

PART I

THE PREPARATION OF THE ALLIANCE, 1813

PART I.

THE PREPARATION OF THE ALLIANCE 1813.

(i.)—*Correspondence of Viscount Cathcart, April to December, 1813.*

I. [C. C. VIII. 355.]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART.

Foreign Office, April 8th, 1813.

I hope my official despatches will furnish you and my Brother with the means of coming to a satisfactory arrangement with the two Allied Courts; and that they will be disposed to do justice to our exertions in their support. The few additional observations which occur, I shall throw into a private letter, which you will consider as addressed to you both. . . .

The political arrangement of Europe, in a larger sense, is more difficult at this early moment to decide on. So much depends on events, that it is perhaps better not to be too prompt in encountering litigated questions. The main features we are agreed upon—that, to keep France in order, we require great masses—that Prussia, Austria, and Russia ought to be as great and powerful as they have ever been—and that the inferior States must be summoned to assist, or pay the forfeit of resistance. I see many inconveniences in premature conclusions, but we ought not to be unprepared.

As an outline to reason from, I send you, as a private communication, a despatch¹ on which the confederacy in 1805 was founded; the Emperor of Russia probably has not this interesting document at head-quarters: (interesting it is to my recollection, as I well remember having more than one conversation with Mr. Pitt on its details, *before he wrote it*) some of the suggestions may now be inapplicable, but it is so masterly an outline for the restoration of Europe, that I should be glad your lordship would reduce it into distinct propositions, and learn the bearings of his Imperial Majesty's mind upon its contents. An unofficial communication of this nature between two Powers that have no partialities to indulge may prepare them the better to fulfil their duties at a future moment. . . .

¹ See Appendix I. The Reader should at once refer to this dispatch of the 19th January, 1805, which is the text of all the British diplomacy of the period.

II. [*F. O. Russia 83*]¹

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART (No. 12).

Foreign Office, [9th] April, 1813.

Your Lordship will receive enclosed a representation with an explanatory map, which has been presented by Count Münster,² relative to the interests of His Majesty's Hanoverian dominions.

The obvious inconvenience to which the Electoral Government must be exposed from the intervention of the bishoprick of Hildesheim, and the small territories of Minden and Ravensburg in the midst of the Hanoverian territory, makes the incorporation of these inconsiderable possessions of essential importance to the free and tranquil enjoyment of the ancient dominions of His Majesty in Germany. Your Lordship will represent these considerations without delay to the Emperor of Russia, and you will acquaint His Imperial Majesty that the British Government, as well from a sense of duty to His Majesty as from a grateful recollection both of the sufferings and services of his Hanoverian subjects in the common cause, cannot but feel the most lively interest that, in any general arrangement of the North of Germany, these claims should be attended to.

The Prince Regent, disclaiming all views of mere aggrandizement on the part of the Electorate, and limiting his pretensions solely to the territories above specified which are essential to the more convenient enjoyment of the antient patrimony of his family, relies with confidence on the friendly interposition of His Imperial Majesty for giving effect to these his limited and moderate views. His Royal Highness trusts that His Prussian Majesty will not feel less disposed to gratify his wishes with respect to an arrangement which is calculated to remove all future jealousies and misunderstandings between their respective states. With a view of giving effect to this object, your Lordship will propose in any treaty you may conclude with the Courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin, that it should be stipulated in a secret article that these concessions shall be secured upon a peace to His Majesty in His Electoral character. You will also take care that the territories of Brunswick shall be understood and declared to be comprehended in what is referred to in the secret article of the Treaty of Kalisch as the "antient possessions of the House of Hanover."

¹ Printed in Oncken. *Oesterreich und Preussen im Befreiungskriege* II. 691. The date is not given in the original, but it was sent in with another dated April 9th.

² The representative of the Prince Regent as ruler of Hanover. Throughout this period he acts as the Prince Regent's representative in all matters affecting the internal affairs of Germany, but his actions were in the last resort subject to control by the British ministers.

With this reserve and a due attention to the indemnities to be provided for Denmark in the North of Germany under the late treaties, in case that power should join the Confederacy, the Prince Regent will be disposed most cordially to concur in re-establishing His Prussian Majesty in his former extent of power and authority in the North of Germany.

A copy of this despatch will be transmitted to Sir Charles Stewart with instructions to make a communication to His Prussian Majesty of these His Royal Highness's sentiments. Sir Charles Stewart will be directed to concert with your Lordship as to the execution of his instructions on this subject.

III. [C. C. VIII. 374.]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART.

April 20th, 1813.

. . . The great question is how the control within the Germanic body is hereafter to subsist. In latter times, the rivalry between Austria and Prussia weakened the confederacy, and gave the ascendancy to France. To render Austria, in fact as well as in name, predominant, many intelligent persons, of which Count Münster was one, would have preferred to see the power of Prussia somewhat reduced. Perhaps in theory they were right in that sentiment; but it appeared to me from the first, as your lordship knows, that the great object was to embark Prussia in the war; that, without her aid, Russia could do nothing offensively; and that the declaration of Prussia was an indispensable preliminary to any change in the system of Austria. My opinion was, therefore, in full coincidence with the Treaty of Breslau,¹ that Prussia must be secured, and to be secured and embarked with effect, she must be reintegrated. It is impossible not to perceive that this indispensable act of policy revives the question of ascendancy between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, which it may be difficult hereafter to arrange; but this is a secondary evil, and must be managed in subordination to the great object of their present union against France.

Count Münster adverts to a letter of Gneisenau's² to the Chancellor Hardenberg, in which he quotes my opinion as countenancing a divided confederacy in Germany, under the separate

¹ A convention signed between Prussia and Russia on the 19th March 1813, arranging for the provisional administration of such parts of Germany as were freed from French domination. It reflected Stein's wishes for a Federal Germany.

² The Prussian General whose views on the form of the Federal State differed from those of Stein.

protection of the two great military Powers. He certainly must have misunderstood me. I may and probably did speak of the importance of both being restored to their former station and authority, as the natural and necessary barriers to secure the North and the South of Germany against France ; but, as to their internal relations, I never had sufficiently considered the subject to have formed a conclusive opinion, more particularly as to the expediency of dissolving the ancient constitution of the Germanic body.

I observe a right is reserved to the *Powers* not named in the Convention of Breslau to send a Minister to the Council, as soon as their armies take the field, the *Princes* having only a common representative. I presume in the former class not only Sweden, but Saxony, Bavaria, and the more considerable Germanic States of the second order, are meant to be included : to confine their influence within the limits of a joint representative would be to exclude them from the confederacy.

I should be glad your lordship would send me any ideas that may occur on these subjects. It is, however, desirable to encourage the Allied Powers not to waste their deliberations at present upon these subjects ; it is time enough, when the enemy is overcome, to provide for the future ; at present, controversy ought to be discountenanced.

IV. [*F. O. Supplementary 343.*]

CATHCART TO CASTLEREAGH (Private and Confidential).
Imperial Head Quarters, Ob. Grodwitz,
Near Schweidnitz,

June 1st, 1813.

Count Stadion having received no later communications than those I stated in my despatches from Goldberg, the Emperor yesterday sent Count Nesselrode to Vienna. Being well assured that no endeavour will be spared by B.P.¹ to draw the councils of Austria to his interest [continues in cipher] I advised His Imperial Majesty to have recourse to every expedient ; and knowing the absolute want of means in the department of Secret Service, I thought it right in giving this advice to offer to make good any engagement in that way by which a determination to act in concert might be obtained and Count Nesselrode is authorised and instructed accordingly [cipher ends]. I trust argument in support of this measure would be superfluous ; if it were required I am

¹ Bonaparte.

sufficiently in possession of your Lordship's indulgence to find a powerful advocate.

V. [*F. O. Russia 83.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART (No. 37.)

Foreign Office, June 30th, 1813.

The importance of the existing crisis and the uncertainty that yet appears to prevail as to the actual view and intentions of the Austrian Cabinet, renders it necessary, in the judgment of His Majesty's Government, to take a direct step for the purpose of calling upon that Power for an explicit avowal of its sentiments and determination. I should have authorized your Lordship to take measures for this purpose before the present moment, had not the confidential communications received through Count Hardenberg¹ encouraged an expectation, that the Court of Vienna only awaited the period necessary for the assembly of the army, to make a specific proposition to France, on the refusal of which her troops would join the Allies.

The period assigned for a decision having now been repeatedly postponed, and the Baron de Wessenberg² not having received any intimation of the views of his Court; I am to signify to your Lordship the Prince Regent's pleasure, that, in such manner as may be deemed most eligible, your Lordship should open a direct communication with Count Metternich, for the purpose of inviting him to make an unreserved and confidential communication of the sentiments of his Court to the British Government. With this view I enclose under a flying seal a letter³ addressed to Count Metternich, to be delivered either by your lordship or such person as you may think fit to charge with this confidential mission, requesting that Minister to open himself without reserve to the British Cabinet.

In the event of the Austrian army being actually engaged in hostilities against the enemy; as an aid to assist their first efforts, your Lordship is authorized to place at the disposal of that Govern-

¹ Hanoverian representative at Vienna, brother to the Prussian Chancellor.

² The Austrian Ambassador at London.

³ The letter to Metternich runs as follows:—"Sir, the importance of the present crisis rendering it of the most essential consequence that the Prince Regent should without loss of time be informed in the most authentic and confidential manner of the views and intentions of the Austrian Cabinet, I have by His Royal Highness' command charged Lord Cathcart to open a direct communication with your Excellency for this purpose. Your Excellency will be pleased to submit this request on the part of the Prince Regent to H.I.M. and I have further to beg that your Excellency will give credit to such communications as your Excellency may receive from Lord Cathcart in execution of his instructions. (Signed) Castlereagh."

ment the £500,000 which was entrusted to your Lordship on leaving England for extraordinary purposes. You will concert as to the best mode of rendering this credit available, without interfering with the pecuniary operations of the other Allied Powers: with this view it ought to be drawn for gradually, and ostensibly on commercial account.

Your Lordship was authorized by my private letter of the (—) to deny that any actual refusal of aid had been experienced by the Austrian Government. It may also be represented that, if the resources of Great Britain have been preferably directed to other Powers, it has alone arisen from those Powers being already committed in exertions on the success of which Austria had repeatedly declared her own ability to interfere must mainly depend. Under these circumstances it was for Austria first to open herself to Great Britain; whose disposition could not be doubted, to push her exertions to the utmost, and to distribute her means as might best serve the common cause.

The object being to obtain an unreserved communication of the views of the Austrian Cabinet, your Lordship will feel the advantage of executing the present instruction by personal communication rather than in writing. You will use your own discretion in concerting with the Emperor of Russia as to the steps you may think fit to adopt, and you will either take measures for having a personal interview with Count Metternich, or, if it should appear that your being absent from the Head Quarters might be prejudicial to the public service, or be calculated too much to attract the enemy's observation, your Lordship will send a confidential person, on whose ability you can depend, to execute your instructions.

VI. [*F. O. Russia* 83.]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART (No. 42).

Foreign Office, July 5th, 1813.

Your Lordship's Dispatch No. [53] transmitting the basis on which the Emperor of Russia had signified to the Court of Vienna his disposition to negotiate for a general peace has been received and laid before the Prince Regent.¹ I have delayed

¹ On the 16th May, at Wurschen, Nesselrode gave to Stadion the conditions on which Russia was prepared to treat. These insisted not only on the restoration of Austria and Prussia to their position in 1805, the dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine and the Duchy of Warsaw, but also on the freedom of Holland, the restoration of the Bourbons in Spain and even the exclusion of the French from Italy. These points were not accepted by Austria in the subsequent negotiations at Gitschin, but were reduced to an ultimatum of the four points only which were all that were made absolute in the secret Treaty of Reichenbach of the 27th June, 1813. These four points were: (1) The dissolution of the Duchy of Warsaw and its partition between the three Eastern Powers; (2) The aggrandisement of Prussia; (3) The restitution of the

conveying to your Lordship His Royal Highness's sentiments upon this important communication, your Lordship's letter of the 7th having acquainted me that Count Nesselrode had proceeded to meet the Emperor of Austria at Gitschin, and that you expected in a few days to be enabled to apprise me, as well of the reception given to these propositions, as of the final intentions of the Austrian Government. It was the less necessary to accelerate my answer, as it appeared, that no satisfactory opinion could well be given from hence, unless either upon an actual proposition made to this Government, or upon a more precise knowledge of the sentiments of the several Powers engaged in these discussions.

Any immediate declaration on the part of the British Cabinet appeared the less pressing, as the point of Spain, on which France had repeatedly declared she would not give way, and on which Great Britain could under no possible circumstances relax, seemed to oppose an insuperable obstacle to accommodation. So long as the French army continued to occupy a considerable proportion of Spain, and Joseph to remain in the exercise of authority within that kingdom, there seemed no probable solution of this difficulty. As, however, the rapid and victorious progress of the Allied armies, under the command of Field-Marshal the Marquess of Wellington, may at no distant period, by the expulsion of the enemy from the Peninsula, give a new shape to this question, I have received the Prince Regent's commands to convey to your Lordship His Royal Highness's sentiments for your information and guidance.

In the first place your Lordship will inform the Emperor, that, in conformity to the wish some time since expressed by His Imperial Majesty to that effect, it is the intention of the British Government (in the event of the enemy being expelled from Spain) actively to employ the Allied armies on that side of France, in such manner as may best serve to occupy the attention and military resources of the enemy, and thereby to favour the exertions of the Allies in other parts of Europe.

With respect to negotiations for peace, it is the determination of the Prince Regent not to separate his interests from those of the Allies; and as His Royal Highness persuaded himself that a peace in any degree calculated to provide for the common safety can only be secured by a cordial union, both of councils and arms, he is disposed to regulate his views, as to the Continental objects in which the good faith and honour of his own Government are not immediately involved, by what the great Continental Powers shall, under all the circumstances, consider best calculated to provide for their general security and independence.

That your Lordship may be the better enabled to open the Prince Regent's views explicitly to the Emperor of Russia on this subject, I am commanded to state to you, 1st. The points upon which His Royal Highness can under no circumstances relax, the faith of his Government being formally pledged to their inviolable maintenance. 2nd. The points upon which, either on account of engagements subsisting, or implied, or from considerations of paramount policy His Royal Highness feels it necessary to insist in conjunction with his Allies. 3rd. The points which appear to His Royal Highness of the highest moment to be attended to in any general arrangements; but on which, not deeming that Great Britain has the same necessity or duty to insist, His Royal Highness would incline in a great measure to regulate his conduct by the sentiments of those Powers through whose exertions these objects can alone successfully be pursued; and to whose protection their being secured is of greater moment than to that of Great Britain.

Under the first head of engagements under Treaty, and without which Great Britain cannot be party to any peace, your Lordship may enumerate: 1st, Spain; 2ndly, Portugal; 3rdly, Sicily, to be respectively secured under their legitimate sovereigns, in strict conformity with the subsisting treaties, and 4thly, the fulfilment of our existing engagements with Sweden.

Your Lordship will, under the second head, inform His Imperial Majesty, that, in order to lay the foundation of some counterpoise in the centre of Europe to the power of France, His Royal Highness deems it indispensably necessary to require, and is prepared in conjunction with his Allies peremptorily to insist upon, the restoration of the Austrian and Prussian Monarchies to such an extent of power and consequence as may enable them to maintain such a counterpoise. The importance of Holland to the freedom and security of Europe, will make His Royal Highness not less ready to co-operate with his Allies in requiring its liberation from the French Empire, and its recognition and re-establishment as an independent Power. His Royal Highness must also expect the complete and absolute restoration of His Majesty's Hanoverian dominions.

Under the 3rd head, your Lordship will bring forward the restoration of the rest of Germany, including Switzerland and Italy, to an order of things more consonant to the common safety. It is unnecessary to press upon your Lordship's attention the extent to which these objects may, in their several degrees, be essentially connected with the freedom and repose of Europe. What may be the means of the Allies, or their determination to

contend for them, can alone be judged of when the views of the great Continental Powers are more fully disclosed to us. If Austria comes forward, the attainment of a solid peace, founded on a basis on which these great objects may all be reasonably provided for, seems upon every military calculation within our reach. What may be accomplished without the aid of that Power, may be more difficult to pronounce; but your Lordship may assure the Emperor of Russia, that, so long as His Imperial Majesty and the Allies with whom we are at present acting, will stand by each other, and by the cause of the Continent against France, they may rely with confidence upon receiving from His Royal Highness the most liberal and decided support.

The expression of the Prince Regent's sentiments at the present moment, must necessarily be general. Your Lordship need not, however, hesitate to assure His Imperial Majesty that Great Britain was never better prepared, or more determined cordially to co-operate with the Continental Powers. The exertions in the course of the present year in all quarters will best attest the reliance that may be placed on her firm and zealous support. His Royal Highness is nevertheless ready, in conjunction with his Allies, to meet a desire of peace, whenever it shall really disclose itself on the part of the enemy; and as His Royal Highness has contended for the common safety, so he will be prepared, as far as his separate interests are concerned, to negotiate in the same spirit.

But whilst His Royal Highness does not decline to concur in negotiation, he trusts that it may not be made an instrument in the hands of the enemy to gain time, and your Lordship will urge His Imperial Majesty that the season for active exertion may not be unnecessarily sacrificed by a prolongation of the Armistice.

There is only one other point on which I feel it necessary to caution your Lordship, and it is the more necessary you should lose no time in coming to an explicit understanding with His Imperial Majesty on this important subject, as I understand two American Commissioners have arrived in the Baltick, in the hope of being received at the Emperor's Head Quarters. I am afraid this tender of mediation, which, on a question of maritime right, can not be listened to by Great Britain, however kindly and liberally intended, will have had the unfortunate effect of protracting the war with the United States. It is to be lamented, that the formal offer was made to America before the disposition of the British Government was previously sounded as to its acceptance of a mediation. It has enabled the President to hold out to the people of America a vague expectation of peace, under

which he may reconcile them, with less repugnance to submit to the measures of the Government:—This evil, however, cannot now be avoided, and it only remains to prevent this question from producing any embarrassment between Great Britain and Russia.

Your Lordship will be enabled to satisfy the Emperor that, if this is a subject on which the mediation of an Ally cannot be accepted, it is still less a question that we could consent to discuss in a general Congress, however ready the Prince Regent will be at all times to treat for peace with America, and for a settlement of all differences. Your Lordship will, under all these circumstances, press the Emperor of Russia, in the strongest manner, not to push his personal interference on this point further. And as the maritime question is one which Buonaparte will endeavour to bring before a Congress, principally in the hope of creating disunion between Great Britain and her Allies, you will use your utmost endeavour to persuade His Imperial Majesty, that every consideration of policy should determine him pointedly to discountenance a design so mischievously calculated to promote the views of France.

VII. [C. C. IX. 30.]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART.

Foreign Office, July 6th, 1813.

. . . Not having yet had time to bring the subject regularly under the consideration of my colleagues, I can only now state that your Lordship's and Sir Charles Stewart's conduct in concluding the Treaties at the period they were signed is fully approved.¹ I must leave to your joint discretion what use it may be advisable to make of the instruction herewith sent²; much must depend upon the circumstances of the moment. If negotiation is not at an end, and hostilities renewed (which if determined on in the spirit of concert and exertion, and especially with Austria, would, I am satisfied, prove the wisest as well as the safest policy for Europe in the long run), you must guard against a Continental peace being made to our exclusion. Impracticability on our part might hazard this, notwithstanding our Treaties, which might not have the force to resist the menace both of French and Austrian hostility; for this purpose, our readiness to treat with our Allies must be avowed, that they may have no reproach to make against us. The four points on which we must

¹ The Treaties of Reichenbach signed with Prussia and Russia on June 14th and 15th.

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separately insist as *sine qua non*s must be distinctly put forward, nor can they complain of any one of these ; they were notorious from the first both to Russia and Prussia ; and, in good faith and fairness, all their assurances as well as their engagements not to make a separate peace must have been made in full contemplation that we had no possible option as to the points in question. With respect to others, which, in truth, involve the whole question of Continental policy, we must contend for as much as the Allies can be brought to stand to with firmness and spirit. But it is in vain to suppose that we can inspire the determination, if it does not exist. We may animate by our counsels as well as by our example, but we must avoid the appearance of idly pressing them against the grain. Such a line might weaken our influence, and would incur the responsibility of whatever disunion or failure followed.

The great practical question is a renewal of hostilities or a prolongation of armistice. When our Allies know what is indispensable on our part, and have made up their minds on what is essential to themselves, they must then consider what is the prospect of France agreeing to these demands, and, if agreed to, of observing her engagements. If the accomplishment of a reasonably solid peace, through negotiation, is not clear, *hesitation* in recurring to hostilities will damp and disunite the confederacy, and the resources of the Allies will be wasted in inactivity ; better in that case try the fate of war for the remainder of the campaign, and let future policy be governed by the result.

The recent successes in Spain¹ have put us on strong ground. We can now with honour evince a disposition to concur with our Continental Allies in negotiations ; having done so, we shall act our own part with more effect, if fortune or our friends should forsake us. Lord Wellington's successes may now give us the title to treat for our Allies, the Spaniards, with the possession of the Peninsula on our side ; to hazard such an advantage by showing a reluctance to negotiate, whilst Russia and Prussia are negotiating under the Austrian mediation, could not be borne out as a line of separate policy. The risk of treating with France is great, but the risk of losing our Continental Allies and the confidence of our own nation is greater. We must preserve our own faith inviolate to Spain, Portugal, Sicily, and Sweden. We must maintain our most important conquests, employing others to improve the general arrangements on points which are not likely to be carried by other means ; and with respect to the Continent, we must sustain and animate those Powers through whose exertions we can alone hope to improve it, taking care, in aiming at too much, not to destroy our future means of connexion and resistance.

VIII. [*F. O. Russia* 83.]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART (No. 45).

Foreign Office, July 13th, 1813.

[The Russian and Prussian Ambassadors have urged Great Britain to accept the Austrian mediation.]

You will express to the Emperor of Russia the Prince Regent's sense of the delicacy and candour which has, on the late as well as on all former occasions, distinguished His Imperial Majesty's conduct:—You may assure His Imperial Majesty of His Royal Highness's entire confidence in His Imperial Majesty's magnanimity and firmness, not doubting that the same wise and provident spirit which has characterized His Imperial Majesty's councils throughout the late most glorious contest, will continue to guide his counsels in any discussions that may be had with a view to peace. Confiding implicitly in these sentiments, the Prince Regent authorizes your Lordship to acquaint the Emperor of Russia that His Royal Highness is now ready to accept the mediation of the Emperor of Austria. It being understood that he does so, at the instance, and in conjunction with his Allies, and upon an express understanding as to those conditions from which, as laid down in my Dispatch No. 42¹ and in conformity to the faith of treaties, Great Britain can under no circumstances recede. As it is the Prince Regent's desire to act in the most entire concert with his Allies, your Lordship will be governed by the sentiments of Their Imperial and Prussian Majesties, and by the state of affairs at the moment as to the steps to be taken in pursuance of this Dispatch. With their concurrence your Lordship is authorized to notify to the Austrian Government that the mediation of the Emperor of Austria has, in conjunction with his Allies, been accepted by the Prince Regent, and that your Lordship is authorized to explain the general principles upon which His Royal Highness would be prepared to assist in a general pacification.

Your Lordship will assure the Emperor of Austria that if this step has been delayed on the part of Great Britain, the delay has not arisen from any want of confidence in His Imperial Majesty's intentions:—but from considerations which have since to a certain degree ceased to operate. The ruler of France, by indicating a disposition to treat with respect to the affairs of Spain, has afforded some prospects at least that the indispensable claims of good faith which bind Great Britain to that nation may be acceded to, and His Royal Highness has now also the satisfaction of knowing that His Imperial Majesty has, as a mediator, assumed that character which belongs to him as an independent and powerful sovereign.

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Under these circumstances, relying on His Imperial Majesty's enlightened views for the repose and independence of Europe, the Prince Regent accepts the mediation of the Emperor of Austria, and is ready to concur, so far as his existing engagements to other powers, and a just consideration of what is due as well to Continental arrangements, as to the immediate interests of Great Britain will allow in negotiating for a general peace.

IX. [*F. O. Russia 83.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART. (No. 46.)

Foreign Office, July 13th, 1813.

In the present state of the discussions between the principal powers, it does not appear to His Majesty's Government possible to furnish your Lordship with instructions more precise, for the direction of your conduct, than those contained in my Dispatch No. 45,¹ with the single exception of the language which your Lordship is to hold with respect to the immediate conquests of Great Britain.

Your Lordship may declare, that the Prince Regent will not insist upon retaining all his conquests, however the acquisitions of France, of which it may not be deemed expedient, under present circumstances of Europe, to require the surrender, might entitle him to do so, provided His Royal Highness can hope by their partial restitution the better to provide for the general security of Europe. Your Lordship must always, however, declare, that there are certain conquests made by this country, of which under no circumstances, the Prince Regent can consent to divest himself. With this reserve, your Lordship may admit the principle, that there are others which His Royal Highness may be induced to relinquish for equivalents calculated to provide additional safeguards for the security of the Continent.

