be discussed with the Duke d'Alberg, who has been nominated plenipotentiary of France for this object. The Treaty of Paris having recognized the principle of an arrangement for Switzerland to be founded upon the basis approved by the Allies, no objection was made on the part of France to leave the initiative with the Allied Powers.

The affairs of Italy have formed another subdivision, and in order to gain as much time as possible on the important question of Naples, we have been unanimous in first directing our attention to the affairs of Northern Italy. As the first in order, we have

taken measures for giving effect to the provisions of the Treaty of Paris in respect to Genoa.

The protocol will fully explain the course adopted in sending this question also to a preparatory commission, consisting of Baron Wessenberg for Austria, Earl of Clancarty for Great Britain, and the Comte de Noailles for France. The prevailing idea is, that the cession should take place upon a species of constitution securing to the Genoese certain rights and privileges. It is intended in the next place, and without delay, to proceed with the reclamation of the Queen of Etruria upon Parma, and with the question of the Legations.

I have stated this much to explain to Your Lordship the course in which business is conducted. At first there was an extreme susceptibility in the several plenipotentiaries upon anything being done to their exclusion, but this sentiment, from its own impracticability, has subsided, and I see nothing to object to in the manner in which the discussions are carried on: they must have been brought before this time to a satisfactory conclusion, if Russia had acted upon European principles, and directed her powerful influence upon just and liberal views.

CXXXII. [*F. O. Cont.* 8.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 21.)

Vienna, November 21st, 1814.

In my dispatch of the 11th, No. 16<sup>1</sup>, I expressed to your Lordship my apprehensions, that the Emperor of Russia's personal influence had prevailed over the authority of the Prussian Prime Minister, and that our hope of a joint and imposing representation on the existing difficulties of the negotiation was likely to be thereby frustrated.

I had reason to suppose that this was the case, even to a greater degree than Prince Hardenberg had admitted to me, which was confirmed by receiving from His Highness the inclosed confidential memorandum.<sup>2</sup> The sentiments both of Prince Metternich and myself had always been in our confidential intercourse with Prince Hardenberg sufficiently pacifick, to make an appeal of this nature unnecessary; we could not therefore consider the argument as in truth addressed to us, but rather as a sort of defence of the King which he was directed to make, in excuse for with-

<sup>1</sup> CXXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoire confidentielle* of Hardenberg, November 7th, 1814. *F. O. Cont.* 8. Partly printed in *D'Angeberg*, p. 406

drawing from a concert, which your Lordship will observe that His Highness had in his letters of the 17th and 21st October, not only invited, but urged.<sup>1</sup>

It was obvious, from this communication, that Prussia was not prepared to range herself on the side of Austria in an official remonstrance on the Polish question, however she might still wish to negotiate confidentially on the subject. That being the obvious result, I did not feel myself called upon to combat the reasoning, which was the mere vehicle on the part of Prince Hardenberg of disclosing this change of policy.

Under these circumstances which indicated a considerable degree of divergence in the sentiments of the two Courts, I thought it expedient to decline being the bearer of any proposition they might have to address to Russia, as my late correspondence with the Emperor had rendered my interview less conciliatory than the nature of their negotiation might require. I took this opportunity to repeat to both ministers what I had before, on more than *one* occasion, expressed, that I trusted they would not infer from the zeal which I had shown to support what I had understood to be their wishes, that Great Britain had any separate policy of her own to pursue with respect to Poland, or any wish to excite them to any measures which did not originate on their part, in a sense of their necessity. That the British Government felt desirous of contributing, as far as could reasonably be expected from them, to establish that permanent peace and equilibrium on the Continent, for which the British Nation had made such immense sacrifices, and which was the declared object of the Alliance, but that having honourably performed their part, their duty led them to leave the decision with the Powers more locally interested than Great Britain could consider herself to be, in the Polish arrangements.

Your Lordship will perceive that the Austrian minister in his reply, which I enclose,<sup>2</sup> throws the conduct of the negotiation altogether upon Prussia, reserving to himself to act upon the explanation he may receive, through Prince Hardenberg's intervention. I certainly myself strongly participate in the opinion expressed by Prince Metternich, that such a representation as the two Courts had agreed to make to Russia could in all probability have been attended with success; and if not, that having pushed their efforts to the utmost, short of war, and having given each other the convincing proof of common interest, they might have

<sup>1</sup> The letter of October 9th (*Supra* p. 206) is obviously meant, but I cannot explain the dates given.

<sup>2</sup> Metternich to Hardenberg, November 12th, 1814. D'Angeberg, p. 418.

made, in concert, a concession, for the sake of peace to an Ally, with less hazard than they can do, when in appearance disunited.

The illness of the Emperor has, for the last three days, prevented Prince Hardenberg from seeing His Imperial Majesty upon the business in question. I understood from His Highness last night that the Emperor was better, and that he hoped to obtain an audience in the course of this day or to-morrow.

CXXXIII. [*W. S. D. IX. 447.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Vienna, November 21st, 1814.

You may wish to receive, in a private letter, such speculations as to the possible turn of matters here as I can send you.

With respect to the Polish question, you must always combine it, to a certain degree, with that of Saxony, as Austria can ill afford to be foiled on *both* these points. The failure of Prussia to execute the concert as arranged, naturally threw back the negotiation between the two Courts into the state of embarrassment from which I had laboured to extricate it. Austria no sooner saw, or thought she saw, that she was abandoned by Prussia, than her disposition to resist the Saxon arrangement revived. It is the deliberate opinion of many of their officers, and, I may add, ministers, that, rather than have the Russians at Cracovie and the Prussians at Dresden, they had better risk a war with such support as they can get. Whether this is a sound opinion is another question; but, in point of fact, the war tone was much augmented amongst the Austrians immediately subsequent to the receipt of Prince Hardenberg's memorandum, and I have reason to believe that a dislocation [*sic*] of their troops was ordered in consequence.

Prince Metternich told me that, in his interview with Prince Hardenberg, he had opened himself unreservedly, and declared to him that no Austrian minister could sign a Treaty giving way on Poland, Saxony, and Mayence; and urging him to modify his views on Saxony, arguing the impolicy of attempting to extinguish totally that monarchy, against the declared purpose of France and the prevailing feeling of Germany.

I need not trouble you with the various arguments which I understand have been brought forward on the present critical state of the negotiation. It is enough to give you the opinion of the two chiefs. Prince Hardenberg told me last night that he thought it would end in an arrangement, and that Prince Czar-

toriski had promised him to urge the Emperor to make some concessions. Prince Metternich gave me the same opinion, and added that he felt assured that Prussia would listen to modifications on the Saxon arrangement, to which his Court attached the greatest importance. I give you these two opinions as the best, indeed the only means I possess of forming a judgment, stating at the same time that both these ministers are sufficiently sanguine in their mode of viewing things. I think this question must now be brought to a decision, one way or the other, in the course of a few days. . . .

CXXXIV. [*W. S. D. IX. 446.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO WELLINGTON.

Vienna, November 21st, 1814.

. . . I cannot sufficiently express to you my thanks for your most useful and seasonable co-operation. You have succeeded in rendering the French influence here much more accommodating; and, if I have not been able to bring the Prince de Talleyrand to the point of common exertion, his Highness has been to me personally most obliging and conciliatory, and has ceased to thwart me as he did, possibly unintentionally, at first.

The day after I received your letter of the 7th,<sup>1</sup> Prince Talleyrand called on me when I was from home. I happened to dine with him that day, and we fixed an interview for the following morning. As my hopes of Prussia had considerably abated, I could not give him much assurance of the progress I was making. I gave him a general outline of the state in which things were, and endeavoured to draw from him his ideas upon the future conduct of the negotiation. He spoke, apparently with openness, his mind, always returning to the old notion of urging Austria to finish the Polish question as well as she could, and then to turn the whole combination upon Saxony.

In judging of the correctness of Talleyrand's reports to his Government of my conduct, it is but fair to observe that I have not deemed it prudent to disclose to him my operations in detail, finding that he was not always discreet, and that I should lose useful influence in other quarters, if I was understood to be in too close confidence with the French Minister. I have endeavoured, however, to treat him with all possible regard, and to keep him generally informed of my endeavours to promote our common objects. He is become infinitely more accommodating in our general conferences than at the outset. . . .

<sup>1</sup> CXXVII.

CXXXV. [*W. S. D. IX. 451.*]

CASTLEREACH TO LIVERPOOL.

Vienna, November 25th, 1814.

The insinuation with which the Emperor's last memorandum<sup>1</sup> closes, that the intervention of Great Britain in the questions pending between him and his Allies had not been conducted in the true spirit of mediation, induces me to trouble you with a few observations on this subject.

If the correspondence which has taken place had been the first and only description of proceeding on this subject, the observation might have been just ; but the fact is, that almost from the period of my arrival at the Allied head-quarters in January last I have, at the instance of the two Allied Courts, been employed to endeavour to prevail upon the Emperor more precisely to explain himself, and to adopt a course with respect to Poland less alarming to their interest. That this task was performed in a manner sufficiently conciliatory to His Imperial Majesty is evident from the manner in which the Emperor has always received me ; but that it was wholly abortive to its object is also proved from this simple fact, that the Memorandum in question is the very first instance in which the question has been rendered, on the part of Russia, avowedly one of negotiation.

In all my interviews, as well as in the first paper received from the Emperor, it was treated as a question upon which Russia was alone to pronounce. His Imperial Majesty's language uniformly was, " Je donnerai ce qu'il faut à la Prusse, mais je ne donnerai pas un village à l'Autriche. J'ai conquis le Duché, et j'ai 480,000 hommes à le garder." Having, in successive interviews during the campaign, at Paris, in London, and in two long audiences since His Imperial Majesty's arrival at Vienna, employed in vain every conciliatory representation to place the question upon a footing to which a mediation could be applicable, it appeared to me that the only remaining hope was to try so to place the argument upon the Treaties before him and upon the general aspect of his decision, as to awaken his mind to a sense of the possible consequences to which his conduct might lead.

I was aware that this might place me, as the Prince Regent's minister, on a less satisfactory footing with the Emperor, and render my position less available for purposes of mediation ; but where there appeared nothing upon which a mediation could be built, this was, comparatively, a small inconvenience ; whereas, in giving to my representations a more decided and more earnest

<sup>1</sup> A précis of the Memorandum follows this dispatch.



tone, my *appui* became the more authoritative for Austria and Prussia to found a negotiation upon.

Whatever may be the result, I am confident the Emperor would never have submitted himself to a negotiation at all if this course had not been adopted, but would have stood firm upon the despotism of his military tenure. The fruits that may result from this concession may be small or none, but it is something to bring him down in doctrine to a level with other Powers; and although from my experience of His Imperial Majesty's character, I expect nothing from his friendship to his Allies, and as little from his generosity or his sense of justice, yet I still hope for something from his fears. The general sentiment of dissatisfaction and alarm occasioned by his conduct is becoming too strong and too universal to be any longer a secret from him. It exists extensively amongst his own subjects, and I have reason to believe that this fact has not been concealed from him. Under these circumstances, and profiting by the reflections for which his illness has afforded an occasion, perhaps His Imperial Majesty may moderate his pretensions; in which case, with all the motives for peace that present themselves, and the danger of a new war arising out of a speculative rather than an actual danger, it certainly will not be my disposition to push him to extremity upon the conditions. The moral advantage of gaining something against such lofty pretensions is not inconsiderable in itself; it may give a check at the outset to a career to which passive submission might have added an additional impulse. If Prussia and Austria could have taken a tone of authority together, I should have thought the precise terms obtained of still less importance. I am afraid His Imperial Majesty has now ascertained the subserviency of one of his Allies, and will presume upon it.

#### THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA TO VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.<sup>1</sup>

Vienna, November 21st, 1814.

[He judges it necessary to reply to Castlereagh's Memorandum as much to refute some of its assertions as to give a fresh proof of the purity of his intentions. He wishes this to be the close of this correspondence and official papers to be transmitted in the usual way.]

#### SECOND RUSSIAN MEMORANDUM.

The second British memorandum, instead of simplifying the question and facilitating an agreement, tends to prolong the discussion. Since this paper is intended to terminate it, the writer will limit himself to rectifying some of the assertions which are recorded there.

Intentions are attributed to Russia which she has never had; it is not to herself alone that she reserves the decision of the fate of the Duchy of Warsaw but in conformity with the principles of justice and in concert with the Allied

<sup>1</sup> Précis of documents in *W. S. D. IX. 441.*

**Powers.** To say that the Treaty of Reichenbach is only "eventual" is not to consider it null but to give it its true character. It is so because, in an absolute sense, it cannot in any case settle all the interests which result from the success of the war. It was concluded when it was still not known whether Buonaparte would accept Austrian mediation. He refused it and the Treaty of September 9th was concluded in the height of the war. If he had accepted it the Treaty of Reichenbach would have prompted new combinations and produced different effects. A similar modification would have been necessary in any case, seeing that the proportions of the compensation to be taken in the Duchy of Warsaw were not determined in the stipulation, and that it was as just as it was indispensable to modify these proportions according to the results of the war. History and diplomacy furnish more than one example of Treaties which one of the parties will not consider as binding because of a change of circumstances.

The Emperor has not in this war founded his policy on his own exclusive interests but has constantly worked to assist those of the Powers who rallied to the common cause. The Allies, having obtained considerable concessions of power, cannot legitimately contest to Russia that which she claims, not with the view of augmenting her resources, but as a necessary weight in the balance of the European system. A survey is given of the territories gained by each of the European Powers and Russia's gains compared with them. Russia cannot have security without a good military frontier, and it is of great importance to her to put an end to the unrest of the Poles. Under all these considerations it is not possible to object to Russia making an aggrandizement that is demanded by justice, the maintenance of European balance and her own internal tranquillity.

If it were possible that all the States could be replaced in their former situations, and if all the changes could be considered null, the Emperor would have been the first to give the example of great sacrifices to contribute to this result, but this supposition appears to be contrary to the disposition of the other States. Rather than to plead vaguely the cause of the principles of public right, it would be preferable to endeavour to assure to the nations the relative advantages to which they have a right and upon which one could reasonably hope to found a peace. A Mediator is only useful in a discussion if he tries to conciliate; otherwise he had better leave the parties concerned alone. Great Britain could render great services if she were a real Mediator.

The statistical tables appended to the second British Memorandum are then stated to be inaccurate and others suggested in their place.

CXXXVI. [W. S. D. IX. 285.]

LIVERPOOL TO CASTLEREAGH.

Fife House, November<sup>1</sup> 25th, 1814.

We received yesterday your letters of the 5th and 11th<sup>2</sup> instant. I can assure you that we are fully sensible of all the difficulties in which you have been involved, and entirely concur with you in the substantial points for which you have been contending. We were certainly apprehensive that the course the negotiations were taking with Russia might unintentionally lead us further than we had any idea of going, and eventually produce a renewal of the war in Europe. It may be quite true that if the Emperor

<sup>1</sup> Dated in the *Supplementary Dispatches* September, but the context clearly shows that November is the correct month.

<sup>2</sup> CXXXV. and CXXXVIII.

of Russia does not relax in his present demands, the peace of Europe may not be of long continuance ; but for however short a time that peace may last, I should consider it of great advantage. In the course of two or three years it may reasonably be expected that the power of Louis XVIII. in France will be consolidated, and that the revolutionary spirit which still exists to such an alarming degree in that country will in a great measure have evaporated. The people will have returned to peaceful habits, and the landed and moneyed interests will feel their fate connected with that of the restored government. In two or three years likewise the Prince of Orange will, I trust, have been enabled firmly to establish his authority in the Low Countries, will have raised an army for the defence of his dominions, and have made some progress in erecting a barrier against his neighbours. But if war should be renewed at present, I fear that we should lose all we have gained, that the revolutionary spirit would break forth again in full force, and that the Continent would be plunged in all the evils under which it has groaned for the last twenty years. A war now, therefore, may be a revolutionary war. A war some time hence, though an evil, need not be different in its character and its effects from any of those wars which occurred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, before the commencement of the French Revolution. In short, this appears to me to be the precise period in which the sentiment of Cicero, so often quoted by Mr. Fox, is really in point : "*Iniquissimam pacem justissimo bello antefero.*" I entertain these sentiments so strongly, that though I should most deeply regret the continuance of Murat on the throne of Naples as a sort of *taint* in our general arrangement, and though I think, therefore, that all means should be used consistent with our engagements to negotiate him out of his present kingdom, yet if such means should fail, as I fear they will, and the question should be whether any of the Powers of Europe should take up arms to drive him out of his dominions, my opinion would certainly be against such a measure. I think the positive benefit resulting from the success of it is not to be compared, under present circumstances, to the evils that might arise out of the attempt.

The reasoning in your last paper in answer to the Emperor of Russia is quite triumphant ; but I believe the truth to be that he is committed to the Poles ; and the dread of the reintegration of Poland as it existed in 1772 or 1791, and the effect of such a sacrifice of territory upon the Russian nobility and Russian people, are the only considerations that will induce him

to give way. He will be quite deaf to every appeal to justice, moderation, or to the engagements which he contracted with Prussia and Austria in the course of the last campaign. We must likewise not conceal from ourselves that we shall have a hard battle to fight against public opinion in defence of any arrangement of which the independence of Poland does not now form a part.

If the arrangements respecting the Duchy of Warsaw could have been quietly settled amongst the three Powers as the result of the Treaty of Kalisch and of that of the 9th September, 1813, we should never have had any serious difficulty on the subject, and it would have been wholly unnecessary, and I think very imprudent, for us ever to have started the idea of Poland or of Polish independence; but it becomes very different to defend the partition of the Duchy of Warsaw as one of the alternatives to Polish independence, when the question of Polish independence has been once brought forward. We must, however, do our best in this respect, fully satisfied that we have acted from no other motive than that which was likely to contribute most upon the whole to the peace and tranquillity of Europe.

It seems difficult to imagine what course this whole business is likely to take in Congress.<sup>1</sup> I trust the means will exist, however of protesting against what it may not be prudent to resist, or at least that care may be taken that we are not parties to transactions which we have such strong reasons on every account to disapprove.

CXXXVII. [W. S. D. IX. 456.]

LIVERPOOL TO WELLINGTON.

Fife House, November 26th, 1814.

... We are very much distressed at the last accounts we have received from Vienna. The course which the negotiation has taken is particularly embarrassing. Lord Castlereagh has been substantially right in all his points; but I wish we had not been made so much *principals* in the Polish question. I never thought that question could be satisfactorily settled after it had once become a subject of contest.

If the arrangements respecting the Duchy of Warsaw could have been quietly agreed upon amongst the three Powers, as the result of the Treaty of Kalisch, and of that of the 9th of September, 1813, there need have been no difficulty on the subject.

<sup>1</sup> Liverpool means "when the matter is formally discussed." All the negotiations so far had been merely informal discussions between the Four.

It would in that case have been wholly unnecessary, and, I think, very imprudent, for us to have ever started the idea of Poland or of Polish independency. This question has, however, now been forced upon us all by Russia. It would be visionary to suppose that Poland can really be established, after all that has passed, as an independent country; and we are thus brought practically to struggle for a question of partition, which is always odious in itself, in which we might have acquiesced as the result of former engagements, but for which it is painful to be obliged to contend on any other ground. Whatever may be the result of this question I sincerely hope, however, that there will be no war on the Continent. It may be quite true that if the Emperor of Russia does not relax in his pretensions, the peace of Europe may not be of long duration; but considering the present state of France, of the Low Countries, and of Italy, I should regard a peace for two or three years as a great blessing. It might reasonably be expected that during that time the revolutionary spirit in those countries would in a great degree evaporate; that the restored Sovereigns would find the means of consolidating their authority; that the populations would return to peaceful habits; and that, if a war should then arise, it would not be a revolutionary war, but that it would resemble in its character and effects those wars which occurred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, before the commencement of the French Revolution.

CXXXVIII. [*F. O. Cont.* 6.]

BATHURST TO CASTLEREAGH.<sup>1</sup> (No. 3.)

November 27th, 1814.

I am commanded by H.R.H. to acquaint you, that whilst he deeply laments the unfortunate course which the discussions at Vienna have taken respecting Poland in consequence of the unjust demands and dangerous pretensions of the Emperor of Russia, H.R.H. entirely approves of the firm and decided manner, in which you have expressed the sentiments of H.R.H. Government on the different branches of this important question. And in the event of your failing to avert the establishment of such pretensions, you will, as far as possible, avoid making H.R.H. a party to arrangements so injurious to the general interests of Europe.

H.R.H. cannot contemplate the present state of Europe, and more especially the internal state of France, Italy, and the Low

<sup>1</sup> This is the only important official *instruction* which Castlereagh received from the Cabinet while at Vienna. It will be seen that he deliberately disobeyed the last clause.

Countries, without entertaining the most serious apprehensions of the consequences which would result from the renewal of war on the Continent under present circumstances.

H.R.H. has no doubt, therefore, that you will use your best endeavours to prevent, by all the means in your power, so great an evil.

It is unnecessary for me to point out to you the impossibility of H.R.H. consenting to involve this country in hostilities at this time for any of the objects which have been hitherto under discussion at Vienna.

CXXXIX. [*F. O. Cont.* 8.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 26.)

Vienna, December 5th, 1814.

In my letter of the 25th ult.<sup>1</sup> I reported to your Lordship the commencement of the negotiation with the Emperor of Russia upon the Polish question, and that the conduct of it had been entrusted to the Prince de Hardenberg. I was not, at that moment, enabled to state more, than the favourable reception Prince Hardenberg considered his proposition had met with from the Emperor of Russia, that His Imperial Majesty had agreed to treat upon the terms proposed, and had promised an answer in a few days.

The precise terms which the Prussian minister was authorised to propose were as follows : That Prussia should receive Thorn, and the line of the Wartha, and that Austria should obtain, in addition to the circle of Zamosc, Cracovie and the Nidda as a frontier. It was added that, provided the Emperor yielded on the territorial question as proposed, the two Powers were prepared to acquiesce in his political views in Poland, under guarantee to be reciprocally agreed upon.

The counter-projet to this overture was communicated on the part of Russia by Prince Czartoriski, and Baron Stein, neither of whom hold any responsible situation under the Emperor. It was limited to a proposition to neutralize the towns of Thorn and Cracovie, by erecting them into free cities, with a rayon round each, but His Imperial Majesty, however strong his professions had been for several days, of a desire to meet the wishes of his Allies, did not intimate any intention of yielding the circle of Zamosc, or the territory intervening between Kalisch and the Wartha, and between Cracovie and the Nidda, adhering, as far

<sup>1</sup> Castlereagh to Liverpool, November 25th, 1814. (No. 24.) F.O. Continent 8, stating shortly as is repeated in this dispatch.

as territory was concerned, to his former line by Kalisch to the west, and by the Vistula on the south, between Cracovie and Sandomir.

It was stated that as these two points had been represented as menacing to his Allies, the Emperor was willing thus to strip them of that character, but that as a condition *sine qua non* of this concession, he must require that the questions of Saxony and Mayence should be simultaneously settled, the former by its complete incorporation with Prussia, the latter by its being rendered a fortress of the Empire.

Your Lordship will recollect that the circumstances which preceded the transfer of the negotiation into the management of Prussia, were not such as to afford much prospect of insisting with effect upon any demand, more especially one of any magnitude. This, as I understand, induced the Austrian minister to represent to Prince Hardenberg the necessity under existing circumstances of Prussia modifying her Saxon pretensions, so as not only to secure the concurrence of the several German Powers, and, if possible, of France, to her arrangements, but also to compensate, in some measure, the disappointment of Austria as to her Polish frontier, by relieving her from that jealousy, which the total extinction of an intermediate Power on her Bohemian frontier must occasion.

I certainly understood from Prince Metternich, when he agreed to the basis of negotiation before stated, that Prince Hardenberg had previously acquiesced in this principle, it being premised that this modification was not to operate a reduction in the quantum of territory which Russia was to receive. By one of those changes of council which are not unfrequent in the Prussian Cabinet, it appears that this facility to an arrangement, however unsatisfactory it might still have remained with respect to the Polish frontier, is now absolutely withdrawn on the part of Prince Hardenberg, and I am afraid your Lordship must be prepared if this is persisted in, of which there is every appearance, to find the negotiation generally assume a most embarrassing complexion.