As the extent to which sacrifices of the part of Great Britain can be expected, must depend on the nature of the proposed general arrangement, I do not feel myself enabled at present to furnish your Lordship with any instructions founded upon the application of this principle. It may be sufficient to remark that, as any Colonial concessions are rather in their nature and value calculated to improve in the detail an outline of pacification previously understood, it may not be possible to give your Lordship more precise directions upon this subject, till I am in possession of the actual basis (if such should be agreed on) upon which the Continental Powers propose to negotiate.

It is, however, necessary to observe, with respect to the Dutch

Colonies, that, as any claim even to their partial restoration can only arise out of the complete separation of Holland from France, so the degree in which their restoration could be acceded to must mainly depend upon the apparent adequacy or inadequacy of the arrangements thus made for securing the independence of Holland. The Danish Colonies His Royal Highness is ready to consider as exclusively applicable to secure for Sweden those arrangements for which the Allied Powers have entered into engagements. The possessions immediately conquered from France must remain with certain exceptions, as the principal resource from which His Royal Highness would be willing to provide the means of improving in other respects the Continental peace ; but your Lordship will represent that this is not a fund that can be applied to obtain those arrangements, which the great Powers are entitled to insist upon as indispensable features in their own peace, but that it should be kept rather in reserve to procure other concessions, which may improve the general arrangements. . . .

X. [C. C. IX. 34.]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART.

St. James's Square, July 14th, 1813.

I cannot omit again impressing upon your Lordship the importance of awakening the Emperor's mind to the necessity, for his own interests as well as ours, of peremptorily excluding from the general negotiations every maritime question. If he does not, he will risk a similar misunderstanding between those Powers on whose union the safety of Europe now rests. Great Britain may be driven out of a Congress, but not out of her maritime rights, and, if the Continental Powers know their own interests, they will not hazard this.

It is of great importance to strip any negotiation between America and us even of the *appearance* of foreign intervention. The Emperor, if he knows anything of England, must be convinced that no Government dare surrender the right of search for enemy's property, or British subjects : that the only question is, whether it can be so regulated by municipal laws, and regulations, as to the mode of conducting the search, and accounting for the person so withdrawn from the ship searched, as to guard against abuse, so far as this may be found practicable : there is every disposition to meet the question fairly, but the mere fact of an arrangement being made through the intervention of a third Power would probably decide the nation against it. You must,

therefore, press London¹; and, if that cannot be managed, you will consider Gottenburgh as a *sine qua non*. Any place near the Russian Court, or the seat of other negotiations, would give to our refusal of the mediation the air of a shabby pretence.

XI. [C. C. IX. 36.]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART.

Foreign Office, July 14th, 1813.

I send by the present messenger authority to accept the Austrian mediation, if the state of affairs should continue, in the judgment of our Allies, to render it expedient. I consider the official letter before addressed to Count Metternich as a sufficient authority to accredit your Lordship for this purpose, coupled with the subsequent instructions, explanatory of our views with respect to a general pacification. In the present stage of the discussions, it is impossible to give full powers to treat and to conclude. We must know more of the basis on which the Continental Powers are prepared to negotiate before we can finally instruct a Minister to act for us. At present, I conceive more is not required than that some accredited person should be prepared to enter into explanations on the part of the British Government, in like manner as Count Nesselrode and the Chancellor Hardenberg have hitherto done on the part of their respective Courts.

Your Lordship will feel the importance of ascertaining clearly the Continental basis before we can say a word as to particular cessions; beyond the mere admission of the principle, we cannot advance till this is known. I trust that such will not be the case; but we are justified in supposing it *possible, at least* that the basis agreed to by the Continental Powers under the Austrian mediation might be so defective as to afford no temptation to Great Britain to make a sacrifice of *any* of her conquests for the purpose of giving effect to such an arrangement. We must, therefore, know the nature of the object aimed at before we can judge what it becomes us to do; and this course is the most likely to render our support useful to our Allies. You must make the Emperor feel that we cannot advance money for armistices, and that it is, therefore, of more importance to bring matters to a short issue. . . .

XII. [F. O. Russia 86.]

CATHCART TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 79.)

Reichenbach, August 5th, 1813.

[Castlereagh's despatch No. 42,² of July 5th, read to the Emperor Alexander, who expressed his entire approval of its contents, especially the instructions to Wellington to advance into

¹ As a place of negotiation between Great Britain and America.

² VI.

the South of France, which the Emperor had himself already suggested.] The adherence to our positive engagements to Spain, Portugal, and Sicily he had all along expected as a matter of course on our part, and the question of Sweden was equally before him. He had always in like manner, considered all questions concerning Hanover to be indispensable to Great Britain and he fully concurred in the policy of the other propositions stated.

In regard to the American Commissioners, His Imperial Majesty begged that it might be fully understood that his object in offering mediation was simply this, that, foreseeing that the peace of Europe could not be obtained without a general struggle, he thought it was desirable as much as possible to make up all separate differences in which any of the powers likely to be confederated might be engaged, and that he thought relieving Great Britain from this disturbance might increase her resources disposable for the general object, but that the mediation having been declined for the reason stated, that business was at an end. As to the Commissioners, they had made good their voyage to St. Petersburg, but would have no passports to come to his head quarters.

The Emperor concluded that he could have no partiality and no personal knowledge of the ministers who at present form the Cabinet of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, or of those persons who frequently differ from them in Parliament upon political questions, and that certainly some pains had been taken¹ to give to him an unfavourable view of the talents and energy of the former, but that it was only a justice due to them to declare, that in every transaction which had taken place within his knowledge and observation, he had remarked in their councils, great wisdom, ability, firmness, and moderation and in no instance more than in the statement which had now been presented to his consideration.

XIII. [G. C. IX. 39.]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART.

Cray Farm, August 7th, 1813.

We have just received your account of the Trachenberg² Conference, which, with the letter from the Emperor of Austria to

¹ Sir Robert Wilson, who had been with the Russians throughout the campaigns, was a vehement Whig.

² At this conference the Allied plan of campaign was decided by the Prussian and Russian soldiers and Bernadotte, and co-operation with the Austrian army arranged.

the Crown Prince, renders the whole of that proceeding a most important and, I trust, auspicious incident in the Continental drama. The *dénouement* of the plot is yet a matter of anxiety. I trust, however, the impulse which has been given will not yield to nominal concessions.

I should hope, if the Austrian terms were not opened by Metternich at Dresden, that the Emperor is yet free to insist upon an arrangement more consonant to the general interests. The events in Spain not only justify, but require his Imperial Majesty, as a mediator, to alter his terms. He must see how fatal it would be to all were he to separate his cause from that of the other Powers. Neutrality must exhaust his resources as much as war, and, if Buonaparte should triumph over the others, his own fate is sealed. My despatches of the 6th and 14th¹ of July must have arrived in full time to enable your Lordship to bring our claims forward. It is impossible that Russia and Prussia can hesitate in standing by the four points that we have made *sine qua non*. I can as little conceive that Austria, assuming the task of mediating a general peace, can reject demands so just and moderate in themselves. This will in itself so largely extend the preliminary base, as materially to diminish the chance of Bonaparte's yielding. Besides, if he could bring himself to stoop so low, the Allies would, of course, not take this upon trust, upon a mere paper engagement. They must, in common sense, before they sacrifice the whole season for acting, require some substantial securities, such as the retreat of the French armies, and the restoration of the Prussian fortresses. Here will be a new stumbling-block. I can hardly conceive it possible that the Conferences at Prague can, under present circumstances, end in peace, if the Allies are true to themselves and to each other. Bonaparte has had a severe lesson, but, whilst he has such a force under arms, he will not *submit* to any arrangement which even Count Metternich could have the face to sign his name to, as providing "on solid principles for the repose of Europe."

Lord Aberdeen leaves town to-day for Yarmouth, and will lose no time in joining your Lordship. I have acquainted Baron Wessenberg in general terms of his being charged with a mission to the Emperor.

. . . Before Lord Wellington forms his future plans, he must know what is to happen in Germany; his whole policy must be governed upon that of the Allies. He writes in great spirits, and the Continental Powers may rely upon his doing his best for

¹ VIII. and IX.

them. Fatal would it be for them, and for the world, if they could for a moment think of seeking their safety in what is called a Continental peace. We have done wonders in the Peninsula, but don't let the experiment be tried of a single combat again in that quarter. We *may* sink before the undivided power of France, and if we do Germany, and even Russia, will soon resume their fetters. We are protected against this evil by the obligations of good faith, but we are also protected against it by the plainest dictates of common interest. We have now the bull close pinioned between us, and if either of us let go our hold till we render him harmless we shall deserve to suffer for it.

XIV. [C. C. LX., 45.]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART.

Foreign Office, September 1st, 1813.

Your letters of the 12th¹ were most acceptable. However sanguine you had taught us to be on the issue, we were nevertheless, deeply anxious. I approve entirely of your holding your hand on the mediation when my despatch reached: the authority to do so was given *en prévoyance* of the case, as the acceptance was acceded by Great Britain to the formal request of the Allies.

I wish you to ascertain clearly whether any and what basis of Alliance between the three great Powers has been laid at Prague—I should be glad to know *how and when* your lordship was first informed of the interview with Murat. I have the greatest confidence and admiration of the Emperor, but I do not like his concealing anything which is in progress from your Lordship, of which there has been a striking instance recently,² although I am sure from no bad motive. When it can be done without unnecessarily retarding business, if the sentiments of the British Cabinet cannot be consulted, the opinion of their Minister on the spot should be taken previous to decision. Engagements of secrecy against us are of bad precedent, and must not be. I advert to this the rather because I believe both the Treaties with Prussia were signed before your lordship saw them.

As the fact of our being prepared to accept the Austrian mediation is now known to all the Allies, I presume your lordship did not attempt to conceal it from Austria when at Prague. I am

¹ Narrating Alexander's reception of Nos. VIII. and IX. and his wish that the acceptance by Great Britain of Austria's mediation should not be announced as war was inevitable.

² The Treaty of Reichenbach of the 27th June. See XLII.

not aware of any objection to a full disclosure in that quarter. Our line was friendly and respectful to that Court, and I am sure Metternich will not complain that your lordship saved him from the embarrassments of the disclosure at the eve of the rupture.

I rather expect Bonaparte, notwithstanding the resumption of hostilities, will have sent a *contre-projet* to Austria, if possible, to embarrass. Metternich seems to have outmanœuvred him. It was said a certain not very popular Minister in Russia saved his country by tempting the enemy to speculate upon his weakness and his influence : perhaps a speculation of the same nature may have produced another false calculation—would that it may lead to as signal a result ! . . .

XV. [*F. O. Russia 83*¹.]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART. (No. 65.)

Foreign Office, September 18th, 1813.

Hostilities having recommenced, and the Emperor of Austria having joined his arms to those of the Allies, it has become necessary to reconsider the foreign relations of the country with a view of seeing whether a greater degree of union and consistency may not be given to the Confederacy against France than results from the several Treaties which have been successively signed between the respective Powers.

The present Confederacy may be considered as the union of nearly the whole of Europe against the unbounded and faithless ambition of an individual. It comprehends not only all the great monarchies, but a great proportion of the secondary Powers. It is not more distinguished from former Confederacies against France by the number and magnitude of the Powers engaged than by the national character which the war has assumed throughout the respective states. On former occasions it was a contest of sovereigns, in some instances perhaps, against the prevailing sentiment of their subjects ; it is now a struggle dictated by the feelings of the people of all ranks as well as by the necessity of the case. The sovereigns of the Europe have at last confederated together for their common safety, having in vain sought that safety in detached and insulated compromises with the enemy. They have successively found that no extent of submission could procure for them either safety or repose, and that they no sooner ceased to be objects of hostility themselves, than they were com-

¹ This important despatch is the first attempt to construct the Alliance which Castlereagh finally secured at Chaumont in March, 1814.

pelled to become instruments in the hands of France for effectuating the conquest of other unoffending states. The present Confederacy may therefore be pronounced to originate in higher motives and to rest upon more solid principles than any of those that have preceded it, and the several Powers to be bound together for the first time by one paramount consideration of an imminent and common danger.

It is this common danger which ought always to be kept in view as the true basis of the alliance, and which ought to preclude defection from the common cause. It must be represented to the Allies that having determined to deliver themselves from the vengeance of the conqueror by their collective strength, if collectively they fail, they are separately lost. He never will again trust any one of them with the means of self-defence—their only rational policy then is inseparable union—to make the contest that of their respective nations, to persevere under every disaster, and to be satisfied that to end the contest safely the enemy must be compelled to treat with them collectively, whilst the best chance of an early peace is at once to satisfy the enemy that a separate negotiation is unattainable.

As opposed to France, a peace concluded in concert, though less advantageous in its terms, would be preferable to the largest concessions received from the enemy as the price of disunion. The great object of the Allies, whether in war or negotiation, should be to keep together, and to drive back and confine the armies of France within the circle of their own immediate resources. This alone can bring down the military force of the enemy to its natural level, and save Europe from being progressively conquered with its own spoils.

To suppose that the Powers on the side of Germany might be induced to sign a peace, leaving Great Britain and the nations of the Peninsula to carry on the war, or that the enemy being expelled from the Peninsula, Spain might sheath the sword, leaving the Continental Powers to sustain the undivided shock of French power, is to impute to them all a total blindness to their common safety. Were either of these interests to attempt to shelter themselves in a separate peace, it must leave France master of the fate of the other, and ultimately of both. It is by the war in Spain that Russia has been preserved, and that Germany may be delivered; it is by the war in Germany that Spain may look to escape the subjugation that otherwise ultimately await her. So long as both manfully contend in the field against France, neither can be absolutely overwhelmed, and both, upon every

sound principle of military calculation, must by perseverance triumph. To determine to stand or fall together is their only safety, and to effect this the confederates must be brought to agree to certain fixed principles of common interest. It is to be hoped that this has in a great measure been already effected, but the bond of union is to be collected rather by inference than to be found embodied in any one ostensible instrument common to all the powers.

In calling your Lordship's attention to the measures which remain to be adopted, it may be expedient to explain shortly the extent and nature of the engagements which exist, and to explain in what respect the general understanding requires to be rendered more explicit. The inclosed extracts from the Treaties concluded between Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Sweden,¹ leave no doubt as to these Powers being embarked (as far as Treaties can bind them) in a common cause, and although the integrity and independence of Spain is not in terms stipulated in these conventions, yet this obligation must nevertheless be considered as included in the engagements which these several Powers have formed with Great Britain—the stipulation not to make a separate peace being entered into by them all in full contemplation of the latter Power having previously bound itself not to terminate the war with France without providing for the interests of Spain. The independence of Spain having been distinctly brought forward by Russia and Prussia, in the note of the 16th of May,² as one of the necessary bases of a peace with France, and it being understood by the declarations of Austria that, although she would only be driven into war by the refusal of France to accede to the more restricted terms which she proposed, yet that when the sword was once drawn, in consequence of that refusal, she adopted as her own the basis proposed by the Allies, Austria may now be considered as substantially pledged with Russia and Prussia to insist upon the independence of the Peninsula. As yet no treaty to this effect exists between Great Britain and Austria. Instructions, however, have been given to Lord Aberdeen to make the signature of an engagement similar to those contracted with Russia and Prussia the condition of the subsidiary aid which his Lordship has been authorized to afford to that Government, and there is no reason to presume that the Court of Vienna will feel any reluctance to a stipulation of this nature.

¹ The Treaties of Subsidy and Alliance.

² See VI. Note 1.

It may then be asserted that all the great principles upon which the Confederacy should rest have already been recognized, and are now binding upon the principal Powers. It is, however, desirable that they should be brought together in a common Treaty, and your Lordship will lose no time in submitting to the Emperor the expediency of forming an Alliance, offensive and defensive, against France, providing adequately and comprehensively for the interests of all the Confederates. I transmit for consideration a sketch of a Treaty¹ for this purpose, which to save time might be negotiated and signed by the Ministers of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Sweden, now assembled on the Continent, and an invitation be inserted in the Treaty to Spain, Portugal, and Sicily afterwards to accede. In submitting this project to the Emperor, your Lordship will represent that the object aimed at in framing the Treaty has been to select certain leading objects in which all the Confederates must feel a common, if not an equal, interest, and to the accomplishment of which all may be bound as terms *sine qua non* of peace, without incurring in the eyes of each other or of the world the imputation of having bound themselves to demand conditions either extravagant or hopeless. Reserving the further reduction of the power of France, especially on the side of Holland and Italy to be pursued as the fortune of war may admit, there can be but one sentiment, that a peace which does not provide for the independence both of Germany and of the Peninsula would be wholly inadequate to afford the smallest protection to any one of the Powers engaged in the war, and to accept of less would be to treat upon a principle of submission, and not of security. This line is drawn, not only as the best in itself, but as indispensable to unite the extremities of Europe in one common cause. The nations of the Peninsula have now a right to be assured that the great Powers of the Continent are contending for *their* liberties as well as for their own. Great Britain has also a right to be assured of it, for, pledged as she is to Spain, it is essential in the management of her resources that she should know the nature of the struggle she may have to maintain. It may be found necessary, to satisfy particular States, to specify in more detail the various objects to which the efforts of the Confederacy are to be directed, but this had better be done in a secret article. The Russian and Prussian conditions of the 16th of May, to which the Court of Vienna has since acceded, may, with some additions, form a suitable basis for such an article; but His Imperial

¹ Appended to this dispatch.

Majesty will, I have no doubt, feel the advantage of confining the public treaty to broad and general principles.

The other articles of the *Projet* are such as have usually been agreed to in all Confederacies, to preserve an unity of action and a common interest. In laying them before the Emperor, you will state to His Imperial Majesty that the Prince Regent is in no degree tenacious of the form of the instrument—it is the substance concerning which he alone feels solicitous, and which he trusts, through the powerful intervention of His Imperial Majesty may be reduced into a suitable form without delay. Your Lordship, should you find it necessary, may urge the importance of such a direct pledge and avowal between all the Powers engaged in the war, from the distrust which the late negotiations for what was termed “Preliminaries of a Continental Peace to serve as a basis of a general peace” were calculated to inspire. No doubt exists in the Councils of Great Britain that both Russia and Prussia, in the qualified acquiescence which they gave to the Austrian conditions, faithfully and fully intended that the whole arrangement should be eventually subject to the just demands of Great Britain to be subsequently brought forward, and that the Allies never thought for a moment of signing an engagement in separation from the Prince Regent. But these distinct and successive negotiations, not comprehending the general interests, are calculated in an extended Confederacy to embarrass and disunite, and ought hereafter to be avoided, if it were only to guard against the evils of a protracted armistice. The latter inconvenience is particularly deserving of attention, for had France accepted the Austrian basis, whilst Great Britain was employed in bringing forward her demands with reference to such preliminaries, the French armies in Spain might have been reinforced, and the relative claims of the parties varied, possibly without hazard to the French armies in Germany, and without France being irrevocably committed to any arrangement which could afford a pledge of her disposition to accede to a general peace. Your Lordship will therefore press the necessity not only of mutual engagements, but that any preliminaries to be hereafter listened to must be general, and not partial. They must explicitly provide for the main interests of all the Powers, and not leave it open to the enemy, first to satisfy certain claims in the hope of sowing jealousy and disunion, and thereby of depriving the just pretensions of other Powers of their due support.

Your Lordship will take this occasion of renewing in the strongest terms to the Emperor of Russia the assurance of the deep and

imperishable impression which His Imperial Majesty's conduct throughout the whole of their intercourse has implanted in the mind of the Prince Regent; this sentiment has, if possible, been augmented by His Imperial Majesty's late reception of His Royal Highness's sentiments on the great concerns that are now at issue. The Prince Regent has on this, as on all former occasions, imparted without reserve to His Imperial Majesty his views for the general welfare. He has done so in the confidence that they will be followed by His Imperial Majesty with that enlightened adherence to the cause of Europe which has characterised His Imperial Majesty's conduct throughout the war, and His Royal Highness will rejoice to find that a Confederacy which has owed its origin so largely to the councils as well as to the arms of Russia has been at length successfully matured and consolidated under the auspices of His Imperial Majesty.

I shall send copies of this Despatch to His Majesty's Ministers at the Courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Stockholm, with directions to act in concert with your Lordship in carrying the same into effect, but not to make any communication of the same to their respective Courts till they have conferred with your Lordship as to the mode in which the subject may be most advantageously brought forward.

PROJET OF A TREATY OF ALLIANCE OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE AGAINST
FRANCE.

Preamble.

(1)

The High Contracting Parties solemnly bind themselves to each other to call forth the utmost energies of their respective States in the vigorous prosecution of the present contest against France and to employ them in perfect concert, and in the most intimate confidence for the purpose of procuring for themselves and for Europe a general Peace, under the protection of which their rights and liberties may be secured, and their States and subjects at length delivered from the rapacity and oppression of France.

(2)

That it shall not be lawful for any one of the High Contracting Parties to withdraw himself from the war, or to enter separately with the enemy into any convention, Treaty of Peace, or truce, without the common consent and concurrence of the Allies.

(3)

That, in case of negotiations for peace or truce being entered into with common consent, all things that are transacted shall be mutually communicated, nor shall any one State conclude any Treaty or convention but with common consent.

(4)

That after peace shall be concluded by common consent, there shall continue between the said High Contracting Parties a perpetual defensive Alliance for the maintenance of such peace, and for the mutual protection of their respective States.

(5)
That in case of attack hereafter by France on any one of the said High Contracting Parties, the several Powers will support the party so attacked with all their forces if necessary, and see justice done.

(6)
That the several Treaties and engagements already contracted between the respective High Contracting Parties in the course of the war shall remain good and valid.

(7)
That the Sovereign Cortes now administering the Government of Spain in the name of Ferdinand the 7th, His Sicilian Majesty, and the Prince Regent of Portugal, be forthwith invited to accede to the present Treaty.

(8)
That the present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within [] weeks.

XVI. [*F. O. Russia 83.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART. (No. 66.)

Foreign Office, September 18th, 1813.

Referring to that part of my Dispatch No. 65,¹ which relates to a secret article, your Lordship will receive enclosed a *Projet* for carrying this suggestion into effect. In presenting the same for His Imperial Majesty's consideration you will represent that it has been formed upon the basis of the Russian and Prussian conditions of the 16th of May.

The seven first objects² to which the efforts of the Confederacy are to be directed are taken from the documents in question, with a slight alteration in the 5th, extending the principle of restitution to the Germanic Provinces absorbed in the newly created Kingdom of Westphalia, as well as to those actually annexed to France. In the 5th it has been deemed advisable to point to the necessity of an adequate barrier for Holland. The 8th, 9th, and 10th are additions which it has appeared to the Prince Regent advisable to introduce, in order to obviate misconceptions, and to satisfy the different Powers engaged that the Confederacy has been founded in a just and liberal determination to support their several interests.

With respect to the introduction of an engagement as to Norway, your Lordship will state that its being included in the proposed secret article does not necessarily imply that it shall upon a general peace become a matter of direct negotiation or stipulation with France. Should the same considerations of treating this as a point purely Northern continue to operate, it may be left for

¹ See XV., p. 22.

² See the draft of the articles enclosed in this dispatch which are appended on p. 26.

separate discussion—its introduction into the Treaty will have no other effect than satisfying Sweden that, in addition to the specific engagements which particular states have entered into with her in regard to Norway, and which by Article 6th of the proposed treaty are to continue in full force, the Confederacy generally bind themselves to support her in that object as one not only important to her immediate security, but connected with the independence of the North.

I trust His Imperial Majesty will feel the indispensable necessity, after enumerating the general objects to which the efforts of the Confederacy are to be directed, of fixing the minimum of security upon which peace can be agreed to. Without a *sine qua non*, the Treaty will be either considered as extravagant in its pretensions, or loose in its obligations, and my persuasion is that the spirit of the Confederacy will stand more firmly to the whole purpose, when they boldly decide the principles which admit of no compromise.

Projet of Secret Articles.

In order more fully and clearly to define the views of the several Powers in concluding the said Alliance the said High Contracting Parties hereby agree faithfully and diligently to unite their councils as well as their arms, and to employ their utmost exertions to procure a general peace, which shall effectually provide for the following objects, viz. :—

1. The re-establishment of Austria in the degree of power and extent of territory which she possessed previous to 1805, as well in Italy as in Germany.

2. The reconstruction of the Prussian Monarchy in the same extent of population and territory in which it existed previous to 1806.

3. The dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine—Germany to be rendered independent, and the provinces thereof in the north, either united to France or subjected to the family of Napoleon, to be restored.

4. The Duchy of Warsaw to cease to exist, as at present, and its future to be regulated without the intervention of France.

5. The separation, with an adequate barrier, of Holland from France.

6. The re-establishment of the ancient and lawful dynasty of Spain.

7. The liberation of Italy from the rule and influence of France.

8. The restoration of the House of Brunswick-Luneburgh (both Electoral and Ducal) to their dominions and rights.

9. The exclusion of French power and influence from the northern side of the Baltic by the annexation of Norway to the Crown of Sweden.

10. The restoration of the Kingdom of Naples or a suitable equivalent to His Sicilian Majesty.

And the said High Contracting Parties agree and bind themselves solemnly to each other not to lay down their arms till the independence of Germany, and especially the re-establishment of the strength and power of the Austrian and Prussian Monarchies, as essential to the permanence and conservation thereof, and likewise till the independence of the nations of the Peninsula under their lawful sovereigns shall have been fully secured and provided for, as barriers without which no equilibrium can be established in Europe, or any security afforded for the due fulfilment or permanence of a Treaty of peace with France.

This Secret Article to make a part of the said Treaty of Alliance, and to be as valid and binding as if inserted in the Treaty itself.

XVII. [*F. O. Supplementary 343.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART. (Private.)

Foreign Office, September 18th, 1813.

I shall hope that the motives which have dictated the important instructions which I now transmit to your Lordship are sufficiently developed in my two public dispatches¹ with their enclosures.

With respect to the management of the negotiation, I deem it expedient that the overture should be made in the first instance to Russia, and that the subsequent steps to be taken at the other Courts, should be in concert with His Imperial Majesty, and upon a previous communication with your Lordship. In order that they may be fully apprized of the views of their Government, I shall send copies of these instructions to the Earl of Aberdeen, Sir Charles Stewart, and Mr. Thornton, but with instructions not to stir the question with their respective Courts till they know from your Lordship the reception it has met with from the Emperor, and especially till His Imperial Majesty's sentiments as to the best mode of giving it effect have been ascertained.

Austria, it is to be presumed, is the Court which may be expected to hesitate most as to a decisive measure of this nature, yet, committed as she now is, I conceive she ought above all others to desire that the Confederacy should be effectually and irrevocably

¹ XV. and XVI.

consolidated, and with this view she could not in prudence herself propose conditions less comprehensive than those suggested. Your Lordship will feel the value of time on this subject in two points of view. 1st. As with relation to our own Parliament (which meets the first week in November) it is very desirable, if asked whether the Powers of the Continent and those of the Peninsula are avowedly engaged in a common cause, that our answer should be direct and not constructive. 2nd. As the Cabinet will have occasion probably before Christmas to frame their system for the ensuing campaign, it is essential they should be assured on this main fact before they decide largely to anticipate resources, which, in the contingency of being abandoned by the Continental Powers, would be required to sustain a protracted contest in the Peninsula, from which neither the honour nor the interest of Great Britain will permit them to withdraw.

It will be necessary to press this topic strongly, and our Allies must be made to feel that we cannot go to Parliament to ask for the aids we are desirous of affording them unless they give us a clear, manly, and vigorous line of policy to stand on.

As soon as you have conferred with the Emperor, I think Lord Aberdeen should lose no time in opening the measure to Austria, and in point of attention the communication to Russia ought not to be postponed. That there may be no unnecessary delay in carrying the measure into effect, if the principal Powers are agreed, I shall forward a full power by the first messenger enabling your Lordship and your two colleagues at Head Quarters to sign at once on the part of Great Britain.

You will perceive Sweden is included as a principal in the treaty, and as one of the Continental Powers now prominently engaged; if the time admits of it, I consider it desirable she should be invited to take a direct part in the negotiations; but if the reference to Stockholm for full powers would impede the early conclusion of an alliance, in which she must feel so strong an interest, I am not aware (the point of Norway being enumerated amongst the general objects of the Confederacy) that there could be any objection, under a suitable explanation, to class Sweden amongst the Powers who are to be invited to accede, of which number Spain being one the dignity of His Swedish Majesty could not suffer, where the motive in both cases was the same, namely, to avoid delay.

The only practical objection which it occurs to me may be felt to the proposed Treaty is the difficulty of procuring the consents required in cases of emergency, but this difficulty appears more

imaginary than real, and at all events to be far outweighed by the advantages, I should say by the necessity, of the measure. Once agreed upon main principles, and there will be little difficulty in the rest. The more distant Powers will be prepared in a great measure to confide their interests to their Allies, and it will not be difficult to give an adequate authority to the respective ministers at Head Quarters to act upon circumstances as they arise in the few cases that can require so prompt a decision.

Your communication to Mr. Thornton, I conceive, cannot satisfactorily be made till you have come to an understanding, at least to a certain extent, both with Russia, Prussia, and especially with Austria, and I shall prepare him to expect some short delay on this account. It will afford me great pleasure should the disposition of the Allies and the nature of the instructions be such as to admit of the signature of the Treaty without reference home.

XVIII. [*F. O. Supplementary 343.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART. (Private.)

Foreign Office, September 21st, 1813

Your last dispatches are of the 12th of August. We have letters from my brother, Count Hardenburgh [*sic*], Metternich, etc., to the 30th.

You will see by the Gazette that we meet Parliament the 4th of November. Finance and other motives connected with the vigorous prosecution of the war have rendered this necessary. I trust you will secure the Alliance against distrust by conclusion of the Treaty before that time. The only hope either of a *short* or *successful* war is to put an end to all hope on the part of the enemy of playing for a separate peace. When this hope is altogether at an end the Allies will be united, and Napoleon¹ may be subdued. Are you clear that this concealment of the politics of Great Britain from Austria is judicious, when they are known to Prussia, Sweden, and Spain, and most probably must be avowed in outline at least in debate? I do not wish to press any idea peremptorily from hence, imperfectly informed as I am, but my own feelings would have suggested the expediency of the Emperor of Russia explaining to his brother Emperor the whole with as little delay as possible, with his own very wise reasons for keeping back the communication at the moment it arrived; and

¹ A slip, and again later in this dispatch. *Bonaparte* is almost invariably used.

I am strongly inclined to think that the best, if not the only, way to make a cautious Court *bold* is to convince them that they have to act with temperate but decided Allies, but that to succeed themselves they must be true to those Allies. Flattering myself that we have proved our views not only to be temperate, but disinterested, I am not afraid of Austria knowing the principles upon which we act. She cannot suppose they are calculated to countenance the principle of a separate peace in any quarter—so far from it, that the very object of our moderation and deference to the sentiments of the Continent as to the conditions of the general arrangement in which they have the primary interest, I mean the Continental arrangements on the side of Germany, is to keep the whole together, and whilst we bring forward no conditions which are not indispensable, we are reluctant to urge them to contend for more than we think necessary, their means and prospects being fairly considered. But it must be one cause and one effort or it is nothing.

I know M. de Metternich is fond of negotiating, but the best remedy for this is to convince him that England is as tired of the war as he can be, and as ready to negotiate at a proper moment. The British Government only deprecates ineffectual negotiations, as relaxing the tone and spirit of the Allies, and as enabling the enemy to call forth new resources in the expectation of their facilitating his peace. I have heard of a suggestion of Napoleon, that whilst the war is going on, there should be a sort of concurrent negotiation on neutral ground. I am sure this idea cannot have received any countenance; it would be fatal to all military exertion. How could M. de Metternich hope to invigorate his own nation, to rouse them to exertion, or to animate them to great pecuniary sacrifices whilst the white flag was flying? Can he suppose that any oppressed nation will join him, that the Tyrol will rise, that Holland or Italy will attempt to emancipate themselves, or the Confederacy of the Rhine throw off its allegiance if they suppose that a peace may surprise and sacrifice them at the very outset. The Austrian Minister has, through a course of negotiations, the merit of which I need not now examine, embarked his sovereign in a common cause with nearly the whole of Europe; let him perfect this work by a Treaty of Alliance before he gives facilities to the enemy to repair his own blunders. When the Confederacy is placed beyond the reach of Bonaparte's cunning, as I flatter myself it is of his arms, they may receive a proposition for peace, or they may make one at a suitable moment, but don't let them countenance proceedings which are calculated to create a doubt

whether they are fighting or negotiating. This doubt would be the necessary result to anything like pending discussions for peace. The only invigorating remedy is a common alliance. As Allies let us be temperate in our councils, but let us avow to each other, and to the world, that we are not to be seduced from our allegiance to the common safety. . . .

XIX. [*F. O. Supplementary 343.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART. (Private.)

Foreign Office, September 27th, 1813.

Having confidentially communicated the *Projet* of the Treaty of Alliance offensive and defensive against France, as enclosed in my letter No. 65¹ to the Count de Lieven, I deem it proper to advert to some remarks he made upon it, and to furnish your Lordship with instructions upon these points for the guidance of your conduct in case similar observations should be brought forward in the course of the discussions.

The first relates to what was certainly understood, if not expressed in the Treaty, when the Alliance was proposed, viz., that the several Powers engaged in the common cause should continue to receive as heretofore such pecuniary aid from Great Britain as circumstances may permit. It is, however, a principle to the express recording of which on the face of the Treaty there can be no objection, and it perhaps may most conveniently be done by the insertion of words to this effect at the end of Article 1, in which the Allies bind themselves to call forth their utmost resources, and to employ them in concert against the common enemy.

The next case adverted to by the Russian Ambassador was that of France in the negotiation for a general peace insisting upon the introduction of the maritime question [in which case the Continental Powers, although the terms of peace might otherwise be arranged, would be obliged to continue to make war upon France on this account alone, the engagement not to sign a separate peace being unqualified].² The observation [to this observation]² is that the maritime code never yet was made a matter of general discussion in any European Congress. At the Peace of Utrecht France and England negotiated separately on certain points of this nature, but it is not a code which the Powers of Europe have

¹ See XV. Lieven was Russian Ambassador at London.

² So in the draft, but the words in brackets were to be cut out before dispatch.

ever undertaken¹ to settle by a general convention, and France has no right to bring forward such a demand.

Such an attempt on the part of France can only be made for sinister purposes, and that the Emperor of Russia will not countenance such a claim the accompanying dispatch from Count Nesselrode affords the most complete assurance. Supposing that there did exist between Great Britain and France any reasonable difference of opinion upon the maritime question, which we deny, why would either State press their views on this subject, upon a Congress, to the obstruction of a general peace, when that peace at once puts an end to the exercise of any of the litigated rights. Surely if a real desire of peace exists, and if all other differences can be accommodated, it cannot be necessary now to continue the war, in the vain hope of regulating the exercise of maritime rights in some future, and we may hope, distant war.

If France prefers her views upon this question upon a Congress, we have an equal right to press ours, and the object of France may thus be accomplished of creating a new war upon new principles. Great Britain, on the contrary, is willing to waive wholly the discussion of the subject; she desires no concession whatever to be made to her on this point, and only insists that no concession shall be demanded of her by those who are disposed to maintain opposite principles. Her maritime rights no British Minister could dare to compromise, and France did not attempt to question them at the peace of Amiens; and if the Powers of Europe are resolved to establish a counterpoise against the power of France, they must not hazard discussion among themselves by suffering this subject for the first time to be introduced into a general Congress.

The only other point mentioned was the American War, which did not seem to have any practical bearing on the question. The Emperor of Russia has already explicitly stated the only ground on which he thought of interfering, even to the extent of offering his mediation, namely, from a laudable desire of reconciling two States, with both of whom he was in friendly relations. But this interference has been most explicitly and liberally abandoned, and there does not appear any pretence for mixing a question purely domestic between Great Britain and America with the settlement of Europe. There is no misunderstanding with Russia or any other European Power on the subject of the maritime code. With Russia we came to a clear understanding

¹ Originally "can pretend." The whole of these paragraphs dealing with the maritime rights were drafted with extreme care.

in the Treaty of []¹ on all the main principles of maritime law, on blockades, on contraband of war, on the right of search, and the non-protection of enemy's property by the British or Russian flags when neutral.

The discrimination and impressment of our own subjects on board Russian merchant ships can never be a subject of grievance; first, because they are not in the practice of resorting to that service in any numbers; second, because they are at once distinguishable when there. The whole question with America (except so far as it has been complicated by their Acts of Naturalization) is one not of principle, but of practice, the oppressions alleged to be committed in impressing Americans, as British subjects, [arising] from the impossibility of discrimination. To this the British Government has always professed their willingness to apply a remedy so far as they could do so without essential prejudice to their naval service and to the right itself, but this cannot by possibility be a point of difficulty with any other nation, and it is one which Great Britain and America are alone competent to settle.

I have been induced to say thus much on this point, as there prevails much misconception and prejudice on this subject, from which I think the Count de Lieven is himself not altogether exempt. I am confident he has no wish to revive any of those questions which have been happily settled with the Northern Powers. It is only an impatience of the war going on with America to the inconvenience of general commerce which weighs with him; but if this should be the case, let America, who chooses to stir these questions, answer for the consequences. We stand on our long-established practice, from which we never deviated till the Decrees of France led to the adoption of the retaliatory Orders in Council, and by which ancient practice we profess to consider ourselves at all times implicitly bound, except towards a Power that renounces all principles of law for the purpose of attempting our destruction.

I should hope your Lordship will have no occasion to enter into these subjects even cursorily. I thought, however, it could do no harm to furnish you with some general ideas in this informal manner, in case the Count de Lieven should have thrown such suggestions before his Government, or in case the same ideas should present themselves to the Russian Ministers.

¹ Left blank in the original. The Convention concluded at St. Petersburg of the 17th June, 1801, appears to be meant.

XX. [F. O. Supplementary 343.]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART. (Private).

Dover Castle, October 14th, 1813.

[News prevented by heavy gales ; nothing received from the armies since September 14th except what is got through Paris. On the 29th Bonaparte was on the Elbe with Augerau marching to Erfurt to protect his rear, which he seems to be able to do.] I have been most impatiently expecting your friends in the Tyrol to shew themselves. It will be a great disappointment if the Austrians and all the popular indignation of the South can be held in check by *Bavarians* and *Italians*, without the subtraction of a single French Corps from the enemy's main operation.

[News from France of the new conscription etc.] leaves no doubt that a great effort is to be made, and that there is nothing further from Bonaparte's intentions than to subscribe to any peace which shall rescue Germany and the Peninsula from his military dominion—an army in Germany and an army in Spain is what his system requires, and M. Metternich may rest assured he will not *negotiate* him out of it. It really appears to me quite impossible to mistake the true issue, and the sooner the Austrian minister makes up his own mind to it, and makes the Austrian monarchy feel it to the very extremities, the less risk he runs of a serious impression being made by the armed multitudes that France will pour forth if she can send them to feed and plunder beyond her own borders. It is become a contest of nations to all intents and purposes and not a game of statesmen, and he will play into Bonaparte's hands if he deals with it upon any other principle. The three great military Powers of the Continent start with immense advantages—armies, the most magnificent in numbers, spirit, and discipline, conscious of their own superiority gloriously re-established—but this may perish before numbers unremittingly poured forth, if the whole is not sustained by a national sentiment and by that impulse, which is alone to be communicated by calling the mass of the people into action. If this is done in Austria with the spirit it was done last year in Russia, and with which it has recently been done in Prussia, and if the councils of the Allies can be once inseparably united in the common cause, and all determined at whatever sacrifices to maintain the contest in that spirit of steady, patient, and determined perseverance, by which originally with small means we have progressively rescued the Peninsula from the enemy's arms, we shall beyond all question triumph, but don't let us deceive ourselves as to the nature of the struggle or the efforts Bonaparte will yet make.

One advantage at least must follow from the Duke of Bassano's report¹ that he will have furnished your Lordship with unanswerable arguments in support of the system of unqualified union amongst the Powers contending against France which you are directed to improve, and of the futility of looking to any other relief against the hazards of war but persevering exertion, whilst a rational hope cannot exist that the individual against whom we have to contend will brook the notion of a compromise. I am confident the Emperor of Russia will look at the crisis with the mind of a statesman, and animate all around him to the performance of their duties.

XXI. [*F. O. Supplementary 343.*]

CATHCART TO CASTLEREAGH. (Private.)

Meiningen, October 30th, 1813.

I cannot delay the important news this messenger is to convey for the sake of adding a detailed report of the proceedings in the negotiation of the Treaty of Alliance.² It was not till the 26th that I had an opportunity of going fully into that business with His Imperial Majesty. Several appointments were made for that purpose at Leipzig and at Weimar, but they were always interrupted by military concerns. On arriving at Ansbatt the Emperor was pleased to invite me to dine in private, and after dinner to go with the greatest attention into every part of that subject.

His Imperial Majesty did not seem in any shape averse to what is proposed, and which is throughout analagous to his declared opinions, approved entirely of my removing any restraint upon the communications which Lord Aberdeen and Sir Charles Stewart are ready to make to their respective Courts, and requested me to discuss the matter also with Count Nesselrode, and seemed impressed with a due sense of the convenience which would in all respects ensue, with reference to the British arrangements of supply from next year's subsidies, from finishing the Treaty at least with the Powers present as soon as possible.

His Imperial Majesty touched slightly the three observations which had occurred to Count de Lieven, and it was therefore extremely advantageous to me to have received since the date of my first communication on this subject at Leipzig your Lord-

¹ As to the position and preparations of France.

² Cathcart received Castlereagh's instructions (XV. and XVI.), at Leipzig just after the battle had been fought. (See XLIX.)

ship's private letter,¹ which enables me to answer satisfactorily the point concerning a continuance of such supply as may be expedient, and furnished in all such able and irresistible arguments on the remaining two points. There is some apprehension on these subjects, which are not fully understood but upon which I have already discovered that great pains have been taken long ere now to impart prejudice. Prince Metternich is, I hear, more free from jealousy or apprehension upon either of those subjects which do not in any way concern his Court: and therefore, as Lord Aberdeen will probably convince him, I expect great aid from him in surmounting all apprehensions of engaging in an offensive and defensive alliance to maintain doubtful questions, if I should not succeed in removing them myself.

It is not wished to make the communication in the first instance to Sweden, but rather to propose to that Power to accede. Indeed, it is not probable that the Prince will be so much within reach of treating as the others. But even to reassemble these Powers will require some time, as the King and his minister are absent, and it looks as if the Emperors also are within a short distance at present, of each other will now proceed to Frankfort, or to some other city by different routes. I am extremely mortified that this is the case, and I have spared no endeavour to accelerate what depended upon me. But I flatter myself Lord Aberdeen's treaty with Austria and the general course of proceeding in the field and in the closet here will supply the want of a general treaty in the present moment. Every exertion shall, however, be made to get it ready as soon as circumstances will permit. . . .

XXII. [*F. O. Russia 87.*]

CATHCART TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 109.)

Frankfort on the Maine, November 10th, 1813.

[Interview this morning with the Emperor of Russia.]

The Emperor, after stating what I had learned from Count Nesselrode, said that considering all that had passed last winter concerning the invasion of Russia, he confessed it was more agreeable to his feelings that any communication which became necessary with the enemy should be conducted through other hands than his, and that he was therefore extremely satisfied that Prince Metternich should undertake the instructing and dispatching Mr. de St. Aignan,² the person employed to sound the disposition of

¹ XIX.

² See LXI. and LXII. as to the negotiations with St. Aignan.

the French Cabinet ; that he had desired nothing should be held forth but what was in strict conformity with the policy of the British Cabinet, as the same had been stated in the dispatches addressed to me, and that Prince Metternich should invite the British Ambassador to be present ; that Lord Aberdeen had accordingly been present, and was privy to all the instructions which had been given to M. de St. Aignan ; that his Imperial Majesty was not only desirous of giving to me the fullest information of every particular himself or through Count Nesselrode, but wished me to call upon Lord Aberdeen for his statement, and to compare it with what I learned from him, and rather to rely on the accuracy of his Lordship's statement than any other. I accordingly went to Lord Aberdeen, and learned from His Excellency the proceedings which took place at a late hour last night in his presence. For the particulars of this conference I must, of course, refer your Lordship to Lord Aberdeen, who will by this messenger send a full report. I flatter myself what has been said and explained to M. St. Aignan will not prove inconsistent with the views of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent's Government.

XXIII. [*F. O. Russia 87.*]

CATHCART TO CASTLEREAGH. (Secret. No. 112.)

Frankfort on the Maine, November 11th, 1813.

. . . The Emperor had ordered a paper to be drawn up on the subject of your Lordship's dispatches, Nos. 65 and 66,¹ and their inclosures : from the military and political business which has daily arisen that paper could not be taken into consideration till late last night, and it was communicated to me this morning. It came in the form of a draft of a dispatch to Count Lieven, setting forth the grounds of confidence to which Russia is entitled from her conduct, and the want of necessity of forming a more precise engagement to induce her to persevere, and that Austria, the Power considered most averse to positive engagements when your Lordship's dispatch was framed, is now the one among the Allies who has gone the furthest in engagements concerning Spain ; that the Emperor does not object to the principle of increasing his connection with Great Britain by an Alliance offensive and defensive, but thinks such a Treaty should be framed according to existing circumstances, and not as matters stood two months ago ; for this reason, that it would be useful at this jun-

¹ XV. and XVI.

ture that Great Britain should make an engagement relative to the aid Russia and the Allies might depend upon in the event of the continuance of the war, and in case of negotiation that Great Britain should particularize in any such Treaty the cessions she is disposed to make for the common cause.

I objected entirely to the mode of negotiation thus proposed, stating that I had opened the business in the most expeditious and simple manner, by reading parts of the dispatches, but that I was not the less ready to put the negotiation or any part of it into the form of note, or minute of conference, and that it was more than probable that my powers and instructions would enable me to remove any difficulties without resorting to the tedious course of reference to London either through Count Lieven or myself. That I could introduce a general stipulation for the continuance of such pecuniary aid from Great Britain as circumstances may permit, but that it might not be convenient or practicable in a general treaty to fix the precise amount of the whole aid, or to detail the distribution. That in regard to restitution of conquests nothing could be more liberal or more explicit than what England had already declared in your Lordship's dispatch (No. 46)¹ to me, of which they had full notice, *viz.*, the use Great Britain proposed to make of the acquisitions from Holland and Denmark, and the objects to which such restitutions as it might be found expedient to make of conquests made from France would be applied.

That a general engagement to make restitutions to obtain peace on conditions advantageous to the general interest and to procure such cessions from France necessary to justice, and to secure the repose of Europe, as had not been gained by force of arms, might be made, but that it was too much to desire that particular conquests should be named as stipulated to be restored before the objects for which they were to be exchanged came under discussion.

I had in former conversations got rid of the objections grounded on maritime questions and American discussions. But I clearly see that there is a strong objection to a general Treaty such as is proposed, from the difficulties which it is supposed will arise, in regard to other Powers who will consider themselves as much entitled to be included as any Power of the second order already named, and therefore it would be preferred to confine the Treaty of Alliance to Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. There would be no objection to consider Spain as a Power of the first

¹ See IX.

order, were it not for the dependant state in which the weakness of her Government must for some time place her, and it is therefore conceived that an engagement not to lay down arms till Ferdinand the VII. is replaced, and his dynasty and the independence of Spain are insured, might amply suffice without making Spain a party to the proposed alliance.

This conversation is to be resumed before any dispatch is made up to Count Lieven, but I think this Government will not be inclined to enter into the *Projet* until it shall be tried whether Great Britain will not prefer renewing the Treaty of concert and subsidy for the next year, Russia at the same time contracting a solemn engagement in regard to Spain. I said Holland with a barrier, Switzerland, and Italy, including perhaps the consideration of Sardinia, and Sicily should be included. The answer was there could be no doubt of the Emperor's inclination, and of the desire of His Imperial Majesty, in common with all the Allies, to accomplish these objects, but that perhaps it was better to avoid binding more than was necessary by Treaty, lest in striving to do too much we should lose the opportunity of doing anything. I have, however, no doubt but that Holland in particular might be included as well as the Peninsula, and I see no difficulty in regard to Italy.

I will do what I can to carry through the *Projet*, but I doubt its being concluded without reference, for the reasons I have stated.

XXIV. [*F. O. Russia 87.*]

CATHCART TO CASTLEREAGH. (Secret. No. 114.)

Frankfort on the Maine, November 17th, 1813.

[Cathcart took the earliest opportunity of delivering to the Emperor the Prince Regent's message on the subject of the defensive treaty of the 9th of September between Austria and Russia.² He urged the expediency of adopting the proposal of Alliance, which would provide a document on the faith of which the British Government might contradict any argument drawn from the omission of essential points in the defensive Treaties between Russia and Austria, and between Russia and Prussia, particularly in regard to the Peninsula.]