You will judge of this, as far as the interests of Austria are concerned, by observing that the Russian counter-projet gives her nothing in point of frontier on the side of Poland. It merely relieved her from the umbrage of two points, by giving them a political instead of a military character. On the side of the Elbe it exposes her to a direct contact with Prussia, throughout the whole line of her Bohemian frontier, the gorges of which will pass

into the hands of that Power, and it also embarrasses even her Bavarian frontier by insisting upon an arrangement with respect to Mayence, which, however wise in itself, disappoints the condition upon which Bavaria had agreed to restore to Austria the strong country extending from Salzburg along the Inn to the Danube.

It is not merely in her territorial relations that the spirit disclosed in the late negotiations embarrasses Austria. She feels still greater uneasiness from the temper of the Russian councils, and from the commanding sway the Emperor has acquired, through the King, over those of Prussia. Had Prince Hardenberg been enabled to range himself, as he promised to do, on the side of Austria, in a sincere, open, and undisguised negotiation with Russia upon the Polish question, whatever might have been the success of this effort, the world would have taken it as a proof that Prussia was true to the interests of Germany, and it would have given Austria a strong moral justification for making great sacrifices to her in Saxony; but the misfortune is, that the impression, as well as the fact, is now the other way, and that Russia and Prussia are looked upon as one, pledged to support each other's objects, whatever may be their effect either upon Austrian or German interests.

Prince Metternich forcibly represented to me yesterday, the difficulty in which he found himself placed under the circumstances above stated. He stated that he felt himself nominally allied with Russia and Prussia, but with the prospect, upon every litigated question, of having both against him; that under these circumstances, however desirous of bending, as far as possible, for the sake of an adjustment, he did not feel that he could venture to run counter, on the Saxon question, to the moral feeling of Germany, to the sentiments of his own Cabinet, and to the declared opinion of the French Government without the hazard of leaving himself and his Government without the support in Europe, which was become indispensable to its security and independence whilst Russia possessed so commanding an influence over the Prussian Cabinet.

I foresaw, from the first, that these German questions, if they could not be resolved from a sense of common danger, by a union of common interest between the two great German Powers, upon the Polish question, would prove beyond all comparison the most fruitful source of discord, from the complexity of the combinations amongst the German States, worked upon both by Russian and French influence.



The Austrian minister no sooner perceived from the conduct and language of the King of Prussia, and from the retrocession of the Prussian minister upon the Saxon point, that the intervention of Prussia in the negotiation was little more than nominal, than, in despair of accomplishing anything effectual on the Polish question, he only considered how he could best make an accommodation with Russia subservient to a modification on the point of Saxony, which I look upon now as the point practically at issue, however the other may remain open to further discussion.

The considerations I have already stated are not the only difficulties to a settlement upon the Saxon question. The extent to which Russia has appropriated the Polish territories to her own use, narrows very inconveniently the means of satisfying other claims. In meeting the demands of Prussia, and in making provision for those of the Prince of Orange (but in a manner to which I shall have objections to state) there remains only an indemnity for the King of Saxony in Münster and Paderborn of 350,000 subjects. Whether this is placed at Dresden or on the side of Westphalia, the provision is not in extent such as he is likely to accept. Austria and Bavaria are more moderate in their demands, but France requires for him nearly the whole of ancient Saxony, amounting to one million five hundred thousand subjects, consenting only to deprive him of Upper Lusace and the Circle of Wittenberg.

Could Russia have been prevailed upon to take the Vistula as her frontier there would have been ample means to satisfy all fair claims.

CXL. [W. S. D. IX. 462.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Vienna, December 5th, 1814.

[Unable to confirm the expectations of an early settlement, founded upon the opinions of Metternich and Hardenberg. Convinced that the adjustment of frontier between Russia and the adjacent States must remain unsatisfactory, but wishes to bring the whole arrangement, subject to this defect, to a tolerable close rather than risk a contest. Impossible, however, to answer for the result. Desirous of receiving from his colleagues any instructions or suggestions which might assist him.]

Upon the existing state of affairs, extremely entangled in themselves, my opinion is, that it may unexpectedly assume a better aspect, but that it may equally lead to a total stagnation, and that

it may, as Europe is more extensively armed than at any former period, suddenly end in war.

In the first alternative my task will be comparatively easy, and I shall only have to combine, according to circumstances, the fragments of the arrangement, and to give to it the best form.

In the second supposition, if no general decision should be come to, and the ministers of certain of the leading Powers should absolutely decline to concur in the pretensions of others, I should wish, as far as you can instruct me, to learn the sentiments of the Government as to the extent and period of my stay here.

But the object to which I should most wish to draw your attention is to the third case, of actual or impending war ; and to ascertain, if possible, by anticipation, what my province will be, either in endeavouring to avert or, if that shall be impossible, to counteract the dangers with which it may menace our interests.

In the first place it is only a question of absence from my duty at home, the considerations bearing upon which will be best estimated perhaps when we more nearly approach to the period when Parliament must reassemble after Christmas.

The second case is more critical, and by no means improbable, namely, such an adherence, short of war, to their own views, that the leading Powers, remaining armed, may refuse to accede to each other's pretensions, and the Congress terminate either in a general state of provisional occupancy, or in the partial adjustment of particular parts of the European arrangement amongst the Powers locally most interested.

But the most important, and, if we cannot agree upon some general system, the most likely case to occur is that of hostilities ; and where all are armed, and none can long support the burthen of their existing establishments, the chances are that the warfare will be early and general.

Take the case of Russia and Prussia : if they are determined to make common cause on their respective objects, and cannot succeed in prevailing upon the other Powers to acquiesce in their demands, it will not suit the exhausted finances of Prussia to remain long armed and inactive ; nor can Russia expose herself indefinitely to the incumbrance of large armies remaining unemployed beyond or on the verge of her own frontier. I think the probability therefore is, that one or both of these Powers, if they do not relax in their pretensions, will provoke rather than procrastinate the war.

If war should, under these circumstances, arise, I think it has every prospect of becoming general in Germany. That France must and will enter into it, I have no doubt; and with Holland, the Low Countries, and Hanover exposed, in addition to the interest we must take in the fate of the Continent, it will be difficult for Great Britain long, if at all, to abstract herself from the contest.

The questions I should then wish you to weigh me, whether we should at once appear as a party in the war, or whether we should rather interpose as armed mediators, if possible to stop the war, or remain inactive till, by an attack on some interest of which we are the immediate guardians, our interposition is rendered indispensable.

In examining the first question, I am inclined to be of opinion, that having no duty in point of alliance imposed upon us which the unfortunate divergence amongst our late Allies will not discharge us from, we ought not to contract any new obligations of so serious a nature upon any of the points now in dispute between those with whom we have been recently acting; for however deeply we think that we may trace in them a new danger to Europe, the nation, after so long a war, could not be brought forward with effect in support of a question either of Polish or Bohemian frontier. Our interposition, must therefore be, if inevitable, not as auxiliaries to any particular State, but as principals upon some grounds of policy which Great Britain will consider it her duty and interest to maintain.

The first and most popular of all interests perhaps that we could look to is that of preventing war. In this view it deserves consideration whether the sense of our justice and the dread of our arms and resources could at any time, and at what, be brought forward in the shape of an intervention to enforce peace upon the contending parties.

It next deserves to be weighed, whether this attempt, if wise, should be made singly or in conjunction with France. There are many points of view in which the appearance of France at all in the field must be viewed as a danger the most serious in itself; but this will not exclude her from interference; and the question is, what species of interference will render her *marche* the least prejudicial to the interest of Europe, and give the King, in whose probity and honour we may venture to confide, the best means of preventing his army from imposing upon him, when in operation, a line of policy which his principles would naturally lead him to abjure.

I am inclined to think that the best mode in which France could intervene, if this risk must be run, would, in the first instance, be to avoid war ; and that, in this character, her intervention might be advantageously combined with ours. The two Powers might truly and powerfully put forward to Europe a coincidence of interests and a similarity of views. Neither have any direct interest at issue before the Congress ; both have the strongest and most obvious interest in peace : if such an appeal could be successfully made, every purpose would be answered ; if it failed, the connexion of France with Great Britain would bring her into the war as it were associated to an anti-revolutionary policy. It will be a solemn disavowal, at the outset, of her former wild schemes of frontier and dominion ; and the army would be taught when taking the field that the King was not again embarking them by degrees in their former views of plunder and spoliation, which might be further guarded against by suitable engagements between the two Courts, in which the Prince of Orange might be included.

If there were any clear and definite principle upon which we might hope altogether to keep out of the war without the incumbrance of remaining armed throughout the period of a protracted contest, the policy of engaging either separately or in conjunction with France in an armed intervention might be more than doubted ; but where we are embarked so deeply in the formation and protection of a system in the Low Countries, I can hardly conceive the possibility of our finding ourselves long dispensed from the necessity of maintaining by arms in such a contest either these particular interests or the interests of Europe in the larger sense.

I have suggested the idea of an armed mediation as an expedient short of actual war, because I think there may be an interval after hostilities had commenced during which Great Britain and France might assume this character, to give weight to which the army of the Low Countries and Hanover might be united under the Duke of Wellington on the Lower Rhine, whilst the French army was concentrated on the side of Strasburg. In this situation they might invite other Powers to associate themselves to their object of arresting the war ; whilst Austria and Bavaria, whose united means are represented to amount to 600,000 men, would have to bear, if it did explode, the first shock.

I throw out these ideas for your consideration without any formed opinion which I should wish to press upon the adoption of my colleagues.

CXLI. [*F. O. Cont.* 8.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 27.)

Vienna, December 7th, 1814.

[Interview with Hardenberg.]

. . . I stated to him that there was but one sentiment amongst us all, that Prussia should be reconstructed upon the scale to which her Treaties entitled her to lay claim ; and that the only question was whether the whole of Saxony should be included in the territories to be assigned to her. In observing on the difficulties that opposed themselves to such an arrangement, I delivered to His Highness an extract of Your Lordship's private letter of the 18th ult.,<sup>1</sup> as the best proof not of what those usually opposed to the King's Government in Great Britain might urge in the controversy of debate upon this subject, but of the sentiments deliberately entertained by those most friendly to the interests of Prussia. I requested Prince Hardenberg to lay this extract before the King in corroboration of the advice I had given him some time since, namely, that as Minister for Prussia, he ought to prefer a compromise on this question to a total extinction. I did not, however, conceal from him that I considered the point as now standing on different grounds from what it did when my letter of the 11th of October and Prince Metternich's of the 22nd of October were written.<sup>2</sup>

That in doing justice to the loyalty of his intentions, it was impossible to deny that the concert on the affairs of Poland, which was the basis of the understanding, had avowedly failed through the conduct of his sovereign ; that under these circumstances, neither Austria nor Great Britain could espouse his claims in the manner they might otherwise have done, and wished to do ; and that the question now was, whether, having failed in an attempt to bring Russia to such an arrangement of frontier as had been deemed requisite, he would assert, through her influence alone, a pretention against the general sentiment of Europe.

Prince Hardenberg endeavoured to maintain the hardship upon Prussia, after all her exertions, to find herself thwarted in her views, and that he would run all risks rather than return home under such an humiliation. I represented that this was not a case of war, that he was in the occupation of Saxony, and that I apprehended no one would think of removing him hostilely, from thence, but that he could not regard an unacknowledged

<sup>1</sup> CXXX.<sup>2</sup> See CXVI. and CXIX.

claim as constituting a good title and that he never could in *conscience* or *honour* advise his sovereign to make the mere refusal of a recognition a cause of war against other States : that Prussia would then remain in a state of disquietude and doubt, compelled to remain armed, and that his return to Berlin would, under such circumstances, be more painful, than if he brought back the accession of all the Powers of Europe to an equal extent of dominion, though differently constituted.

In pressing upon Prince Hardenberg's mind the friendly share Great Britain had always borne in asserting the interests of Prussia, and the successful efforts recently made by myself to prevail upon Austria to sacrifice her objections on the point of Saxony to the larger question of Poland, His Highness became more reasonable and agreed to take *ad referendum* a counter-projet from Austria, showing how Prussia could be secured in her rights without laying claim to the entire of Saxony. The Chancellor also allowed me strongly to impress upon him that, in proportion as the world imputed to his Court whether falsely or not, it was not necessary to decide, an alarming degree of subservience to Russian influence, that it became the more impolitick in him, wishing as I had no doubt he did, to preserve the general confidence of Europe, to attempt to force an arrangement, which several of the principal Powers of Europe might decline to sanction. That in proportion as he had failed to bring forward his King upon the Polish question, he ought to be accommodating on that of Germany, if he wished to be respected among his co-estates, and not to build his authority amongst them upon an external influence.

I left the Prussian Minister more temperate upon the point than I had expected to find him. Having prepared him for a negative from Austria under present circumstances to the total incorporation of Saxony, I afterwards saw Prince Metternich, and urged him to frame his answer to the Prussian paper in such a manner as would present at once to Prince Hardenberg's mind the difficulty of executing his purpose against the prevailing sentiment and would shew him in a counter-projet how his just views could be otherwise realised.

This Prince Metternich promised to do. He was much pleased with the part I had taken, and, as he is but too apt to do, considered an arrangement now as certain. Much will yet depend on obtaining from Russia some further territorial means in Poland : without these I do not see how the various pretensions can be at all adequately satisfied. We must still hope that the

Emperor will not suffer things to get into confusion for a limited extent of territory. If he cedes up to the Wartha and the Nidda it will give essential facilities.

The Emperor of Austria and Prince Metternich severally had interviews with the Emperor of Russia yesterday. The latter assured me they were both quite explicit with him upon the Saxon point, intimating at the same time their desire to accommodate to his views on the side of Poland, if the whole arrangement could be so cast as to procure a general concurrence upon the Saxon question. I understood from Prince Metternich that he laid in [*sic*] his objection to the erection of Thorn and Cracovie, into neutral towns, considering them as likely in that state to endanger the tranquillity of the neighbouring Powers. This may probably give occasion to a renewed proposition on the part of Austria and Prussia for the possession of those towns with the territory before asked for, upon conditions of their not being fortified, which will fall within the principle upon which Russia proposed to neutralise them, namely, their not being menacing to the new Polish Kingdom.

I have stated to your Lordship the result of his interview. The Chancellor's language might certainly justify a hope, that these questions were yet open to fair discussion; but I have so often found Prince Hardenberg's candid impressions disappear upon communication with those around him, and when I witness every day, the astonishing tenacity with which all the Powers cling to the smallest point of separate interest, I must entreat your Lordship not to indulge from this report too sanguine an expectation that the very complicated and important concerns which yet mix themselves with the three great questions now combined in a joint negotiation are likely to be either very speedily or amicably regulated.

CXLII. [W. S. D. IX. 483.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Vienna, December 17th, 1814.

Although I cannot announce to you the result of our Saxon negotiation, I think it right to apprise you in a private letter of a diplomatic explosion which has taken place, since I last wrote, between Austria and Prussia, and which has been productive of very animated discussions between these Courts and the Emperor of Russia.

It arose out of Prince Metternich's answer,<sup>1</sup> now sent, refusing Saxony to Prussia. This exasperated the Prussians, and induced our friend Hardenberg to do a very incorrect act, to which he must have been pushed on by others, possibly with a view to his own overthrow, namely, to communicate to the Emperor of Russia parts of the confidential correspondence that had passed between himself and Prince Metternich with respect to Poland, and their concert against the views of Russia. These secret papers were accompanied with an insinuation that Austria now broke faith with Prussia upon the point of Saxony, in consequence of Prussia *refusing* to enter into a hostile alliance against Russia.

Upon the receipt of this intelligence the Emperor of Russia went to the Emperor of Austria and reproached him with the alleged hostile purpose. The Emperor very naturally replied that if his minister had written such a letter, it was without his knowledge, and that he must be called on to explain.

Under these circumstances Prince Metternich had no other alternative but to carry to the Emperor of Russia, in his own justification, all his *own* letters, leaving it to Prince Hardenberg to produce *his* or not, as he thought fit. The fact happens to be, that the only really objectionable letters are the Chancellor's own. Metternich's are perfectly fair diplomatic papers, avowing in very proper terms the objections of his Court to the Russian views; whereas Hardenberg, in order to escape an avowed opposition to Russia, in which he found himself disavowed, did not simply confine himself to being most unnecessarily the advocate of peace, but undertook to show that the Emperor must soon be ruined by his own politics, that in a few years his military power would become comparatively feeble, and that it was then the Allies *might seize an occasion of doing themselves justice*.

It is hardly credible that with such appendant matter he should venture to risk the communication of Metternich's replies, all of which originate in papers of his own, more or less indiscreet, and infinitely more inconsistent, particularly with the Prussian relations with Russia, than anything Metternich had written. In truth Prince Metternich's letter of the 22nd October,<sup>2</sup> which I have sent home, evinces a sincere desire to conciliate, and not to quarrel with Russia.

The whole, as you may imagine, made for two days a great sensation, but the result perhaps may serve to prove what I have

<sup>1</sup> Metternich to Hardenberg, December 10th, 1814. D'Angeberg, 505.

<sup>2</sup> See CXIX.



ventured before to allege, that the climate of Russia is often the more serene after a good squall. The justificatory interview between the Emperor of Russia and Metternich was not the less stormy, from a little *private* note of the latter, denying, in terms not very measured, some reported insinuations of His Imperial Majesty's against *his* fidelity to Prussia. This note was, either most ungenerously or most unaccountably, amongst the papers sent, and served not a little to exasperate. The audience terminated by His Imperial Majesty's saying he should give his answer to the Emperor in person.

The interview between the Emperors took place the following morning, and, according to the report I have received, was marked by peculiar conciliation on the part of the Emperor Alexander; a wish to settle all differences, and to be the best possible friends; regret that he could not meet the Emperor of Austria's wishes about Cracovie, which the Poles could not bear he should alienate as the tomb of their kings; but that in lieu thereof, and as proof of his regard, he would cede the circle of Tarnapol, which he had received from Austria by the Peace of Vienna.<sup>1</sup> This district contains a population of not less than 400,000 subjects; and although the cession will not serve Austria in point of frontier, it is certainly the most substantial proof of a disposition to treat *à l'aimable* which His Imperial Majesty has yet afforded. The Emperor expressed his hope that Prussia would also accommodate, and that all might be arranged.

I may be mistaken, but I cannot but infer from what has occurred that this disclosure has produced rather a salutary impression on the Emperor's mind. Had these ministers spoken as bold truths to His Imperial Majesty in their interviews as they did to each other in their letters, and had they supported *me* in the clear and decisive tone which their official correspondence entitled me to expect, my persuasion is that the Emperor of Russia would have come to a suitable arrangement with respect to the point of Poland, notwithstanding the embarrassment he had previously created for himself by hopes given to the Poles. In this correspondence the Emperor clearly perceived that I had not been mistaken in representing to him the real feelings of his Allies; and I have no doubt that they made their impression even after the concert had failed. I am afraid, however, the disclosure will operate prejudicially on the relations between Austria and Prussia.

<sup>1</sup> Of 1809.

CXLIII. [*F. O. Cont.* 9.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 35.)

Vienna, December 18th, 1814.

I am not enabled to add anything on which I can absolutely rely relative to the negotiation. I have some reason however to believe that a new *Projet*, assigning to the King of Saxony an increased indemnity to the extent of eight hundred thousand subjects, *but not in Saxony*, has been laid before the Emperor Alexander, for his sanction, by Prince Hardenberg. I have heard from another quarter, that the Prussian answer or *Projet*, whatever it is, was not approved by His Imperial Majesty. Baron Stein is the most earnest opponent in the Prussian councils of any modification of the Saxon point. Prince Metternich declares that nothing will induce his Emperor to give way on this subject; and as a proof that his Court is determined, he has transmitted his last note to Prince Hardenberg officially to Prince Talleyrand.<sup>1</sup> This is the first regular overture that has been made by Austria to France; the personal intercourse between these ministers has been considerably augmented within these few days.

The Austrian Minister having expressed a wish for my intervention on the point of Saxony, and a similar insinuation coming through Count Hardenberg on the part of Prussia, but accompanied by a doubt whether the recent conduct of that Cabinet might not indispose me to interfere, I thought it right to declare, that no feeling with respect to the past would make me refuse my intervention, if I thought I could be instrumental in bringing the parties to an amicable arrangement, however much I might desire, on personal grounds, to be as little mixed as possible with this question of Saxony; but that to afford any chance of being of use, my interference must be equally desired by the parties, and I must be previously assured, that Prussia is prepared to admit as a basis, a suitable arrangement for the King of Saxony.

If the information above alluded to is correct, it does not appear that the Prussians are yet prepared to yield on the latter principle. If they were, with Dresden and the half of Saxony, more or less, according to local convenience, I think the King ought to be satisfied. This would place Saxony in Germany rather above what Hanover was in 1792, and a little below what Hanover and Wirtemberg will now be. If the French Revolution has inordinately raised Bavaria, there is no just reason why Saxony may not be depressed in somewhat a corresponding ratio by the different operation of such convulsive causes. To maintain that some

<sup>1</sup> Metternich to Talleyrand, December 16th, 1814. D'Angeberg, 540.

States acting with France may gain by such events, but that others should not lose, would be laying down a principle both unjust and dangerous, and throwing the losses of the struggle upon the most meritorious Houses in Germany.

CXLIV. [W. S. D. IX. 485.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Vienna, December 18th, 1814.

I think Murat's pretensions to be acknowledged by us cannot be sustained; they do not rest upon any formal engagement. The whole claim turns upon an assurance contingent upon two conditions: 1st. His effective co-operation; 2ndly. The King of Sicily being indemnified. Neither of these conditions have or are now to be realised. If Murat's conduct in the war had been such as we were entitled to expect, it might be urged that he ought not to suffer from the King's refusal of indemnity, even were it possible to propose one for his acceptance, which it is not; but where the whole course of Murat's proceedings was, in the judgment and view of the whole army, dilatory, wavering, and suspicious, and when we know from the Viceroy, although he will not be an evidence on the question, that he was engaged the greater part of the time in a traitorous intercourse with him, it appears to me impossible to suffer the contingent assurance given by Lord William Bentinck to the Marquis di Gallo on the 1st of April under the authority of my letter from Chatillon of the 21st of February<sup>1</sup>—an assurance which you will observe from the enclosed was given under expressions of pointed qualification at the time—to supersede all the claims the Sicilian family have to the favour and protection of Great Britain, much more to engage the employment of our power, under such circumstances, to secure an usurper against them in their kingdom of Naples.

[Conversation with Talleyrand on the subject. Told him that British Government not bound to Murat, since the conditions not fulfilled on his part. Talleyrand undertook to have search made in the offices at Paris for evidence of Murat's treachery. Stated willingness to contribute to restore the Bourbons to Naples and asked for a confidential Memorandum as to the steps advisable to be adopted to effect this object. Encloses this Memorandum. Urged the importance of distinct proofs of Murat's treachery, and satisfied Talleyrand of our desire to concur with France on this subject. France as little disposed as we are for immediate war to enforce compliance.]

<sup>1</sup> Laying down two conditions for the recognition of Murat—his active assistance in the war and a suitable indemnity for Ferdinand.

Prince Talleyrand's main reliance for getting rid of Murat is the pledge proposed to be taken against his pretensions, and which he hopes all the Powers except Austria would concur in. This would for the time save the honour of his Government ; but I doubt its having any serious effect upon Murat's situation, or inducing him, as Prince Talleyrand expects, to come forward with terms of accommodation. On the other hand, there is always an inconvenience in such abstract declarations, unaccompanied with any practical measure, either of war or negotiation, and which are capable of being represented, in theory at least, an interminable barrier to the relations of peace being re-established between the principal States of Europe and the kingdom of Naples.

It appears to me that this species of declaration would be open to peculiar inconvenience in a Parliamentary point of view. I think it would not be difficult to satisfy Parliament and Europe that Great Britain owed it to herself to concur in a negotiation to remove Murat from the throne of Naples, under all the circumstances of the case, viz., the existing state of Europe, now comprising two great States, viz., France and Spain, who cannot be expected to acknowledge Murat ; the strong, I may say the almost irresistible claims, now incapable of being satisfied in any other manner, which the Sicilian family have upon those States with whom they have co-operated throughout the war, and the very small claim established by Murat by his conduct in the field to be protected against the ancient family.