His Imperial Majesty was pleased to attend to this subject with the greatest interest, and to state that the observations which

² The British Government protested against the omission of Spain from the objects of the war specified in the Secret Articles of the Treaty signed at *Tooplitz* between Austria, Russia, and Prussia.

had been made on the Projet had occurred to the Ministers of other Powers as well as to his own, and that he was happy to find in the present conversation additional proof that what was proposed in the Projet and secret article did not arise from any mistrust of his perseverance, and His Imperial Majesty charged me to repeat to the Prince Regent how much he was gratified by every mark of His Royal Highness's confidence ; that whatever difficulties might be found in a Projet which was to embrace so many parties, he had none in taking any engagement we might deem useful to the cause, in regard to the Peninsula, and that I was at full liberty to adjust with Count Nesselrode any mode of framing an article that should make as strong an engagement for the maintenance of the dynasty of Ferdinand VII. and the Braganza family in Spain and Portugal, and for the independence of those realms, as had been contracted with Austria. His Imperial Majesty professed the greatest desire to meet the ideas of the Prince Regent's Government in regard to the Projet, but seemed impressed with the apprehension of the difficulties and inconvenience which have been alluded to in a former dispatch.

In talking over this matter with Count Nesselrode, it was proposed to add an article similar to the secret article in the Treaty signed with Austria by Lord Aberdeen, Article 5, §4¹, to the Treaty of concert and subsidy signed at Reichenbach between Great Britain and Russia, and that the same measure should also be proposed to Prussia, and Count Nesselrode declared his readiness to propose to the Emperor that he should be authorised to sign such a secret article with me immediately or to send full powers to Count Lieven to sign an article to that effect at London.

I have had the great advantage of conferring with Lord Aberdeen on this subject, and of reading over together your Lordship's dispatches bearing on this point. It seems clear to us that of the points named, the one concerning which His Majesty's Government is most anxious is to obtain an engagement relative to the Peninsula, and that it should be contracted with the three principal Powers. Now both these objects are gained by the mode proposed, and all jealousies and future difficulties in regard to other Powers are obviated, as it is only the addition of an article to existing Treaties ; but, if this proposal were accepted here, it would amount to an abandonment by us of the measure proposed by the Prince Regent's Government, and therefore as there seems no ground for anxiety on the subject to warrant a decision on the spot to follow a course so different from the one your Lordship

¹ The subsidy treaty with Austria signed at Toeplitz on October 3rd, 1813.

wished to be carried through, without a reference home, it has been judged by both of us to be most expedient to state the matter to your Lordship, and to obtain instructions and powers to be sent without any delay to Count Lieven and Baron Jacobi-Kleist. I have accordingly been again this day with the Emperor and with Count Nesselrode, and the latter intends by this conveyance to write to Count Lieven, and will immediately prepare instructions to be submitted to His Imperial Majesty, which will be shown to me in the draft, and will be forwarded with the powers together with the ratifications of the Convention of 30th September by a Russian messenger.

It is understood that this course is resorted to, lest His Royal Highness's Government should not be satisfied to take this additional article in lieu of the *Projet*. I went over all the secret articles in No. 66.¹

There is no disinclination to adopt any proposition here, except 5, 7, and 10; the importance of the objects in the first instance and for establishing future balance is admitted, but the expediency of binding the hands of the Allies by express stipulations which might not suit when the time of using them shall arrive is considered doubtful. With regard to 9, Great Britain and certain other Powers are bound to the same object by separate Treaty and by accession, and it is not judged necessary that they should become bound to each other to perform what they have already engaged to do. The last paragraph of the secret article is much approved and admired, but, upon the whole, there is a leaning in favour of the words of the Austrian Treaty, which also comprehends Sicily.

It is further in contemplation to make a communication to relieve His Royal Highness's Government from the engagement of secrecy in regard to so much of the secret article of the Austrian Treaty signed by Lord Aberdeen and of those now proposed to be added to the Treaties of Reichenbach as may be desirable for the satisfaction of the British Parliament, and may be fit to be now declared as principles on which the Allies are pledged to act, without, however, publishing other parts which for the present had best remain secret.

XXV. [*F. O. Supplementary 343.*]

CATHCART TO CASTLEREAGH. (Private.)

Frankfort on the Maine, November 24th, 1813.

A report was this morning received that a French General

¹ See XVI.

Officer with a Flag of Truce had presented himself at the advanced posts on the side of Mayence. He was stopped there, and he sent a letter to Field Marshal Prince Schwarzenberg to state that he was charged with communications of importance. I am not sure of his name, but I think it is Clausell. The Field Marshal at first thought of going to meet him, but that intention was changed, and a General Officer of each nation was sent, General Neipperg, Count Schouvaloff, and Knesebeck. They are returned, but I cannot give the result by Sir Charles's messenger because I have not seen the Emperor, and Count Nesselrode, whom I have been with at the last moment, is not yet in possession of it. A Russian courier will be dispatched to-morrow with the ratification of the Convention of 30th September and the other documents I mentioned, and I have no doubt but that by him I shall be enabled to report all that may have taken place up to the moment of his departure.¹

That Napoleon will wish to enter into negotiation I have no doubt, but it will be for the purpose of gaining time of paralyzing exertions, and, if possible, of exciting disunion somewhere, even in the British Parliament. But I cannot believe that he will seriously negotiate with a view to make peace until he shall have advanced his preparation and put himself in a better attitude. This is the opinion of those here on whose judgment and knowledge I am most inclined to rely, and there is every determination here to give him no time. All the decisions now to be acted upon are critical and important, and I trust they will be coolly and disinterestedly weighed. . . .

There are some communications not easily made at a distance, and especially when secrets are not thought necessary and even creep into public orders, and there was a considerable feeling in regard to silence on the subject of M. de St. Aignan.² . . .

I have done all that I could to put this matter to rest, and I trust I have been successful. The Emperor has done everything on his part in the very best manner. But he will not depart from the principle on which I have had occasion lately to enlarge in treating of the Projet and will not be bound to make disclosures to *all* his Allies at the same moment and to the same extent on all subjects.

I do not yet give up the hope of carrying through the Projet in the great quarters in most points as you desire it, and I think

¹ This officer brought Napoleon's evasive answer to the Frankfort proposals, dated 16th November, the last note under Maret's signature.

² See LII.

Prince Metternich will assist : but I still fear it will not do in regard to accession for the reasons I have stated, and therefore I think it so much clear gain to send the powers and instructions for the additional article similar to that with Austria, which will be forwarded to-morrow, without prejudice to the *Projet* or so much of it as can be carried. Looking back to the proceedings which have taken place since this period of last year, it is impossible not to do justice to the perseverance of the Emperor and to the firmness with which he has carried on all the business of negotiation and in the field, in spite of real difficulties and disappointments, and in spite of all the obstacles of party and of difference of honest opinion as well of more interested ones among his own confidential servants. The present is a moment of at least as great trial as any, and I am sure, my dear Lord, you will feel that he deserves every encouragement and support, in order that the great work which has arrived at a state of so much promise and even maturity may be brought to completion, and I believe all are aware how much depends upon him.

Every credit is due to P. Metternich for his conduct : he has been roughly handled by them who did not know or trust his sentiments. I think some public applause would be well bestowed, and I am quite sure it would be gratifying. The obloquy was much felt. . . .

XXVI. [*F. O. Supplementary.*]

CATHCART TO CASTLEREAGH. (Private and Confidential.)

Frankfort on the Maine, November 28th, 1813.

. . . I have already had occasion to state that Prince Metternich's great abilities as a statesman found their due level at the United Head Quarters of those Courts.

The Emperor Alexander is his own minister. His regular ministers are at St. Petersburg, and the few confidential servants he employs here cannot assume the authority of ministers without special instructions in the cases which present themselves. H.I.M. is fully aware to the talent and ability of the Austrian minister, he is satisfied with the advice he has given and with the energy and activity he has shown since the Courts have been united. Prince Metternich has ready access to him, and H.I.M. certainly listens to his suggestions with confidence as suggestions or points, but on those points only on which the interests of the two empires run parallel. There are, indeed, few cases at present where they do not. But no man is more able to discriminate.

Prince Metternich, of course, cultivates this advantage by every observance, and his frank and apparently most open and unreserved manner is in the highest degree prepossessing. The Prince is not solicitous to conceal his influence in the general counsels, and, on the contrary, most anxious to stand acquitted in the eyes of Europe, and particularly of England, of the charge of having ever been in his heart attached to French politics. He is on the best terms with Count Nesselrode and the Chancellor Hardenberg. He is extremely attentive to Lord Aberdeen, who lives with him apparently in habits of great intimacy and confidence. I have always found the same disposition. But since Lord Aberdeen's arrival I have left him to his own Ambassador, although when there is opportunity I keep up an intimate acquaintance. I think it right to make this statement, as it is explanatory of our transactions here.

I hinted to your Lordship at less leisure that we were to put this influence to the proof for a beneficial purpose, and to endeavour to bring about the *Projet* at least with the three Powers here at present. Lord Aberdeen has made great progress in so far as to have got Prince Metternich to recommend it, and he states that the Emperor would accede to a proposition to sign in England; but this would only be to revert to the answer first given to me, which was to include the *Projet* in a new Treaty of concert and subsidy, it being supposed that a negotiation for an object devised by the British Government carried on in London might lead to increase the portion of supply for the Continent, and I have hopes that on the Emperor's return the Prince will join in endeavouring to obtain a consent to sign here if the scruples which have prevented it hitherto can be removed. . . . Your brother will not be satisfied if we do not obtain to the full extent of your instructions everything wished by His Majesty's Government. You know his zeal, and I promise you his practice proves it as much as his letters. We fully agree with him, and use our best endeavours, but if we cannot by any exertion get everything we at least endeavour to obtain and to secure as much as we can.

The note¹ Lord Aberdeen acquaints me he has given to P. Metternich (I have not read it) appears to be very proper to secure him from being misrepresented, and Metternich has promised to give him an answer attesting its accuracy. I read over with him the portion of one of your Lordship's private letters in answer to an observation of Count Lieven's, which is the only document

¹ Protesting against St. Aignan's misrepresentations of the conversation at Frankfort on the subject of the maritime rights. See LXIV. p. 113.

which treats of the principle of not discussing maritime points between England and France, if any such shall occur in a general negotiation.¹ . . .

XXVII. [*F. O. Russia* 83.]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART. (No. 87.)

Foreign Office, November 30th, 1813.

I have received your Lordship's report of your discussions with the Emperor on the subject of the Treaty.* I am surprised and not a little disappointed to find difficulties made in the quarter from whence aid was expected.

I shall abstain from sending your Lordship further instructions on this subject till I hear again, flattering myself that the difficulties put forward will be overcome. I cannot suppose that His Imperial Majesty can seriously expect us to propose to Parliament now to vote a scale of subsidy for an indefinite period of war, still less that we should disqualify ourselves from treating at all by stipulating by anticipation the surrender of our conquests—these suggestions would be inadmissible on the part of any Power, and are, to say the least, not very appropriate to a nation that has acted the part we have done. If this species of negotiation is persisted in, better at once decline the measure altogether. And I am yet to learn why Great Britain is more interested in cementing the Confederacy than Russia.

The multiplication of contracting parties, by extending the treaty to the secondary Powers, is an objection fairly open to discussion. And it may deserve consideration whether, upon the whole, it might not be better that the Powers of the first order should stipulate for their interests than contract with them—but the main question is: shall the confederates by a common Treaty now identify their cause, and lay the foundation of a defensive alliance for mutual protection against France hereafter? If Russia is prepared for this, I cannot persuade myself that the shape to be given to the Treaty can be of difficult arrangement. As a bond of union I still consider it to be of the utmost importance.

XXVIII. [*F. O. Supplementary* 343.]

CATHCART TO CASTLEREAGH. (Private.)

Frankfort on the Maine, December 4th, 1813.

. . . I have had one conference with H.I.M. since his

¹ See XIX.

² See XXIII.

return from his excursion to visit the relations of his Empress. On this occasion I mentioned the unqualified declaration which the Chancellor Hardenberg has given to Sir Charles Stewart of the disposition of the Court of Prussia to enter into an Alliance to the full extent of the *Projet* and secret article and to consult with the ministers of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and *Sweden*, or separately with him, and that I had officially requested Sir Charles to represent to Baron Hardenberg the expediency of not naming this business to the Swedish minister until the concurrence of Russia and Austria should be obtained ; that I understand from Lord Aberdeen that Austria was ready to declare her concurrence in writing though to a more limited extent in regard to the Swedish business, and probably to the measure only of a Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, and that Prince Metternich would speak to him on the subject. H.I.M. immediately said that he would be most ready to concur with his other Allies in any measure which was desired by the Government of H.R.H. the Prince Regent. So that if Prince Metternich will really go as far as Lord Aberdeen has reason to expect, I think that a Quadruple Alliance may be brought about concluding most of the points stated in the secret article and perhaps reserving the question of inviting other Powers to accede.

There is some intention of sending Pozzo di Borgo¹ to England to explain the ideas of this Court in regard to some important arrangements which, it is thought, it would be most desirable to settle to the satisfaction of those concerned before the negotiations of a general peace come on, if it were possible. I have always declared that Great Britain will neither recede in principle nor practice from any engagement she has taken, and as Russia makes the same declaration no such question will, I trust, arise, but it would, I think, be advantageous if it could be done to settle the business between Sweden and Denmark as soon as possible, and to ensure the successes of the Northern Army in Holland and Brabant, so as to proceed without delay to the Scheldt. . . .

There is certainly no communication whatsoever that I have kept back from either Lord Aberdeen or Sir Charles on points not exclusively belonging to Russia. But although the former has always communicated everything I have asked for, such communications have not always been early or spontaneous, and scarcely in a single instance in the way of consultation, and what is singular is that this reserve, which perhaps is constitutional, is more remarkable in regard to military matters. Your Lordship

¹ He was sent. See XXX.

has not answered a letter I wrote on the subject of Sir R. Wilson.¹ That officer has exerted himself in every way and not very prudently to obtain the appointment of which Lord Burghersh is in possession at the Head Quarters of the Austrian Army, and in this view has gained completely the confidence of Lord Aberdeen, having persuaded him that he can govern the Commander-in-Chief and the Head Quarters at least of the other Allies. Lord A. informs me that your Lordship has written to him that if I do not object Sir R. may be sent to Marshal Bellegarde's army in Italy. I have answered that Sir R. is placed on the Staff under my command and that whenever I am authorized to send him to the Austrian Army there will be no sort of objection on my part to his going to the army in Italy. But I see no use in his being at the Head Quarters where I am with several officers, and I must repeat that I have the strongest objection to it, although, as I have said before, he may be usefully employed on a detached service. I have not detached him because I expect your Lordship's decision. His intrigues in a lower rank would be ridiculous because they are very little disguised, but in his rank and with reference to mine they are highly indecent. His distinguished gallantry in the field and his good qualities gain him the affection of everybody and mine in particular, but when his inclination to intrigue and party leads him to interfere with the service I am compelled to check it, because it may go to dangerous lengths, and in the meanwhile certainly impedes the means I might have of doing more for the public service. It is very well known that he would readily carry an order to the mouths of the guns of the enemy's batteries. But it will as easily be believed that he will guide Prince Metternich in conducting the administration of the Austrian Government as that he will influence the military plans of the Austrian generals. I have some reason to think it more than probable he has asked a great person to apply to the Prince Regent to have him kept at this Head Quarter—there are also certain reasons for thinking such a request would not be wholly disregarded. I have said all this with reluctance, and I add no more.

I hope your Lordship will understand that, notwithstanding

¹ Lord Aberdeen and Metternich had eagerly supported Sir R. Wilson's urgent request to be British Military Representative at the Austrian Headquarters of the Grand Army. Castlereagh was, however, adamant, and in view of the candidate's Whiggism and the fact that he was urging the conclusion of peace, the decision is not surprising. Cathcart, who was himself a soldier, had always refused to allow Wilson to have any official position. The other side of the case is seen in Lord Stanmore's *Life of Aberdeen*, p. 42, and Sir Robert Wilson's *Private Diary*, II., p. 267.

what I have said of communications, which I think you may by a hint put on the best footing. I am highly delighted with both my colleagues, and give them every possible praise for their great, able, and successful exertions. . . .

XXIX. [*F. O. Russia 87.*]

CATHCART TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 126.)

Frankfort, December 5th, 1813.

[A further opportunity given by Sir Charles Stewart's messenger of stating the progress made in negotiating the Treaty of Alliance.] The Emperor had doubts of the utility or expediency of the measure as proposed, under the change of circumstances which has taken place, even though the powers given to the plenipotentiaries should enable them to remove doubts and objections which presented themselves on perusing the draft. Various objections occurred to inviting Powers of the second order either to join in this Alliance as principals, or to accede to it, and therefore it was considered more eligible that the Alliance if concluded should be quadruple, and limited to Great Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia.

In the next place, as the Powers last-named are now united in the same cause by common interest and by separate Treaties, it was conceived that any new Alliance should not only give additional force to the engagements separately contracted, but that it should also be made to contain some new principles applicable to the further progress of the war and its termination; that, in this view, it might be expedient to look to the next campaign, and to ascertain what would be the amount of force, arms, and equipment or subsidy the several Powers might undertake to furnish. And, in the third place, in reference to the state of the parties engaged in war. They are divided into three classes: France, who has overrun, injured or oppressed all Europe; Great Britain, who has conquered all the islands and the dominion of the sea; and, thirdly, all the other Powers of Europe, who being been overrun, injured, or oppressed by France, are now united to place her in her proper limits.

Two of these classes are therefore joined against one, and it is more than probable that they will succeed. But, as England alone has conquests to restore, and has declared that to improve and secure a peace she will make restitution, under certain reservations, it is interesting to the Allies to invite England to declare in a secret article not only that she will make restitutions

generally, but to name the conquests which she will retain, which conquests so to be retained the Allies might on their part guarantee to Great Britain. Now, as neither the amount of subsidy to be furnished by Great Britain, nor the specification of the conquests which she may choose to retain seem to fall within the scope of the full powers given to the plenipotentiaries of His Britannic Majesty, it was proposed to send a counter-project to be negotiated at London.

The Emperor of Russia having considered this question, and having consulted his Allies, or those within his reach, ordered a statement of these arguments to be drawn up, which was done in the form of a draft of a dispatch to Count Lieven, which was read to me.

I objected strongly to this mode as calculated to defeat its object by delay, offering to stipulate generally for the continuance of such subsidy as Great Britain could afford and for the application of such conquests made from France as Great Britain might be disposed to give up for the improvement and for the better securing the duration of a peace, conquests from Denmark and Holland being reserved for purposes connected with those States, and I requested that the draft should be reconsidered before any further use should be made of it.

Your Lordship's dispatch, No. 76,¹ upon the defensive alliances concluded at Toeplitz afforded me a very early opportunity of again bringing forward the Prince Regent's sentiments on the general interests of the Confederacy as connected with the Treaty of Alliance now proposed. The Emperor said that whatever doubts or difficulties might arise in framing a Treaty of Alliance, there could be no hesitation on his part in taking an engagement to stipulate in the general peace for the independance of the Peninsula, as well as of Germany, and His Imperial Majesty was pleased to authorize me to go immediately to the Secretary of State to consider with him the most expedient mode of making this engagement. It was proposed to do it by adding a separate article to the Treaty of Reichenbach, and then a question arose whether this should be done in London or here. I agreed to its being done in London, if your Lordship should approve of it, lest my signing it here should be considered as an acceptance on my part of this additional article as an equivalent for the treaty proposed.

On the 25th or 26th of Nov. the instructions were dispatched for Count Lieven, with powers to sign a separate article. On the 29th

¹ Of the 15th October, instructing Cathcart to draw attention to the omission of any mention of Spain.

Sir Charles Stewart communicated to me a copy of a letter from the Chancellor Hardenberg, declaring the concurrence of the King of Prussia in the Projet of Alliance which had been submitted to him, and stating his readiness to meet the ministers of Russia, Austria, and Sweden, to concert with them the proceedings, or to treat with Sir Charles. I deprecated the mentioning the Projet to the Swedish Government in the present stage of the business. The Earl of Aberdeen also acquainted me that any scruples which Prince Metternich had entertained were removed, that the Emperor of Austria was prepared to concur in the proposal of alliance, and that Prince Metternich was ready either to speak to the Emperor of Russia upon the business, or to give to His Excellency a declaration in writing.

I lost not a moment in stating these circumstances to the Emperor, who was pleased to say that it was a matter in which he was not inclined to act contrary to the opinion of his Allies, but that he would speak to Prince Metternich, and if he found no objection, there certainly should be none on His Imperial Majesty's part to a measure which was recommended and desired by the British Government. This morning (Dec. 5th) the Emperor told me that he had seen Prince Metternich, and that he believed an Alliance might be concluded here, and that therefore I was at full liberty to take such measures as I might judge most expedient to bring it forward. I went from the Emperor to the Earl of Aberdeen, and with his Excellency to Prince Metternich, who undertook to speak again to the Emperor with a view to receive from him authority to proceed with the ministers of Russia and Prussia and the British plenipotentiaries.

The proposal of adding an article fixing the amount of subsidy for the next campaign was discussed with Prince Metternich, and it was in great measure given up by him as belonging at least as properly to a separate Treaty. This minister seemed much more tenacious of the argument in favour of a secret article concerning retrocessions, distinguishing the conquests Great Britain is determined to retain. He was decidedly of opinion that the Alliance should be quadruple, but that all the Allies might be invited to accede, and agreed that as Spain, a Power certainly of the first order, could not be a principal, Sweden would have no cause to complain. In regard to the question of Norway, he saw no reason why the Powers who had separately come under engagements on that subject should not do so collectively, but that as negotiations are on foot between Austria and Denmark, his Court must be excepted for the present from any article relating to that question.

I have communicated all that has passed to Count Nesselrode, whom I could not see in the morning, and I learned from him that he has by the Emperor's command written to Count Lieven to desire His Excellency to move your Lordship to send to us further instructions in regard to subsidy and retrocession.

If no new impediment occurs, I will to-morrow press the nomination of plenipotentiaries and an appointment of a time and place for the first conference.

XXX. [*F. O. Supplementary 343.*]

CATHCART TO CASTLEREAGH. (Private.)

Frankfort on the Maine, December 9th, 1813.

My last letters to your Lordship were sent by General Pozzo de Borgo, whose intended mission to London I had announced in former correspondence. The General left me about eight in the evening of the 6th, after which I wrote my letters and sent them to his quarter at a late hour during the same night or at one or two the following morning. I mentioned to your Lordship that he was to receive the Emperor's orders at some period of that night, and that it was very possible he might thereby become the bearer of some information which had not reached me. Accordingly he received a copy of the Duke of Vicence's letter,¹ with instructions to Count Lieven relative to the communication of that letter and the probable answer. The next morning I went as usual to the parade, at which time I generally call at the office after coming from the Emperor, and I there received a copy of the Duke of Vicence's letter, which was prepared for me. I asked at what hour it had been received, and I was answered the preceding evening. I asked whether General Pozzo had carried a copy to London, and was answered in the affirmative, and that it was considered that this letter went so far, and so much farther than Napoleon had ever gone before, that there seemed to be no doubt but that some proceeding must take place upon it. That it was probable a negotiation between plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, with one for France, would be preferred to a congress of a more extended description, at least to define the basis, and that the answer would be that England was invited to send a plenipotentiary to this negotiation, and that the Courts here would wait the concurrence of their Ally before a final answer could be given to France. I am also assured that

¹ Letter of the Duc de Vicence (Caulaincourt) to Metternich, Dec. 2nd, 1813. Caulaincourt, who desired peace, had replaced Maret as Foreign Minister, and this communication accepted the terms offered to St. Aignan.

the answer was not drawn up *rédigé*, and that it should be sent to me as soon as it was settled. The original letter was sent by Prince Metternich to Lord Aberdeen; I do not know at what hour a communication was made to Sir Charles Stewart by the Prussian Chancellor.

Sir Charles contrived to have intelligence of the arrival of the Duke of Vicence's letter in the night, and obtained a copy of it and of the instructions or probable instructions to be given to Count Lieven and the other ministers at London. He conceived the mission of General Pozzo to be for this purpose, and was extremely indignant. Whether Lord Aberdeen and I were objects of any part of the indignation at that moment I know not, but he sent off two messengers, one by Holland the other by the Weser, with this intelligence in the night between the 6th and 7th, without giving any notice to either of us, or inquiring whether we had any information on this subject of this letter, nor did I know that he had sent till late in the following evening when I happened to call upon him.

This place is so full of political agents and there is such universal expectation of great events that, as may naturally be expected, everything that is done or said by the ministers of the three Courts or by the foreign ministers is watched and recorded, and the very strong language which he had not been very studious to conceal in speaking of the conduct of the ministers, and the circumstance of the concealment of his dispatching messengers, has made a very great sensation here, and has caused a great deal of irritation. We know that it proceeds from excessive zeal and a little exaltation in obtaining and in sending home the earliest intelligence, and therefore though we have not spared our animadversions, it has not interrupted the harmony in which we live together, but we have not, as far as I can judge, at all convinced him that he is in the wrong, and as the public service must suffer if this continues, it is quite necessary that your Lordship should learn from us what will, I apprehend, come from several quarters, and give such advice as you may think expedient. He did mention his intention of sending Mr. Jackson to Lord Clancarty to put his Lordship in full possession of the state of affairs here, but it was not till the day after his departure that he communicated to me his having added a destination to Downing Street. The points in the conduct of the Ministers of State which have so much offended Sir Charles are, as I understand them, the following :—

The sending important communications to the ministers at

London for the information of the Prince Regent's Government instead of sending such information through the ministers accredited to those Courts, which he considers a very great indignity ; secondly, the concealment of this important letter, or rather, as it has proved, the attempt to conceal it till after it was dispatched by a messenger of their own ; and thirdly, the frequent practice of communicating measures after they are completed and not while under deliberation.

These are all proceedings which it is our business to discourage and to prevent by all the means we can devise, and to remonstrate against or complain of in the manner we may judge most effectual, and we have all done so. I do not, however, know that Governments have, otherwise than by express stipulation in particular cases, considered themselves as bound to make their communications to each other through the Ambassador or Envoy of the Court which is to receive the communication. It is usual for a Court which makes a communication to another through its own Ambassador to give notice to the Ambassador of the Court which receives it that such communication has been made, but not always in time to enable the latter to anticipate the communication already sent off. And in regard to consulting the Ambassadors of foreign Powers upon measures under deliberation, I have always understood that, unless regulated by express stipulation, it is a matter of discretion generally depending upon personal confidence.

Upon these grounds I did not feel it necessary to express very violent indignation at the preference which has been given to the mode of communicating this information through Gen. Pozzo in addition to the other parts of his instructions which have been opened to me. Lord Aberdeen and myself have, however, not failed to make our representations, and the answers we have received are nearly the same.

It was very well known that there was a difference of opinion in regard to Sir Charles upon some of the things that have taken place, and therefore it occurred that what is now proposed would have a chance of being more impartially considered as stated by Pozzo or by their own ministers than if it came accompanied by our animadversions, all of which might differ with each other as expressed by us, and thereby lose the effect which any single opinion might have ; in the next place that, although each Court might be disposed to communicate with one foreign minister, it did not follow that each or the three Courts together would choose to debate their measures with any three. The publicity of the

discovery of the letter and of the obtaining a copy has also excited great suspicion and investigation, in so much that Prince Metternich told me in conversation this evening that he had dismissed six persons from his office because he had reason to suppose that one or more of them was concerned in giving this information.

The Courts will now probably be at some distance from each other, as the Emperor of Austria goes in the first instance to Wurtzburgh, and the King of Prussia has not declared where he will go when the movement takes place, so that, with a little caution, we may gain the character of more unanimity and obtain more confidence as a collective body, if we all meet again to reside for any length of time in the same town.

After all, I am not aware of any very material difference of opinion that has existed between us, although the General¹ supposes that he differs from Lord Aberdeen and me, and it is only in regard to what is likely to be the view or decision of the Prince Regent's Government and the mode of proceeding. He has invited me to read all his dispatches, which I really have not had time to do ; but I must do away one error which I understand exists in one of them. I had told him that the Emperor Alexander was extremely glad that the communication through M. de St. Aignan was made through the Austrian minister, and that he did not make the communication. Some days afterwards, in reading with Sir Charles a copy of a minute of the conversation with M. de St. Aignan which he had, I observed that Count Nesselrode's name was mentioned in it, and I said that I believed H.L.M. would have been better pleased with that minute if his Secretary of State had not been named. But nothing was further from my intention than to say that there was anything else in that paper of which the Emperor disapproved or that I had any authority to say that the Emperor had expressed disapprobation of Count Nesselrode's having been named.

I received your Lordship's dispatches, circular, and private letter of the 29th and 30th ult.² by the messenger Johnston last night. I cannot have an audience for business with the Emperor till to-morrow evening, and I must therefore defer my official letters till after that audience ; I trust I shall by the same conveyance be then enabled to send a copy of the answer to the Duke of Vicence. Prince Metternich, whom I met this evening, told me it was drawn up but had not yet been circulated. I understand it is to say that a communication is to be made to the *Allies* instead of to *Great*

¹ *i.e.*, Sir Charles Stewart.

² See XXVII.

Britain, as at first proposed, in order to avoid giving offence. But Lord Aberdeen, who has seen the draft, has probably given a more detailed account.

I have had a great deal of conversation this day¹ about the Alliance proposed, and Lord Aberdeen has met with P. Metternich and Count Nesselrode together and had a long debate; I fear they will persist on the subject, insisting upon Great Britain naming the conquests she *will not* bring into negotiation if any general Treaty of Alliance is made. . . .² Still, Russia and Prussia must either have Alliances with Great Britain by separate Treaty or must have particular articles in a general Treaty. Therefore Austria might consent to sign the Alliance proposed as it stands, but Russia and Prussia must have separate articles, unless they are put on a footing with Austria by having each a Treaty of Alliance. I could not discover why these separate articles, or new Treaties were to contain a specification of British conquests to be retained. . . .

XXXI. [*F. O. Russia 87.*]

CATHCART TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 128.)

Frankfort, December 12th, 1813.

I have now the honour to enclose herewith a copy of the reply which has been given to Prince Metternich by the Duke of Vicence, as Minister of France for Foreign Affairs, and of the answer² which has been sent to this reply, together with Count Nesselrode's note communicating the latter. The Emperor was pleased to signify his intention of speaking to me of this business, but various circumstances prevented it until late last night. His Imperial Majesty desired me, in forwarding these documents, to state, that there was much reason to apprehend that the readiness with which the ruler of France now consented to negotiate upon a basis so different from what he would have listened to at any former period did not arise from any real pacific intention, but to make it impossible for the Allies not to negotiate, expecting thereby to relax their military exertions, and, if possible, to find some question which might produce disunion and dissolve the Confederacy; that, to counteract this object, His Imperial Majesty

¹ Two sentences of the letter are omitted here, as several words are illegible. They refer to the wish of Prussia and Russia, whose relations with Great Britain are on a different basis to that of Austria, to have Subsidy Treaties separate from the Treaty of Alliance.

² Metternich to Caulaincourt, Dec. 10th, 1813. A vague and non-committal reply.

had formed an opinion, in which he was supported by Prince Metternich, that the most expedient course is to confine the basis to questions on which there can be no difference of opinion and which lead to the least discussion, leaving out all questions which can be decided by the Allies among themselves.

The regulation of the frontier to be assigned to France seemed therefore to embrace the whole question, taking for a general description the Pyrenees, Alps, and Rhine, and negotiating further only for the portion of Piedmont and of the Netherlands to be comprehended within this frontier. The matter of the cession of Norway and all questions of frontier among the Allies, and even those for the preservation of a future Balance of Power, are considered unnecessary to be brought into this discussion with France, as they are at the disposal of the Allies.

I have neither on this nor on any former occasion found the Emperor so much averse to a general Treaty of Alliance offensive and defensive, as proposed by your Lordship, as the ministers are. The language of Prince Metternich on the subject of specifying in a treaty of this sort the conquests, which Great Britain would keep or bring into negotiation, has been stated. I do not see the object of calling for this declaration unless it be to take out of the hands of Great Britain the preponderance in the negotiations which must arise from the important circumstance of being the only Power which has conquests to restore. But His Imperial Majesty will not decide without the Allies to agree to this Treaty, and although Prince Metternich attributes the opposition to Russia, he is the only person who is eloquent in supporting that opposition, and it neither occurred to the Emperor nor to Count Nesselrode till after consultation with him. Admitting the principle of this basis of negotiation with France, it seems to me that a general alliance offensive and defensive between all the Powers now at war against France would be particularly desirable.

I am not sanguine that peace will be made at the present moment, but if all attempts to weaken or dissolve the Confederacy shall prove abortive, and if the operations and preparation of war are continued on the present scale, I do not see anything but the unfortunate event of several battles that can prevent a general pacification. . . .

XXXII. [*F. O. Russia 83.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART. (No. 93.)

Foreign Office, December 18th, 1813.

I have to acquaint you that the Count de Lieven has read to me

confidentially a dispatch addressed to him by Count Nesselrode on the subject of the *Projet* of General Alliance which your Excellency was authorized to propose. I forbear enumerating the topics contained in this dispatch. It brings forward the same view of the question which has been reported by your Excellency to have been urged by the Russian Minister in your discussions at Head Quarters, and the dispatch has probably been seen in extenso by your Lordship.

This instruction does not authorize Count Lieven to decline the proposal, it only expresses a desire, in consequence of the great change that has taken place in the state of affairs since the *Projet* was sent from hence, that it should be reconsidered with a view of rendering its provisions more conformable to existing circumstances; I took occasion, in regretting the delay which had already occurred, to ask the Russian Ambassador whether he had received full powers and instructions from his Court to treat on any modifications which they were inclined to propose. Not finding that the Count de Lieven had received any such powers or authority, I informed him that the subject having already been so fully opened and discussed, it appeared to me unavailing that any further official negotiation should take place in the absence of any regular authority to come to an arrangement.

Having on these grounds declined for the present any official proceeding, I told the Count de Lieven that I could not conceal from him, in that personal confidence with which we were in the habit of conversing, my individual surprise at the tone of misconception which appeared to me to pervade the greater proportion of the dispatch which he had read to me. That it was happily true that a great change had taken place in the face of affairs since the end of September when this measure originated, but not, as I conceived, to impede, but, on the contrary, greatly to facilitate its execution. That whilst the successes of the Allies rendered the stipulations contained in the secret article of the proposed Treaty more attainable, and consequently less onerous, they in no degree impaired the considerations which dictated to the Allies the necessity of union and concert, not only throughout the course but after the termination of the contest;

That I was unable to conceive how any Power could be supposed to insinuate distrust towards its Allies, which has suggested, as Great Britain had done, the expediency of collecting their scattered and separate engagements into one common Treaty, to which, if all the Confederates should not be actual parties, the nature of the Treaty should serve to inspire all with confidence in

the principles of common interest upon which the leading Powers had agreed and were known to act ;

That if he supposed distrust as a general proposition was without foundation it was obviously inapplicable in a peculiar degree to that Power, namely, Russia, which Great Britain had selected for its earliest confidence, and on whose enlarged views and known influence it had avowedly rested its chief reliance for the success of the measure.

If Great Britain was the first Power to move in this transaction, it was not from any sense that *her* particular interests most required its adoption. Perhaps, without arrogance, it might be asserted that, from her insular situation and known resources, Great Britain was the last Power to whom any engagement of this nature could be deemed necessary with a view to her own immediate security. Such a proposition for the general welfare might be regarded therefore as coming from her with a better grace. Russia, from her peculiar circumstances, might be considered as standing nearly in a similar predicament, which certainly was amongst the principal motives, in addition to the unbounded confidence with which the two Governments were then acting, which induced the Prince Regent's ministers preferably and in the first instance to open their views to the Court of St. Petersburg on the subject.

If any assurance had existed, that with the war was to terminate the military despotism of France. If the existence of a Government in France likely to found its dominion upon a revival upon the ancient pacific relations of Europe could have been calculated upon, the British Government would have then been of opinion, that the objects of the Alliance being attained, the Confederacy might safely be dissolved, and the various Powers be permitted to fall back into the ordinary course of their accustomed politics. But whilst Bonaparte shall continue to rule France, perhaps even while the system itself, which he has matured, shall continue to give impulse to the military resources of that great Empire, the only safety for the other Powers of Europe is to impose upon the ambitious propensities of France that constraint in time of peace, to which alone they will owe the concessions, which may by war be extracted from the enemy.

It is the persuasion that the strength and power of the Alliance will be great in proportion as common engagements are known to bind at least the Powers of the first order, that first induced the British Government to bring forward this *Projet* of a General Treaty for the purpose of embodying the Confederacy not only to procure, but to preserve peace. The terms of peace are, no

doubt, of essential moment, and the arrangement of limits indispensable to the common safety. Nothing, however, but a defensive League is likely to deter France from returning to the old system of progressive encroachment. The proposition for such a League, it was conceived, would come with most propriety from Great Britain and from Russia, as the Powers least exposed to suffer in the first instance from French encroachments. It appeared that the example of two such leading Powers, ready to lend themselves to a system of common protection, would give confidence to the more exposed States, and encourage them to lean on such alliance for security, rather than attempt to fall back within the circle of French influence. That whatever might be the hazards of a system of this nature upon every enlarged view of policy, it became both Great Britain and Russia, even with a view to their own separate interests, not to shrink from bearing their share in it.

I stated to the Count de Lieven that I was happy to find that to such an Alliance neither Prussia nor Austria felt any reluctance. That it was a question fairly open to consideration, whether it should be limited to the Powers of the first, or be extended to those of the second and third order. That the Treaty, if made upon a comprehensive view of the general interests, could not fail to give general satisfaction to the other states, although they should not be invited expressly to concur in it as signing parties. That it was extremely desirable, however, that Spain should not be omitted; her rank and station in Europe, and more especially her military position with relation to France, rendered it a measure of indispensable policy that as the principal Power in the Peninsula she should be included.

That perhaps it might be expedient to follow the course lately adopted in the defensive Treaties between Austria, Russia, and Prussia, and to confine the defensive obligation in the first instance to a certain extent of stipulated succour. That in taking the engagements in question as the standard, a line would be drawn which, without offence to any State, would confine the measure to the five greater Powers, viz., Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Spain, each of which might form corresponding engagements with the several Allies, thus binding up the whole into one interest, at the same time narrowing the councils of the Confederacy within more convenient limits. By this means one of the principal objections stated on the part of Russia might be obviated, which, it must be admitted, has gained additional weight from the great augmentation that has latterly taken place in the number of the Allies.

Count Nesselrode's dispatch having adverted to the question of the armistice, with a view of justifying that to which the Emperor had given his consent in June, I observed that the *Projet* in question did not in point of fact touch the point of armistice, that it only required treaties, conventions, or truces to be made with common consent. That whilst it was a reciprocal duty in agreeing to any armistice to consider how it might affect all the Allied Armies in the field, those on the side of the Pyrenees, as well as of the Rhine and the Alps, it never had occurred to place under undue restraint the power of concluding an armistice, which must be considered as a discretion incident to, and inseparable from, the command of troops, and that as to the particular armistice, namely, that concluded by the Allies in June last, it was well-known that both the British Government and its Ministers abroad did complete justice at the moment to the considerations under which that act was concluded. The dispatch towards the close stated the augmented exertions which the Allies were making, and urged corresponding efforts on the part of Great Britain. It also particularly relied on the claim the Continental Powers had that Great Britain should now stipulate as to the conquests which she was prepared to yield for the interest of the Continent.

For the extent of the exertions the British Government was disposed to make, I stated that I could only refer to our uniform policy throughout the war, and more particularly the measures which had recently received the sanction of Parliament. That with respect to stipulating as to our *conquests*, I was not aware upon what principle such a demand could justly be urged. That the British Government had voluntarily in August last avowed this friendly principle in behalf of her Allies, naturally reserving to itself the right to apply the same according to the Continental arrangements intended, and upon a fair consideration of equivalents to be conceded by the enemy, but the British Government never once conceived that it could be expected that Great Britain would by Treaty pass this discretion into other hands, and confide to its Allies the trust of negotiating for her at a general peace. I further stated that I could not understand why Great Britain should stipulate as to her conquests, whilst Russia and the other Continental Powers were to remain free as to the ultimate destination of the territories occupied by their arms. That it was very true that the question of peace, and consequently the interests of the whole Alliance, might be materially affected by the manner in which Great Britain acted upon the principle in question. But

that it was not less true that the same, or at least an equal, evil might result from the Continental Powers pursuing unreasonable views as to their conquests. A too tenacious spirit in any particular State as to their distribution might embroil the whole Confederacy, and render the peace, though otherwise good, of less value to Great Britain. That I must therefore decline till some better ground was urged than mere distrust (a sentiment which I was confident the Emperor could not feel either towards the Prince Regent or ministers) to acquiesce in the justice of such an exclusive stipulation when even in its more general form, but to expect Great Britain to stipulate as to particular conquests was obviously inadmissible. That I trusted, however, no unfavourable inference could be drawn from this reasoning to the prejudice of the liberal intentions professed towards the Continent, intentions which had been spontaneously announced at an early period on the part of this country, and which had been again recorded in an official act within these few days.

I concluded by disavowing that any sentiment of distrust was to be inferred towards any of the Allied Powers, and especially towards the Emperor of Russia, whose magnanimous and persevering zeal was above all praise, from the measure which Great Britain had proposed for their adoption. That, on the other hand, I must protest against the notion that the projected Alliance was an arrangement of such peculiar interest to Great Britain that it was for her to purchase it as a boon from her Allies. That the British Government were from principle disposed to pursue their own interests through the general interests of the Continent, if they found a suitable disposition in the Allies adequately to sustain the common cause ; but, if not, that England was not the State likely first to suffer from an insulated policy.

I only further added that, amidst the fluctuating policy of States, which too frequently varied with the predominance of particular statesmen, it appeared to me, not less an act of wisdom, than of duty to the world, that Great Britain and Russia should take this occasion of solemnly binding themselves, in conjunction with the more exposed States of the Continent, to oppose a Barrier hereafter to the oppression of France. The determination to take upon themselves this generous and provident task would afford to Europe the best, perhaps the only prospect of a durable peace, and when the experience of latter times was examined with respect to the policy of indifference to the fate of neighbouring States, the most anxious and interested politician would find little to give countenance to an abstracted and selfish line of policy.

I transmit this report of my conversation with the Count de Lieven in order that your Lordship's language may be regulated by the reasoning to which it gave occasion, and I am to instruct your Lordship, if the Treaty has not been already signed, to request that powers may be sent to the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian Ministers in London to bring these long-pending discussions to some precise decision.

P.S.—I ought to have noticed that, in the course of our conversation, the Count de Lieven stated that his Court, considering Spain to be the prominent and immediate object of solicitude to the British Government, had authorized him to sign an engagement on this point similar to that taken by Austria, and that he was ready immediately to do so, in the form of an additional article, to the Treaty of Concert and Subsidy. I suggested the expediency of at least delaying such a measure, in the hope that it might make a part of a more extended arrangement, which I was persuaded would give much more satisfaction to Spain and to the Allies generally than an insulated engagement of this nature. That, in offering this suggestion, I trusted His Excellency would perceive that I did not act in distrust of Russia, or call in question the validity of those engagements which that great Power had already, in spirit at least, taken with Great Britain upon this subject; that, as my real and only object was to create a permanent counterpoise to the powers of France, in peace as well as in war, His Excellency must be aware that for this purpose the necessity for the measure on a larger scale would, according to my judgment, continue to exist, even though the Allies should be upon the eve of concluding a general peace; and I ventured to represent to His Excellency that the defensive policy of the Treaty appeared to me of not less importance in the view of its operation upon peace than the offensive branch of the arrangement was calculated to lead to a vigorous prosecution of the war.

P.S. 21st Dec.

Circumstances¹ having occurred since the above dispatch was closed, which render the removal of the negotiation to London inexpedient, your Lordship will abstain for the present from taking any steps in execution of that part of my dispatch.

XXXIII. [*F. O. Supplementary 343.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO CATHCART. (Private.)

St. James' Square, December 22nd, 1813.

The great interests at stake and the difficulty of deciding upon them at a distance has induced the Prince Regent to lay his

¹ *i.e.*, the decision to send Castlereagh to the Continent.

commands upon me to proceed without delay to Head Quarters, then in my capacity of Secretary of State to issue such directions in pursuance of His Majesty's pleasure as the state of public affairs may require. I have called upon the respective missions here to furnish me with memoranda on all the points on which they may deem it of importance that I should go prepared to decide. This will facilitate my progress on my arrival, but I have declined any discussion here on the various subjects which formed the object of General Pozzo di Borgo's mission. You have passed from operations so rapidly to negotiations that my arrangements have not kept pace with you. Had I foreseen that you were likely to open an intercourse with Paris, I should have deemed some central authority indispensable, and should have at least required the three ministers at Head Quarters to deliberate and decide on matters of general interest collectively. As it is, I hope no real mischief has occurred, and I rely upon finding all drawing cordially together.

(ii.)—*Correspondence of Sir Charles Stewart,
June to December, 1813.*

XXXIV. [F. O. Prussia 87.]

STEWART TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 32.)

Reichenbach, June 6th, 1813.

In reference to my Dispatch, No. 31 of this date, acquainting your Lordship with the Armistice¹ that has been signed between the Allies and the enemy it may not be superfluous on my part to detail to your Lordship, as well as I am able, the sentiments prevalent here relative to the measure, and above all to impress upon your Lordship's mind my firm conviction that the august sovereigns who have agreed to the suspension of hostilities have been actuated by no gloomy contemplation of the state of their affairs or military interests; but principally, if not solely, by a desire to conciliate the Austrian Cabinet, which certainly has strenuously favoured and anxiously supported the negotiations which have been brought to a conclusion. [Military considerations.]

It may then be justly stated that the inferiority of our numbers, the immense importance of holding Schweidnitz, the immediate security of the Prussian Provinces not yet armed, the effectual organization of the Landwehr, the want of supplies of ammunition, and, above all, the wishes of Austria, are the weighty reasons that

¹ The Armistice of Pläswitz signed on the 4th June, 1813.

operated in acceding to the present Armistice, which, it must be admitted, brings with it considerable advantages. The proved position in which the Allies stand must not be lost sight of : in a few short weeks they have given two decided battles to infinitely superior numbers ; no day has passed without trophies of victory arriving at the Head Quarters of the army ; no day has gone by without affairs or skirmishes in which they have uniformly had the advantage ; committed to a desperate battle at Lützen, where they triumphantly stood and conquered, and from which the difficulty of getting up ammunition alone obliged them to retire, they executed the passage of the Elbe, than which no more difficult operation can be conceived, in the presence of a superior enemy, and traversed an extent of country of near 300 miles retiring, contending position after position, and carrying with them between 600 and 700 pieces of cannon, without losing a gun or sacrificing any of their baggage. That these are most triumphant efforts no one, under any circumstances, will be disposed to deny. But taking the enemy's advantages of his fortresses on the rivers, and his facilities of operation, the retreat of the Allies is not surpassed by any other ever known in history. To husband the advantages derived in the late campaign, to forbear to hazard them where the chance was doubtful, to act, as many officers here have argued, upon the great example of Lord Wellington, has been the object of the Allies in concluding the suspension of hostilities, thus gaining time for renewed and increased efforts, and thus expecting to bring Austria forward as a belligerent in the common cause.

Too plainly has it been denoted during the course of this protracted war that nothing but force will ever compel Bonaparte to make such a peace as would satisfy Europe. It is evident under the present circumstances that the Allied Armies are not in a situation to conquer the peace desired. The period of the cession of hostilities may produce much from Austria ; at all events it will enable the Allies to wield new and most powerful means, and they will have the opportunity of re-establishing an order of system, which, from various untoward circumstances, not necessary now to go into, has been completely relaxed.

In looking to the details of this Armistice, it is a subject worthy of remark that it is perhaps the only one ever entered into by Bonaparte in which he has yielded territory, in arranging the line of demarcation, and the evacuation of Breslau and other points clearly demonstrate that the enemy were much more eager for the accomplishment of this measure than the Allies ; this may

be interpreted equally to the cause of Austria [*sic*], who has evidently placed herself in a situation in which she can dictate to all parties.

It occurs naturally to calculate what effect this proceeding will have on the operations in the Peninsula. I can well imagine the Armistice will give a great stimulus and spirit of enterprise to the French forces acting in Spain. This, however, Lord Wellington most probably may profit by, as it is to be hoped the duration of the term is not long enough nor the prospect of peace in any degree so inviting as to enable Bonaparte to accumulate suddenly in the Peninsula; he will require all he can muster between the Elbe and the Oder.

The affairs in the North, and the difficulties that have existed between Sweden and Denmark, have drawn on so long that an additional period of time to meet their development may not be attended with evil, provided the Prince Royal is secure from attack, which it is to be presumed he is, under the Armistice, and if Hamburg remains in the hands of the Allies there is reason to hope a good system of operations in this interval may be decided on in that quarter.

With respect to the relative situation the armies may be in as to numbers at the expiration of the Armistice, one must be guided a good deal by reports in forming an opinion, having no certain data. Russia affects upwards of 100,000 men now on their march. These, I am assured, will positively join. The declarations of Prussia leave no doubt to believe her Landwehr will be increased at least to 60,000, so that her force may be brought to near 200,000 men. That the enemy may do much in the meantime also, I am not disposed to controvert, but with the universal spirit and sentiment that still reigns throughout every part of these armies (and I should not do justice, especially to the King of Prussia, if I did not enforce in the strongest terms the firmness and determination with which he contemplates the future) there is every reason to hope for most successful and brilliant successes, and a glorious termination to the contest.

XXXV. [C. C. IX. 22.]

STEWART TO CASTLEREAGH.

Imperial Head-quarters, Reichenbach.

June 6th, 1813.