I should, therefore, prefer an actual offer of terms to Murat, whether successful or not, to a more insulated declaration. If liberal they would reconcile the public feeling to any future policy of a more hostile nature. The case against him in reasoning is abundantly strong to bear out this first step. The mere fact of the negotiation is by inference a denial of his title and a recognition of his adversary. A refusal on his part would justify his non-recognition, and leave open all future measures to prudential consideration. The attempt on the part of so many preponderating States to restore the ancient family must tend to weaken Murat's authority within the country, and call forth a sentiment, if such exists, in favour of Ferdinand IV., without seeming to provoke insurrection by a sentence of illegitimacy passed upon Murat, unaccompanied, however, by any expedient to facilitate a favourable settlement between these rival pretensions.

The future course to be pursued would remain fairly open to decision. The public mind of Europe, once satisfied of the propriety of the first measure, would be gradually prepared for any ulterior proceedings, and we should close the transactions before Congress without any further embarrassment than a dissent on the part of Austria alone to the institution of a negotiation to settle, if possible, amicably a point which certainly in its present shape menaces most seriously the peace of Italy, if not of Europe.

I enclose a short Memorandum,<sup>1</sup> suggesting for your consideration the course which I should myself prefer to that proposed by Prince Talleyrand on this question.

CASTLEREAGH'S PROJET RESPECTING MURAT.<sup>2</sup>

To consolidate effectually the peace of Europe, Ferdinand IV. must be restored to Naples, since it is impossible to find any adequate territorial indemnity to propose to the King, and it is his avowed purpose not to accept any indemnity.

It is fit and proper that a provision of a pecuniary nature should be secured to Murat and his heirs for ever, having regard to the importance of avoiding measures which might compromise the public tranquillity and involve Naples in civil war.

Should Murat consent peaceably to abdicate, assurance is to be given him that he will receive every consideration on the part of our respective Sovereigns and, in the event of his wishing to establish his residence in any of their dominions, a cordial and hospitable reception.

Further efforts will be made to procure a settlement, as a condition of his abdication in favour of Ferdinand IV., by which, under solemn guarantee, a complete oblivion of the past and an abjuration of every vindictive feeling as to the future shall be secured on the part of Ferdinand and his successors, to the Neapolitan people.

A condition is also to be made that Ferdinand shall secure to his Neapolitan subjects such rights and privileges as may be just and reasonable.

A joint commission to be appointed to open communication with Murat upon these principles and to assure him of the amicable character of the overture.

CXLV. [W. S. D. IX. 493.]

LIVERPOOL TO CASTLEREAGH.

Fife House, December 22nd, 1814.

In the event of the discussions at Vienna leading to some general settlement of the affairs of Europe, it has occurred to us that you may be pressed to become a party to the arrangements of the Emperor of Russia with respect to Poland, or rather to his acquisition of the Duchy of Warsaw.

If this should be proposed to you, we have no objection to your agreeing to it, provided it is distinctly stipulated in the Treaty

<sup>1</sup> Précis follows this dispatch.

<sup>2</sup> Précis of document in W. S. D. IX. 488.

that at least the Polish provinces incorporated with Russia since 1791 shall be reunited to the Duchy of Warsaw, so as to form a distinct kingdom of Poland, under a free Constitution.

As this is in conformity to the Emperor of Russia's own suggestion, and to the language which he has invariably held regarding Poland, he cannot, in fairness, object to this proposal; and if the Crown of Russia is to be aggrandized to the extent now proposed, it would afford some security to Europe, however inadequate, that the empire should consist of two distinct kingdoms, and that the Crown and one of those kingdoms should be subject to the control of a government more or less popular.

In case, however, the Emperor of Russia should object to any such stipulation in a Treaty or instrument to which other Powers were parties, it may be of importance that you should take means of informing Prince Czartoriski and the other Poles who may be at Vienna that you were authorized by your Government to propose such a stipulation.

I feel it necessary only to add that whatever may be now the result of the arrangements respecting Poland, our taking any part of the Russian debt to Holland as a charge on this country will, we trust, after all that has passed, be considered as entirely out of the question.

CXLVI. [W. S. D. IX. 496.]

LIVERPOOL TO CASTLEREAGH.

Five House, December 23rd, 1814.

[As to Castlereagh's opinion that the French might be won over to our views on other points by our agreeing with them on the point of Naples, the British Government is of opinion that it would not be justified in assisting to dethrone Murat, if he fairly fulfilled his engagements after the conclusion of the peace between him and Austria. It must be left to Castlereagh to decide upon the best evidence he can obtain as to whether Murat's conduct has absolved Great Britain from any obligation towards him. Since Murat has published the assurances given in Castlereagh's despatch to Bentinck of April 3rd, it is essential that the case against him should be such as will justify the change of conduct towards him by Parliament and by the world.]

Supposing, however, his treachery or wilful and culpable inactivity to be clearly established, how are we to get rid of him? If he will accept of a compensation, and such compensation can be found, the difficulty is solved; but if he is determined to defend

himself, who is the Power to be charged with expelling him? Would it be safe, under the present circumstances of Italy, and the unpopularity of most of the governments re-established there, especially those of Austria, to revive a state of war in that country?

We are inclined to think that it would be more safe and prudent for the Powers of Europe to tolerate Murat than for any of them to undertake hostilities for the purpose of expelling him. A war carried on by France, however, in Germany or the Low Countries, would be so much greater an evil to Great Britain than a war carried on by her in Italy, that if the former can be avoided only by the occurrence of the latter, it appears to us incomparably the least evil of the two; but we can only be justified in encouraging or giving our sanction to such a line of policy by the conviction that the conduct of Murat subsequent to his engagements with Austria had been of a nature to discharge us from all our obligations towards him.

CXLVII. [*W. S. D. IX. 497.*]

LIVERPOOL TO CASTLEREAGH.

Fife House, December 23rd, 1814.

We have received your despatches of the 5th and 7th instant and the very important private letter addressed to me of the former date.<sup>1</sup>

The contents of these papers have been fully considered, and we are decidedly and unanimously of opinion that all your endeavours should be directed to the continuance of peace; and that there is no mode in which the arrangements in Poland, Germany, and Italy can be settled, consistently with the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, which is not to be preferred under present circumstances to a renewal of hostilities between the Continental Powers. Such an event could not at this time take place in Europe without the danger of our being involved in it at no distant period unless we were prepared to purchase neutrality by sacrifices which would be neither consistent with our character nor our safety.

With these sentiments deeply impressed upon our minds, we must not disguise from you that it would be quite impossible to embark this country in a war at present, except from a clear point of honour, or for some distinct British interest of sufficient magnitude to reconcile the country to it.

The defence of Holland and the Low Countries is the only objection the continent of Europe which would be regarded in this

<sup>1</sup> CXXXIX., CXL., CXLI.

light, and for which we could reasonably expect the support of Parliament in imposing or continuing those burthens on the country which our being involved in a war would render indispensable.

If the Austrian government is once satisfied that they have no chance of receiving subsidies from Great Britain, they will not be disposed to urge their pretensions to the extent of war, and the differences between them and the other Powers will, I trust, be in some way or other arranged without an appeal to arms.

We are ready, notwithstanding these considerations, to give full weight to the opinion contained in your private letter of the 5th instant, that adverting to the actual situation of the great Powers on the Continent, how generally they are armed, and how little they are all able to support the expense of their existing establishments, a state of war may possibly arise amongst them, if not from any deliberate view of policy, yet out of the circumstances in which they may find themselves placed.

We concur with you that if war should be renewed on the Continent, it would be in vain to expect that France could be long kept out of it; and if France were once embarked without a previous understanding with Great Britain, her efforts might, in the first instance, be directed, if not against Belgium, at least against the countries between the Meuse and the Rhine, which are now principally occupied by the Prussian armies.

We agree, therefore, that a *rapprochement* between this country and France is most desirable at the present moment; and we shall entirely approve of your proceeding to open a confidential communication with the French Government on all the subjects now under discussion, both through Prince Talleyrand at Vienna, and through the Duke of Wellington at Paris. On whatever points France and England might be found to agree, the knowledge of a good understanding upon those points between two such Powers could hardly fail to give their united opinion considerable weight.

With respect to the line of conduct which it may be expedient for us to adopt in the event of the sudden renewal of war upon the Continent, it must depend upon such a variety of circumstances, and must be influenced so materially by the character which the war may assume, that after the fullest consideration we have found it impossible to frame instructions which can be applicable to the various contingencies to which the renewal of the war may give rise.

We are not insensible to some of the advantages which might be derived in such a case from a joint armed mediation on the part



of Great Britain and France ; but a measure of this kind would be so novel and extraordinary, and might be attended with so many consequences which cannot now be foreseen, that it appears to us to be quite impossible to determine upon it as a course of policy before we are distinctly acquainted with all the circumstances under which the war shall have originated, with the immediate cause of it, and with the different pretensions and expectations of the Powers who may have engaged in it.

We do not see any considerable inconvenience that can arise from our deferring any decision on this, and on other points connected with it, until the occasion shall arise, especially as we have no particular nor national interest in any of the objects which are most seriously contested at this time, and as the avowed purpose, therefore, of our policy is not to carry any point of our own, but to consolidate the peace concluded at Paris by an amicable adjustment of the differences which have unfortunately occurred amongst other Powers.

It may be of the utmost importance, in the meantime, to anticipate the Emperor of Russia, who, having carried his objects in the East of Europe, may be disposed to purchase the concurrence of France by an acquiescence in her views in other quarters. The known honour of the King of France will, however, be our best security against his contracting any engagements inconsistent with the stipulations of the peace which he has concluded, and contrary to his good faith towards us, provided we treat him and his government with that consideration and confidence which they regard not unjustly as due to them, and which may induce them to look to a cordial understanding with Great Britain as the best prospect of recovering their fair portion of influence in Europe.

We know these were the sentiments of the King of France and of his Ministers when you saw them in your way through Paris in the month of August last, and we have no reason to believe that their sentiments in this respect have undergone any change since that time.

CXLVIII. [*W. S. D. IX. 494.*]

LIVERPOOL TO WELLINGTON.

Fife House, December 23rd, 1814.

I send open for your perusal several letters<sup>1</sup> which, with the concurrence of the Cabinet, I have written this day to Lord Castlereagh ; and, although cross-negotiations are most objection-

<sup>1</sup> See CXLVI., CXLVII.

able, and generally involve the governments which have recourse to them in difficulties, I can see no objection to your seeking an audience of the King of France, to your explaining to him generally the feelings and sentiments of the Prince Regent's government towards him, and thereby preparing him for any communication Lord Castlereagh may make to Prince Talleyrand at Vienna.

The more I hear and see of the different Courts of Europe, the more convinced I am that the King of France is (amongst the great Powers) the only Sovereign in whom we can have any real confidence. The Emperor of Russia is profligate from vanity and self-sufficiency, if not from principle. The King of Prussia may be a well-meaning man, but he is the dupe of the Emperor of Russia. The Emperor of Austria I believe to be an honest man, but he has a Minister in whom no one can trust; who considers all policy as consisting in *finesse* and trick; and who has got his government and himself into more difficulties by his devices than could have occurred from a plain course of dealing.

We must not conceal from ourselves, however, that an avowed union between Great Britain and France would be likely to be unpopular in both countries. Questions might arise, and opportunities might occur, which would, not unnaturally, lead to it; but a measure of this very delicate nature should not be precipitated; and we gain our purpose sufficiently at present if we can establish a complete confidential intercourse with the French government which will give to neither party any pretence to enter into engagements to the prejudice of the other, or indeed into any engagements at all, which, under present circumstances, it is not willing to communicate to the other.

We should be much obliged to you if you could let us have some information of the present numbers and conditions of the French army, as well as of the progress of the measures which are now taking to recruit it. We understand that the report which had created so much alarm in the Low Countries some time ago, of the assembly of a large force at Lisie, turns out to be unfounded.

CXLIX. [*F. O. Cont.* 9.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 38.)

Vienna, December 24th, 1814.

I stated to Your Lordship in my despatch No. 35<sup>1</sup> the desire which had been evidenced directly by Austria, and indirectly by

<sup>1</sup> CXLIII.

Prussia, for my intervention on the Saxon point, and the language I had held upon this subject.

The following day Prince Czartoriski, who although not in any official situation, appears now the actual Russian minister, at least on Polish and Saxon questions, desired to call on me. He did not profess to come in the Emperor's name nor did I wish to impede any object he might have in conferring with me, by endeavouring to give his visit a more formal character than he chose to clothe it with. The object of his conversation was to ascertain the sentiments of my court upon the Saxon question, and to consider how we could best escape from the difficulties in which we were placed.

I explained to him, without reserve, the reasons which made it my duty to express a modification on the part of Prussia, of the Saxon question, as the only means that could now lead to an arrangement, to which all the great Powers would be parties.

The following day, Prince Hardenberg desired to see me, for the purpose of communicating to me his memoir, and to express a wish, after our separate interview was closed, that I would allow him to have a conference with me in Prince Czartoriski and Baron Stein's presence, to all of which I agreed; at the latter conversation Baron Humboldt also assisted. The object of this conference seemed to be, to ascertain how far I could be prevailed on to support the proposed establishment of the King of Saxony beyond the Rhine, in favour of which they urged all the reasons arising from the evil of dividing that country, and the discontent and intrigues to which it would hereafter give occasion; the necessity of the whole of Saxony to give solidity to Prussia, and the hardship, after all their hopes, of depriving them of this possession.

To this I opposed the impossibility of procuring the acquiescence necessary to render such an arrangement really beneficial to Prussia. The King clearly would not relinquish his rights for such an establishment as was proposed. France certainly would neither encourage him to do so, nor recognise the possession in Prussia to his prejudice. Austria would be as little disposed to force upon the King of Saxony an arrangement, which would work a particular injury to herself; and with respect to Great Britain, although I had never held the rights of the King of Saxony to be paramount to the interests of Europe in the larger sense, nor yet to be the just re-construction, according to her Treaties, of Prussia, yet that under all the circumstances of the present case, I could not admit a necessity sufficiently strong to exist, as to justify the adoption of so harsh and strong a measure as the total incorporation of

Saxony in opposition to the prevailing sentiment of Germany, not less so, as I believed, of Great Britain, and the declared opposition of some of the most preponderating Powers in Europe.

That I could the less do so as my conviction was, that Prussia would not gain real strength by such an unpopular measure, even if acquiesced in, whereas, if it led to war, it was unnecessary to argue the impolicy of an act, which might have the effect of bringing a French army into Germany to assail, and a Russian army to defend, Prussia.

That it was true that Prussia had lost considerably of the solidity of her Empire on the side of Poland (for which however Great Britain was not responsible); but that, on the other hand, if she should acquire a considerable proportion of the Northern parts of Saxony, including the fortresses of Wittenberg and Torgau on the Elbe, together with nearly the two Lusaces, and further obtain a full equivalent in Germany for her Polish subjects, it appeared to me that, upon the whole, the construction of her monarchy would be improved.

This discussion lasted nearly two hours, during which time I had to sustain the united efforts of those present, to convert me, and to impeach the conduct which Austria had pursued. It ended, however, in my contributing, as far as the weight of the British Government could operate, to produce more temperate councils on the part of Prussia, and in making the Russians more correctly appreciate the course that had been pursued towards Prussia; I added that whatever opposition I had given to the Polish arrangement, and although I must still reserve to myself the right to protest against that measure, yet that being once acquiesced in by the Powers most interested, I should be found not the less desirous to promote a conciliatory settlement on other points. Having reason to believe that nothing passed in this interview to abate the desire that I should interfere to promote a settlement, I addressed the Memorandum of which I enclose a copy,<sup>1</sup> to the three Allied ministers communicating it also to Prince Talleyrand. My object in doing so was twofold, first to put an end to the existing discordance as to facts, and secondly that we might be enabled to specify to Prussia more precisely than has hitherto been done, *how* she was to be re-constructed, before we called upon Prince Hardenberg formally to accede to the principle of abdicating a part of Saxony. Prince Talleyrand having made it a request that a French

<sup>1</sup> This was a proposal to set up a Statistical Committee. See my *Congress of Vienna*, p. 165.

Plenipotentiary should attend this commission, his wishes have been complied with.

The commissioners met to-day—vizt. : Lord Clancarty, Baron Wessenberg, Duc d'Alberg, Count Münster, and Messrs. Hoffman and Jourdan for Russia and Prussia, and proceeded with their enquiry. I shall press the conclusion of their labours as the only means of correctly estimating either our means or the claims upon them.

The Austrian note,<sup>1</sup> which I enclose, has, for the present, I think, injudiciously narrowed the scope of their inquiry. This, however, can be corrected, and I augur favourably, both of the result, and of the temper in the Russian councils, which has induced an acquiescence in this appointment.

If I might venture an opinion, it would be, that the probabilities of an amicable arrangement are within these few days considerably increased.

CL. [*F. O. Cont. 9.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 41.)

Vienna, December 25th, 1814.

Since I closed my secret and confidential despatch No. 37,<sup>2</sup> I have seen Prince Metternich, and learnt from him, that another interview had taken place of a conciliatory nature between the Emperors—in which the Emperor of Russia repeated his former expressions of wishing to finish everything amicably, and without delay; and that he had appointed Count Razumoffsky as his plenipotentiary to arrange on the Polish question with Austria and Prussia. His Imperial Majesty expressed his hopes, that the King of Prussia could also accommodate upon the point of Saxony, and encouraged the Emperor of Austria to have a personal interview with him, upon the adjustment of their mutual interests.

Prince Metternich also informed me, that he had prepared by order of the Emperor his Master an answer to Prince Hardenberg's last paper, adhering strictly to the principles of his note as communicated officially to France. That the Emperor of Austria, not choosing to adopt the practice of an intercourse between sovereign

<sup>1</sup> Dated 24th December, 1814, D'Angeberg, p. 561, insisting that "l'évaluation de la population elle-même ne sera pas faite sous le simple rapport de quotité; elle le sera aussi sous celui de l'espèce ou de qualité." No other consideration but that of population was to be taken into account by this commission.

<sup>2</sup> Of December 24th, which merely communicated Hardenberg's note of the 19th December, enforcing and re-butting the Prussian claims on Saxony.

and sovereign, instead of between Cabinet and Cabinet, had directed him to transmit this reply (of which a copy will be forwarded to Your Lordship by the next messenger) through Count Nesselrode, to be laid before the Emperor Alexander.

When I saw Prince Metternich, he was just come from the King of Wirtemberg, who desired not to be considered, on this question, as adopting either the politicks of Prussia or Russia. That h's wish, in the event of a contest, would be to preserve a neutrality, but that if the Emperor of Austria put himself at the head of a German League, he would join it. Considering the intended marriage between the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg and the Duchess of Oldenburg,<sup>1</sup> and the active part I know His Royal Highness has been lately taking in concert with Baron Stein, this is a strong indication either that the spirit in Germany is strongly against Russia, or that the King of Wirtemberg thinks His Prussian Majesty intends to accommodate.

CLI. [W. S. D. IX. 511.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Vienna, December 25th, 1814.

I am always unwilling to think sanguinely of things in progress, but various concurring circumstances induce me to consider the probabilities of a settlement greatly increased. This feeling transpires from so many quarters, and the irritation so visibly subsides, that if France and the King of Saxony will assist us in assigning liberally to Prussia out of Saxony, I think we shall at last work it through. Russia, notwithstanding the embarrassment in which Prince Repnin's proclamation has placed her, will not encourage Prussia to resist, now she has secured her own arrangement in Poland. We must be as liberal as we can to Prussia, notwithstanding her shabbiness. Humboldt's *calcul*, I always suspected, was to take great care not to save so much of Poland as to weaken their claim to the whole of Saxony. I was aware of this device when I wrote my letter of the 11th of October,<sup>2</sup> which expressly bars the precise case which has occurred as not giving any claim for British support, viz., Saxony being the compensation for an excessive cession of territory to Russia on the side of Poland.

You will see that the correspondence between Austria and France essentially alters the posture of the latter Power. France is now a

<sup>1</sup> Catharine, the Tsar Alexander's sister.

<sup>2</sup> See CXVI.

principal in the question. Talleyrand's note<sup>1</sup> is written for impression. He was urgent in his language to me two days since to begin with an engagement between France, Austria, and England. I told him that I thought we were already united in opinion, and that to form an alliance prematurely might augment the chances of war rather than of an amicable settlement, which I trusted was the object we all had in view. His tone was very high and hostile to Prussia. Austria is, on the contrary, as conciliatory as is consistent with the preservation of a substantive position in Saxony to the King.

CLII. [W. S. D. IX. 503.]

WELLINGTON TO LIVERPOOL.

Paris, December 25th, 1814.

You will see my despatch to Lord Castlereagh about Murat,<sup>2</sup> the duplicate of which I send to Vienna, with a request to Lord Castlereagh to say nothing upon the subject till he hears from you.

I concur very much in opinion with the King, that the chances of disturbance, particularly in this country, are very much increased by leaving Murat on the throne of Naples. If he were gone, Buonaparte in Elba would not be an object of great dread. You must be the best judge whether you ought or can come forward on this occasion. If you should determine to do so, what follows will show you the means which are requisite, which are in your power, and my opinion of the probable expense.

<sup>1</sup> *Lettre du Prince de Talleyrand au Prince de Metternich, en date du 19th decembre, 1814, mandant que le voeu de Louis XVIII. étoit que l'oeuvre de la Restauration s'accomplît pour toute l'Europe comme pour la France, et considerant comme pernicieuse la disposition qu'on veut faire du royaume de Saxe. D'Angeberg, 540.*

<sup>2</sup> Of December 26th.

"I send you the copy of a letter which I have written to Lord Liverpool, with my despatch regarding Murat. The King is anxious that nothing should be said upon the subject at Vienna, until I shall receive an answer from England.

"Blacas explained to me, last night, how it happens that the King can give only 40,000 men. He says that they cannot venture to employ upon this service either generals, officers, or troops, who have served immediately under the command of Murat, and that they must therefor select them.

"Adverting to the temper prevailing in England, and to the state of the finances, I think it most probable the Government will not enter into this scheme, and that Murat will escape. After all, our coming forward as principals is rather a delicate matter, under all the circumstances of the Austrian Treaty, and the suspension of hostilities; and the Austrians being so far satisfied with Murat's performance of his engagements as not to join in an attack upon him. However, of this I am very certain, that Murat's continuance at Naples increases the chances of disturbance in France, which would again disturb all Europe."

If the British Government should undertake this operation, it should be performed by the armies of the Allies of the Peninsula, which might be got in the following proportions, viz. : 10,000 infantry from Spain ; 12,000 infantry from Portugal ; 20,000 of all arms from Great Britain ; and 10,000 of all arms from Sicily ; with sixty pieces of field artillery and a battering-train from Great Britain ; the whole to assemble in Sicily, in transports to be found by Great Britain. This force, with 40,000 men, which might be sent from the southern ports of France, by sea, into the Roman States, would be more than sufficient to ensure the object almost without striking a blow.

CLIII. [*F. O. Cont.* 10.<sup>1</sup>]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 42.)

Vienna, January 1st, 1815.

Having, for the reasons stated in my despatch No. 40<sup>2</sup> deemed it expedient no longer to suspend proceedings on the subject of the Slave Trade, I addressed the inclosed letter to the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian Ministers requesting to be admitted to an audience of their respective sovereigns.

The Emperor of Russia received me the following evening, and I had an opportunity of explaining to His Imperial Majesty at considerable length the objects with which I was charged, the importance attached to them by the Prince Regent, and the mode in which His Imperial Majesty could most contribute to their successful accomplishment.