The news we sent home is not the best, and, from what I see, I fear political treachery and the machinations that are in the

wind more than any evils from Bonaparte's myrmidons. We must keep a sharp look-out, especially since our refusal of Austrian mediation. We are not considered (from all I see going on) in the Cabinet. The accounts from Hamburgh and Stralsund are bad. I fear the Swedes will go, and Bonaparte gets 20,000 Danes in the North. However, we shall trim him yet, if we can confine him to fair fighting.

The Prince Royal has not been managed as he should have been by Russia, and if the Emperor does not lower his tone, Bernadotte will yet seize Finland. The disorder in the Russian army is great; Prussians are infinitely better. They have everywhere greatly distinguished themselves, and will do much more in a little time. You cannot send them too much ammunition and arms. Russia rides the bear over them, but they are obedient and patient, and I will pledge my faith for theirs; although the Germans will not burn *their Moscow*, and lay waste their country, still they will be true; and Prussia will not be the first Power that will withdraw from English Alliance. I trust Parliament will be up before the bright hopes in England are the least overclouded. At all events, Wellington must send you a victory to bruit forth with the armistice.

I cannot help thinking the great personages of the drama here will meet, and Metternich will attempt some *family* alliances to aid the object of peace. If things turn to a Congress, and if you acquiesce in sending a negotiator, pray select a very able man. Depend upon it, he will be required. I fear military diplomatists will not be quite satisfactory to you. Mr. Disbrowe says he is going to Vienna. You will want a devilish clever fellow there, and I am afraid he is too inexperienced. I have seen enough in a little time of the windings and turnings of diplomatic chicane to fear. I do your business very imperfectly, and therefore I may be allowed to express my doubts of others. . . .

XXXVI. [*F. O. Prussia* 87.]

STEWART TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 37.)

Reichenbach, June 16th, 1813.

On considering the nature and purport of the communications carrying on through Austria,¹ and the share Prussia takes in the same, it is essential to see how far she lends herself to any act

¹ Russia and Prussia had accepted the mediation of Austria, and this last Power was now engaged in obtaining from the two first their conditions of peace.

that can militate against the fair, true, and literal interpretation of the Treaty¹ just signed.

After the most careful consideration of the enclosure it appears to me that Prussia does not depart from her engagements with Great Britain in receiving the communications of a Power whose mediation we know she had accepted previous to our making this Treaty; on those communications she has commented, and annexed other conditions; she is desirous England should go along with her in establishing preliminary conferences on which the great work of a General Peace may be founded. At the same time Prussia has declared the object of the war distinctly in her treaty; she has bound herself not to negotiate or conclude either truce or peace with the enemy but in concert with her Allies. But she has not bound herself not to communicate with a neutral on the grounds on which she would wish for peace, and she is anxious to bring Great Britain to preliminary measures with a view to final adjustment, or rather, by the display of Great Britain, to give Austria no possible ground of complaint that all the Allies have not gone along with her to the utmost extent in endeavouring in her own way to accomplish a peace upon a solid basis. It is that Austria may not have the power to urge that a single point in the conduct of the Allies has differed from her dictation, that she may not have a shadow of ground to refuse them her support, and that she may be finally forced forward, that every measure now adopted has been framed to make her confident in the warlike dispositions of the Allies; to uphold her by showing we look to war even without her, to convince her that England and Sweden are firmly united to Russia and Prussia, and finally to make her adhere to propositions, which Bonaparte (it is declared) will not accept, is the surest mode of gaining her as a belligerent.

I expressed to the Chancellor Hardenberg my incompetence to answer him as to the sanction of England to the late proceedings; I had accepted and signed his Treaty in the literal sense; the most important points appeared to me to have been neglected in the propositions alluded to, and those most interesting to England; without reference or instructions, I had no reason to believe Great Britain would take any part in what had occurred, but upon the complete fulfilment of the late Treaty I relied. His assurances in answer were cordial and satisfactory.

I understand from Lord Cathcart that Count Nesselrode called on him yesterday evening and communicated to His Excellency

¹ The Treaty of Reichenbach between Great Britain and Prussia signed June 14th, 1813.

the Austrian propositions and Russia's line of proceeding on the result of the various conferences hitherto carried on, laying much stress on the candour and openness of His Imperial Majesty in not wishing Lord Cathcart to sign the Treaty (which in fact had been signed two days before in Brouillon), and he left it for His Excellency's consideration if, after these communications, he thought proper under his instructions to sign *this day*. From a conversation which I have had with him this morning I understand that he intends to sign.¹

The explanation given by Russia previous to signing the Treaty may be argued as rendering nugatory on her part the clause binding her not to treat separately. If the Austrian propositions now under consideration are agreed to, Russia has also completely lost sight of Spain, a point so interesting to Great Britain.² It is a curious distinction that is made between a Preliminary Peace and a General Peace, which is not very easy to comprehend. I confess that I am alarmed at these late proceedings. When I saw Count Nesselrode sign the draught of all the articles of the Treaty the preceding evening without an allusion to the propositions that are now unfolded, I had little idea of what has since occurred, and I could not imagine I was precipitate in signing the following day with Prussia. I know not the excuse Russia will urge for abandoning Spain and Holland in her view of a Preliminary Peace, but these are parts of present transactions that are not satisfactory. I have thought it necessary your Lordship should be acquainted with the whole progress of these affairs, and therefore have detailed them at some length. It remains to be seen what will be the result of the Austrian propositions as a preliminary to general negotiations. I am assured no direct communications between the Allies and France are to take place, and no Congress is to be held, but that individuals are to be instructed and sent to some particular place, to render the communications more expeditious. I certainly have not augured favourably of Austria from the beginning (as Your Lordship knows); she is not improved in my good graces from any one transaction that has come to my knowledge. Russia and Prussia both feel that they are dependent upon her, and if she fails them I will not answer for their firmness. I hope the Treaties are the best pledges to Great Britain, and viewing her

¹ The Treaty between Great Britain and Russia was dated June 15th, 1813.

² Russia and Prussia eventually agreed to the Austrian mediation on a basis of six points. See VI. Note 2.

interests in every quarter I entertain an ardent hope that in any event I shall not be reprehensible for having furthered to the utmost of my power and concluded the Convention with Prussia.

XXXVII. [*Alison.*]

STEWART TO CASTLEREAGH (most private and secret).

Reichenbach, June 16th, 1813.

Count Hardenberg¹ has arrived from Vienna, and Mr. Humboldt². I have had many conversations with both. Both have hopes, but I will not vouch for the solidity of the basis on which they are rested. It seems now that Metternich is valiant, and that the Emperor Francis is the timid person. To wind him up to a proper key, to pat him on the back and to commit him, decidedly is the present aim. To accomplish this it is necessary to hold the stoutest language: to declare that even without him the war will be carried on; to clench treaties for succour more binding with England; and, in short, to look only to war. Upon this policy they are now acting. How it will answer is in the womb of time. His Imperial Majesty, Francis, does not see things so advantageously as is desirable, and when it is pointed out to him that a movement in Bonaparte's rear with the Austrian force would annihilate his son-in-law, he rather looks to his reigning in those limits which peaceable arrangements may bring about.

Count Stadion declared yesterday that the Emperor Francis had positively refused a meeting with Bonaparte, which the latter had urged. If this is the case the visits of the Russian Emperor and the King of Prussia will be equally declined. . . . The arrival of the news of the armistice at Leipsic was very *mal apropos*. A great victory would have been gained then by Woronzoff. When it was received the Prussian officers were so indignant that they tore off their pelisses and trampled them under foot. Count Stadion received reports yesterday from Count Bubna at Dresden which positively assert that the loss of the French army since the opening of the campaign amounts at least to 60,000 men. Bonaparte is anxious to have it believed that it only depends on him to negotiate separately with Russia. In my official despatches you will see the progress and conclusion

¹ Lives of Castlereagh and Stewart. I., 667.

² The Hanoverian Minister, brother to the Prussian Chancellor.

³ The Prussian Minister and the Chancellor Hardenberg's principal colleague.

of our treaties. I shall always lament the dilatory proceedings attending their completion. They should have been finished at Dresden or Grossberg, and we could then have done it without difficulty, and should have been then free from the accompanying explanations. But this I could not rectify. Although you may not now carry us through our signatures, still, if we had not concluded, the alternative would have been an incapacity in Prussia to continue her preparations, the direct loss of Austria, and Russia looking to her own frontier. As it is, we have the hope Bonaparte will spurn the propositions made. We could not wait for orders from home. We give our game the last chance, and if the worst happen we need never be a party to the pacific negotiations ; and if we are left in the lurch, it is not without having done our utmost. The loss of a part of our subsidy need not signify.

With regard to the numbers to be kept up by the Allies, Prussia to the last would have inserted 100,000, and Russia alone prevented this. It may be said that Prussia was engaged by her former treaty with Russia to furnish 80,000 men, and that we get no more by our subsidy. But the fact is that it would be quite impossible for Prussia to make good the losses she has sustained since the commencement of hostilities, and to bring up her effective in the field to 80,000 men without England's aid. But with what has been given I am sure she will be brought up to the very utmost mark. I cannot conceal from you that Lord C.'s [Cathcart] extraordinary partiality to Russia will never let him see a greater exertion in another quarter than he can accomplish, therefore the lower number was inserted in the treaty even after the higher had been three times inserted. I was obliged to be obedient as to 80,000, as Russia would not go higher. I fear you will be much disappointed, but I act under orders. I hope my Hussar proceedings as to an advance will not electrify you. The fact is Prussia cannot go on just now without a lift ; the machine is really at a stand for want of oil.

It may be right to put you in possession of the arguments that are used by those who do not press Austria so much forward as we would desire. It is said the positive refusal of England to give any subsidy has created in Metternich great dissatisfaction ; that even the name of a small subsidy, in the event of their acting, would be of immense importance. The non-interference also of Sweden, up to the present time, upon whom they say we have

expended our millions, and her suffering Hamburg to fall, is urged as a reason for Austria keeping back, she having originally stipulated, as one of the conditions that would induce her to take a part, the employment of a large Swedish army on the lower Elbe.

XXXVIII. [*F. O. Prussia* 87].

STEWART TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 40.)
Reichenbach, June 22nd, 1813.

[Hardenberg returned yesterday from an interview with Metternich at Gitschin concerning the conference. Russia or Prussia having previously refused to send *Plenipotentiaries* with full Powers to communicate direct with the French authorities, it was arranged that *Negotiators* should be appointed. The distinction appears to be a nice one.]

It appears next that the propositions made by Austria and modified by the Allies (as explained in the letter to Jacobi) have not yet been communicated to Bonaparte. Count Metternich's policy seems to be to draw from Bonaparte the basis on which he will make peace before he communicates to him the ultimatum of Austria and the Allies. The Chancellor Hardenberg pressed Count Metternich to open to Bonaparte the original conditions of the 16th of May¹ as proposed by the Allies; Count Metternich begged to use his discretion on this subject; he stated his knowledge of Bonaparte's anxiety to receive them, but he believed his object was only to publish them to the French nation as the grounds of the absolute necessity of continuing the war. Count Metternich also seemed of opinion that it was advisable to protect the issue of the negotiations and the important subject under discussion until a very short period before the rupture of the armistice in order to give Bonaparte as little time for exercising his talents of throwing difficulties in the way as possible. Count Metternich insinuated his conviction of Bonaparte's desire for the general Congress, and this object he had reason to apprehend would be very much pressed (if only to gain more time by a prolongation of the armistice). It is to be hoped, however, this will be stoutly resisted. Count Metternich expressed his opinion decidedly that war would be ultimately the issue of these events, which is an exhilarating circumstance. He was to proceed imme-

¹ See VI. Note 1.

diately to Dresden to see Bonaparte, after which interview more important circumstances will be known. . . .

Having received the intimation above detailed previous to seeing the Chancellor Hardenberg, I deemed it my duty to have an immediate conference with him, in which I begged to know what had passed with Count Metternich, and strongly observed on our Treaty, which pledges Prussia not to act separately from Great Britain. I put to him the question how he justified the proceedings going to the length they are doing without England's participation, and I also urged him to explain the difference he understood between negotiators and plenipotentiaries with full powers.

The Chancellor Hardenberg, in reply, gave me the fullest assurances that Prussia was regulated in her proceedings solely with the anxious hope of carrying Austria forwards by acting according to her ideas in the scene that is now passing. His Excellency did not conceive Prussia was departing from her Treaty in sending negotiators to communicate with Count Metternich, and he pledged himself to me, in the presence of two witnesses, that the Prussian negotiator should on no account have any communication direct with the French authorities. His Excellency repeated pretty much the substance of what I have above written, and declared his confidence in Count Metternich's good intentions to make any modification of the Articles she had proposed, which, however, he thought the French Emperor would never consent to.

XXXIX. [F. O. Prussia 88.]

JACKSON¹ TO STEWART.

Reichenbach, July 27th, 1813.

[. . . War now considered certain between Austria and France.]

I have further to inform you that the Russian and Prussian Plenipotentiaries (in contemplation of Bonaparte's suddenly breaking the armistice under pretext of the differences which had occurred at Newmarck) received from the Austrian minister a *written* assurance that the Emperor, his master, would consider

¹ Stewart having gone to the North of Germany to inspect the Prussian and Swedish forces there, Jackson was left to report proceedings at Headquarters. His dispatches, nominally addressed to his superior, Stewart, were intended for the information of the Home Government.

such a measure as a declaration of *general war*, and that the Allies might in such a case not only rely upon the full aid and resources of his Empire, but also, in case of necessity, march their troops into his provinces.

I have the greatest satisfaction in reporting to you, Sir, the above intelligence, so much more favourable than circumstances had hitherto allowed us to hope for. In looking for the cause of this change, and apparently sudden maturity of the Austrian Councils, it is impossible not to feel that the late brilliant and glorious successes¹ of Field Marshal Wellington have had a very great share in producing them. Bonaparte's own conduct has happily come in aid of this ; it would have been difficult for his most mortal enemy to have dictated a line of conduct better calculated to bring this about than that which his own blind passions have led him to pursue for these last three or four weeks.

His obstinate silence ; his delay in sending a plenipotentiary ; the chicane which, on his part, marked the discussions relative to the prolongation of the Armistice ; the indecent and insulting tone of Marshal Berthier's letter to the Commissioners at Newmarck, in a word, everything he has done, or, rather, everything he has not done, has, at last, forced Austria to open her eyes to his real designs, and, I hope and trust, finally convinced her that it is in vain to hope to bring him to reason but by force of arms.

It is, however, still possible, perhaps probable, that Bonaparte may wish, now that he sees the decided tone that Austria is disposed to take, to retrace his steps, and may affect at the opening of the negotiations a considerable degree of pliancy and a disposition to yield on some of the points proposed to him, with the reserve, however, that it would be impossible to conclude anything definitely without knowing the sentiments of Great Britain, and whether any sacrifices he might make would be the means of obtaining a Maritime peace. Fallacious as such language would be, especially should the circumstance I had the honour to mention to you in my letter of yesterday prove correct, it is not the less certain that, a short time since, it might have had the effect of *spinning out* the negotiations, and, by prolonging a consequent state of uncertainty, might have eventually paralysed and weakened the Concert and efforts of the Allies ; but there is reason to hope that the moment is passed when he might have played this part with success, and that Austria, no longer the dupe of such an artifice, would consider it only as equivalent of war.

¹ The Battle of Vittoria, June 21st, 1813.

XL. [F. O. Prussia 88.]

JACKSON TO STEWART.

Reichenbach, August 2nd, 1813.

[Retails the negotiations between Metternich and Caulaincourt at Prague.]

I have thus, Sir, had the honour of detailing to you the state of affairs as they stood when the last accounts left Prague. They are certainly more favourable than a very short time ago we could have ventured to expect, and are alone attributable to the constancy with which our policy relative to the Peninsula has been followed up, and to the ability and success which have marked its execution.

I should not, however, be justifying the trust and confidence which the Prince Regent's Government have done me the honour to repose in me if I did not (in contemplation of the possibility of a Continental peace) call your attention to the situation in which such an event, however advantageous the conditions of it might in the first instance appear, would place Great Britain. Our Allies give us the most solemn assurances, and have sealed them with positive engagements; still, however, without intending to call in question their sincerity, I cannot but observe that a "*brilliant*" Continental peace, as the preliminary and necessary forerunner of a Maritime one, is a very favourite idea, and one which, supposing Bonaparte finally to take the part of concession, they would with difficulty reject.

I need not expose to you, Sir, the inconveniences which would result from such a proceeding, even if accompanied by a formal and solemn engagement, on the part of our Allies, to recommence hostilities in the event of their failing to effect a Maritime peace; but, without such a pledge, is it not evident that, so far from facilitating that object, it would only render its accomplishment more remote? And would not Great Britain—the Power to whom those of the Continent would be chiefly indebted for the advantages which had relieved them from the burden of war—be left to bear the whole weight of it alone? How much more forcibly would this apply if the complete freedom of the Peninsula from French dominion did not form a part of such a Treaty!

I should, perhaps, apologise, Sir, for troubling you with these observations, but the necessity of being prepared for all events,

and of insisting in case of the worst with our Allies upon some guarantee on the above subject, strikes my mind so forcibly that I cannot but mention it to you.

XLI. [*F. O. Prussia 88.*]

JACKSON TO STEWART.

Reichenbach, August 7th, 1813.

[Confirms account of situation at Prague.] The conduct of the French Minister since his arrival is reported to have been beyond anything perfidious and insulting. It is now quite clear that he brought with him no instructions whatever respecting either the form or the substance of the negotiation: this appears as well from the silence and uncertain course he has observed as from some private conversations which Count Metternich has had with him. M. de Narbonne and himself still persist in their refusal to adopt the mode proposed by the Austrian Ministers for the conduct of the negotiations, alleging that, Bonaparte expecting direct and verbal conferences, they could not concede this point without further instructions. They have equally objected to comply with the simple request renewed by M. de Metternich that they would deliver their full powers into his hands, repeating their determination not to exhibit them except in a full conference, a sufficient proof, if any were wanting, of the real dispositions by which they are actuated, and affording a strong presumption that the surmise of the mediation of Austria being disavowed in this instrument is not without foundation.

It is said still to be the determination of the Cabinet of Vienna to put an end to all negotiations on the 10th inst. unless—a thing next to impossible—Preliminaries of Peace should be signed before that period. The expectation entertained at Prague I understand to be that Bonaparte immediately on his return to Dresden will address a solemn note to the Austrian Government, accusing them of all the delays that have taken place, and proclaiming an ultimatum, the answer to which it is confidently anticipated will be a Declaration of War. I am the more inclined to give credit to this information, which I believe I may venture to assure you, Sir, rests upon very good authority, as the face of the Austrian Cabinet has undergone an entire change within the last fortnight. The Emperor and those about His Imperial Majesty's person who till very lately acquiesced most reluctantly in the idea of war have now unreservedly declared themselves in favour of it, as the only chance, the only alternative left them. . . .

XLII. [*F. O. Prussia* 89.]

JACKSON TO STEWART.

Reichenbach, August 12th, 1813.

With reference to a part of your Dispatch, No. 69,¹ of this day's date, which, however unintentional as I am convinced it was on your part, I cannot but consider as casting a degree of reflection upon me, I trust you will excuse me if I venture to request of you distinctly to state to His Majesty's Government that, upon his return from the Conference at Trachenberg, I acquainted His Majesty's Ambassador at the Court of Russia with my belief that a convention had been signed between the Allies and Austria.

Immediately before your return I took occasion pointedly to ask Baron de Hardenberg if any such existed, when His Excellency returned me the same answer I had before received from Lord Viscount Cathcart, namely, that my supposition was utterly unfounded.

I trust I need not assure you, Sir, that I have no wish to take the smallest shadow of credit to myself on this occasion, and that my sole object is simply to remove the imputation on my zeal and exertions in the execution of the trust reposed in me, which, had such a transaction taken place during the interval I had the honour of being charged with His Majesty's interests at this Court without my coming to a knowledge of it, could not but have attached to me.

I will only further trespass upon you, Sir, to explain to you that if I did not expressly mention the circumstance in my official correspondence it arose, first, from a conviction that the whole of the transactions between the Allies and the Court of Austria had been made known to you by Lord Viscount Cathcart, and through you to His Majesty's Government; and, secondly, from the positive assurance given me officially in writing by the Chancellor Hardenberg that he had communicated them to you. . . .

¹ STEWART TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 69). Reichenbach, August 12th, 1813. . . . "I have discovered since my return to this place that a Treaty was signed on the 27th of June between Austria, Russia, and Prussia, which has been kept concealed from Great Britain in consequence of Austria's requiring this as a stipulation. As things have turned out, this may be excusable, but certainly after the signature of the Treaty of Reichenbach, good faith required nothing of this sort should have been adopted but with our concurrence. I have deemed my duty, however, to animadvert most strongly on this subject to the Chancellor Hardenberg. His Excellency has promised me in confidence a copy of the Treaty, and defended his not communicating it by throwing it on Russia." *F. O. Prussia* 89. For the Treaty of Reichenbach See VI. Note 1.

XLIII. [*F. O. Prussia 89.*]

STEWART TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 73.)

Landeck, August 15th, 1813.

[Sends further documents of Prague Congress. Napoleon may reply to the Austrian declaration, but still war is inevitable.] It would be in vain to conceal, however, that one point, yielded by Bonaparte to Austria, would have arrested the fortunate event we now look to, and so nice and deep has been the political manœuvring that I believe one false step on the part of the Allies would have lost everything. The King of Prussia, as well as the Emperor, deserves the highest credit for his firmness throughout, and from accurate observation I am persuaded His Majesty only requires to be in good hands to take the high line in every subject. If his Majesty had more confidence in himself his interests would be better attended to; sensible and aimable to a degree, he is timid and reserved, and is too easy with those who surround him. The Chancellor Hardenberg, although a most excellent man, is arrived at an age when neither his powers nor faculties enable him to go through the weight of business that falls to his lot. Foreign affairs, finance and war, all are united in one person. Any change in the minister or dividing his labours would perhaps give an impression now of a change of politicians, so things are suffered to go on. But an observer cannot help lamenting that the administration and resources of this country are not better regulated. The assistance afforded by Great Britain and the delay occasioned by the armistice has enabled Prussia to bring into the field 183,000 men; she is thus far superior in numbers to either of the other Powers. . . .

XLIV. [*F. O. Prussia 89.*]

STEWART TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 78.)

Prague, August 20th, 1813.

In reference to my Dispatch, No. 69,¹ in which I had the honour to detail to your Lordship some circumstances that had come to my knowledge about a Treaty having been signed between Austria, Russia, and Prussia on the 27th June, which was purposely concealed from Great Britain, I have now the satisfaction of enclosing to your Lordship in strict confidence a copy of this Treaty; I say strict confidence, because the Chancellor Hardenberg assured me that the communication of it to me was a mark of personal favour and partiality, which he would have shewn to no other

¹ See XLII.

person ; and your Lordship will easily imagine that if Russia has not made this communication through Lord Cathcart, or if Count Lieven has not mentioned it, the confidence from Prussia in the first instance might lead to unpleasant feelings between those two Courts.¹

Sweden also has, probably, not been communicated with, and, above all, I am persuaded your Lordship will see the necessity (as affairs have turned out so prosperously) of not committing the Chancellor Hardenberg, as he has, although late, perhaps acted in a more confidential manner than the Russian Ministers, as far, at least, as I am informed. . . .

From this Treaty I think it is pretty evident, according to the impressions I have all along entertained, that if the Allies, before Lord Wellington's victory, could have got Bonaparte to yield even four of the six points, much more if he had conceded the six propositions, that a preliminary peace would have been arranged, and England, notwithstanding all her gigantic efforts and magnanimous exertions, would have been left alone to prosecute the war, or to take her own line. Experience has shewn us since that Bonaparte, if he had not hoped to bully Austria, would ultimately have yielded the four objects in question. Baron Hardenberg says the Treaty was entered into to secure the signature of Austria to some specific articles, as though the result has been as Baron Hardenberg states in his letter ; still, it has not arisen because Bonaparte would not yield the points mentioned, but that he held out from mistaken calculation too long.

This is all right as things are, but that upon the face of a new

¹ Hardenberg's letter of the 20th August ran as follows :—

“ Mon cher General,

Je remplis ma promesse en vous communiquant sous le sceau de secret la convention du 27 Juin entre la Prusse la Russie et l'Autriche dont vous connoissiez l'existence, me fiant entièrement à la parole que vous m'avez donnée de n'en faire part à qui que ce soit, excepte à monsieur votre frère, My lord Castlereagh. Vous trouverez dans cette pièce, l'article par lequel l'Autriche a expressément stipulé que ce Traité ne seroit point communiqué aux Alliés. Nous avons dû nous soumettre à cette condition parcequ'il étoit essentiel avant toute chose, de s'assurer de la Cour de Vienne. Elle ne vouloit se prêter à établir comme conditions *sine qua non* que les 4 qui sont énoncées dans le Traité. Nous nous sommes bien gardés d'y accéder et nous avons déclaré positivement, que ces conditions ne pouvoient nous suffire, ni pour nous, ni pour nos Alliés, mais il valoit sans doute mieux avoir une base sûre pour la coopération de l'Autriche, que de n'en avoir aucune et nous pouvions prévoir avec certitude comme l'effet l'a prouvé, que Napoleon n'accepteroit pas même ces quatre points. Nous croyons avoir rendu un très grand service à la cause commune, en ayant saisi le seul moyen de ranger décidément la Cour de Vienne de notre côté. Maintenant elle est astreinte à toutes les conditions contenues dans notre Note du 16 de Mai que vous connoissez et qui répond à tous les désires que votre Gouvernement peut former.” . . .

Treaty an express article should be framed to keep it concealed from the Allies of the signing Powers, Prussia having a few days before concluded a Treaty with one of those Allies, in which there is a pledge to communicate everything relating to their political relations, and having received from her in faith of that pledge and the sincerity of her intentions a considerable pecuniary advance, is certainly a very strange proceeding, to say the least of it, and it is a plain proof that Great Britain can never be too much alive to her own situation in every Continental transaction. Had affairs turned out ill in Spain, or had Bonaparte been moderate, your Lordship may make your own conjectures as to what might have happened. I trust I shall stand excused with the Prince Regent's Government if I have taken, at various times, a more *suspicious* and more unfavourable view of affairs, especially with regard to the *marche politique* of Austria, than others have done; the more I reflect on the past, the more I am satisfied I was not in error in being constantly on the *qui vive*. Events have turned out so gloriously that the former detailers of black tidings may be unpopular, but, from a careful review of my dispatches, I can conscientiously declare that there is no point or opinion I would not re-state under similar circumstances, and I again repeat that we owe everything to Lord Wellington's victories and Bonaparte's obstinacy and persuasion that Austria, in no event, would declare against him.

I have been honoured to-day by a long conversation with Count Metternich; he began by detailing to me the course he had pursued since he had taken the reins of government; he found the Austrian Monarchy in beggary, and at the lowest ebb. He arranged the marriage to give his country the first step upwards from the ruin into which she had fallen, never intending, when existence and power was secured again, that the marriage should influence or direct the politics of the Cabinet of Vienna. He persevered in his course, he added, deaf to the opinions and entreaties of all. He would not stir, notwithstanding the most urgent solicitations, when the Russians were on the Niemen. He told them to come to the Oder and to the Elbe, and, when Austria was ready, he would act. He was universally suspected, but he had but one view—to raise his country and give peace to the world.

He said he knew the British Cabinet had always doubted him; he did not wonder at it, but that he hoped he should now stand justified in their eyes; he wished for nothing so much as to establish the most cordial relations between the two countries, which he hoped would be effected without delay. I think it right to add,

as your Lordship may wish for an opportunity of forestalling the wishes of the Court of Vienna, that His Excellency stated their extreme want of arms, and I am sure a supply from Great Britain, if it could be afforded, would be of the greatest importance.

Count Metternich is to be at the Emperor Francis's Head Quarters during military operations. Notwithstanding the extreme civility and kindness of Count Metternich to me, he did not go so far as to acquaint me, what I have since learnt, that, up to a very recent period, communications have been carried on with Bonaparte. He has been endeavouring, by yielding, to reopen negotiation, but the Allies have been quite firm, and will hear of nothing now but the proposals of the 16th May from Wurschen, and England being a principal in the negotiations. The spirit is so great now that there can be no rational doubt of the result if the present system of active offensive hostilities is persevered in.

The last letter which arrived from Bassano¹ to Metternich was received yesterday; it began in an offensive tone, stating that Austria *avoit prostitué* the character of a mediator, for that to their knowledge she had been long united to the Allies; that nevertheless the extreme and urgent desire of the Emperor, his master, prompted him to make another offer that some neutral point should be fixed for negotiators to assemble, even during the progress of hostilities.

The answer, which was to be sent this day, was that the Allies would never refuse to listen to negotiations for peace, provided England and Sweden consented and assisted at the negotiations, and that the propositions of the 16th May were to form the basis. Your Lordship will thus see, by these renewed offers of Bonaparte, how hardly pressed he must be, and how perfectly [*sic*]² he must contemplate the difficulties he has to contend with.

XLV. [F. O. Prussia 89.]

STEWART TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 86.)

Toeplitz, September 4th, 1813.

. . . However great and formidable the alliance against France now appears, however zealous and cordial all the Powers are for the common cause, still it is impossible the great leaders of the different armies should not have their military opinions in some degree governed by the immediate interests of the power which they serve. It is Russia's interest to act in Saxony in as

¹ 18th August, 1813.

² "Seriously" is doubtless meant.

much as she may be looking to it. It is Austria's to rouse the Tyrolese to recover Italy; the movements of Bavaria upon the Danube are more congenial to her objects and make her feel more secure. It is Prussia's to drive the war from Silesia and regain her strong places. All these objects would be accomplished by the overthrow of the enemy, but it ever has and will be the nature of a great alliance that the powers concerned cannot divest themselves of their immediate interests, or forego their future objects during the progress of military operations. No Commander-in-Chief ever had before two Emperors and a King superintending and controlling not only movements in agitation but also operations decided on. . . .

XLVI. [*F. O. Prussia 89.*]

JACKSON TO STEWART.

Toeplitz, September 17th, 1813.

In reading over the Treaty¹ which Baron Hardenberg put into my hands, I could not but observe how much it fell short of the former pretensions of the Allied Powers, as touching their own immediate interests, and how utterly unsatisfactory it was with regard to those of Great Britain, neither Spain, Sweden, or Holland being mentioned in it, and even the Hanse Towns only indirectly and by deduction.

The Prussian Minister replied to my observations by saying that, with regard to the first of these points, the Treaty had purposely been framed upon the principle of generalizing the tenor of it as much as possible, and that, with respect to those in which Great Britain was more immediately concerned, it had been thought most advisable to leave them to her care alone, adding, however, that this instrument, according to his interpretation of it, did extend to the independence of Holland. I acknowledge my inability to comprehend how the Prussian Minister understands this. The rest is but a poor subterfuge at best, but if it is intended, as he took occasion to hint, to invite Great Britain to accede to it as a basis upon which to open a negotiation with Bonaparte, it assumes a very different and inadmissible aspect.

P.S., September 18th, 1813.

Since writing the above I have had a very long and confidential conversation with Baron de Humboldt on this subject, which, though it has left some of the preceding objections in their full

¹ Treaty of Toeplitz between Austria, Russia, and Prussia. Sept. 9th, 1813.

force, has at the same time, I am free to confess, considerably relieved my anxiety on others, the more so as we may consider M. de Humboldt as the organ on this occasion of the Chancellor's own sentiments and feelings, he having assisted the latter in the drawing up of the Treaty, and having been present at my interview with His Excellency yesterday. Upon my repeating to M. de Humboldt the same remarks, he replied that it was necessary carefully to distinguish the Treaty *Patent* from the secret articles accompanying it : that it was to the former only (applicable, as it was intended to be, to any future contingency) that the accession of Great Britain was desired, and that it would be open to her (as indeed to any other Power acceding to it, and who could come to an understanding upon the subject with Austria) to add any such claims thereto as she might think fit, claims to which he considered himself warranted in assuring me that there would be no objection on the part of Prussia, satisfied as he was that they would not fail to be marked by the same spirit of justice and moderation which had uniformly characterized His Majesty's Government ;

That, with regard to the vagueness of the expression " la plus rapprochée de celle où Elles se trouvaient en 1805,"¹ which, with reference to the first head, I particularly commented upon, it was specifically chosen for two reasons :—

1. From the embarrassment which must attend any final arrangement of the affairs of Germany, and the inconsistency of providing for the future settlement of countries not yet rescued from the hands of the enemy, and 2. From the disinclination of Austria (of which also this Government in some measure partook) to tie herself down to any distinct specification of territory, as both Austria and Prussia might very possibly, when the time came, be desirous of deviating, in some respects, from their ancient limits for the sake of a better arrondissement. It was this consideration which had induced the selection of a middle line of expression between the detailed and particular mode adopted in their treaty with Russia and the vague and indefinite one made use of in the Treaty *Patent*.

The same want of precision is observable, and for the same cause, in the period specified as the data on which this proposed scale is to rest, but I perceive a disposition to represent the term " 1805 " as meaning the state of things prior, instead of subsequent to, the war of that year—a construction which, though I am far

¹ Prussia and Austria were to be restored to a situation " la plus rapprochée, etc."

from believing such to have been the understanding of the framers of this Treaty, may, by extending, on the one hand, the Prussian States to the Rhine, and, on the other, including the Venetian Provinces in the Austrian Monarchy, explain the assertion attempted to be maintained that by it the questions of both Holland and Italy are in part, at least, provided for.

That I am right in this supposition, as well as in believing that the interpretation is not much relied on, appears, I think, from the further explanation which M. de Humboldt gave of the omission of any mention of Holland, namely, that, as it could not exist as an independent country without its colonies and commerce, delicacy towards Great Britain prevented any decision respecting it till such time as the Continental Powers should be made acquainted with her views and dispositions upon this particular point.

With respect to Spain, M. de Humboldt said that it was considered superfluous to introduce anything upon the subject, as the French were, in fact, no longer in possession of that country. and that, as to Sweden, though Prussia had guaranteed to her the possession of Norway, mention could not have been made of it in a Treaty with Austria, no engagements as yet existing between that Power and Sweden, or even with Great Britain. I replied that a similar case, in part, existed when the Treaty between Russia and Prussia was signed, and yet care was taken to insert in it a clause on which to found an indemnity for Denmark, in case of her ceding Norway and joining the Coalition.

To this, as to every other observation relating to British objects, I received no other answer than that it was purposely left open to His Majesty's Government to make such proposals as might be found expedient, and the assurance that His Prussian Majesty would see with pleasure any such additions to the existing engagements, referring me, as a proof of this, to the 11th Article of the Treaty *Patent* and to the second of the secret Articles¹.

Having listened to these various Explanations of the Prussian Minister with the greatest attention, I observed that there was still one point on which I requested him to answer me with the same candour and openness which his preceding replies had manifested.

"*Le But de la Guerre*" is stated to be the four points contained in the first secret Article; to obtain these would (as expressed in another part of the Treaty) secure "*son plein succes*." Was it meant, therefore, I asked, that, supposing Bonaparte to agree to those conditions to-morrow, peace might be immediately made?

¹ These two articles safeguard Treaties previously contracted with other Powers.

His answer was : not without Great Britain ; this is only considered as the basis on which it might be practicable to treat *conjointly* with England, who would, of course, propose her own terms in addition.

I should not omit to inform you that, in the course of conversation, the Prussian Minister distinctly stated that the complete dissolution of the Kingdom of Westphalia was understood to be a positive stipulation of this Treaty, adding that it would be the wish of His Prussian Majesty that the countries composing it should, generally speaking, revert to their former possessors, naming specifically the Elector of Hesse Cassel. I should perhaps, apologize, Sir, for troubling you with this explanation which the *spirit* of the Treaty would seem to render superfluous, but it appears to me that the *letter* of it might be capable of a different interpretation.

XLVII. [*F. O. Prussia* 89.]

STEWART TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 93.)

Prague, September 21st, 1813.

I have the honour to enclose Your Lordship a dispatch I have received from Mr. Jackson, containing an account of a conversation he has had with the Chancellor Hardenberg and M. de Humboldt on the late Treaty with Austria.¹

I own the Treaty has appeared to my humble judgment as wise and judicious in all its parts (considering the various contending interests) as could have been devised. The grand *But de la Guerre* is laid down. No propositions now will be listened to but in concert with England. And although neither Spain, Holland, nor Italy are mentioned, still it may be argued, with regard to the two latter, that in the two paragraphs of Article II. of the Secret Articles the Independence of the greater part of both Holland and Italy may be secured. The words are "la disposition de la Confédération d'u Rhin, et l'Indépendance entière et absolue des Etats intermediaires entre les Frontières des Monarchies autrichienne et prussienne reconstruites d'après l'échelle mentionnée ci-dessus d'un côté, et le Rhin et les Alpes de l'autre." Now certainly if the course of the Rhine and Alps is taken, and all one side is restored to independence, the greater part of Holland and Italy would be included.

With regard to the restoration of the Austrian and Prussian

¹ See XLVI.

Monarchies, nearly to the state they were in 1805; Prussia will naturally urge and argue the State before 1805 to recover the possession of Anspach and Bayreuth; nor do I think from what I can learn that Austria would throw much difficulty in the way of this—on the contrary, I am inclined to believe she would rather that Prussia occupied those territories than Bavaria. All the Powers, however, look to some transfers and amicable changes in the event of a General Peace and Settlement; hence has it been thought desirable to make this Treaty very general, to establish a reciprocal guarantee of interests, and to unite the great features of the war [*sic*].

Article 9 of the Treaty declares that other Powers may found upon this general basis other Treaties, and if His Majesty's Government think proper to form more extended engagements with any of the contracting Parties, which probably may be thought necessary with Austria, the accession to this Treaty by the British Government would by no means fetter their future objects.

With regard to no mention being made of Sweden, from what I learn Austria will be cautious of committing anything to paper with respect to the guarantee of Norway; but Lord Aberdeen will give your Lordship ample information on this subject. Russia could dictate to Prussia when their Treaty was signed—thus Sweden's objects were secured; but Russia and Prussia cannot dictate to Austria, and she still has an eye to Denmark's being separated from France. *Au reste*, when one considers the position in which we were two months since, and then regard this Treaty, and remember also how long Austria was coming to the collar, I think we should be very difficult indeed if we were to pick holes in it. I should not have troubled your Lordship at all on this subject if it had not been for Mr. Jackson's letter, which, however, I could not enclose without these few observations, as otherwise it might appear I had not considered, as far as I was able, this important subject.

XLVIII. [*F. O. Prussia 90.*]

STEWART TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 104.)

Toeplitz, September 29th, 1813.

. . . It is a glorious and exalted era for Great Britain to see herself rewarded for her unexampled perseverance, and by having the Continent of Europe looking up to the wisdom of her councils after they have been dazzled by the efforts of her arms

for her decision on the destinies of Europe. Nobly are her labours repaid, gloriously are her efforts crowned. With the bright and cheering view I cannot but observe from a general concurrence of circumstances that the Powers of the Continent would be best satisfied if they could obtain a peace upon solid grounds rather than protract the present contest. The length of its duration, the little jealousies of individual commanders in the Allied Armies, the particular object of each Power (demonstrated at this moment unceasingly by the Prince Royal of Sweden), and lastly, the Family Alliance between the Emperor of Austria and Bonaparte, lead me to believe that the Austrian Minister, who, after all, being the Commander-in-Chief as well as Prime Minister here, will work rather to that object in a direct line rather than to active war with a view to obtaining it [*sic*]. It seems certainly difficult to point out now how the Congress proposed is to proceed, if assented to by all parties, but I cannot believe that Count Metternich so little sees his way before him as not to have imagined the cessions Bonaparte might make and how the general interest of Europe might be poised. He is not so young in politics as when he looks to a particular measure not to imagine a result, and, whatever may be the language he holds, I think no person would be entirely guided by it.

XLIX. [*F. O. Prussia* 90.]

STEWART TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 119.)

Leipzig, October 21st, 1813.

[Cathcart received yesterday Castlereagh's Project of a Treaty¹ of Alliance. Aberdeen arrived.] I was most anxious steps should be taken, as we were all united in this place to leave each at liberty to communicate with their respective Courts, but Lord Cathcart has found it impossible to get the Emperor to go into the question, and he marches to-morrow. As we have thus lost a valuable day, I fear it may be some time before we can make progress, as Lord Cathcart will not permit us to broach the subject to Prussia or Austria until the Emperor's pleasure shall have been taken in detail. The admirable wisdom of this Sheet Anchor Alliance strikes me so forcibly, even in the moment of exulting triumph, that, in my opinion, everything should have been sacrificed to bring the point immediately to bear. I regret that it should have been impracticable at the present moment, especially considering the meeting of Parliament.

¹ See XV. and XVI.

L. [F. O. Prussia 91.]

JACKSON TO STEWART.¹

Frankfort, November 17th, 1813.

. . . Upon my questioning the Prussian Minister upon the nature of the proposals to be made by M. de St. Aignan,² he professed to attach little importance to them, and not at all to consider them as likely to lead to peace; said that it was a mere *pour parler* in answer to that made through General Merfeldt,³ that it was more an Austrian transaction than any other, and that he supposed Prince Metternich had communicated the whole to Lord Aberdeen, but that he could tell me that they were strictly conformable to the existing engagements between Great Britain and the Allies, and specifically to the Treaty with Austria. I observed that the stipulations of that Treaty concluded before our late successes were very limited, and did not embrace many of the objects broached in the conversation with the Austrian General. He replied that is true but the propositions in question insist further on the independence of Holland and Italy, without which peace was impossible, and the demolition of all fortresses on the Rhine. He then informed me, as a casual intimation, that it was determined to await the result of this overture before they concluded the offensive and defensive Alliance proposed by Lord Castlereagh's late instructions, assuring me, however, that in the meantime every effort will be made to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour.

I have thought it my duty, Sir, to detail to you this conversation, though on a topic as respecting which His Majesty's Ministers will be much more accurately informed, because I consider it to be not wholly without interest that you should possess the view taken by the Prussian Government of the present state of affairs. At the same time I am afraid we must regard the above language rather as that of the Chancellor personally than as the measure by which to judge of the dispositions of the Allied Powers; their backwardness to adopt the admirable *Projet* of Lord Castlereagh is, to my mind, a proof of this. The fact is their armies have suffered excessively; there remains little beyond the reserve fit for active service, and both Austria and Russia will, I am satisfied, be too happy to conclude a peace, if anything like an honourable opportunity offers of giving up the contest.

¹ Stewart had gone from Frankfort to Hanover. ² See LXI. and LXII.

³ The Austrian General who had had a long conversation with Napoleon at Leipzig on possible terms of peace. See LXII. p. 110.

LI. [*F. O. Prussia* 91.]

STEWART TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 146.)

Frankfort, November 24th, 1813.

[With regard to the proposed Treaty of Alliance.] Since my arrival here I have had frequent discussions with His Excellency respecting it, and I have great satisfaction in acquainting your Lordship that the Prussian Minister enters entirely into the views of His Majesty's Government on this head, and has repeatedly assured me that, being assured that the policy of Prussia is to cultivate the strictest union with Great Britain, and fully sensible both of the wisdom and justice of the proposed Treaty, the King, his master, will be ready to conclude such whenever he shall be called upon, whatever may be the intention of the Courts of Austria and Russia. . . .

I am, however, not without hopes that an ulterior determination may yet be taken on this important subject. Your Lordship has so forcibly pointed out that the bond of union between the Great Powers is to be collected by inference rather than to be found embodied in any one ostensible instrument, and you have at the same time so far predicted the engagements which have happily-taken place with Austria that I confess I see no grounds on this latter account nor on that of a proposition to insert additional articles in existing Treaties to depart from the great measure of consolidating the union of the Allies by one general instrument, which appears to me to be the spirit of your Lordship's instructions.

LII. [*F. O. Prussia* 91.]

STEWART TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 149.)

Frankfort, November 28th, 1813.

[Forwards a letter from Hardenberg.¹]

. . . It is equally incumbent on me to declare that I have not had the advantage of stating through any official channel the ideas that would have occurred to my humble judgment on

¹ Hardenberg to Stewart, Nov. 28th, 1813.

. . . J'ai encore relu avec la plus grande attention, la correspondance touchant l'envoy de M. de St. Aignan et je me suis persuadé de plus en plus, que vos appréhensions ne sont pas fondées. La pièce redigée par M. de St. Aignan est et reste une pièce non officielle et sans aucune authenticité car vous observerez que dans la réponse du Prince Metternich au Duc de Bassano il est dit: "Elles sont prêtes à entrer en negotiation, des qu'elles auront la certitude que S. M. l'Empereur des françois admét les bases générales et sommaires, que j'ai indiquées dans mon entretien avec le Baron de St. Aignan."

these proceedings, ideas which I have endeavoured to found upon the instructions received from your Lordship : it is very possible I may be in error, but I felt myself called upon to declare to the Prussian Minister that so long as I am honoured by his Majesty's credentials to this Court I cannot submit (without representation) to receive a proceeding, which, according to existing Treaties, should be adopted in complete concert, but which has been brought to a conclusion without the individual honoured by His Majesty's confidence at the court of Prussia having had it in his power to express even an opinion upon the various important points which these papers embrace. The Prussian Minister declared to me that his mouth had been sealed with regard to communication with me, until this affair was brought to a conclusion, by a promise exacted from His Excellency by Prince Metternich.

Had I had the good fortune to have been taken into the consultations which have preceded the documents I now transmit, I should not have presumed on an infallible judgment, nor should I have considered that on the Rhine the Prince Regent and his Government would depart from those great principles in opening negotiations to which the attention of His Majesty's Ministers at the Allied Courts were called when we were upon the Oder, and the armies of France still unbroken and unbeaten.

Your Lordship has distinctly pointed out " the points on which His Royal Highness's Government in negotiation can under *no* circumstances relax the faith of His Government being formally pledged to their inviolable maintenance—Spain, Portugal, Sicily—the fulfilment of our existing engagements with Sweden."

The conversation that took place with M. de St. Aignan, of which a minute has been made by him, shewn and approved, is either an official or an unofficial document : if the former, which I own I am led to conceive it is become from Prince Metternich's answer to the Duke of Bassano, I humbly think if it is stamped in any shape with the acquiescence of Great Britain, it completely loses sight of three out of the four *sine qua nons* to which our attention has been called : in this minute not a word of Sweden, not a word of Sicily, not a word of Portugal, and yet your Lordship reiterates " our four points must be *distinctly* put forward, and that Great Britain had no possible option as to the points in question." Again, in your Lordship's dispatches you state " that with regard to our maritime rights, if this is a subject on which the mediation of an Ally cannot be accepted, it is still less a question Great Britain could consent to discuss in a general Congress, and as the maritime question is one which Bonaparte will endeavour to

bring before a Congress principally with the hope of creating disunion between Great Britain and her Allies, every consideration of policy should determine pointedly to discountenance a design so mischievously calculated to promote the views of France." In addition to this strong general instruction your Lordship's private letter to Lord Cathcart of 27th September¹ more forcibly and more in detail discants on this subject. Now it would almost seem that your Lordship had foretold the very proceeding of M. de St. Aignan, for whatever may have been the conversation that passed, M. de St. Aignan introduces a sentence in this minute which, to say the least of it, may form a very tolerable fund for discussion at a Congress, and whatever may have been the feelings and explanations of the British Ambassador present, unfortunately we have no written document or minute in any shape to be apprised of them. Here is an advantage in the outset of this proceeding on the part of France, which at least we shall have to explain away; I admit we are as yet committed to nothing, but if Bonaparte accepts the basis talked over by Prince Metternich we go to a Congress (with all the advantages we *now* possess) hampered with a necessity of unsatisfactory explanation to Sweden, Sicily, etc., and loaded with the difference of the construction which the British Ambassador and the French Authorities may please to put on that part of the minute, which so unnecessarily touches upon the great sacrifices which England would make for a peace, and the question of commerce and navigation to which "la France a le droit de prétendre."²

With respect to the sacrifices Great Britain would make for a peace, if I understand your Lordship correctly, the sacrifices of surrendering conquests would be made by England to ameliorate a Continental peace after the general arrangements were made; but this is the first time my attention has been called to Great Britain making sacrifices for a basis short of the great principles which she has laid down.

I come next to observe on the commencement of the Duke of Bassano's letter, which states that M. de St. Aignan had reported that England had assented to the proposition for the opening of a Congress for a general peace; now I cannot discover in what manner Great Britain has expressed this consent, for the reasoning in your Lordship's Dispatch of the 28th September to the Earl of Aberdeen³ is directly opposed to such a declaration. You

¹ XIX.

² See LXIV. p. 113.

³ LVIII.

deprecate on the strongest ground the assembling of a Congress until some satisfactory basis is previously understood, and then you emphatically add that "What the nature of that basis should be has been defined with as much precision as an arrangement necessarily dependent to a certain degree on circumstances can well admit, both in the Russian and Prussian Notes of the 16th of May, and recently by the British Government in the *Projet* of a Secret Article enclosed in No. 11." How far the basis now alluded to approximates to your Lordship's ideas you will certainly be the best able to determine, and I shall be sincerely rejoiced if I have taken a wrong view of this important question.

I have foreborne to touch on what may have been the views with regard to Holland in the important conversation which is the origin of this negotiation, because whatever they may have been I fervently trust the late happy intelligence from thence will completely put that question on its legs.