I began by satisfying the Emperor that Great Britain had left no means untried which depended on her to effect a complete and total abolition of this odious and criminal traffic. That the British Parliament had now, for some years, in opposition to every prejudice and suggestions of national interest abolished absolutely the traffic throughout the whole extent of the British Dominions—That they had further made it an invariable object in all their negotiations to promote this measure ; that, in consequence, engagements had been entered into by Sweden, Denmark, and Holland immediately to abolish, and by France at the end of five years ; that France had, since the Treaty of Paris, consented to abolish forthwith to the North of Cape Formoso, and that we were in negotiation with Spain and Portugal, for the purpose of deliver-

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *British and Foreign State Papers* III. 941 as an official dispatch addressed to Bathurst and dated January 3rd.

<sup>2</sup> Of December 25th. Portugal had refused to make further concessions.



ing, without further delay, this portion of Africa at least from the evils of the Slave Trade.

That our endeavours had not been confined to mere representations, but that offers of direct and considerable value had been held out by the Prince Regent's commands to France, Spain, and Portugal, in order to reconcile them, if possible, to the measure of immediate abolition.

Having explained the nature and extent of the exertions which Great Britain had made to effectuate this object, I represented to the Emperor, that our means of being of use were, in a great measure exhausted, and that it depended much more upon His Imperial Majesty and the other sovereigns who had no colonies, now to act, than it did upon Great Britain.

The Emperor listened with much attention to every part of my statement, and particularly to this, in which I endeavoured to show that, upon reasonable notice, the great Powers of Europe would not only be justified, but bound in morality and sincerity, to exclude from their ports colonial produce grown within the dominions of states who, within a reasonable period refused to adopt the principle of abolition. That to do so must at once be effectual and to do less was to make themselves parties, in breach of their promises, to the crimes and scandal to which their demand for colonial produce gave occasion, and which they ought preferably to supply from those countries where the culture was not carried on by newly imported slaves.

The Emperor gave me every assurance of support, and directed Count Nesselrode to consult with me, on the measures to be adopted. With respect to the period of abolition to be urged, His Imperial Majesty declared his desire if possible, to prevail upon France to reduce the period of five years, and that Spain and Portugal should be urged to conform to whatever period France might be prevailed on to adopt. The Emperor expressed satisfaction at the idea of constituting a standing commission in London and Paris, composed of the ministers of Powers friendly to this object, whose duty it should be to follow it up with the undivided weight of their respective Governments, till finally effected. His Imperial Majesty received my representations throughout in the most gracious manner, and authorized me to assure the Prince Regent that His Royal Highness might rest satisfied he should do his utmost to second his exertions on this interesting subject . . .

CLIV. [*F. O. Cont.* 10.]

CASTLEREACH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 43.)

Vienna, January 1st, 1815.

In conformity to the information contained in my despatch No. 38,<sup>1</sup> of Count Razumoffski's nomination to negotiate, and the wish that prevailed with respect to my bearing a part in these negotiations, the accompanying correspondence<sup>2</sup> has taken place.

Before I gave my consent to be present, I thought it right to have an explanatory interview with Count Razumoffski and Prince Hardenberg for two objects. The first was to desire that it might be understood, that by assisting at the arrangement of the details of the intended Polish measure, I was not to be considered as altering or withdrawing any part of the opposition I had felt it my duty to give to the principle of that measure on behalf of my Court, that, with this reserve however, I was perfectly ready to contribute, as far as lay in my power, to render the arrangement as little exceptionable as possible in its minor provisions.

The second point which I desired to press was that France might be invited to take a part in the Saxon negotiations, not to the abandonment of confidential discussion between the Powers that had been allied in the war, but that the former Power might not feel that she was deliberately excluded from the consideration of a question on which she had professed to take so strong an interest.

After this business was concluded there was much general discussion on the point of Saxony—the Prussian Ministers adhering tenaciously to the principle of total incorporation, but declaring their willingness to consider any other *Projet* that might be brought forward for adequately re-constructing Prussia under her Treaties.

To this it was replied by the Austrian and English Plenipotentiaries, that although they were of opinion that the means existed of fulfilling their engagements to Prussia, without divesting the King of Saxony of the whole of his dominions, yet that until France was combined in the negotiation, we had not the means of concerting a counter *projet*, which, by uniting the appui necessary, might induce the King of Saxony to cede what was required, that Prince Talleyrand would not concert modifications with us in our individual capacity, and that to postpone communicating with him till the four Powers had come to a previous decision, was calculated to provoke opposition, instead of conciliating the important Power

<sup>1</sup> CXLIX.<sup>2</sup> Formal notes arranging the official Conference.

he represented, to assist in settling *à l'amiable*, a question upon which we were unfortunately divided in opinion.

It was urged by the two other Powers, but principally by Prussia, that France had no right to take umbrage, if the point was previously negotiated amongst the Allies, whose Treaties bound them to reconstruct Prussia upon a principle agreed upon, to which engagement France was no party. This distinction was argued to be by no means founded, as the first secret article of the Peace of Paris, by recognising "les bases arrêtées entre elles" rendered the Treaty of Kalisch, which established the rights of Prussia as binding upon France as upon any of the other Powers. After some further discussion the point was taken *ad referendum*, and the Russian and Prussian Ministers, who appear to act completely in concert, promised at the next meeting, which is fixed for Monday, to communicate the decision of their Courts.

CLV. [F. O. Cont. 10.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 44.)

Vienna, January 1st, 1815.

Although I have had strong reason to hope that a disposition existed in the Prussian Cabinet to accommodate on the Saxon point, should a liberal offer be made them, yet there are indications which justify the utmost vigilance with respect to their ultimate policy.

The language of their *entourés* is very warlike, and strongly against yielding any part of Saxony, Baron Humboldt's particularly so. His reasoning yesterday in our conference, which he attends as one of the Prussian Plenipotentiaries, went every length, but that of refusing to discuss such alternatives as might be proposed. They are organising their army for the field, and, I have heard to-day, are employed in fortifying Dresden. This may be all menace to sustain their negotiation, but they may also meditate some sudden effort, in conjunction with Russia to coerce Austria, and place themselves in a situation to dictate their own terms on all other points—the conduct of their employés on the left bank of the Rhine has been extremely vexatious of late towards the Prince of Orange's Government, and no attention has yet been paid here to any of their reclamations.

These indications have attracted the more seriously my attention, from a declaration incidentally made by Prince Hardenberg in yesterday's conference, that should Prussia continue to consider the annexation of the whole of Saxony necessary to her reconstruction, she could not, in point of expense, submit to remain in a

state of provisional occupation, and that Russia and Prussia would, in such a case, consider a refusal to acknowledge, as tantamount to a declaration of war.

I took occasion to protest in the strongest terms against this principle as a most alarming and unheard-of menace; that it should be competent for one Power to invade another, and by force to compel a recognition which was founded upon no Treaty, and where no attempt had been made to disturb the possession of the invading Power in the territory to which he laid claim. That such an insinuation might operate upon a Power trembling for its existence, but must have the contrary effect upon all that were alive to their own dignity; and I added that if such a temper really prevailed, we were not deliberating in a state of independence, and it were better to break up the Congress.

This unguarded declaration was afterwards softened down, and, to a degree, explained away; but it has not failed, coupled with other expressions used in private, to create a strong sensation and alarm, that if Prussia should not ultimately yield, she will attempt, as is the practice of her Government in lesser concerns, some bold and desperate coup to deliver herself suddenly from the embarrassments of a protracted state of armament and questioned occupation.

This sort of principle, openly announced in a formal conference in the name of two great Powers avowedly ready to act, has appeared to us to call for some precautionary corrective by which the other Powers may be induced to feel that, in the discharge of their functions in Congress, they are not exposed individually and in detail to the destructive effects of such a domineering dictation.

Under these circumstances I have felt it an act of imperative duty to concert with the French and Austrian Plenipotentiaries a Treaty of Defensive Alliance, confined within the strict necessity of this most extraordinary case. Without some such bond, I feel that our deliberations here are at an end; and although I flatter myself that the necessity will never arise for acting upon these engagements, yet, after what has passed, I should not consider myself justified in leaving either our common councils here, or the great interests we have at stake in other quarters, at the mercy of states promulgating such principles, without providing for them in time the best protection in my power.

I indulge the confident hope that my conduct upon this occasion may appear to the Prince Regent and his Government to have been justified by the circumstances of the case, and the exigency of the occasion.

CLVI. [*F. O. Cont.* 10.]

CASTLEREACH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 45.)

Vienna, January 1st, 1815.

I enclose the *Projet* of the Treaty of Defensive Alliance alluded to in my despatch No. 44.<sup>1</sup> I have just gone through it with Prince Metternich and Prince Talleyrand, and it has received their entire approbation. The latter has charged himself with the French redaction.

It is due to Prince Talleyrand to state, that his conduct throughout all our late transactions, has done the utmost honour to his Court, and altho' his official correspondence takes an inconveniently lofty tone upon the point of Saxony, yet I do not doubt that he will ultimately lend himself to what may be wise and practicable on that question. I have expressly declared, that whilst I concur with him in opinion that Saxony ought not to be wholly absorbed in Prussia, that I will not suffer, as far as Great Britain is concerned, the peace of Europe to be sacrificed upon any principle of modification, of which the question may be reasonably susceptible.

With respect to all the stipulations calculated to secure and cover our interests in the Low Countries, etc., I have not only found His Highness *coulant*, but ready to go before my wishes; and I am confident, whatever bad principles may prevail in the French nation or in the army on this point, the King's Government is sound upon it.

When I read to him that article of the Treaty which goes to regulate the Peace of Paris, in the event of war, the future frontiers of the contracting parties, he expressed the great satisfaction he would feel in signing, and the King would have in making, in the face of Europe, this declaration, so conformable to all his principles and determination.

I hope we shall be enabled, in the course of to-morrow or the day following, to sign the Convention. I shall then forward it to Your Lordship, but as I do not foresee that it is likely to experience any very material alteration, I shall despatch the present messenger, in order that Your Lordship may be prepared for its reception, and that the return of the ratifications may be accelerated as much as possible.

<sup>1</sup> CLV. This does not differ substantially from the Treaty of January 3rd by which Great Britain, Austria, and France bound themselves to defend one another against attack.

CLVII. [*W. S. D. IX.* 523.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Vienna, January 2nd, 1815.

Our conference this morning was postponed till to-morrow. I understand they mean to give way upon the point of admitting France. I had an opportunity, in a private conversation with Baron Humboldt, of re-enforcing what I stated in conference upon Hardenberg's menace. I told him he may rely upon it that it was a pretension Great Britain would resist with her whole Power and resources, and that every man in Parliament, of whatever party, would support the government in doing so. I thought it material above all things to extinguish, if possible, this project of a *coup de main*, as Prussia will treat about Saxony rather than remain armed and inactive. I believe they are shaken by the tone in which their menace has been met.

I hope you will not think my Treaty<sup>1</sup> an improvident one. It pledges you absolutely to nothing beyond the value in money at which the force is calculated, whilst it puts Holland, etc., under, I trust, a friendly protection. Should the case on which the Treaty is founded ever, for the disgrace of the times, arise, it is quite out of the question that we should remain quiet spectators; and I know no mode in which more could have been secured and more effectually, and by which we could have remained more completely masters of the species of exertion in which we may think it wise to engage, the principle on which is such as could create no difficulty in Parliament, whilst it may save Austria, and consequently the Continent. Pray expedite the ratification.

CLVIII. [*F. O. Cont.* 10.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 48.)

Vienna, January 3rd, 1815.

Our third conference took place this forenoon. It was principally occupied in the detail of Polish affairs—Prince Metternich presented a counter-projet, copy of which will be forwarded by the next messenger, varying rather the form than the substance of the Russian projet. This counter-projet was taken ad referendum and is not likely to create any difficulty.

At the close of our sitting a renewed attempt was made by the Russian and Prussian ministers indirectly to exclude France from our Saxon negotiations by desiring that her introduction might be delayed till we had first discussed and agreed upon the point

<sup>1</sup> The treaty of January 3rd.

amongst ourselves. This being opposed, and upon Prince Metternich and myself declaring peremptorily that we would not negotiate in the absence of the French minister, the Russian and Prussian ministers again desired to receive the orders of their sovereigns upon the point.

Since the breaking up of our conference, Prince Hardenberg has positively assured me that he will to-morrow recommend the immediate introduction of the French Plenipotentiary, I consider this as decisive that we shall have no more difficulty on this most essential point.

CLIX. [W. S. D. 525.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL.

Vienna, January 4th, 1815.

I send you enclosed a copy of my letter<sup>1</sup> to the Duke of Wellington. In the present state of the negotiation, I feel myself bound to urge that I should not be withdrawn from hence at least till the important discussions now pending are closed.

With every deference to the Duke of Wellington's ability and great personal authority, he cannot at once replace me in the habits of confidential intercourse which a long residence with the principal actors has established, and which gives facilities to my intervention to bring them together, which could not attach to another for a length of time, whereas the fate of Europe may depend on the conclusions of the ensuing month.

I must naturally have a strong desire to conduct to their close measures for which I stand so deeply responsible ; but, independent of all personal considerations, I feel that the conduct of the negotiation ought not to pass, as things now stand, into other hands, except upon some necessity, upon which the Prince Regent's Government can alone decide ; and which, under the new circumstances that have arisen both at home and abroad, I cannot myself consider to exist, since our peace with America has been secured.

I think it is probable that I shall be enabled, in the course of four or five weeks, to bring all the territorial arrangements of Europe to a close. The constitutional system of Germany may run into more length ; but this I have no doubt we shall separate and refer to a special enquiry. The point of Naples *here*, at least, will be a short one, after I receive an answer to my letter<sup>2</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> Dated January 4th, asking him to defer his departure from Paris.

<sup>2</sup> CXLIV.

18th, as the object, whether it is to be pursued by arms or negotiation, cannot occupy more time at Vienna than belongs to the decision of the principle.

CLX. [*W. S. D. IX. 527.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 49.<sup>1</sup>)

Vienna, January 5th, 1815.

I have every reason to hope that the alarm of war is over. I understand the point was considered on Sunday last in the Prussian Cabinet, and the opinions were in favour of a suitable modification of the Saxon question.

I last night had, at his request, a long interview with Prince Hardenberg. Preserving that reserve which it was wise for him to do in order to maintain the pretensions of Prussia to a large share of that country, the Chancellor explained himself to me unreservedly in favour of a settlement, and desired my good offices to effect it.

He intimated the intention of Prussia and Russia to admit France; they would, however, as a preliminary, call upon Austria and Great Britain to declare on the Protocol what I stated in our last conference: that we considered the question of Saxony not one to be negotiated with the King of Saxony, but that the Powers were bound to decide upon the arrangement which, all things considered, they deemed just between him and Prussia, and to leave the option of acceptance with the King. I was glad to find from Prince Talleyrand this morning, that he concurred in this principle and that although nothing but the King of Saxony's act could effectually close all pretensions hereafter, he nevertheless felt himself bound to support Prussia in her occupation till that consent was obtained to what the Five Powers might deem just and reasonable.

In my conversation last night with Prince Hardenberg, I understood that an attempt was to be made to induce the King of Saxony to desire to be placed on the left bank of the Rhine. Although I have no notion His Saxon Majesty would listen to such a proposal, I thought it material to dissuade the Prince from a plan so inexpedient. To place a weak Prince, from a variety of causes likely to be dependent on France, in so advanced a position, occupying Luxembourg and the countries between the Meuse and the Moselle, was to expose all our defences on the left bank of that river to be turned, and to place that family in the situation the most calculated,

<sup>1</sup> Number given in *F. O. Cont.* 10.



at a future day, to be an instrument in the hands of France to invade Saxony with a view to its resumption. Prince Talleyrand has expressed himself with great propriety upon this point. He said, for purposes of ambition and conquest he must favour the plan ; but as his sincere desire, and that of his Court, was to put a restraint upon any extension of the existing boundaries of France, he was against the project. His wish is that the Prince of Orange should have Luxembourg rather than the Prussians.

It is difficult to describe to your Lordship the impression produced here by our pacification with America.

CLXI. [*F. O. Cont.* 10.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 50.)

January 8th, 1815.

The importance of counteracting by every possible effort, and without loss of time, the attempts in progress to prevail upon the King of Saxony to accept an establishment on the left bank of the Rhine, determined me to solicit an audience of the Emperor of Russia, for the purpose of representing to His Imperial Majesty, my sentiments upon this subject.

I had an opportunity yesterday morning, in a very long interview, of going fully into the subject, and I have since understood confidentially from Count Razumoffsky, who saw His Imperial Majesty after I left him, that my reasoning had served to give him a new view of this question, and that my objections were considered to have great weight. I did not however deem it prudent to rest the point merely upon the argument, but represented the impossibility, under the negative expressly reserved to Great Britain by the Convention of Chaumont with respect to the disposal of the territories on the left bank of the Rhine, that I could consent, on the part of my Court to place a Prince in circumstances so dependent upon France, in the very centre of our line of defence. That the obvious policy in military prudence, was either to place there a great military Power such as Prussia, or if that could not be, to bring forward some secondary Power such as the Prince of Orange, the mass of whose dominions being interwoven in another system, became a pledge, especially when supported by Russia en seconde ligne, for the faithful maintenance of these possessions against France ; but that to create a feeble and discontented state there, was to pave the way for a future cession of those territories to France, in consideration of the re-conquest of Saxony for the family. I urged that the policy of Austria was necessarily so

much in favour of Saxony being independent of Prussia—that such a scheme very possibly would be either supported or acquiesced in by her, and could only be successfully opposed by His Imperial Majesty sending a powerful army at a vast expense into the heart of Germany.

I told the Emperor I should have felt some delicacy in urging this subject so strongly, knowing the warm interest His Imperial Majesty took in supporting the views of Prussia, if I had not first stated my sentiments to the Prussian Minister, and convinced myself that whilst the plan was bad for us all, it was pre-eminently menacing to Prussia in her possession of Saxony, and in this view, I entreated the Emperor to represent it to the King.

After this subject was disposed of, the Emperor went to other matters, and rather to my surprize, referred to reports that had reached him of an Alliance between Austria, France, Bavaria, and Great Britain. Not feeling myself authorized to avow the Treaty, and not choosing to hold a language of too much disguise, I assured His Imperial Majesty that acting upon the pacifick principles which he had avowed in the early part of our conversation, he had nothing to fear from those Powers : that as His Imperial Majesty had condescended to speak to me without reserve, I would frankly avow to him, that the language held by Prince Hardenberg in a formal conference in the name of both Courts, and not disavowed by His Imperial Majesty's ministers then present, had seriously, and I thought justly, alarmed the Powers alluded to. It was evident the Emperor was not unacquainted with the declaration in question, from the manner in which he endeavoured to soften it down. I expressed my satisfaction that the principle was not adhered to, as I could not conceal from His Imperial Majesty, that I would have imposed upon those Powers, and I thought upon all others who valued their independence, the necessity of giving it the most determined resistance.

Having got upon this warlike ground, I thought it the more material to convince the Emperor, by giving another direction to the conversation, that it was to an early and amicable adjustment of the subjects in discussion that all my thoughts and efforts were directed. I happened to have with me the documents which I had prepared, to show how Prussia could be reconstructed without incorporating the whole of Saxony. His Imperial Majesty went with much interest into this question, was anxious to know whether France would consent to such an arrangement, and whether Great Britain would support it, if necessary, against her. The Emperor said that he should be satisfied with it if Prussia was.

His Imperial Majesty repeatedly asked me, whether I thought France really desired peace. I expressed my conviction that the King and his ministers sincerely did, but that as certainly, if a war broke out, that they would take a part. In this the Emperor agreed, and deprecated the risk. I then urged the immense advantage to be derived from prevailing upon Prussia to listen to such an arrangement as all the five great Powers could support, which I looked upon as within our reach, if Prussia was reasonable and if Prince Talleyrand was treated with the consideration to which, as the representative of so great a Power, he was entitled.

I afterwards went through the other German arrangements, and showed the Emperor how the whole might be equitably settled. I asked him, in the event of being pressed for means, whether he could give something more to Prussia on the side of Poland. His answer was that the subject was both a painful and an embarrassing one to him with the Poles, to whom he had given assurances. I did not think it advisable then to press the point further lest I should receive a positive refusal. The Emperor throughout the interview seemed to look to an accommodation, and discussed the several subjects in a temperate and conciliatory manner.

We held our fourth conference this forenoon. The Russian minister announced that there would be no substantial objection, on the part of his court, to the counter-projet as delivered in by the Austrian minister on the affairs of Poland. The Russian and Prussian ministers also signified their concurrence in the introduction of the French minister.

The first conference of the five Powers is fixed for Wednesday next, when Prince Hardenberg will present his Projet founded upon the total incorporation of Saxony. To this the three Powers will reply in a counter-projet, and I indulge a hope that we shall be enabled to frame it upon principles so liberal and advantageous to Prussia as to induce that Court to acquiesce in the general wishes.

CLXII. [*F. O. Cont.* 10.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 51.)

January 11th, 1815.

. . . It has been evident for some time, that one great difficulty with Prussia in listening to the principle of modification, has arisen from an apprehension, 1st, that neither France nor

Austria would be liberal in the extent of cession ; and 2ndly, that France in particular held the rights of the King of Saxony so high as to throw the point of authority in case of negotiation, very much into his hands. I thought it therefore material to reduce the question to a precise issue, to make the Powers, and not the King of Saxony, judges in the case and further, to obtain for Prussia a reasonable security for the execution of the award when made. With this view I prepared the enclosed memorandum,<sup>1</sup> declaratory at once of my opinion on the propriety of inviting the French minister to assist at our deliberation, and of the course to be pursued on the Saxon question. I produced it at our conference yesterday, and it was entered on the protocol. Prince Metternich acceded to it, and the Russian and Prussian ministers declared themselves entirely satisfied with the explanation therein given and ready to assist at our future conferences.

I had taken the precaution of communicating this memorandum confidentially to Prince Talleyrand before I gave it in, and succeeded in bringing him very nearly to the same view of the question. I send you his opinion,<sup>2</sup> written after our conversation. You will see that he comes almost to the same practical conclusion, but in the tone of an Ally of the King of Saxony. We say that we will *support* the King of Prussia, our Ally, in Saxony, till the suitable sessions are made to him. France says that she will *cease to support* her Ally, the King of Saxony, if he refuses to make good the cessions agreed upon. The distinction is not unreasonable ; the latter form accords perhaps better with the King of France's position, and I am happy to find that it is not objected to by the Prussian minister, who has expressed to me his perfect satisfaction with the understanding thus established.

In form the question of modification is not yet admitted by Prussia, nor can the King's pleasure be taken upon it, till Prince Hardenberg brings forward his *Projet*, and a counter-projet is given in ; but I consider that it is in substance admitted, and that this question which menaced so seriously the tranquillity of Europe, is now happily reduced to a question of terms, the difficulties of which may be surmounted, if France and Austria shew the same spirit of accommodation in arranging the details, now affairs are promising, that they gave me reason to expect, when matters looked more serious.

<sup>1</sup> The Memorandum attached to the Protocol of the meeting of the Conference of the Four Courts of January 9th is as stated in the dispatch. *British and Foreign State Papers*, II., 601.

<sup>2</sup> Talleyrand to Castlereagh, January 8th, 1814. As stated. F. O. Cont. 10.

CLXIII. [*F. O. Cont.* 10.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 52.)

January 11th, 1815.

I had occasion in my dispatch No. 43,<sup>1</sup> to report to your Lordship the explanations under which I consented to attend the conferences on the affairs of Poland.

I now transmit to your Lordship a note<sup>2</sup> which I have thought it my duty to enter upon the protocol, in order that the sentiments expressed by the Minister of Great Britain on this important subject may remain officially on record, the correspondence which passed between the Emperor of Russia and myself, not possessing in strictness perhaps that character.

I am convinced that the only hope of tranquillity now in Poland and especially of preserving to Austria and Prussia their portions of that Kingdom, is for the two latter states to adopt a Polish system of administration as a defence against the inroads of the Russian policy. I have pressed this in both our last conferences, and Prince Metternich acquiesced in the principle. My object in this note has been to avoid, as much as possible the revival of unavailing contention and to confine myself within the limits of an explanation equally due to my Court and to myself.

CIRCULAR TO THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES OF THE CONFERENCE.<sup>3</sup>

Vienna, January 12th, 1815.

The undersigned, His Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign affairs, and Plenipotentiary to the Congress of Vienna, in desiring the present Note concerning the affairs of Poland may be entered on the Protocol, has no intention to revive controversy, or to impede the progress of the arrangements now in contemplation.

His only object is to avail himself of this occasion, of temporarily recording, by the express orders of his Court, the sentiments of the British Government upon an European Question of the utmost magnitude and importance.

The undersigned has had occasion in the course of the discussions at Vienna, for reasons that need not now be gone into, repeatedly and earnestly to oppose himself, on the part of his Court, to the erection of a Polish Kingdom in union with, and making a part of, the Imperial Crown of Russia.

The desire of his Court to see an independent Power, more or less considerable in extent, established in Poland under a distinct Dynasty, and as an intermediate State between the 3 great Monarchies, has uniformly been avowed; and if the undersigned has not been directed to press such a measure, it has only arisen from a disinclination to excite, under all the apparent obstacles to such an arrangement, expectations which might prove an unavailing source of discontent among the Poles.

The Emperor of Russia continuing, as it is declared, still to adhere to his purpose of erecting that part of the Duchy of Warsaw, which is to fall under His Imperial Majesty's Dominion, together with his other Polish Provinces, either

<sup>1</sup> CLIV.

<sup>2</sup> Appended to this dispatch.

<sup>3</sup> *B. of F. State Papers II.* 642.

in whole or in part, into a Kingdom, under the Russian sceptre, and their Austrian and Prussian Majesties, the Sovereigns most immediately interested, having ceased to oppose themselves to such an arrangement; the undersigned, adhering nevertheless to all his former representations on this subject, has only sincerely to hope that none of those evils may result from this measure, to the tranquillity of the North, and to the general equilibrium of Europe, which it has been his painful duty to anticipate. But in order to obviate as far as possible such consequences, it is of essential importance to establish the public tranquillity, throughout the territories which formerly constituted the Kingdom of Poland, upon some solid and liberal basis of common interest, by applying to all, however various may be their political institutions, a congenial and conciliatory system of administration.

Experience has proved, that it is not by counteracting all their habits and usages as a people, that either the happiness of the Poles, or the peace of that important portion of Europe, can be preserved. A fruitless attempt, too long persevered in by institutions foreign to their manners and sentiments, to make them forget their existence and even language as a people, has been sufficiently tried, and failed. It has only tended to excite a sentiment of discontent and self-degradation, and can never operate otherwise, than to provoke commotion, and to awaken them to a recollection of past misfortunes.

The undersigned, for these reasons, and in cordial concurrence with the general sentiments which he has had the satisfaction to observe the respective Cabinets entertain on this subject, ardently desires, that the illustrious Monarchs, to whom the destinies of the Polish Nation are confided, may be induced before they depart from Vienna, to take an engagement with each other, to treat as Poles, under whatever form of political institution they may think fit to govern them, the portions of that Nation that may be placed under their respective Sovereignities. The knowledge of such a determination will best tend to conciliate the general sentiment to their rule, and to do honor to the several Sovereigns in the eyes of their respective Governments.

If such should happily be the result, the object which His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has most at heart, namely, the happiness of that people, will have been secured; and it will only remain for His Royal Highness most anxiously to hope, that none of those dangers to the liberties of Europe may ever be realised, which might justly be apprehended from the reunion of a powerful Polish Monarchy with the still more powerful Empire of Russia, if at any time hereafter the military force of both should be directed by an ambitious and warlike Prince.

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Austria, Russia, and Prussia all sent formal answers agreeing with the sentiments of the note, taking care, however, not to commit themselves to any specific point.

CLXIV. [W. S. D. IX. 533.]

LIVERPOOL TO WELLINGTON.

Bath, January 11th, 1815.

Upon the question of our engagements to Murat I think we are quite agreed. There can be no difference of opinion likewise as to the policy of removing him from the throne of Naples, if it is just and practicable. The only question that can occur on this part of the subject is, how far we are likely to succeed, and whether the chances of failure, or the chances of his continuing in undisturbed possession of Naples, are most to be

apprehended. I am satisfied that those who are on the spot must be better judges on this subject than we can be here, and we can therefore have no hesitation in leaving these considerations entirely to your discretion. The only point which I wish to impress upon you is, the absolute impossibility in the present state of the circumstances and feelings in this country of our engaging in military operations for the purpose of expelling Murat. I do not mean that it is either necessary or would be prudent to make any such avowal public, least of all that Murat himself should be apprised of our difficulties ; but it may become indispensable that some of our Allies should know on what they have to reckon, and at all events it is fit that you should be fully informed of our situation.

I have never thought that Austria would make any serious difficulty in consequence of her Treaty with Murat, if the other Powers of Europe were determined to get rid of him : her real interest must be to destroy every remnant of the revolutionary system in Italy.

She may likewise feel considerable apprehensions about the march of a French army through the north and centre of Italy ; but if security is given to her (as appears to be intended) on this head, and if the other Powers are determined to declare against Murat, she will, I am persuaded, throw no obstacles in the way of their operations, and I should not despair of her even joining in the cause.

It will remain, therefore, to be seen whether he will submit willingly, or be compelled to submit by the Neapolitans, to the general voice of Europe declared at Vienna. I shall be sanguine on this head if a good provision is held out to him, and it must surely be the interest of the Powers of Europe to get out of such an embarrassment in such a manner. If he is determined, however, to risk everything for the purpose of keeping his throne, the labouring oar of expelling him must rest on France. Spain can afford little aid ; we might blockade his ports by sea ; Russia might send a body of troops, or at least threaten it ; and I should think that with such a combination of external means, the country itself would be led to declare against him. The English name has always been, and is still, particularly popular in Naples. The alarm I entertain is not about Naples, but about other parts of Italy, where a very different spirit exists, and where Austria is unfortunately very much disliked.

I have thus given you my sense on this subject, and I should hope that after talking the matter fully over with Lord Castle-

reagh, you may be able to put this very delicate and difficult question into as satisfactory a course as the nature of it will allow.

CLXV. [C. C. X. 240.]

LIVERPOOL TO CASTLEREAGH.

Bath, January 16th, 1815.

. . . You can have no idea how much ground the Government lost in the House of Commons, in the short session before Christmas; and the unfortunate circumstance in our present situation is this—that the debates of most importance which are likely to occur during the session, must take place before the beginning of April. The questions of contest will be the questions of finance, and the political questions will principally be discussed and brought in as auxiliaries. . . . I can assure you that I feel, in common with my colleagues, the greatest reluctance in proposing to you to withdraw at this moment from Vienna. Last year we could spare you; everything was quiet in Parliament—everybody waiting for the result—and no symptom of party-spirit appeared. Now, very few persons give themselves any anxiety about what is passing at Vienna, except in as far as it is connected with expense; and I never have seen more party animosity than was manifested in November, and, I understand, still appears at the Clubs and in private societies

CLXVI. [W. S. D. IX. 539.]

LIVERPOOL TO CASTLEREAGH.

Bath, January 16th, 1815.

In consequence of a passage in a private letter which I have received from Cooke,<sup>1</sup> I feel it necessary to trouble you with a few lines on the subject of Poland.

When we said that we should not object to your agreeing to the Emperor of Russia's arrangements respecting Poland, provided the provinces incorporated with Russia since 1792 were detached from that empire and re-united to the Duchy of Warsaw, we were desirous of putting the sincerity of His Imperial

<sup>1</sup> Cooke to Liverpool, January 4th, 1814. . . . "You see how the Russian projects of a Polish Kingdom have dwindled. I do not see how the Allies can stipulate to regulate the Emperor's conduct as to the former Polish incorporations: it would be an attempt *ad invidiam*, which he has a right to resist, whatever he may have said." *W. S. D. IX.* 527.



Majesty's professions to the test, but we did not suppose that there was much chance of his acceding to any such proposal. If, however, an arrangement to this effect should be found impracticable, it becomes of very great importance that you should be no party to the stipulations respecting Poland; and though the manner and degree in which you may think proper to protest against the Polish arrangement must materially depend upon circumstances, I am satisfied that some protest will be absolutely necessary to render the proceeding on the subject palatable in this country.

CLXVII. [*F. O. Cont.* 6.]

BATHURST TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 5.)

January 18th, 1815.

I am commanded by H.R.H. to express his entire approbation of your Lordship's conduct under circumstances very critical and deeply affecting the tranquillity of Europe.

The spirit with which your Lordship resisted the menacing language of the Prussian minister, upheld the dignity of the Court you represent, and was well calculated to check an impetuosity, from which much might have been apprehended, had it not been so seasonably rebuked.

A defensive Alliance for the purpose of maintaining the sound principles established by the Treaty of Paris, is one, to the formation of which the British Government cannot object, however much we may lament that the conduct of those Powers, to whose splendid exertions that peace is so much indebted, have unfortunately made the Treaty necessary.

I have therefore received the commands of H.R.H. to acquaint your Lordship that the Treaties of Alliance concluded by you on the 3rd inst. will be forthwith ratified, and the acts of ratification will be transmitted to your Lordship as soon as they can be prepared.

Your Lordship's dispatch of the 5th<sup>1</sup> inst. leads us to hope that matters may be amicably adjusted in a manner creditable to the parties concerned: and your Lordship acts with much commendable discretion in providing that the measures taken to restrain the unjust pretensions should not interfere with the fair claims of the Prussian Monarchy.

<sup>1</sup> CLX.

CLXVIII. [*F. O. Cont.* 10.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 57.)

January 22nd, 1815.

I stated to your Lordship in my dispatch No. 51<sup>1</sup> that I entertained a strong hope that the question of Saxony might be arranged without prejudice to the peace of Europe, if Austria and France, now affairs have assumed a more promising aspect, were as accommodating in the details of the arrangement, as they had given me reason to expect, when appearances were more adverse.

I certainly was prepared when I signed the Treaty of Defensive Alliance on the 3rd to expect that this measure of strength and union might, if improperly understood, excite in the Austrian councils a disposition to enterprise anew upon objects of local policy, instead of turning it, as was intended by me, into the means of extricating herself with honour and safety, from the difficulty in which the menace of her opponents had placed her. I was not, however, deterred by this consideration from adopting what appeared to me indispensable to check the intemperance of the two Northern Powers at a critical moment of the negotiation, whilst I reserved in my own hands the means of effectually correcting at a future period any misconception of this nature should it arise.

The inclosed official memoir<sup>2</sup> presented to the Emperor by Marshall Prince Schwarzenberg, the Minister at War, will shew that I was not mistaken in this supposition. I have reason to believe that similar views prevail amongst other members of the Austrian Cabinet, particularly Count Stadion, and I have lately observed Prince Metternich's tone and language to be proportionately changed, indicating a disposition to aim at objects which before he had considered as unattainable.

Having examined this paper attentively, I thought there was no time to be lost in having a full explanation with Prince Metternich, both upon its contents, and the attitude in which I felt myself placed under our recent Treaty and the existing state of the negotiations. I represented to His Highness that I considered the principles therein laid down as not sound in themselves, whilst they were calculated to throw us back in our discussions and to retard, if not defeat, our hopes of an amicable settlement.

That admitting the facts alleged, namely, that the Eastern frontier of Germany was menaced by Russia, and that its Western frontier would be endangered, if the King of Saxony was placed

<sup>1</sup> CLXII.<sup>2</sup> Undated, advancing strategic reasons for reducing Prussia's share of Saxony. *F. O. Cont.* 10.

on the left bank of the Rhine, it did not therefore follow, that the security of Austria depended upon depriving Prussia of Torgau and Erfurth.

That if the danger to be provided against was an united attack from Russia and Prussia, it was not a small fortress on the Elbe in the hands of a weak Power, or a position like Erfurth that could enable her to meet it. Such a combination could only be resisted by a counter-alliance, and it was to France and to Great Britain she must look for support in such a crisis, and not to a solitary fortress the more or the less beyond her own frontier.

But this question was different if the hostile attitude was supposed to exist between Austria and Prussia as single Powers. In that case it was an exaggeration to describe Torgau and Erfurth as points offensive and menacing on the part of Prussia against Austria; they may, with more truth, be described as necessary defences to the weaker and extended state of ten millions of people, against the stronger and concentrated state of twenty-five millions.

That Saxony in its natural politicks appertained to the system of the North, preserving, however, an independent existence to a certain extent between its two powerful neighbours. To endeavour to combine it with the Austrian system and to take Torgau and Erfurth as advanced and menacing points, appeared to me the surest means of permanently uniting Prussia in close alliance with either Russia or France, and rendering her return to German connection hopeless, which I could by no means consider to be the case, however established the influence of Russia might, for the moment, appear to be.

That in looking to the defence of Prussia against France, the line of the Elbe was imperfect, if Torgau was denied to that Power, and that with respect to Erfurth, whilst the Prussian Monarchy was spread out from the Niemen to the Rhine, and broke into two masses but slenderly connected in the centre, such a fortress as Erfurth was essential to cover her extended line of communication, and to afford a point of appui between Juliers beyond the Rhine, and the line of the Elbe.

I added that both these fortresses appeared to me indispensable to give to Prussia under the new territorial arrangement to which we required her to submit, an independent existence, and if such an existence was not secured to her, she would always be driven to seek that independence in a distant and dangerous support, which she might otherwise be desirous of finding in the system to which she belonged.

I hope these representations will have the effect of bringing back our views to their true standard, namely, to make an arrangement which, by sufficiently saving the honor and interest of all the principal Powers, may admit of its receiving a general sanction, and that we should make the best bargain we can for the King of Saxony, placing him in his own states where he may do some good and no harm instead of breaking down our whole system of defence on the left bank of the Rhine by placing him there.

I fully explained to Prince Metternich that, having saved the general principle, and protected his Court by a decided measure of support, when Austria was menaced with invasion, if she refused to acknowledge a new King in Saxony and to transplant his predecessor to a position the most fatal to our whole system, that I could not suffer my Government to be involved in hostile measures upon a mere question of details, to which I now considered in fact the issue was brought; and that if he expected my support, he must not negotiate upon the principles laid down in Prince Schwarzenberg's memoir—to which I should feel it my duty to object.

I further represented, if he did not clearly see his way in contending these points with Prussia and Russia, how much mischief might result from an ineffectual attempt to do so, if it had no other consequence than betraying a disunion amongst those Powers, through whose joint and imposing influence more moderate sentiments appeared to have been latterly introduced into our deliberations, the salutary consequence of which it was not too much to presume would operate not only throughout the remainder of our discussions at Vienna, but materially contribute, after their close, to the preservation of peace.

CLXIX. [*F. O. Cont.* 11.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 63.)

January 29th, 1815.

Having reason to believe, that the party in the Austrian Cabinet who adhere to Prince Schwarzenberg's views, were employed in urging their opinions strongly upon the Emperor, I availed myself of a confidential channel, to intimate to Prince Metternich that, unless the negotiation was replaced without delay upon the only grounds that I thought were calculated to lead to peace, and such as were consistent with the principles upon which the late Treaty had been brought forward on the part of Great Britain, I should feel it my duty to present a note explicitly disavowing

all concert in these new measures, and taking my Court out of the predicament of either being charged with a breach of engagement, or of being insensibly involved in a system to which I must decline to be any party. I desired that it might be also understood, that, in that case, I should request an audience to explain myself to the Emperor.

I received from Prince Metternich that evening an intimation that His Imperial Majesty desired to see me on the following day. I found him extremely *monté* upon the military question, and his general tone more warlike than on any former occasion. His Imperial Majesty received, with his usual condescension, however, my representations of the advantage of exhausting every expedient to preserve peace, and, if we failed, the indispensable necessity, if he looked for support from Great Britain, that the occasion of war should either be founded upon the maintenance of some principle of clear and indisputable importance, or an actual attempt by force to disturb the equilibrium of Europe.

The Emperor repeatedly pressed to know whether Great Britain would support him, 1st, in refusing Torgau and Erfurth to Prussia; 2ndly, in requiring that the former at least should be razed; and at the close of our interview, His Imperial Majesty gave me the enclosed proposition,<sup>1</sup> in his own handwriting, as what he was ready to agree to. For the reasons already stated, I felt myself obliged humbly, but most expressly to reply to His Majesty in the negative on both his demands.

The following day, in an interview with Prince Talleyrand, Prince Metternich renewed his endeavours to urge the same view of the question, and stated that the Emperor adhered to his opinion. Prince Talleyrand agreed with the Austrian minister, but stated his sentiments with moderation. I adhered to mine and the interview ended by the Austrian minister declaring his intention of taking the final orders of the Emperor.

There was a good deal of rather warm discussion upon the impossibility of conceding largely to Prussia in Saxony. Prince Metternich's *Projet* did not go to one third of the whole contents. I stated that it was a little hard the British minister, who had no other possible interest in the question than to save the Continental Powers, and especially Austria, from war, should have the odious task thrown upon him of urging severe measures towards Saxony, but that whilst I would do my best to save the Saxony family

<sup>1</sup> By which Austria offered to cede a number of "souls" to Russia equivalent to what Prussia lost in Torgau. Prussia could then recover from Russia on the Polish frontier. F. O. Cont. 11.

from unnecessary rigour, I would not sacrifice the peace of Europe to preserve to them two or three hundred thousand subjects more or less.

We then discussed the counter-projet to be given in—and I agreed, in consequence of the Emperor of Austria having rendered his Polish acquisitions on the side of Tarnapol an object of negotiation, to frame *our first* proposition on a scale more favourable to Saxony, but I declared that I could not be a party to any counter-projet, which did not assign the fortresses of Torgau and Erfurth to Prussia.

The following morning Prince Metternich acquainted me, that notwithstanding the military advice the Emperor had received, His Imperial Majesty was ready to acquiesce in both Torgau and Erfurth being Prussian, if the British Minister pronounced it necessary, to effect an amicable and honourable arrangement; but that he expected Prussia to be proportionally moderate and conciliatory on other points, and especially not to press the session of Leipsick. Upon this the counter-projet I now inclose, extending to a certain degree the cessions in Saxony beyond the Austrian projet, was agreed upon between Prince Metternich, Prince Talleyrand, and myself, with the reserve, on my part, of its only being considered as a proposition for discussion, and not as an ultimatum. In all these deliberations the French minister took, I think, a fair and not an unreasonable part. The day but one after was fixed for our conference with the Russian and Prussian Plenipotentiaries, to deliver in the counter-projet, and I undertook, in the meantime, to see the Emperor of Russia and Prince Hardenberg, and to prepare them for its favourable reception.

My interview with Prince Hardenberg took place first. I begged him not to give me any opinion, but to hear calmly what I had to represent, and to reflect upon it. I stated the principles upon which the counter-projet was framed, both as to numbers, composition, and locality, and endeavoured to remove the objections to which I thought the Prussian minister was likely to deem it liable.

In representing to His Highness the strong military grounds of resistance that had been given to Prussia having Torgau and Erfurth, and the mode in which the Emperor's opposition had been waived, I told the Prince that, strongly as I had opposed myself in support of what I deemed to be just and essential for Prussia to possess in a military point of view, I would oppose myself with equal energy to any attempt on the part of his Government to render the Saxon arrangement either unnecessarily severe

or painful in its detail, to the Powers who were expected to acquiesce in it, and that I must specially protest against Leipsick being torn from Saxony.

Prince Hardenberg warmly resisted the idea of parting with *this trophy*. That Prussia ought to have at least one of the Saxon capitals, and that he could not return to Berlin under such a mortification. I contended that one of the capitals was precisely what Prussia in sound policy ought not to desire to possess : that it was her interest not to strive to create two Saxonies ; if she did, one would be always Austrian and opposed to the other ; that, on the contrary, the Prussian object should be to render all her acquisitions as Prussian as possible—to give every possible unity to the State which was to remain, and to treat it with kindness, by which means a little sooner or a little later it must adhere to Prussia, and she would then have the benefit of both.

That Prussia would defeat her own purpose, if she pushed her demands upon Saxony too far ; she might lose the appui of some of the great Powers, delay, if not prevent, the King of Saxony's acceptance, and drive the Saxon nation into a permanent feeling of hostility against her.

That the sentiments of Berlin were less material than those of Great Britain, France, Austria, and Germany, and that if the British Government had listened to a popular sentiment instead of to considerations of moderation and prudence, we still should have been at war with America, in pursuit of an object not essential to our honour, and too dearly purchased, even if accomplished, by a protracted war.

On the same evening I was admitted to an audience of the Emperor of Russia, and presented the outline of the intended arrangement, in the light which I thought would best serve to interest him in its favour. Although I begged to be understood as not asking for an opinion till the plan was regularly before him, together with His Prussian Majesty's sentiments, it was impossible not to perceive that the Emperor received it favourably, and wished Prussia might listen to it.

I represented that much would depend on His Imperial Majesty, whose sentiments without indelicacy to Prussia on a point which principally concerned her interest, could not but have the greatest weight, and that if His Imperial Majesty could so manage as to transfer a portion of the Austrian acquisitions in Poland, to Prussia, I did not see how the King could refuse the proposal.

The Emperor repeated to me the difficulties in which his promises to the Poles had placed him with respect to any further cessions in the Duchy of Warsaw. He said that to him as sovereign, it would be a matter of perfect indifference to make the exchange proposed, but that his hands were tied. I urged that the Poles might be reconciled by a corresponding extension on the other side of the Vistula joining the Duchy, and that with this facility His Imperial Majesty had the fate of the arrangement in his hands.

It is due to the Emperor to state, that he shewed every disposition consistent with the delicacy he feels due to Prussia, and to his Polish entanglements, which already begin to manifest themselves, as I understand, at Warsaw, to meet my wishes. He was particularly gracious in his reception of me, and will, I have no doubt, encourage and not obstruct an arrangement.

The intelligence I have received privately of the reception of the counter-projet by the Prussian Cabinet is not unfavourable. Prince Hardenberg has intimated to me, that the King proposes to see me upon it before he gives an answer.

CLXX. [*F. O. Cont.* 11.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (Private.)

Vienna, January 29th, 1815.

Since I closed my letter marked private on Sicilian affairs I have received your letter of the 12th<sup>1</sup> addressed to the Duke of Wellington. The Prince de Talleyrand having immediately after renewed his importunities on that subject, this communication came in time opportunely to relieve me from considerable difficulty; as I should not otherwise have been enabled to satisfy the French minister sufficiently on this point, to draw from him the concurrence we require to bring our German arrangements to a satisfactory termination.

I explained to him that with respect to engaging in war to expel Murat, it was a point upon which I could pledge my Government to nothing, they must be guided by circumstances now impossible to estimate.

That I was authorized to concert with him and the other Powers as to the steps most expedient to be taken here in favour of the Sicilian family.

That we thought the question should not be stirred, till that of Germany was finished.

<sup>1</sup> CLXIV.



That a negotiation was preferable to a declaration, such as he proposed, which was too unqualified a pledge.

That having been ready to accede to Murat's keeping Naples, had he acted in the war up to the spirit of his engagements we could not take the principle of legitimacy so high as his court.

That our position was nearer that of Russia, and perhaps that a joint intervention on the part of Russia and Great Britain might be the best channel through which a liberal proposition could be made to Murat, founded upon the impossibility of the Kingdom of Naples being tranquilized under his dynasty.

That the Prince Regent was desirous of favouring the return of the legitimate family and the more so, because the King of France wished it. That His Royal Highness would do what in prudence he could to promote it, but that we must be cautious in our proceedings.

I think Prince Talleyrand was satisfied with my explanation. It was agreed to say nothing further on the question, till the German negotiations were closed, and then to confer with the Emperor of Russia upon the subject.

CLXXI. [C. C. X. 247.]

CASTLEREAGH TO BATHURST.

Vienna, January 30th, 1815.

Many thanks for your letter. You may rely upon my joining you as soon as I can, without essentially endangering the point immediately at issue; but you might as well expect me to have run away from Leipsick (if I had been there) last year, to fight Creevey and Whitbread, as to withdraw from hence till the existing contest is brought to a point; and I think you do both injustice to your own supporters, and too much honour to me, in supposing my presence so necessary. . . .

P.S.—I beg you will not give any money at present to any of the Continental Powers. The poorer they are kept, the better, to prevent them from quarrelling. Time enough to settle accounts, when we know who deserves it.

CLXXII. [F. O. Cont. 11.]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 66.)

February 6th, 1815.

Considering your Lordship's letter to me from Bath of the 16th ult.<sup>2</sup> as an intimation that, in the judgment of His Majesty's

<sup>1</sup> CLXV.

confidential servants, the public service rendered my presence in England expedient, I lost no time in making the necessary preparations for delivering over the business of this mission to the Duke of Wellington, and for obeying with the least practicable delay the orders of the Prince Regent.

I apprized your Lordship in my dispatch of the 29th ult.<sup>1</sup> of the delivery of the Austrian counter-projet. Its reception, as I stated, was so far favourable as to induce the Russian Government to acquiesce in the principle of the King of Saxony being placed in his own states.

Immediately after the presentation of the counter-projet, I had an interview with Prince Hardenberg, with a view of apprizing him of the points, which I did not consider as admitting of any modification, viz., Leipsick and the re-entering angle into Bohemia by Bautzen and Zittau.

I was directed to attend the King of Prussia on the following day, and I had with His Majesty an audience of an hour and a half, the most painful in all respects, that it has been my fate to undergo since I have been upon the Continent. It is inconceivable to what a degree His Majesty had been worked upon on the point of Leipsick, the false importance he attached to it, and the deep disappointment, if not resentment, with which he spoke of our espousing the cause of the King of Saxony against him. I found it difficult to attract his attention to the obvious embarrassments in which the line His Majesty was disposed to pursue towards Saxony would place him, and I did not escape without some severe personal reproaches for the representations I presumed to make. However, my duty was to discourage the King from any false move, which might compromise us all, and as I wished to execute this without reserve, my audience terminated as unpleasantly as it had begun.

The following morning I thought it right to see the Emperor of Russia, to apprize him of the temper in which I had found the King of Prussia, and to beg His Imperial Majesty's assistance in calming it. The Emperor was very reasonable, and promised to do what in delicacy he could, and as some means of assisting the negotiation, he placed Thorn and its rayon at my disposal, to make such use of with Prussia as I might think fit. Thorn being a position on the Vistula to which Prussia had always attached

considerable importance, I lost no time in communicating to Prince Hardenberg the Emperor's intentions. The following day he told me that with the aid of Thorn, he had overcome the King's reluctance to leave Leipsick with Saxony.

In the evening he communicated to me the conditions attached by the King to this concession, which contained such a severe infliction upon Saxony territorially, that I was obliged to declare to him my utter despair of bringing either the Austrians or Prince Talleyrand to listen to it; that the King would not venture to accept his country under the fermentation it would occasion, and that we should all, and especially Prussia, be plunged in difficulties.

Prince Hardenberg requested me to make the same confidential communication of his intended Projet to Prince Metternich and Prince Talleyrand, which he had received from them. I undertook to do so, but under a declaration of the reception I was sure it would meet with.

I did so the following day, but requested before they took any steps upon it, they would allow me to see the Prussian minister again, and to try whether I could induce him to relax, in some measure, upon Saxony, by offering him a liberal compensation in some other quarter. In this state of things I felt it necessary, and I conceived would be approved by the Prince Regent, that some sacrifice should be made of interests directly or indirectly appertaining to His Royal Highness, from the difficulty of finding by any other means adequate resource. After conferring with Count Münster, I proposed to reduce in the amount of fifty thousand, the claims of Hanover under Treaty, and to add a sacrifice of equal amount to those already made on the part of Holland. Uniting these with the slender means otherwise available, a fund was created which might operate a salutary reduction in favour of Saxony.

I prepared upon this principle a new Projet of arrangement which I submitted confidentially to both parties. When I first carried it to Prince Hardenberg, I found him again inflamed upon the point of Leipsick, and desirous of making it at least a free town. I represented that, in this state it would only prove a focus of discontent, and probably render the general arrangement equally embarrassing to Prussia and Saxony. It is certain that many of the Prussian officers, and the *Friends of Liberty* as they are called, who abound in the King's dominions, were indignant at losing Saxony, where a new constitution was to be set in motion; and it was evident a struggle was still making, which

became formidable in proportion as it might, from the tone of His Majesty, and many of his most distinguished officers, assume the character of a military and national sentiment.

After some effervescence, Prince Hardenberg received my proposition with calmness, and examined the details with attention. The proposed sacrifice on the part of the Prince Regent allayed his impressions, that I was sustaining the interests of the King of Saxony instead of trying to procure an arrangement practicable and reasonable in itself with respect to his territory.

This morning he gave me his answer, accepting with insignificant modifications the plan laid before him. I afterwards had a conference with Prince Metternich and Prince Talleyrand. The former accepted the arrangement without hesitation; the latter, in consequence of a recent letter from the King, pressing that the sacrifices to be imposed on Saxony might not go so far, had more difficulty. His Highness, however, very honourably considered it his duty not to separate on this occasion from the two other Powers, his own opinion being, that every prudent effort and every becoming sacrifice had been made to fulfil the wishes of his Court, and Prince Talleyrand stated that he had no inclination to withdraw from his fair share of the responsibility. He therefore fully acceded to the measure proposed, which will to-morrow be submitted to the approbation of His Prussian Majesty.

The arrangement in contemplation will give Prussia about eight hundred and fifty thousand subjects in Saxony, together with the fortresses on the Elbe. The King will have about one million two hundred thousand, including Leipsick. His Majesty will thus nearly range in Germany with Hanover and Wirtemberg in territorial possession, and he will also have the Ducal Principalities of Saxe as an indirect support to his system.

I hope, under all the circumstances of this difficult transaction, the Prince Regent will not disapprove the part I have taken. His Royal Highness will personally have the satisfaction of having contributed to the settlement of a question which has now for a length of time continued to threaten the peace of Europe, and, in doing so, His Royal Highness's best interests will, I trust, have been consulted.

In closing the question with Prussia, I consider the territorial arrangement on this side of the Alps as in fact settled in all its essential features, and I hope in the course of this week it will be reduced into official form.

CLXXIII. [*F. O. Cont. 12.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 71.)

February 13th, 1815.

[Encloses the final settlement of Poland, Saxony, Holland and Hanover, reduced to articles and placed on protocols ready to be inserted in the Treaty.]

Your Lordship will observe that the Hanoverian arrangement will not only give that power the command of the Ems, but place it in direct contact with Holland, throughout the greater part of its eastern frontier—an arrangement which in an European point of view must be considered of the utmost importance for the purpose of strengthening Holland and of securing the Low Countries.

The general arrangement of the Prince of Orange's interests has given great satisfaction to his ministers here, and I trust by his contiguity with Hanover, with Prussia advanced beyond the Rhine, and with Bavaria on the other flank, a better defence has been provided for Germany than has existed at any former period of our history.

P.S. Some exchanges of territory between Austria and Bavaria are the only points of a territorial nature in Germany that remain to be settled.

CLXXIV. [*F. O. Cont. 12.*]<sup>1</sup>

CASTLEREAGH TO LIVERPOOL. (No. 70.)

February 13th, 1815.

I consider that the Defensive Treaty signed on the third ultimo with Austria and France, and since acceded to by Holland, Bavaria, and Hanover, has been productive of all the good consequences, I may say more, than I ventured to hope for, when I proposed that measure for the adoption of those Powers. I attribute this chiefly to the temperate manner in which this Alliance has been acted upon, viz., the not pushing the line of policy founded upon it beyond the legitimate purpose for which the Treaty was intended, whilst sufficient transpired of some engagement of this nature being in existence, confirmed by the attitude in discussion which the Powers assumed, to command respect

<sup>1</sup> The substance of this and the next two dispatches were published in the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Third Series, Vol. VI. Though a failure, this attempt to give a special sanctity to the Vienna Treaty is not without a special interest. As is seen in CCXXVIII., it first suggested to Alexander the idea of the Holy Alliance. Castlereagh undoubtedly meant it to fulfil the promise of Pitt's paper of 1805. See Appendix I., p. 393.

and to arrest the march of the Northern Courts ; the course of our policy has been conciliatory and unvaried, and it has been marked with enough of impartiality on the part of Great Britain, in the details of the arrangements, to give the whole the character of a sincere but commanding effort to execute with justice and fidelity the engagements taken at Paris. The consequence has been that the leading territorial arrangements have been wound up with a degree of good humour which I certainly did not expect to witness among the Powers, from what had passed in the earlier stages of our proceedings, and it is but justice to the Emperor of Russia to state, that the course of his conduct latterly has materially contributed to this honourable result. It has also enabled me to bring our discussion upon the Slave Trade to a more satisfactory issue than I could have hoped for under a less effectual and cordial appui on the part of so preponderating a Power.

In the course of yesterday the Emperor received the Duke of Wellington and myself and we had an opportunity in an audience of nearly two hours, to go over the several points upon which no official decision has yet been taken, viz., those pending in the North of Italy, the question of Naples, including the Ionian Islands, and the execution of the Treaty of Kiel in the North ; on all of which points His Imperial Majesty shewed an evident desire to have an understanding and to combine his march with that of the British Cabinet. Upon the whole the conversation was satisfactory both to the Duke and myself, and left us both not without considerable hope that by adopting a line of conduct conciliatory towards Russia, without, however, relaxing in those precautionary connections to which we owe our existing position, that the Emperor may be induced to occupy himself at home, where he has enough to do, and that Europe may be at peace.

From what I had myself before observed from what dropped from His Imperial Majesty in a former conversation with the Duke of Wellington and also with the Emperor of Austria, it was obvious that the Emperor of Russia's purpose was to try and renew the Quadruple Alliance before he left Vienna. I thought it material to dissipate this notion by representing the objections to the formation of any Alliance at this moment to the exclusion of France. That on the contrary, after the proofs which we had received on the Saxon and other points of the desire felt by the Cabinet of the Tuilleries to pursue a conciliatory and moderate line of policy, our interest and duty equally required that we should encourage such a disposition, and thus strengthen the king's authority against the bad principles that must still abound

in France, and I submitted to the Emperor that the best Alliance that could be formed in the present state of Europe was, that the Powers who had made the peace should by a public declaration at the close of the Congress announce to Europe, whatever difference of opinion may have existed in the details, their determination to uphold and support the arrangement agreed upon; and further, their determination to unite their influence and, if necessary, their arms, against the Power that should attempt to disturb it.

The Emperor entered cordially into this idea and desired a *Projet of Declaration* to be prepared. The other ministers, viz., Princes Metternich, Talleyrand, and Hardenberg, to whom this suggestion has since been communicated, equally approve it, and I hope we shall by this expedient have avoided without offence, lending ourselves to any exclusive system of Alliance at present, which I found an equal desire in the Austrian minister to press upon us, but in the spirit of the late Treaty. Prince Talleyrand urged the same idea with me, but was perfectly reasonable, when the objections were explained to him.

I must reserve till my arrival a more detailed exposition of the state of affairs here, which I have no doubt under the Duke of Wellington's superintendence will be brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

P.S. I enclose the *Projet of Declaration*<sup>1</sup> alluded to in this dispatch. It has been prepared by M. Gentz on my suggestion. The Emperor highly approves of it, as do all the ministers of the other Powers. Prince Talleyrand only wishes to soften the reference to revolutionary France by rather referring to her regeneration. I hope in approving the sentiments contained in this declaration, that the remaining deliberations will be conducted by the Imperial Powers in its spirit.

CLXXV. [*F. O. Cont. 12.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO ROBERT LISTON.<sup>2</sup>

Vienna, February 14th, 1815.

. . . I have since been honoured with a personal interview with the Emperor of Russia, and have received from His Imperial Majesty the most distinct and satisfactory assurances of his

<sup>1</sup> A verbose document which met with a good deal of criticism. It has been published by D'Angeberg, p. 864, and others.

<sup>2</sup> Ambassador at Constantinople. The Porte rejected the overture entirely, so that, even if the return of Napoleon had not prevented the matter from being completed, the special guarantee could not have included the Ottoman dominions.

disposition to concur with the other Powers, including the Ottoman Porte, in the general Guarantee to which the present Congress is likely to give occasion, reserving only for a distinct settlement the points of difference now pending, for the amicable adjustment of which the Emperor is willing to accept the intervention of Great Britain, Austria, and France. His Imperial Majesty expressed his wish thus to terminate every misunderstanding that might either menace or disturb the general tranquillity.

You will take the earliest opportunity of opening this important communication to the Porte and you may acquaint the Turkish Government that I have communicated this overture both to Prince Metternich and to Prince Talleyrand, and that they concur with me in the opinion that the Porte ought to lose no time in giving authority to their Minister here to take advantage of an offer so favourable to the general tranquillity and to the particular interests of the Ottoman state.

You will not fail to represent the commercial facilities required as nothing more than the just and liberal execution of existing rights, whereas so solemn a Guarantee cannot but be considered as an inestimable boon—on the other hand, to deny to the Powers of Europe the commerce of the Black Sea by any evasive expedient at such an epoch as the present could not fail to prejudice the Porte in the view of all other Powers.

P.S. I have communicated to the Turkish Chargé d' Affaires the substance of the above overture. As the negotiation for terminating the existing differences between Russia and the Porte might require more time than remains during the assembly of Congress, perhaps the better course to pursue will be to prevail upon Russia to give the general Guarantee subject to an adjustment of the existing differences on certain points to be specially named—the said adjustment to be made under the intervention of Great Britain, Austria, and France.

CLXXVI. [*F. O. Cont. Arch. 8.*]

CIRCULAR LETTER TO AMBASSADORS.

Vienna, February 13th, 1814.

I deem it my duty to inform you, that the negotiations at Vienna are in a favourable train of amicable settlement.

The territorial arrangements of Prussia (including those of Poland and Saxony) are adjusted and also those of Holland and Hanover. Some exchanges between Austria and Bavaria are still pending, but with this inconsiderable exception the territorial



arrangements on this side of the Alps are already agreed to and reduced into articles, and as Austria, Russia, Great Britain, France, and Prussia, notwithstanding some difference of opinion upon points when in progress, concur in cordially supporting the proposed arrangement as a whole, you may venture to dissipate all remaining uneasiness lest the peace of Europe should be disturbed.

It affords me great satisfaction to acquaint you that there is every prospect of the Congress Terminating with a *general accord and Guarantee* between the great Powers of Europe, with a determination to support the arrangement agreed upon, and to turn the general influence and if necessary the general arms against the Power that shall first attempt to disturb the Continental peace.

CLXXVII. [W. S. D. IX. 573.]

LIVERPOOL TO CASTLEREAGH.

Fife House, February 20th, 1815.

I have received your letter from Vienna of the 6th instant, and have been very glad to find that you had determined to return to England through Paris. Your audience of the King of France may be particularly useful in smoothing difficulties on the Neapolitan question.<sup>1</sup>

[The absolute impracticability of Great Britain engaging in war for the purpose of driving Murat from Naples. England at this moment peace mad and thinking only of the reduction of taxes; impossible, after so long a contest, to expect them to be favourable to a renewal of war, even in a just cause.] I am fully sensible of all the inconveniences of leaving Murat on the throne of Naples, and enter into all the personal feelings of the King of France on this subject; but I think for his own interest and for that of the French nation His Majesty ought to consider well before he embarks in military operations for the purpose of expelling Murat. Any attempt of this sort might be fatal to the Bourbons in France, if it failed of success, and should be made, therefore, with such an overpowering force as to render resistance hopeless. But

<sup>1</sup> This was in reality the final touch to a separate negotiation which Metternich had been carrying on with Blacas behind the back of Talleyrand, concerning the method by which Murat was to be overthrown. Castlereagh succeeded in inducing Louis XVIII. to accept Metternich's terms. The details of the whole matter are given in M. Weil's *Murat*, III., p. 12 ff. See also my *Congress of Vienna*, p. 126, and the forthcoming *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, Vol. I.

is it certain that a French army could be trusted on this service ? I know there are many persons attached to the Bourbons who are of opinion that the greater part of such an army would desert if opposed to Murat, especially if there were any prospect of Murat being joined by Buonaparte. This opinion, whether true or false cannot at least be regarded as improbable, when the spirit which is known to actuate so large a part of the French army is taken into account, and ought to be most seriously weighed by the King of France and his ministers before they embark in an undertaking which must, at all events, be extremely hazardous.

I should have the less difficulty in bringing these considerations under the serious view of the French government, as I have no scruple in avowing that the keystone of all my external policy is the preserving the Bourbons on the throne of France. I am satisfied that this alone can prevent the recurrence of the costs which we have suffered for the last twenty years, and that all other dangers may be regarded as contemptible when compared with those which would arise out of another revolution in France.

I am happy to find that, with the exception of this question of Naples, you will have been able to have brought all the material points to a conclusion before you left Vienna.

CLXXVIII. [*W. S. D. IX.* 583.]

CASTLEREAGH TO WELLINGTON.

Paris, February 28th, 1815.

. . . You may tell Prince Metternich that the King received his overture,<sup>1</sup> as a proof of the Emperor's desire to establish a good understanding with him. His Majesty admitted the principle that Austria, actively assisting to restore the King of Sicily to Naples, was entitled to his good offices in the North of Italy ; but still there is a difficulty concerning the Queen of Etruria, whom he cannot wholly sacrifice, and cannot provide for by any cessions at the expense of France. Upon the Valteline and Plaisance, both being military points interesting to Austria, he will make no difficulty. I think he will also agree to Marie Louise retaining Parma and Guastalla for her life, if the Queen of Etruria, with Lucques as a present possession, obtains the reversibility of these two latter possessions in the event of Marie Louise having no male heir other than the son of Napoleon, against whose succession

<sup>1</sup> See CLXXVII. Note 1.

Austria offers effectually to provide<sup>1</sup>. In this case, perhaps, Lucques might then be made to devolve upon the Tuscan family, and Plaisance upon the Imperial. Upon all other details the King will be content. I thought it better not to enter into these points further: there are none of them, it appears to me, such as should obstruct the main object. Prince Talleyrand will receive instructions to treat personally with Prince Metternich, without communication with his colleagues. . . .

CLXXIX. [W. S. D. IX. 590.]

CASTLEREAGH TO WELLINGTON. (No. 3.)

Foreign Office, March 12th, 1815.

[Encloses copy or instructions sent to Lord Fitzroy Somerset,<sup>2</sup> chargé d'affaires at Paris in Wellington's absence, for the direction of his conduct with respect to the landing of Buonaparte.]

The re-establishment of Buonaparte's authority is deemed by the Prince Regent incompatible with the peace and security of Europe; and he trusts that the Powers who have so gloriously conquered the peace will concur with him in such efforts as may be necessary to preserve it. With this view, it appears to His Royal Highness desirable that the Sovereigns assembled at Vienna should publish a joint declaration, announcing their determination to maintain inviolable the Peace of Paris, and, as the only security for the due observance of the same, the irresolution to support the lawful Sovereign of France against Buonaparte.

It appearing to His Royal Highness that this can best be done by assembling an imposing force on the French frontiers; that the burden may fall as equally as possible, your Lordship will propose that the whole or such part of the 75,000 men as the Four Powers are liable to furnish under the Convention supplementary to the Treaty of Chaumont shall be appropriated to this purpose; and that the charge may be more equally distributed, the Powers of Germany, whose accession to that Treaty has not yet been obtained might be required to furnish a reasonable quota.

The efforts of Austria being now so largely directed to Italy, it cannot be expected that she can also appear in force upon the

<sup>1</sup> Castlereagh subsequently admitted, however, that the succession to the young Napoleon was secured in the Treaty of Fontainebleau. See CXCI.

<sup>2</sup> Dated 12th March and stating that the British Government considered the peace of Europe to depend upon the preservation of the authority of Louis XVIII.

Rhine ; but no inconvenience will arise from this. If all the other Powers, including Russia, furnish their contingents, I think the gross force on the Eastern frontier ought not to be less than 200,000 men.

I should hope, from the state of the business at Vienna, that your Lordship would find no great difficulty connected with the instructions you will receive by the present courier on Italian affairs to prevail upon the Powers to sign at once a Treaty placing, by an early ratification, all the arrangements already agreed upon out of the reach of doubt. This will give great confidence, and excite little jealousy.

[If this is effected, assurances may be given to the Emperor of Russia that the half of the Dutch loan, as agreed upon will be defrayed by us, it being understood that H.I.M. will act in concert with us in the other measures remaining to be settled. Wellington is to judge where his personal presence is likely to be of most use. It is left to him to remain in Vienna or to put himself at the head of the army in Flanders, only reserving that he is not to expose himself by returning to the interior of France, unless in the command of troops.]

CLXXX. [W. S. D. IX. 592.]

CASTLEREAGH TO WELLINGTON.

Foreign Office, March 12th, 1815.

Since my return I have had a letter from Count Blacas, copy of which I send with several enclosures. You will find in these papers ample proofs, in addition to the detailed reports from General Nugent and Lord William Bentinck, of Murat's treachery, at least of his double dealing.<sup>1</sup> It is quite clear that Buonaparte, the Viceroy, Fouché, and other members of the family believed him to be false to the Allies. Your Grace will find the reports above alluded to among the papers at Vienna. These reports, together with the letters I now send, will enable your Lordship to satisfy the other Powers of Murat's treachery. It is particularly important that Austria should have the means of justifying herself in considering the treaty as violated by Murat.

The intelligence received from Your Grace of Murat's recent conduct, coupled with Buonaparte's descent in France, has re-

<sup>1</sup> These papers were subsequently laid before Parliament. Those found in the French Archives so far as they were genuine, were not, even in the opinion of Wellington, of sufficient value to convict Murat of treachery.

moved all remaining scruples on the part of the British Government. They consider that Murat has forfeited every claim, and that there is no safety, especially for Austria, while he is at Naples. They are therefore prepared to enter into a concert for his removal, and, under proper security as to the system to be established, to support the pretensions of Ferdinand the Fourth to the throne of Naples, whom they have never ceased to acknowledge and to describe in all formal acts as King of the *Two Sicilies*.

As there will be some nicety in giving to our line on this question the form most likely to prove satisfactory to Parliament, it might be desirable that we should accede, according to our own form, to the Treaty previously agreed to by Austria and France, in the negotiation of which you will assist with a view of rendering the details as little objectionable as possible.

The substance of our line will be as follows :—We shall continue to consider Ferdinand the Fourth as Sovereign of Naples, and agree to concert measures with the other Powers, having the like views, for the removal of Murat, either by negotiation or force. This concert ought to include Spain, Russia, and Prussia, although they may not all furnish troops.

In the event of actual hostilities, it is plain and understood that the weight of the military effort must fall upon Austria, and that France and Great Britain can only aid collaterally and by maritime demonstration. The King seemed willing to give 40,000 or 50,000 men, or the equivalent of a part in money.

The government here is very reluctant to bind themselves by Treaty to furnish troops : circumstances may enable them to do so ; but they wish in the first instance to contract no larger engagement as to Naples than they lately had with regard to Norway, which you will find detailed in our treaty with Sweden. I conceive this will not make any difficulty, as *our* military aid must be but a secondary question, if we help them a little in corn, ships, and money. In the former article we can, I have no doubt, do something, and in the latter I have an expedient by which I hope to give them £70,000 a month, for about four months, without going to Parliament to ask for a subsidy : that is, by not deducting the value of the stores supplied to them from the Chaumont subsidy.

This whole question is now put upon a footing that you may press it to a conclusion, preserving, if you can, to us the form in which our accession is to be given.

CLXXXI. [*F. O. Cont.* 14.<sup>1</sup>]

WELLINGTON TO CASTLEREAGH. (Private.)

Vienna, March 12th, 1815.

I have little to add to my dispatch regarding Buonaparte's invasion of France. The intention is, as soon as it shall be ascertained that he can make head against the King, to assemble three large corps, one in Italy, solely Austrian, which will consist of 150,000 men; one on the upper Rhine, Austrian, Bavarian, troops of Baden and Wurtemberg, which will eventually consist of 200,000 men, but will at first consist of only the troops of Bavaria, Baden, and Wirtemberg; the third on the Lower Rhine, consisting of the Prussian corps of Kleist, the Austrian garrison of Mayence, and other troops on the Moselle, to be joined to the British and Hanoverians in Flanders. Of this corps they wish me to take the command. The Russian army, 200,000 men, is to be formed in reserve at Wirtemberg, &c., &c.; the remainder of the Prussian Army in reserve on the Lower Rhine.

(The Emperor of Russia at first took the field with the plan of being Dictator. Razumoffski spoke to me of this notion as one of his own; and I recommended to him never to speak of it to any other person. The Emperor however did mention it to others, among whom the Emperor of Austria, who was much alarmed by it; but I suppose finding the idea not relished by any, and above all knowing that I should object to it, I found him very quiet and easy this day in a long conversation I had with him at my own house. He seems reconciled to the notion of the old system of managing the great concern in a council, consisting of himself, the King of Prussia, and Schwarzenberg.) He expressed a wish that I should be with him, but not a very strong one; and, as I should have neither character nor occupation in such a situation, I should prefer to carry a musket.

The Emperor intimated to me this day that, in case the movement of his troops became necessary, he could do nothing without the assistance of money from England. I told him I should write to your Lordship upon the subject by this courier; and that, in my opinion, the first measure to be adopted was, one something of the nature of the Treaty of Chaumont, in which he agreed; and afterwards to think of subsidy, if England could grant such a thing.

It is my opinion that Buonaparte has acted upon false or no information, and that the King will destroy him without difficulty,

<sup>1</sup> Also in Gurwood. Wellington Dispatches XII., 267, but the portions in round brackets are there omitted. The draft in *F. O. Continent* is in Wellington's own handwriting.

and in a short time. If he does not, the affair will be a serious one, and a great and immediate effort must be made, which will doubtless be successful. All the measures above stated to be in contemplation tend to this effort; and it will remain for the British Government to determine how far they will act themselves, and how far second the efforts of the Continent.

I now recommend to you to put all your force in the Netherlands at the disposition of the King of France; (if you can trust the officers at the head of it.) I will go and join it if you like it, or do anything else the Government choose. I think we shall have settled our business here, and signed the Treaty if the Spaniard does not impede us, by the end of the month. We shall have finished everything that is important much sooner, so that I shall be ready whenever you please to call for me.

CLXXXII. [*W. S. D. IX. 597.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO WELLINGTON.

Foreign Office, March 16th, 1815.

[News from Paris unfavourable. Although Paris and the country generally are tranquil, Buonaparte's progress unchecked by any opposition from the army in some parts of which there are strong signs of disaffection. Unless a force brought speedily against him, the dissolution of the King's authority may be quickly effected.]

The alarming aspect affairs have so suddenly and (when compared with all the early reports) so unexpectedly taken, will no doubt have been notified to your Lordship direct from Paris. In the judgment of His Majesty's ministers these circumstances form only so many additional motives for the Powers of Europe to assemble without delay a most powerful force upon the Rhine, and in advance of that river, as the only means of securing the peace of Europe, in the event of Buonaparte's resumption of the government, or, if the French nation shall stand by their lawful Sovereign, of encouraging and supporting them in doing so.

The great change which has taken place in the state of the question may however suggest more caution to be observed in the issuing of any declaration from Vienna till the character of the contest is more precisely established; for although interference on the part of the great Powers of Europe would, in the judgment of His Majesty's government, be both wise and necessary if sustained by an adequate national support, yet, consistent with the principles on which the Allies have hitherto acted, it would be a very

different question to march into France for the purpose of restoring a Sovereign who had been betrayed and abandoned by his own troops and subjects.

I state these principles for your Grace's consideration, leaving the application of them to your judgment, as circumstances arise, upon conference with the ministers of the other Courts. You will, however, lose no occasion of calling their attention to the Treaty of Chaumont, as the only safe basis upon which their conduct can now be founded. If Buonaparte is again to appear upon the stage, and to wield the power and resources of France, more especially under the intoxication of such a restoration, there is no safety for Europe but in a close and indissoluble union of the Four Great Powers, supported by all the other States, who will rally round their standard.

[Dispatches from Stuart reporting that the Prussians have withdrawn a considerable part of their force from the country between the Meuse and the Moselle, weakening the garrison of Luxembourg. The importance of providing adequately for this part of the frontier, including the provisioning of the fortress. Wellington to endeavour to terminate the differences between Austria and Bavaria, and to secure the aid of the latter Power.]

Whatever differences of opinion may have prevailed under other circumstances, I trust that every minor consideration will be buried in the common interest which all must feel to preserve, at least so far as concerns the existing boundaries of France, the glorious results of the late war.

CLXXXIII. [W. S. D. IX. 609.]

CASTLEREAGH TO WELLINGTON.

Foreign Office, March 24th, 1815.

[Encloses a communication received from Murat.<sup>1</sup> No answer given to this overture in London; the decision to be taken by Wellington in concert with the other Powers in Congress.]

In referring this question to your Grace, to be decided on the spot as may be best for the general interest of Europe, I am to inform you that, in the judgment of His Royal Highness's confidential servants, the Neapolitan question has assumed a new shape under the late extraordinary events in France. Whilst Louis XVIII. was supposed to be firmly established on his throne, the difficulty was to consolidate the peace of Europe so long as

<sup>1</sup> Through M. Tocco, the unofficial representative of Murat's interests at London.



a dynasty remained at Naples which neither France nor Spain would acknowledge. The case is different now ; it is a question of public safety in Europe ; and neither the King of France, nor even the King of Sicily, can expect that the policy to be observed towards Murat can be regulated upon considerations of minor importance.

If the Powers of Europe should consider this overture to be *bona fide* on the part of Murat ; if they should be of opinion, under the actual circumstances of Europe, that it is prudent to take advantage of it ; and they find that Murat adheres to his professions notwithstanding the extent of success which has attended Buonaparte's usurpation, your Lordship has full powers to conclude a Treaty with him ; but you will endeavour to combine it with such arrangements as may appear best calculated to insure Murat's fidelity, to secure the tranquillity of Italy, and to leave the Austrian army free to operate on the south of France in force.

If Murat's only object is to secure his footing in the kingdom of Naples, and if a Treaty with England is the security he most covets to obtain this quietus, he ought to submit to such arrangements as are necessary to inspire confidence in his intentions. With this view it appears to me deserving of consideration, instead of remaining in force towards the North of Italy, and consequently holding a menacing position, which, being liable to abuse, must impose upon Austria the necessity of rendering a proportional force inactive in that quarter, whether he might not be required to unite his proportion of active force to the Austrian army intended to operate in the south of France (say to the extent of 20,000 or 30,000 men), and to retire the principal part of his force to the southward, making such reductions in it as a recognition on the part of Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia must render prudent on his part.

Your Grace will of course have no concealment towards the Prince de Talleyrand with respect to this overture ; but, whilst you give all due weight to His Highness's reasoning, the Prince Regent's government does not consider that either the French or Spanish plenipotentiaries can expect the other Powers to submit to their judgment upon this question at the present moment, when the tranquillity of Italy may so essentially influence the general security of Europe, and contribute even to the maintenance of the Bourbons on the throne of France.

On the other hand, however wise the measure may be, there may be a delicacy on their part in being immediately parties to it. If such should be the case, I do not conceive, if all the other Powers

concur in preserving him at Naples, that this will make any essential difficulty on the part of Murat, as, when his recognition has been once obtained generally from the other Powers of Europe, there will be not only an increased motive but an honourable justification for the Bourbons at a suitable moment to acquiesce in an arrangement which circumstances have rendered inevitable.

P.S. I have the honour to forward to your Grace a despatch from Mr. Tocco to the Duc de Campochiaro, by which he transfers, on the part of his Court, the negotiation on the subject of this despatch to the Duke.

CLXXXIV. [*Gurwood. XII. 278.*]

WELLINGTON TO CASTLEREAGH.

Vienna, March 25th, 1815.

I found it much more difficult than I imagined when I wrote my despatch, No. 18, to conclude a Treaty with the Allies on the plan of the Treaty of Chaumont, which work I have accomplished only this night, and now enclose. It will be signed to-morrow night.<sup>1</sup>

The occasion of the delay has been, first, the desire of all the Powers to connect with the engagement for employing a large force, one for the grant of a subsidy from England; and secondly, the extreme jealousy regarding the command of the contingents of the small Powers in the North of Germany. An endeavour was made to dispose of the contingents of those Powers by an entry on the protocol of the military conference held here in presence of the Emperor of Russia; and as I refused to sign this protocol, upon finding it contained an arrangement which had not been mentioned, and to which I had not agreed, they have delayed to sign the Treaty for a week.

Your Lordship will observe, that the article providing for Great Britain paying a stipulated sum instead of furnishing men is separate, and the Allies are desirous that it should not be made public till it should be necessary. I found it impossible to frame this article, as I wished, to keep, by agreement, in the power of Great Britain the selection of the Power which should be paid for the deficiency of her contingent, as the treaty of Chaumont was different. The article, however, as it stands, does not deprive her of this power.

I likewise enclose the protocol of what passed at the conclusion of the Treaty this night, in which you will see the urgency with which they all desire to be assisted by subsidies. I believe your

<sup>1</sup> It is dated March 25th.

Lordship is perfectly aware that it will be quite impossible for these Powers to make an effort adequate to the occasion, unless they should obtain this aid. With such a force as they will bring into the field, there is every reason to hope that, if there should be any resistance at all to Napoleon on the part of the Royalists party in France, the contest will be a very short one, and decidedly successful. Nothing can be done with a small or inefficient force; the war will linger on, and will end to our disadvantage. Motives of economy, then, should induce the British Government to take measures to bring the largest possible force into action at the earliest and the same period of time.

CLXXXV. [W. S. D. IX. 623.]

CASTLEREAGH TO WELLINGTON.

London, March 26th, 1815.

I have nothing material to add to my letter. We wait with impatience for intelligence from all quarters. The great question is, can the Bourbons get Frenchmen to fight *for them* against Frenchmen? If they can, Europe may soon turn the tide in their favour; and, the process of fermentation once begun, they may create real partisans, instead of criers of *Vive le Roi!* and doers of nothing.

If we are to undertake the job, we must leave nothing to chance. It must be done upon the largest scale. With Mayence, Luxembourg, and Lille,<sup>1</sup> you start on solid grounds, and no fortresses in the rear to blockade as before. But you must inundate France with force in all directions. If Buonaparte could turn the tide, there is no calculating upon this plan; and we must always recollect that Poland, Saxony, and much Jacobinism, are in our rear.

I wish you would turn in your mind the principles to be acted upon in France. The applying those you acted upon in the South to the force you will now command of all nations, is out of the question. The utmost we could attempt would be to be honest ourselves, and this would make our Allies more odious. My notion is, that France must pay the price of her own deliverance; that the King should consider the Allied troops as auxiliaries; that every corps should be accompanied by a French ordonnateur, through whom all requisitions for forage and subsistence should be made; the value to be paid in bonds, the liquidation of which should be assured upon a peace, either in whole, or in the greater proportion, at the expense of the French Government.

<sup>1</sup> Lille was, however, soon lost to Louis XVIII.

Unless some system of this kind is agreed upon, the war will either degenerate, as it did last year, into an indiscriminate and destructive pillage, or *we* shall be bankrupts, and driven out of the field in three months. I know the difficulties of what I suggest ; but the alternative in the less objectionable sense leads at once to impossibilities and ruin. . . . We long to hear of you in Flanders.

CLXXXVI. [*W. S. D. IX. 626.*]

CASTLEREACH TO WELLINGTON.

London, March 27th, 1815.

It is to be presumed, in the hurry of their departure, the Foreign Office at Paris has not been stripped by the King's Ministers of any of its contents, and consequently that our Secret Treaty with France and Austria, as well as all Prince Talleyrand's correspondence, will fall into Buonaparte's hands. He will of course try to turn this to account, first in privately sowing discord ; and, if he fails in this, he will expose the whole in the *Moniteur*. I have desired Sir C. Stuart to ascertain from Blacas how the fact stands, and leave it to your judgment to take such steps as you deem most suitable for counteracting any unfavourable impression.

I flatter myself, after all he knew long since,<sup>1</sup> it cannot produce any unfavourable impression upon the Emperor of Russia's mind. He must feel assured that the whole grew out of differences now settled, and a most indiscreet declaration of Prince Hardenberg's. The Treaty is, upon the face of it, purely defensive ; and all our proceedings since have proved this beyond a doubt.

CLXXXVII. [*F. O. Cont. 17.*]

CLANCARTY TO CASTLEREACH. (No. 1.)

March 29th, 1815.

[Interview with Wellington who left this morning. Encloses a note of communication from the Duke.]

NOTE OF COMMUNICATION FROM THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

March 28th, 1815.

His Grace commenced with the affairs of Naples and stated that there was to be a conference this day at 3 o'clock upon the subject with Princes Metternich and Talleyrand. That at this he was desirous of entering upon the execution of his instructions contained in Lord Castlereach's letter of the 12th inst.<sup>2</sup> and should propose that the Austrian and French Plenipotentiaries should commence the negotiation of a Treaty for the removal of Murat and restoration

<sup>1</sup> See CLXI.

<sup>2</sup> CLXXX.

of Ferdinand to the throne of that kingdom, to which we should become acceding parties. In order to this that we should assist at the negotiation, and endeavour to reserve to ourselves the freedom of acceding in our own form a Declaratory Article to be inserted in the Great Treaty stating the grounds and the fact that the Powers of Europe could not recognize Murat as King of Naples. With respect to the North of Italy that the Duchies of Parma, Placentia and Guastalla should remain with the Archduchess Marie Louise for her life, recognizing, however, the legitimate *inhabitant*<sup>1</sup> of these to be in the son of Donna Marie Louise. The town of Plaisance, however, to remain with Austria in absolute property and sovereignty.

[During the life of the Archduchess, Lucca, other minor states, and parts of Tuscany to be united into one State in favour of Donna Marie Louise and her son, payment of a perpetual pension being made to the original holders. Efforts to be used for the cession of Olivenza from Spain to Portugal. The three Legations to be given up to the Pope; other cessions to be made to France, the King of the Two Sicilies, and Austria. In connection with the latter, the Seven Islands to remain under our protection till Ferdinand is restored, after which the protection shall devolve upon Austria. Upon all these points, with the exception of the Seven Islands which had not yet been discussed, Russia in agreement. Marshal Wrede better content with the last Austrian Project for the exchange with Bavaria. The subject to form part of this evening's conference. In order to have sufficient disposable territory, it was proposed to require from Wirtemberg and Baden further cessions to the amount of country containing 100,000 more inhabitants. A note prepared from the Five Powers to the Swedish Plenipotentiary on the subject of Denmark and Sweden.]

CLXXXVIII. [C. C. X. 301.]

CASTLEREAGH TO WELLINGTON.

Foreign Office, April 8th, 1815.

Our discussion in both Houses last night<sup>2</sup> was sufficiently satisfactory. Until we can open the whole extent of our confederacy, we must have a reserve; and it is better that our friends should be brought by degrees to look at the prospect of a renewed contest.

My dispatches by this messenger to Sir C. Stuart will give you Caulaincourt's overture and my answer.<sup>3</sup> The general intelligence from France agrees with the enclosed report, and justifies a hope that the Allies, if enabled to move early, may keep alive an important diversion in the South and West. You will best judge whether any and what steps can be undertaken to encourage early exertions. If war is actually decided on, a movement into the interior cannot be too soon made, as far as it can be pushed forward without military improvidence. Its effect must be proportionably decisive.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* There is a pencil note in the margin: "Inheritance, I believe he means."

<sup>2</sup> The Government refused to commit itself to immediate war, but only to measures of "military precaution" in concert with its Allies. A summary of the Debate is given in *The Dynasts*, Part III., Act V. Scene V.

<sup>3</sup> Dated April 4th and April 8th. An answer was declined to Buonaparte's appeal to the Prince Regent and the letters forwarded to Vienna.

I have received your renewal of the Treaty of Chaumont.<sup>1</sup> It will be immediately ratified, but we mean to accompany it with a declaration of the nature herewith sent. The latter branch of Article 3, which you very properly endeavoured to qualify, we think may be sustained as declaratory of the object of the concert. It is an engagement, although onerous in its nature, taken between parties who have a common interest in its execution. That which arises out of Article 8, stands somewhat on different grounds. In inviting the King of France, more especially when out of France, to accede to the Treaty, we deem it material to mark that the object of the alliance and concert is to destroy Buonaparte's authority, and not to impose on France any particular Sovereign or form of government. We deem this declaration not less advantageous to the King's interest in France than to the maintenance of the contest in Parliament against Buonaparte. . . .

CLXXXIX. [C. C. X. 301.]

CASTLEREAGH TO CLANCARTY. (No. 5.)

April 8th, 1815.

I send you a copy of my private letter,<sup>2</sup> with its enclosure, to the Duke of Wellington. You will fully appreciate the Parliamentary importance of not having imputed to us that Louis XVIII., by being made an Ally against Buonaparte, has been made master of the confederacy for his own restoration. His Majesty cannot wish us to feel more decisively the importance of his restoration than we do; and most assuredly every effort will be made so to conduct the war so as to lead to this result, but we cannot make it a *sine qua non*. Foreign Powers may justly covenant for the destruction of Buonaparte's authority as inconsistent with their own safety, but it is another question avowedly to stipulate as to his successor. This a Parliamentary delicacy. By a despatch from Sir C. Stuart, it appears that the King of France perfectly enters into this distinction. I am much hurried, and can add no more.

<sup>1</sup>The Treaty of March 25th. See CLXXXIV. By Art. 3 the Allies engaged not to lay down their arms until Buonaparte was rendered unable to renew his attempts for possessing himself of the Supreme Power in France. Art. 8 invites the co-operation of Louis XVIII. The British declaration expressly stated that these articles were "not to be understood as binding His Britannic Majesty to prosecute the war, with a view to imposing on France any particular Government."

<sup>2</sup> CLXXXVIII.

CXC. [*F. O. Cont.* 17.]

CLANCARTY TO CASTLEREAGH. (Private and Confidential.)  
Vienna, April 8th, 1815.

[The policy described in my No. 12<sup>1</sup> entirely accords with views of Wellington.<sup>2</sup>]

My own opinion, and those of my colleagues here, were so entirely in unison with the views of His Grace, that I had the less hesitation in adopting the course pursued by me. But had my judgment even been in opposition to that of the Duke upon this question, from the confidence with which he is so justly honoured by His Majesty's Government, and from the immediate discretion rested in him upon this particular point, I should have felt it my duty to have foregone my own, in favour of his opinion.

I have not intimated the receipt of the instructions conveyed in No. 6<sup>3</sup> to Prince Metternich, or to any of the Plenipotentiaries here; the different state of circumstances would in my judgment have rendered this unnecessary but after the repeated assurances I had received from Prince Metternich of the peremptory commands to their army in Italy to advance and attack that of Murat, the communication of instructions of this sort appeared to me, only calculated to distract and render more wavering the councils of one, at no time very certain or decided.

This precaution has however in some degree been in vain. Altho' I have withheld Mr. Tocco's dispatch from the Duc de Campochiaro, a similar dispatch has reached him through some other channel, and he has given out publicly that instructions to treat with Murat have reached the British Embassy, thus fortifying in a considerable degree the reports published by Murat that the best understanding reigns between him and Great Britain. This Duke called here the day before yesterday and in Lord Stewart's presence stated the notification sent by M. Tocco to him of instructions similar to those conveyed to His Majesty's Ministers

<sup>1</sup> Of the same date as this dispatch intimating that Clancarty would take no action on M. Tocco's dispatch [See CLXXXIII.] as affairs had changed since it was written.

<sup>2</sup> Wellington to Clancarty, April 1st, 1814 (Private). "I enclose a letter from Lord Castlereagh regarding Murat. In my opinion he has by his conduct rendered impracticable the line of policy preferred by Lord C. . . . The Austrians are strong enough to beat Murat if they choose it, and present and future policy should induce them to do so. If I was at Vienna I should not act upon this dispatch, particularly if Murat has attacked or his conduct should still be dubious. The principal point of all is, however, the capacity of the Austrians to get the better of him and keep the peace of Italy at the same time. If they are not certain of that, of which I entertain no doubt, you might act upon this dispatch." *F. O. Cont.* 17.

<sup>3</sup> CLXXXIII.

here, he then went into a long detail respecting the course pursued by Murat, endeavouring to excuse his advance, altho' he admitted that the invasion of the Pope's territories was an hostile act, to all which I merely replied that any instructions received by me were applicable to a totally different state of circumstances from those which at present existed.

[The Duke since had an interview with Metternich of which he has given not details. Clancarty will seek explanation from Metternich and will] give him the same assurance I have already given to the Duc de Campochiaro, that whatever instructions have reached me relative to Murat were applicable to a state of circumstances very different from those now existing.

[Metternich also notified an interview with Campochiaro with a view to having Mr. Walker removed from Naples to obviate the report of our being in a state of amity with Murat.]

This looks like a determined resolution to go on, nevertheless we have not yet succeeded in procuring the preparation, much less signature, of a Treaty between Austria and France on the subject of the Neapolitan provinces,—which in truth I have the less pressed since the commencement of actual hostilities, and the receipt of the Despatch No. 6.

P.S. *Midnight, April 8th.*

I have seen Prince Metternich this evening. He acquainted me with the subject of the Duc de Campochiaro's interview with him, which was partly, as I suspected, to inform him of the overture announced to him by M. Tocco, and partly to endeavour to explain Murat's conduct. I told Prince Metternich that the instructions I had received were adapted to so totally a different stile of things, that I regarded them as *non avenues*; and I then asked him how he answered the Duc's apology to Murat: He said that this was to be done by note, stating the fact of Murat's attack upon the Austrian advanced guard:—that the Emperor considered this as a declaration of war, accepted thereof, and therefore he was to send the Duc his passports to return home.

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CXCI. [C. C. X. 305.]

CASTLEREAGH TO CLANCARTY.

St. James's Square, April 12th, 1815.

You will see by the papers that, although in this country we are disposed rather to take our tone from the Continent, we shall not fail them in our due scale of exertion; but the Powers of



Europe must not expect us to subsidize all the world, or to go beyond certain limits in point of expense.

These limits now are held by the Treasury to be £5,000,000 subsidy, and 150,000 men, or their equivalent, under the Treaty. If to this you add all our extra expenditure in arms, clothing, ammunition, &c., to Holland, France, &c., you will perceive the effort is not an inconsiderable one at the close of an expenditure which, for past charge, independent of this new catastrophe, has rendered it necessary to fund, in the course of this year, nearly 40,000,000 sterling.

As the confidential *projets* which were exchanged between the Austrian and French Governments, with respect to Italy, were reserved for discussion at Vienna, as I was too much hurried, when they passed under my inspection, to give them any minute attention, I wish to call your attention to one or two points which require to be attended to.

Upon referring to the Treaty of Fontainebleau, I perceive that an interest is expressly created in favour of Marie Louise's son after her death, in the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla.<sup>1</sup> So far as Buonaparte's return to France may be deemed to have annulled the whole Treaty, a right may be held to accrue to the Allies to agree upon a new distribution; but, admitting the validity of the Treaty, as we are bound to do previous to the escape from Elba, we do not see how a consent on the part of Marie Louise could in good faith prejudice the succession of her son. Pray look carefully into this point before any stipulation comes for our ratification. An exchange of territory, for a valuable consideration, or the cession of a part of any State to save in war the whole, may reasonably be argued to be inherent in the sovereign authority; but a gratuitous extinction of a minor's right of succession by a mother, at the instance of friendly parties, or by such parties without her consent, does not seem maintainable, particularly when the engagement was contracted with the father. Such a forfeiture, I apprehend, can only be defensible as incurred by Napoleon's act; and if Marie Louise is suffered to possess these duchies for her life, with remainder to the Queen of Etruria's son, to the exclusion of her own, it must be held to be a new grant to her, founded upon other considerations than those which influenced the Treaty of Fontainebleau.

Whenever the *projet*, prepared by the Italian Commission whilst I was at Vienna, was agitated, I always considered that the decision must have ultimately depended upon Marie Louise's

<sup>1</sup> See CLXXVIII.

consent and such was my assurance, and also the Emperor of Russia's, to her plenipotentiaries; but, upon looking more narrowly into the question, I doubt the validity of this to extinguish any *essential* interest in the son.

With respect to the Seven Islands, I see no objection to leaving the future arrangement to be amicably settled between the British and Austrian Governments, as you propose. . . .

CXCII. [*F. O. Cont.* 17.]

CLANCARTY TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 17.)

April 15th, 1815.

It was thought that the change of circumstances which had occurred since the publication of the declaration signed upon the 13th ultimo<sup>1</sup> would render it politic again to publish to the world what were the views of the coalesced Powers of Europe under the actual state of things. This opinion was corroborated by the reports made by several ministers lately returned from Paris, more particularly by that of General le Baron Vincent, the late Austrian Minister at that Court. All of these united in strongly recommending the renewal of an address prior to the meeting of the assemblies convened by Buonaparte for the first of May and that this publication should particularly set forth assurances, that the several Powers of Europe were free from any intention of interfering with the independence of France. In consequence of this the French mission have prepared the projet of a declaration with which the Duc d'Alberg waited upon me on Saturday last.

I must own that neither the reports above alluded to, nor the Duc d'Alberg's arguments persuaded me of the policy of this measure, or that we could rationally flatter ourselves with any probable benefit to be derived therefrom. But the *Projet* as originally framed appeared to me extremely exceptionable—in as much as it pointed the whole objects of the Allies to be the removal of Buonaparte and second to have directly and immediately in view the encouragement of the Jacobin party to raise their own on the ruin of his power and dominion. With this apparent intent all mention of the King seemed carefully excluded, and his party which we were pledged by our last declaration to protect apparently deserted. And yet on his party now said to be in some force in the South of France our best hopes of interior co-operation are founded.

These observations were candidly urged to the Duc and seemed to make some impression. They have likewise been adduced at

<sup>1</sup> Made before Buonaparte's success was known, and declaring him a public enemy.

the subsequent conferences of the Five, at which the consideration of the policy of an address, and its particular redaction have formed a principal feature. At these conferences the *Projet* was proposed by Prince Talleyrand on the ground of its probable effects being of the utmost important advantage to the King's interests, most strongly and warmly supported by M. de Nesselrode on that of its effectual tendency in the Emperor of Russia's opinion to destroy the power of Buonaparte—and supported also by Prince Metternich in consequence of the united recommendation of all the ministers lately returned from Paris. In these discussions the Prussian Plenipotentiaries were neuter, rather however appearing to doubt than to adopt the policy of any further declarations till the moment of action.

I felt it my duty to state fully my general objections to the publication of any new address till that period, as serving to weaken the former declaration; and my particular objections to the redaction of that proposed, principally for the reasons shortly above stated. The extreme anxiety, nay even warmth, evinced upon this subject particularly by the Russian Plenipotentiaries led me however (in entire concurrence with my colleagues) rather to yield my own opinion in consenting to sign an address, than to hazard any interruption in the harmony so necessary to be fostered among all the Allies and those in their service at this critical period. After some considerable discussion, such alternatives were adopted in the redaction as appeared to me essential to obviate, at least in some degree, the detrimental impressions which in my opinion the original *Projet* was calculated to convey; and the declaration, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose, was adopted on the night of the 11th and was signed by the Five, and it was afterwards put in circulation to receive also the signatures of the several Plenipotentiaries from the crowned heads of Europe. Some of these, however, especially the Ministers from Spain and Portugal, having objected to sign it in its then shape, it has not yet been published, and it has latterly been thought requisite either to postpone its emission, or so to alter it as to render it more accordant with the former declaration.

CXCIII. [*F. O. Cont.* 17.]

CLANCARTY TO CASTLEREAGH. (Private and Secret.)

April 15th, 1815.

[A *Projet* of declaration brought to Clancarty by the Duke D'Alberg. Clancarty against any further publication till the military preparations were more advanced, and considered this

Project exceptionable as placing the coalition in the hands of the Jacobin party to the discouragement of the Royalists and consequently not likely to be approved by Great Britain or any other of the Powers. A similar declaration proposed by Talleyrand at the evening conference; an amendment proposed by Clancarty and vehemently opposed by Nesselrode as tending to defeat the object in view, that of gaining the Jacobin party at Paris. Clancarty did not object to this object, but doubting its success, not inclined to hazard the loss of a party actually in existence in arms upon this uncertain chance. Nesselrode finally took the amendment *ad referendum*.

The next day Nesselrode withdrew his objections to the amendment; the declaration accordingly signed by all the ministers, and sent in circulation for the signatures of the ministers of the other crowned heads, some of whom, particularly those of Spain and Portugal, declined.

This mentioned at the Conference of the 13th, when it was proposed that it should merely be stated that a declaration had been issued in consequence of Buonaparte's landing and that to this declaration the Powers adhered now that he was in Paris. The treaties of March 28th also to be published. Clancarty still of opinion that immediate action should follow any declaration, but objects less to one in this form. Metternich undertook to submit a plan at the next meeting. Talleyrand consistently shewed anxiety for the original form, and the Russians warm in its support; Prussia apparently indifferent, though more inclined against than for it; Metternich in support of it in Congress, but against it everywhere else. Private information received by Clancarty perhaps explains all this.

A Frenchman returning to France is said to have had interviews with the Emperor of Russia, Nesselrode, Talleyrand, and Metternich, and to have been charged with negotiations to Fouché and the Marshalls assuring them that there was no intention of interfering with the choice of a government for France so long as Buonaparte was destroyed. Metternich admitted this interview but treated lightly his message to Fouché. He did not think that the Emperor of Russia had had an interview, but did not deny that the other might. Clancarty strongly objected to these proceedings. It is also suspected that a Frenchman staying at the French Embassy, was there on a mission from the Jacobin ministry at Paris. Probable that Talleyrand wishful to be secure both on the side of the Jacobins and of the King. Only this fact explains the conduct of Talleyrand and Nesselrode on the subject of the declaration.

Clancarty to interview the Emperor of Russia, who desires to see the despatches read by him at the former meeting. Wrede has stated that Alexander complained to him that the British minister had impeded the issue of the declaration with a view to pledging the Sovereigns to the specific measure of forcing Louis XVIII. on France. [At the interview Alexander said all were agreed in the necessity of bringing up the largest possible degree of force.] but that it was necessary when we are going jointly into the war, that we should also agree and understand each other in the particular object of that war ; that he had understood that in the conferences of the Five I had apparently endeavoured to pledge the Allies to the support of a particular dynasty, this in his opinion counteracting the object which all had in view, viz: the overthrow of Buonaparte, by leading the French nation to a thorough union against us for the purpose of defending their independence. Without suffering him to proceed, I here interrupted him by observing that he had been totally misinformed, for that far from having endeavoured to pledge the Allies to the support of any particular dynasty or system, my sole object had been to keep them free and unshackled, to enable them under such circumstances as might arise to take such line as they might hereafter and according to the issue of the war, think it expedient to adopt ;—that this had been one of the grounds on which I had objected to the declaration in the form in which it had been produced ; and that I should ill perform the duty which I owed to my Government if I had endeavoured, totally uninstructed as I must necessarily be upon this subject, to tie up theirs and the hands of the Allies, under any state of circumstances, to sustain the interests of any one individual or of any particular line, and I added that if the declaration had contained a specific pledge to replace Louis XVIII. on the throne of France, I should have objected and on this very ground to sign it, without direct instructions from my Court. He said he was glad to hear me make this avowal, and that he should now proceed with what he was going to say when I had interrupted him. That he had been anxious for a declaration, and for this particular declaration on these grounds.

That there were three parties in France

1. The Army
2. The Jacobins
3. The King's Party.

That the first were from interest generally attached to Buonaparte, but that among these were many, and some of considerable influence, who were of the second or Jacobin party, and who could

therefore be detached from the first, and led to act in concert with the Jacobins, and if these were gained, with the Allies.

That the Jacobin party, were men of considerable talent, indefatigable activity, extensive influence, and some of them (as Fouché) in situations of great trust, and in which, if they should be gained the most essential services might be rendered by them to the general cause; that, enriched and enobled as many of them were, it could no longer be apprehended that they were desirous of prolonging civil commotion, and civil struggle, and that they should now seek to renew the attempt heretofore tried in vain, to establish a Republic in France, that the greatest possible advantage might be expected from gaining over this party to the general cause, and that with this view, he had been and still was desirous of the publication of the [declaration of the] 11th.

That with respect to the King's party this was generally composed of *Campagnards* and husbandmen, men who loved the ease and quiet of their usual occupations and who it had been seen, and would still continue to be seen would not lend themselves to any exertion for the restoration of the King. He did not therefore conceive it difficult to determine under these circumstances, that it would be highly adviseable to endeavour to conciliate the Jacobin party. I answered that it appeared to me two separate questions arose on this subject: the first whether any declaration at all ought to be issued at the present moment; the second in what way, if to be issued, such declaration should be framed.

With respect to the first it appeared to me, on various grounds, as very doubtful policy, to issue any address till the Allies were in a state of readiness to follow up the same with immediate action, and I was going to state the reasons on which I founded this opinion when His Majesty interrupted me by saying that this doubt had also forcibly struck him, and that upon the whole he was inclined to adjourn the publication till the forces were in a collected state, and ready to follow up the manifest. I told him I was greatly relieved by finding His Majesty of this opinion, as it would afford me sufficient time to seek instructions from my Court, with respect to the points which such a declaration should contain, that he must be aware that his plenipotentiaries and those of other Powers possessed a considerable advantage over us in being near and able to consult the opinion of their Sovereign under every change of circumstances, while we could necessarily only act by general inference, and this under a heavy weight of responsibility, that it was my intention to send a courier to-night to England, and to press for the earliest instructions upon this subject, while

for the present it was unnecessary for me to detain His Majesty by entering into an examination of the second question into which the subject in my mind resolved itself.

He told me that he thought my conduct perfectly fair, and that it was but just I should have an opportunity of consulting my Government upon such a subject, that in sixteen days I could have an answer, and that this would in his view be sufficiently early to fulfil his objects, he added that I was at liberty to state as much of the conversation he had held with me as I pleased, and desired me particularly to convey to my Government, in order to obtain their answer, what he was about to say.

He then said, if we should be successful—*je suis tout à fait contre l'élevation de quelques un [sic] des Maréchaux ou Généraux français au trône de la France, comme Soult, le Prince Eugene et autres de cette trempe* ; that he did not like Republics, but that a Republican form of Government as being weaker would be less likely to disturb the peace of Europe, and that if the French wished for the return of the King, et bien ! if the Duke of Orleans, as one born of the Revolution, there was nothing to object, and then fixing me, as if to discover what impression his proposition was likely to make he said—suppose the Regency of Marie Louise, avec ce petit bonhomme de Prince, qu'en pensez-vous ? I stated that speaking only from myself, as he had well judged by desiring me to write to my Court that I could have no precise instructions. I conceived His Majesty perfectly justified in his opinion of the impolicy of elevating any of the Marshalls and Generals to the Crown of France ; that any Government of this nature, experience had shown, must necessarily seek its establishment at home by the diversion of public attention to foreign wars and foreign conquests. I took the liberty of recalling to His Majesty's memory that the same policy had likewise been followed during their Republic by the ephemeral parties in the direction of affairs in France, pending [sic] which period a considerable portion of their conquests had been made, and however different to each other and violently opposed with respect to the interior, the exterior policy of war and plunder had uniformly been the same under all ; that with respect to the Regency (here he fixed his eye steadily upon me) and succession of Buonaparte's issue, I had thought that this had been a point already decided by the Treaty of Apr. I, 1814,<sup>1</sup> and latterly by the declaration of the 13th March, but that at all events, I should much doubt the policy of uniting France with the Austrian monarchy even for such a portion of

<sup>1</sup> The Treaty of Fontainebleau.

time as the Regency would subsist. He seemed much pleased with this, told me that he had latterly seen the Archduchess Marie Louise two or three times, who had expressed to him abhorrence at the idea of returning to France, and that he was sure as far as she was concerned, she had not the least desire to realize the alternative he had latterly put.

This, My Lord, is a summary of the conversation I had with His Majesty on the subject of the declaration and the war with France, and I am sure I need not request the earliest signification of the wishes of Government with regard to the conduct I am to observe upon the points stated in it. . . .

I have no doubt that the Treaty of January 3rd is known<sup>1</sup> to the Emperor Alexander. Marshall Wrede told me to-day that it was so to his knowledge, in as much as the King of Bavaria had told him the Emperor Alexander had good-humouredly reproached him with it, stating that tho' His Bavarian Majesty had wished to be at enmity with Russia, Russia would be in amity with Bavaria. If the Emperor should speak to me upon the subject I will avow the fact, and excuse it upon the necessity of the case for the freedom of Congress under the Chancellor's threat.

CXCIV. [W. S. D. X. 80.]

CASTLEREAGH TO WELLINGTON.

London, April 16th, 1815.

I have communicated to my colleagues your private and secret letter of the 11th.<sup>2</sup> Various circumstances have come to our knowledge tending to confirm your Grace's information that the Duke of Orleans has a very considerable party, both civil and military, in his favour; and without impeaching his Highness's honour to the King, it is not less evident that the line he is now taking has a tendency to distinguish, and so far to separate himself from the other branches of the family.

With respect to the course to be pursued by the British government, we are of opinion that we must not be *pledged* beyond the main object of our concert, viz., the destruction of Buonaparte's power. That, on the other hand, in conducting the Alliance, we must and can only act prudently to the King as the immediate object of our support. In the course of the struggle a necessity may arise requiring the Allies to submit to have another branch of the

<sup>1</sup> See CLXXXVI.

<sup>2</sup> Written at Brussels and concerning an emissary of Fouché's who had been sent to urge on the part of the Jacobins their desire for the Duc d'Orléans as King. W. S. D. X., 60.



family placed upon the throne as a middle term, better calculated to allay the internal divisions of the country. This case, should it arise, which is by no means improbable, must be judged of at the time. The only object now to be supported is the King: any appearance of hesitation on this would divide and chill the South and West. The dissolution of the alliance between Buonaparte and the Jacobins may produce other combinations. Our hands must not be tied, however cordially we may desire to employ them in support of the legitimate Monarch, so as to preclude us from adopting a different course of policy under other and adequate circumstances.

I shall be anxious to hear from your Grace further upon this subject. I apprehend we now see it altogether in the same point of view, and I join in your regret that the King's virtues do not give him the ascendancy which his position requires; but with the single exception of Buonaparte, whose influence is derived from a thousand sources, the individual in power, whosoever he may be, is likely, in a country so corrupted as France, to have to sustain the shock of a great combination of interests. The King's habits, unfortunately, do not easily amalgamate with the existing order of things; but were the Duke of Orleans in power, more especially if brought forward improvidently, his authority probably would soon prove incompetent to repress the factions of the country, and it is not the interest of the Allies, if obliged to enter upon war, to encourage an early and hollow compromise.

CXCV. [*State Papers*<sup>1</sup> II., 301]

CLANCARTY TO CASTLEREAGH.

Vienna, May 6th, 1815.

In Conference on the 3rd inst., Metternich produced some unopened letters which the Emperor had directed him to unseal in the presence of the Plenipotentiaries of the Allied Powers. These, together with a letter to His Imperial Majesty, had been forwarded by a M. de Strassant, who had been stopped on his way hither from not having proper passports. They proved to be a letter from Buonaparte addressed to His Majesty, professing a desire to continue at peace and to observe the Treaty of Paris, and a similar one from Caulaincourt to Metternich. After reading these papers the general opinion was that no answer should be returned and no notice taken of the proposal.

One opinion has directed the Councils of the several Powers upon this and upon all other occasions subsequent to the return of

<sup>1</sup> *British and Foreign State Papers*, edited by the Librarian of the Foreign Office.

Buonaparte, when the present state of the Powers with regard to France has been discussed. They adhere to their Declaration of March 13th, that they are in a state of hostility with the actual ruler of France not from choice but from necessity, because experience has shown that no reliance can be placed on his professions. They feel that if they were now to listen to this desire for peace, for the purpose of relieving their people from the burthen of supporting immense military masses, they would be failing in their duty to themselves and to their people, since they are convinced that, as soon as they were disarmed, advantage would be taken of their want of preparation to renew the former aggression and bloodshed. They are at war for the purpose of securing their own independence and for the reconquest of a permanent tranquillity, because France under its present chief can afford no security whatever. They do not desire to interfere with any legitimate right of the French people to choose their own Government, but they consider that they have a right to contend against the re-establishment of an individual whose past conduct has demonstrated that in such a situation he will not suffer other nations to be at peace. However general the feeling of the Sovereigns may be in favour of the restoration of the King, they do not seek to influence the French people otherwise than may be essential to the safety of the rest of Europe.

These the general sentiments of the Sovereigns and Ministers here assembled, and their previous forbearance should prove to the French that this is not a war excited by any ambition or desire of conquest, but one of necessity urged on principles of self-preservation. . . .

CXCVI. [*F. O. Cont.* 18.]

CLANCARTY TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 41.)

Vienna, May 13th, 1815.

[In spite of the arrangements agreed to on March 28th,<sup>1</sup> an attempt now being made to set up the Treaty of Fontainebleau and place the Archduchess and her son in permanent sovereignty of the Duchies. At the above conference all the arrangements for Italy, with the exception of the Neapolitan question and that of the Seven Islands, were acceded to and the articles accordingly drawn up were ready for signature on April 1st. The termination of the business always avoided on the grounds of the uncertain state of Italy during Murat's advance, which seemed reasonable, but no hint of any alteration in the opinions of any of the Pleni-

<sup>1</sup> See CLXXXVII.

potentiaries. Metternich, in conversation with Clancarty, had even admitted the necessity of some plans for avoiding the difficulty of the minority and agreed to consider the latter's proposal to regard the Treaty of Fontainebleau as at an end.]

Such was the state of things when Count Nesselrode yesterday desired to see me; he began by stating it to be the Emperor's opinion that the Treaty of Fontainebleau remained in full operation, as applicable to the Archduchess and her son (this proved to me that Prince Metternich and he understood each other on this subject, and that the former had communicated to the latter my conversation above referred to.) He then stated his hope that no difficulty could occur with any of the Plenipotentiaries in carrying the beneficial arrangements of this Treaty into full effect in her favour; and that he was particularly desirous of opening this business in the first instance with me. I told him that I could scarcely suppress my surprise at what I had heard; that so long ago as the 28th of March, and thence to the present moment I had considered this matter as finally and irrevocably settled—that the Duke of Wellington was present at the meeting at which the arrangement was made; which, though not absolutely, yet in the form of a Protocol, appeared to me equally binding, the substance having been admitted by all, and the form only of drawing up a *protocol séparé* of the proceedings of that meeting had been delegated to others; that prior to that meeting the Duke of Wellington then on the eve of his departure, had given me detailed instructions for my conduct here, which were precise upon this point, in direct unison with the arrangements made upon it on the 28th March, and that Your Lordship's were uniformly of the same nature; that I could not now feel myself authorized to diverge in any respect from the arrangement then made,—that with respect to the Treaty of Fontainebleau we could not consider it as in any respect subsisting, but utterly annihilated by the subsequent conduct of one of the contracting parties, and that I should not act with that degree of candor which I hoped he had observed in my conduct; if I afforded him the slightest ground to suppose that any reference I should make to my Government could alter their opinion in this respect, especially as I knew that declarations had been made of this opinion openly to Parliament. His reply was not encouraging. He said the Emperor of Russia was decided upon this subject, and proposed as the only expedient for arranging matters, that no notice whatever should be taken of Parma, etc. in the final Treaty. To this I peremptorily objected, as being in truth the

most effectual mode which he could have devised for obtaining our formal recognition of the substance of the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Much more passed, but before he left me he so far softened as to say that nothing short of the Archduchess' request could induce His Imperial Majesty to swerve from the line he had adopted in her favour, and recommended my conversing with Prince Metternich, in order through him to obtain if possible the expression of her desire for the arrangement of this matter according to my views.

[Articles of the Sardinian treaty presented for signature last night. Clancarty withheld his signature on the grounds that it excluded some part of the arrangements originally agreed to. His conversation with Metternich on the whole subject. Complained of the apparent breach of faith and want of confidence, and stated that he could not suffer any arrangements to be disturbed which had long since been concluded, or hold out any hope that the British Government would re-open the business. Metternich admitted that the Emperor of Russia was responsible and that he had made promises to the Archduchess at variance with the arrangements of March 28th. He proposed that Parma, etc., should be passed by the final Act of Congress to the Archduchess and her son, and that Austria should sign a secret Treaty with Great Britain, France, and Spain for the reversion of the Duchies to Don Carlos on her death. Clancarty's absolute refusal to agree to this or to sign the Sardinian Articles. Nesselrode's suggestion broached to Metternich who undertook to speak to the Emperor of Austria and to induce him to persuade his daughter to give her assent.

Clancarty's reasons for his determined attitude notably, that to have given in would have been to admit that the proceedings of Congress might be altered at the will of Russia, and that he suspected the Emperor's motive for his interest in the Archduchess to be a desire for a political alliance with France in the event of her becoming Regent, an alliance which it would not be to the interest of England to further.]

CXCVII. [*F. O. Cont.* 18.]

CLANCARTY TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 49.)

May 19th, 1815.

[No satisfactory intelligence on the subject of the Duchies. Interview with Metternich who was to see the Archduchess and who lamented the difficulty of his position in having

to induce her to set aside her son, in order to satisfy the scruples of a foreign prince who had pushed the matter contrary to the desires of Austria. Clancarty's view that since he had obtained the consent of the Archduchess in the former instance he was responsible for the continuance of it; he did not question the good faith of Austria, but assured him that this change was attributed by many to a desire on her part to seize upon everything in Italy and to take ungenerous advantage of the present situation of the King of France.

Conversation previous to yesterday's conference with Nesselrode, who stated that the Emperor was more than ever resolved and that the Archduchess had written to him declining to relinquish the interests of her son. Nesselrode's endeavour to maintain that his agreement on March 28th had only been *ad referendum*; Clancarty could not admit this and stated his inability to proceed with anything until he had received instructions from home.<sup>1</sup> Nesselrode, on his part, afforded no hope that the Emperor would alter his course.

Clancarty stated in Conference that he could execute no Treaty till the point of Parma was settled or till he had received further instructions. Later he consulted with his colleagues and pointed out the impossibility of proceeding on this line to any length of time without producing serious difficulties. As an alternative it was proposed to carry into effect all that had been settled by the Treaty of Paris, together with all the territorial arrangements of Europe, which had been absolutely agreed upon and protocoled, comprising in effect all but the Austrian and Papal arrangements in Italy, excepting perhaps the last; Clancarty peremptorily declined to sign any Treaty in which the other Italian arrangements should be inserted till either the Parma question should be settled or instructions be received, and suggested that the settlement of the North of Italy should remain over till the end of the war. In spite of its disadvantages, no medium maintainable on any valid

<sup>1</sup> His attitude is best shown in a private letter of the same date as this dispatch.

" . . . Upon the Parma question, I beseech you to stand our friend, and to send us your opinion without delay. I never yet was so embarrassed. Will you set a precedent of placing Buonaparte's bastard on a throne? Will you re-make the Treaty of Fontainebleau *quoad* this offspring of a usurper? Will you make a present to the Emperor of Russia of the sole dictatorship of all the affairs of Europe? and play into his hands, so as to further alliances for him hostile to the existence of any European balance? Will you, now the poor King of France is down, give him an additional blow, by reversing those things which, while he was in prosperity, you had desired to see carried into effect? These are questions for your decision, which I attend with the utmost impatience. . . ." C. C. X. 353.

principles seemed possible between this and Nesselrode's proposition of going on with all other things and leaving the three Duchies out of the Treaty. His colleagues were in agreement and considered that this policy should be avowed, at least to Metternich. In the conversation that accordingly followed with Metternich, the latter stated that the Emperor had been rather too peremptory in his interview with his daughter with the result that she had not only resisted his wishes but had written to throw herself upon the protection of the Emperor of Russia. Metternich was to see the Archduchess the next day and would do his utmost to induce her consent.

Clancarty's urgent request that the directions of the Government should be expedited with as little delay as possible.<sup>1</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> Castlereagh approved this attitude, and there was no mention of the succession to the young Buonaparte in the Treaty. Nevertheless Austria, Russia, and Prussia signed a secret protocol to carry out Alexander's views, which had later to be disavowed. The succession of the Spanish claimant was only assured in 1817.