If M. de St. Aignan's minute is considered entirely as an unofficial paper, I think it is a little singular that, in the Prince Metternich's answer to the Duke of Bassano, he declares the Allies will be ready to enter into negotiations whenever they are certain that Bonaparte will accept the basis, which he has announced in his conversation with M. de St. Aignan. Now if Prince Metternich conceived that M. de St. Aignan had mistated what passed would it not have been natural to accompany his official Note with an official statement of the basis? and I have reason to believe the Prussian Minister proposed and urged that Commissioners should be sent for this purpose, which, however, Prince Metternich rejected. I beg here to remark in this second proceeding that the Minister of Russia is not specifically named, and I have some reason to know that there is a feeling that Russia would have been glad if her Minister had not in any manner been named in the concern. Prince Metternich, in his last letter, talks of the conversation he had with M. de St. Aignan as his own, and I have no doubt he sees his way very clearly before him, but, gifted with very moderate powers and wholly unacquainted with difficult diplomacy, I have presumed to give your Lordship my opinions. If the Allies go to Congress with this commencement I do not think it very difficult to predict the result; above all, in my humble conviction according to the declared sentiments of the Prince Regent's Government, I do not contemplate that a Minister would be sent to a Congress under the circumstances above detailed.

LIII. [F. O. Prussia 86.]

CASTLEREAGH TO STEWART. (No. 82.)

Foreign Office, December 17th, 1813.

Your Dispatch, No. 149,¹ relative to the mission of M. de St. Aignan has been received and laid before the Prince Regent. His Royal Highness has been pleased very graciously to approve of the zeal evinced by you on this, as upon all former occasions, for the good of his service.

My dispatches to the Earl of Aberdeen of the 1st, 7th, and 10th² instant (copies of which have been transmitted to you) will have fully explained the Prince Regent's sentiments upon the substance of the overture in question, and I should not deem it necessary now to recur to the subject did I not consider it material to call your attention to one part of your very able dispatch, which it is of the more importance to notice, lest upon similar grounds of reasoning the Swedish Government should have drawn an unfavourable inference from the silence of the basis as to the point of Norway. Upon this subject Mr. Thornton will be directed to give to the Swedish Government the most unequivocal assurances that the British Government never would have countenanced for a moment that basis had they conceived they were thereby prejudicing, much less sacrificing, the just pretensions of Sweden under her existing engagements. They conceive, however, that no ground whatever exists for such a supposition.

In your reasoning upon this point you have not sufficiently adverted to the distinction between a basis and a Treaty: the former is necessarily general, the latter particular in its provisions. The use of the former is to ascertain whether the views of the parties sufficiently approximate to afford some prospect they may be reconciled upon discussion. Were all the *sine qua non*s on both sides necessarily to be included in the basis it would render the arrangement of a basis nearly as complex and consequently as difficult to adjust as the Treaty itself, and thus all the advantage of proceeding upon a previous agreement as to basis would be lost.

In the particular case the Prince Regent's Government conceive that the most appropriate principle on which a principle could have been framed [*sic*] is one which should admit on the part of France, as a preliminary, the reduction of her late limits, and should endeavour in outline to describe the extent of that reduction. In doing this nothing is conceded as to any interests upon which the basis is silent.

¹ LII.² LXV., LXVI., LXVII.

Considerable doubt may exist whether it would be for the advantage of Sweden that the Allies should be the first to move, especially in a basis, on the point of Norway. Committed, as France now is by treaty to Denmark, the affording to that Power, unnecessarily, an opportunity of proving her fixed adherence to those engagements might, at such a moment as the present, powerfully encourage Denmark to a more obstinate perseverance in the war. The policy, however, is not so material for our present view of the subject as to establish that the question of Norway is in no degree prejudiced by its remaining to be hereafter brought forward with a variety of other interests, viz., the Duchy of Warsaw, Hanover, the scale of Austria, of Prussia, Sicily and Portugal. All these points, with many others, the several Allied Powers will have to maintain in conformity either to their respective engagements or interests, whenever negotiation shall be actually entered upon, at which period Sweden will find Great Britain prepared, as hitherto, to discharge towards her the duty of a good and faithful Ally with firmness and zeal. The express recognition in the basis of the independence of Germany, Spain, Holland and Italy, was necessary in explanation of the basis itself, for without these essential characteristics the limits therein assigned would have had no intelligible meaning, but all other interests not specifically pronounced upon in the basis remain on both sides wholly unprejudiced and open to discussion.

It is true a much more detailed specification of objects is to be found in the instructions from home, especially in the Secret Article to the proposed Treaty of Alliance. These instructions were prepared with a view of establishing a complete and perfect concert with the Allies as to the objects for which we contend. They were also alluded to, as you justly observe, in my dispatch to the Earl of Aberdeen, as descriptive not only of the extent and nature of our views, but of the basis it might be proper to require. But it did not follow from such allusion that the basis should embrace the whole of the objects therein referred to, or even the points, *sine qua non*, of an actual peace, and it is considered that the basis in question is in no degree inconsistent with the spirit of these instructions, though it leaves much to be insisted upon in the ultimate negotiation.

I trust this view of the question, on which alone I consider your reasoning to have been incorrect, will prove satisfactory, and enable you to remove any impressions of an unfavourable nature which may have been received in any quarter.

(iii.)—*Correspondence of the Earl of Aberdeen,
August to December, 1813.*

LIV. [*F. O. Austria 101.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO ABERDEEN. (No. 2.)

August 6th, 1813.

[General instructions on Mission to Austria; he is to re-establish relations with Austrian Court, whether hostilities renewed or negotiations continued, unless Austria had unexpectedly severed herself from the Allies.] Your Lordship will collect from these instructions that the basis of a general peace, in order to provide adequately for the tranquility and independence of Europe, ought in the judgment of H.M.'s Government to confine France at least within the Pyrenees, the Alps and the Rhine, and if the other great Powers of Europe should feel themselves enabled to contend for such a peace, Great Britain is fully prepared to concur with them in such a line of policy. If however the Powers most immediately interested should determine, rather than encounter the risks of a more protracted struggle, to trust for their security to a more imperfect arrangement, it never has been the practice of the British Government to attempt to dictate to other States a perseverance in war, which they did not themselves recognize to be essential to their own as well as to the common safety. . . .

LV. [*F. O. Austria 101.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO ABERDEEN. (No. 3.)

August 6th, 1813.

I have stated in a former dispatch that it is to be presumed in the recommencement of hostilities the attention of the Austrian Government will be immediately directed to the recovery of its ancient footing in the Tyrol and in the North of Italy, and, as a means to this end, to the exclusion of the French power beyond the Alps. The large accumulation of force near Verona under Beauharnais, the magnitude of the lines in Bavaria, and the army assembled under Augerau upon Wurtzberg and Faldon will no doubt render it necessary for the Austrian Cabinet to have recourse to every expedient, which can enable them to assume the offensive in that quarter, to contend against the resources both of the Kingdom of Italy and of Bavaria with such aids as can be spared from France. It will probably be found necessary both to encourage insurrection in the Tyrol and also to enter into an understanding with Murat. Your Lordship is aware that overtures have already been received both by the British and Austrian Governments

from that person. I transmit for your confidential information what has already passed on this subject, as also a variety of documents¹ which will put your Lordship in possession of the strong disposition which we have had reason to suppose exists in the Tyrol, the Vorarlberg, the Venetian States, and in Italy generally to throw off the French yoke.

Should the Austrian Government open itself to your Lordship on the subject of Murat you are authorized confidentially to explain to them the nature of the discussions which have taken place with Lord William Bentinck on this subject. You may apprise them of the authority which has been given to Lord William eventually to sign a convention with Murat upon the basis² settled between His Lordship and the Hereditary Prince of Sicily. And should Murat renew his overture to the Court of Vienna, as it may save time and accelerate his declaration against the enemy, Your Lordship is at liberty in concert with the Court of Vienna to conclude a convention upon the basis laid down by Lord William Bentinck.

In discussing the future system of Italy you may represent that the main object the Prince Regent has at heart is to create the most effectual barrier against France in that quarter, and that with such view H.R.H. is ready to concert his measures with the Emperor of Austria, as far as the concern he takes in the interest of his Ally, the King of the two Sicilies, will permit. Your Lordship may further state that the P.R. will see with the greatest satisfaction the House of Austria resumes its ancient preponderance in the North of Italy. H.R.H. is especially desirous of seeing the important position of Venice placed in His Imperial Majesty's hands. H.R.H. is also desirous of contributing as far as depends on him to the restoration of His Holiness the Pope to his former dominions, security and independence, and hopes that the success of the Allied arms may be such as eventually to re-establish the King of Sardinia.

Holding all these principal objects in view, the Prince Regent persuades himself that a liberal establishment may be found for Murat in the centre of Italy without prejudice to the rights of the Sicilian family to the Crown of Naples. On all these points Your Lordship will ascertain the sentiments of the Austrian Cabinet and transmit them for consideration.

¹ Dispatches to and from Lord William Bentinck as to the negotiations which were entered into at Ponza, and others concerning a British scheme for stirring up the Tyrol which had been preparing during the winter 1812-1813.

² viz., That "compensation" should be found for Murat in Italy if he surrendered Naples to the Bourbons and joined the Allies.

With respect to military co-operation on the part of the British Government, I can only at present authorize your Lordship to speak generally. Our means, both pecuniary and military, are at the present so deeply engaged in Spain that no effort of any magnitude can be directed to Italy. At what moment or to what extent Italy can be made the theatre of our future exertions must depend upon circumstances. Your Lordship will at present confine yourself to declaring that the deliverance of Italy is an object of which the British Government will not lose sight, and that their means will be directed to it as the course of events may allow.

Your Lordship will not fail, however, in all your discussions with the Austrian Government to impress upon their attention that in opening the views of the British Government on the subject of Italy it is not done from any desire to direct their efforts to that front in competition with the more pressing exigencies of the war in Germany. It will be for His Imperial Majesty to judge in what direction His military exertions can most advantageously be made. The object of this instruction is to enable Your Lordship to concert measures, if necessary, with respect to Italy without the unnecessary delay of a reference home.

LVI. [*F. O. Austria* 101.]

CASTLEREAGH TO ABERDEEN. (Most Secret and Separate.)

August 6th, 1813.

On referring to the enclosed dispatch¹ your Lordship will observe that, previous to Lord William Bentinck's negotiation at Ponza, the question was under discussion between his Lordship and the Hereditary Prince whether it might not be for the interest of his family, under possible circumstances, to cede the Kingdom of Naples for an equivalent, to which arrangement [*sic*], although considerable disinclination was expressed, His Royal Highness seemed prepared to admit that as the success of the common cause could alone accomplish anything for his family on the Continent, if the co-operation of Murat should be deemed essential and should depend upon their lending themselves to such an arrangement, it might be prudent for them to accept a fair equivalent rather than impede the general interest.

As the proposition may be again revived, in the event of its being countenanced by the Austrian Government and pressed by them as conducive to the common cause, your Lordship will

¹ A dispatch from Lord William Bentinck dated the 10th June, 1813.

not in that case discourage the idea. It may be pressed by Murat as the *sine qua non* of his co-operation, in which case it might be of the utmost importance that it should not be declined. It is also to be remarked that Murat might feel a stronger inducement for exertion if his claim to the Throne of Naples depended on an equivalent for the Sicilian Family being conquered elsewhere, than if the effect of such an acquisition would be his transfer from thence.

Should your Lordship under all the circumstances of the case deem it expedient to yield to the representations of the Court of Vienna on this point you may take upon yourself jointly with Austria to sign a convention to this effect *sub spe rati*.

LVII. [F. O. Austria 101.]

CASTLEREAGH TO ABERDEEN. (Most Confidential.)

Foreign Office, September 21st, 1813.

You will find from the dispatches I now send you that there is yet something left to exercise your talents upon in Austria. You will have the labouring oar in this negotiation, and, if you succeed in placing the key-stone in the arch which is to sustain us hereafter, you will not feel that your labour has been thrown away.

I am not conscious that I can give you any hints that are material for your consideration. I rather hope that the point of the mediation has been explained to Metternich—half-confidences are often more hazardous than plain-dealing—but as the concealment was Russian, the Emperor ought to have the merit of the explanation. My notion is that in proportion as Austria observes the tone of our politics to be moderate and disinterested, she will be the more disposed to embark with us in the deeper engagement which is now proposed for her acceptance. I recur to this topic in consequence of Jacobi having shown me this evening a letter from the Chancellor Hardenberg, in which he says that it is not proposed to say anything to Austria on the subject of the acceptance by England of her mediation. You will recollect, however, that we can hardly disguise in discussion here so important a feature in our own policy.

I observe Metternich writes in great spirits and apparent self-satisfaction. I am inclined to think it is best to make a hero of him, and, by giving him a reputation, to excite him to sustain it. He opened himself very much to my brother—detailed all his difficulties and progress, knew that he was not confided in

by England, and did not wonder at it. If you deem it useful you may tell him from me I am perfectly ready to adopt him upon his own avowal, and to meet vigorous exertion on his part with perfect goodwill and confidence on mine, and that as long as he will wield the great machine in his hands with determination and spirit I will support him as zealously as I have done the Prince Royal¹ against all his calumniators, and I hope not less successfully.

I shall send you a paper of Münster's on German politics merely for information, and that you may send me your ideas upon it. I rather wish to keep clear of the German internal politics as much as possible, and only to interfere in extraordinary cases. The secret article confirming the Hanoverian Arrondissement I should hope Austria will not object to. The Prince will consider it as a personal attention.

LVIII. [*F. O. Austria 101.*]

CASTLEREAGH TO ABERDEEN. (No. 14.)

Foreign Office, September 28th, 1813.

I have to enclose to your Lordship by the Prince Regent's command copy of a note received from the Baron de Wessenberg, with its enclosure, together with the reply which has been returned to the same.² The language which your Lordship is to hold with respect to the present overture must necessarily be founded upon the principles laid down in my instructions as referred to in the margin,³ copies of which have been transmitted to your Lordship, the substance of which I presume will ere this have been communicated to His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Austria.

In considering what course it may be expedient for the Allies to adopt upon the proposition contained in the Duke of Bassano's letter, the Prince Regent proceeds upon the assumption that the Powers now carrying on the war against France are engaged in one common effort for their mutual security and independence, that they are agreed upon the general principles upon which negotiation when entered upon should be conducted, and are deter-

¹ Bernadotte.

² This brought to the notice of the British Government the Duc de Bassano's note of the 18th August, sent immediately after the rupture of the negotiations at Prague, proposing a Congress, and Metternich's reply of the 21st August, which merely stated that he would bring the proposal to the notice of Austria's Allies. See XLIV.

³ Dispatches to Lord Cathcart. See VI., VIII., IX., XV., XVI., XVII.

mined not to treat except together. That being premised you will acquaint the Emperor that the Prince Regent, in submitting his sentiments, desires to be understood as not disposed to withdraw himself from any discussions for the restoration of peace which His Imperial Majesty and the Allies may consider calculated to lead to this much-desired event, and agreed with his Allies as to the objects for which they contend; they will always find His Royal Highness disposed to defer in a considerable degree to their wishes and judgment as to the time and mode of endeavouring to give effect to the common desire for a solid, durable, and honourable peace. But there are considerations in the present state of Europe and of the war which His Royal Highness cannot abstain from bringing under the Emperor's notice, more especially with reference to the particular overture which His Imperial Majesty has recently received from the French Government.

The first and most important consideration is the influence which a Congress of the nature proposed, supposing it to meet and make no effectual progress towards peace, would inevitably have upon the relative interests of the belligerents. In considering this, it is obvious that the entire advantage must belong to the enemy—without the slightest intention of making any substantial concession, it might enable him at once to tranquillize the public mind in France by announcing a peace as at hand—it would thus not only deliver him from all danger of internal convulsion, but render fresh requisitions tolerable to the people of France under the idea that in submitting to them they were contributing to put an end to the war. It must also enable him to address himself to his other Allies as he lately did to Murat, and to confirm their allegiance as the only remaining hope of having their interests protected in the general arrangements.

If the cause of the Allies is the cause of all nations, and if it is through the efforts of national impulse they may expect that the Saxons, the Bavarians, the Tyrolese, and even the people of Holland and Italy, will yet successively assist them in confining the power of France within reasonable bounds, are the Allies prepared altogether to forego this hope, or do they conceive that any Government or any people will embark with them in the war with a negotiation pending of the result of which they may consider themselves the presumptive sacrifices?

If the success of the Allied arms had already operated its full result, and there appeared no longer any rational hope that the sphere of the Confederacy could be extended, a negotiation might in that case be a less hazardous experiment on the part of the

Allies. But even then it could not fail to enfeeble exertion and to abate those impressions amongst their own subjects which are to reconcile them to great sacrifice and to carry them forward in the contest. The very sitting of such a Congress for any time would imply that it was become a war of terms instead of a war of national independence, that it was a question of territory and not a contest whether France should continue to oppress, invade, and plunder the other States of Europe. If such be the obvious results of a blind compliance with the proposal of the enemy, there seems little internal evidence either in the overture itself, or in the transactions which preceded it, to induce a supposition that it was made for any other purpose than the possible advantage that might result to Bonaparte in France from having a proposition, nominally pacific, refused, for he could hardly suppose that without any preliminary understanding such a proposal could be accepted.

The magnitude of the Confederacy may well make Napoleon tremble for his own power, but it is not from the tenor of this paper, which is quite unexampled in the tone of indignity it assumes throughout towards Austria, it is not from his conduct in the late negotiations that any settled purpose of terminating the war can be inferred; and, if so, why should the Allies, without any such pledge of sincerity, concede to him an engine which is to sustain his fortunes and to become a substitute for victories?

He says, was there ever such an idea entertained as that of dictating a peace in a limited number of days, *montre en main*—was the Peace of Utrecht, of Nimeguen, of Ryswick, or Aix la Chapelle settled in such a manner? The reasoning is correct as applied to a definite arrangement, after the parties understand each other upon preliminary principles; but where is the instance of the states of Europe assembling in Congress, not only without any preliminary understanding, but with the strongest grounds to presume that their differences, for the moment at least, are fundamentally irreconcilable?

Is, then, the war to be eternal, and is there no mode in which by explanation the belligerents may approximate? The difficulty is not in the form of proceeding, it is in the determined purpose of the individual at the head of the French Government not to compromise his authority as a conqueror, and the resolution he appears to have taken to perish rather than descend from the eminence of dominion on which he has at the sacrifice of every principle so long laboured to place himself. It is not necessary to proceed to a Congress to ascertain whether the Allies and the

ruler of France understand each other upon the basis on which an equilibrium in Europe can be revived. Until this is agreed upon all proceedings in Congress must be at a stand, and a Congress is the last place where such an understanding is likely to take place.

What, then, is to be done ? To all appearances nothing according to the present pretensions of the parties towards accommodation. The question is still at issue whether an individual shall hold the rest of Europe in subjection, or whether after long suffering and hopeless submission the great Powers shall now deliver themselves from bondage, and resume their former station in the Commonwealth of Europe. This is in its nature an issue of arms, and not of diplomacy, and it seems as yet undecided in the temper of either parties.

When Bonaparte proposes a Congress let him state the principles on which he is ready to negotiate, and it will be then in the power of the Allies, comparing them with the acknowledged principles which bind them together, to judge whether discussion can be advisable on such a basis. It may also be open to the Allies to propose, at a suitable moment, terms of their own, but in dealing with such an enemy, and meaning to require an arrangement which is to give peace to Europe, they ought not to hazard a premature proposition, which, if unsupported by corresponding successes, would afford advantages in point of impression to their antagonist.

In thus explaining to your Lordship so much at large the mode in which this overture has been viewed by His Majesty's Government, I have perhaps gone into unnecessary argument ; the proposition itself, as was natural, does not seem to have received any countenance from the Austrian Government. It appears to have been taken merely ad referendum by the Emperor of Austria for communication to his Allies, and to have been since presented for their consideration, but not pressed. The Baron de Wessenberg does not express any wish on the part of his Court that the suggestion should be entertained, whilst the Russian and Prussian Ministers in London have been wholly silent on the subject.

In submitting, so far as you may deem it expedient, the reasoning above stated to the consideration of the Cabinet of Vienna, your Lordship will assure them that the Prince Regent will always be ready to enter into negotiations for peace in conjunction with the Allies ; he only deprecates illusory discussions, which must damp the ardour of the Confederacy, and conceives that no steps ought to be taken to assemble a Congress till some satisfactory basis is previously understood. What the nature of that basis

should be has been defined with as much precision as an arrangement necessarily dependent to a certain degree on circumstances can well admit, both in the Russian and Prussian Notes of the 16th of May,¹ and recently by the British Government in the *Projet* of a Secret Article enclosed in my Letter No. 11² to your Lordship ; further than this it does not seem possible under present circumstances for this Government to explain itself, but you may assure His Imperial Majesty that they will always be ready to consider with the utmost deference and cordiality any suggestion coming from their Allies on the subject of peace. At the same time they cannot disguise the persuasion they feel, that it is by a vigorous and successful prosecution of the war that peace is most likely to be attained, the enemy never having shown down to the present moment the smallest disposition to recede from his established system of conquest and dominion.

LIX. [*F. O. Austria* 101.]

CASTLEREAGH TO ABERDEEN. (Private and Confidential.)

Dover Castle, October 15th, 1813.

I lose no time in relieving you from all anxiety upon the point of Murat!³ It is a strong measure but warranted by the state of Italy, of which important portion of Europe, in a military sense, I consider the soi-disant King of Naples to be completely master, for with his army he can at once march uninterruptedly to the *Tagliamento*, and unless the Viceroy evacuates the whole of what is called the *Illyrian Provinces* his communications and his Kingdom of Italy are in equal jeopardy. I own, however, I am not sanguine as to the result of the negotiation, because I assume Murat to be a mere calculator, and there is a spirit of negotiation about Metternich upon which such adventurers will always so far speculate as to endeavour to gain time.

I know how imperfectly one can judge at a distance of the true shades of political management, and if my reasoning appears to you wrong you will not attempt to act upon it in your discussions, but I wish I could see the Austrian Minister rely more upon exertion and less upon negotiation. His game with Bavaria may be right, but in playing it, if he mistakes the views of the Bavarian Government, he sacrifices his entire prospects in the Tyrol, for he must be prepared to expect that all his forbearance is ruin to a popular cause, and therefore the utmost to which his policy in

¹ See VI.

² See XVI., p. 26.

³ Aberdeen had informed Metternich of his secret instructions as to Murat (LVI.) and even given him a note to that effect.

that quarter, as I conceive, tends is to neutralize Bavaria for the present, possibly to swim with the stream, if the Allies are eminently successful, but as certainly to fight vigorously on the side of France, if they are not. Now I may have been misled, but I had hoped that the Tyrol might have constituted in itself a powerful diversion, and that, supported by the Austrians, the flame in that quarter would have blazed so strongly as to have required at least the presence of Augereau's Corps in addition to the Viceroy and General Wrede, instead of the former being at liberty to move upon the Saale to reopen and maintain the communications of the Grand Army.

The same sort of spirit of catching at everything that can be twisted into even the hope of a negotiation seems to pervade his policy towards the enemy. What could be more weak than to meet the Duke of Bassano's proposition for a Congress, which was nothing more than the old offer which had been rejected in June revived in language of peculiar offence to Austria, with a milk-and-water answer, considering this most insulting letter as still affording "un lueur d'espoir."¹ Whilst such propositions are entertained and sent to England for the purpose of gaining time, the misfortune is Bonaparte feels that his opponents cannot make up their mind *firmly* to the contest, and he speculates upon their irresolution, upon their disunion, and upon their pecuniary embarrassments. Can M. de Metternich suppose that, if Bonaparte had a serious intention of coming to a reasonable arrangement, that he would not find some more distinct mode of explaining himself? In one only instance has this system of temporizing succeeded, and that is in deceiving the enemy as to the real intention of Austria with regard to war, but now that she is at war, let her think of war and not of negotiation, until it comes in some shape that justifies a hope that his policy is really pacific, and whenever that shall be presumeable we shall all be disposed to meet it.

When I admit that the Austrian minister overreached Bonaparte in the conduct of the mediation, I must, however, remark that he did so at no small sacrifice as to the means of resisting him. His negotiations lost Saxony beyond all question. Denmark would not probably have ventured to declare for France if the Allies had been supported by Austria on the Saale. The intermediate countries towards the Rhine were then in fermentation. This spirit has been allowed to evaporate, and the Tyrol has been paralysed whilst Beauharnais has been allowed time, as well as France, to appear in force. No doubt Austria and the Allies have

¹ See LVIII.

not been idle, but I don't know why they might not have called forth the same means, preserving a more advantageous theatre to produce them upon, had Austria not insisted upon the parade of a preliminary negotiation.

However, this is gone by, and the future is our concern. In this view I am most anxious to hear from you that the Austrian minister is resolute in considering a successful war as the surest road to peace, and that he is prepared not only to feel so himself but to avow it to the nation and to call forth all their energies upon this avowal. It is the golden opportunity for him to do so. Why not imitate Prussia and make the Austrians an armed people? In no other character can they be safe in the vicinity of France; so organised, with the defensive Alliance now happily in progress, they may.

If you ever mention to M. de Metternich my individual sentiments upon these subjects you can, from your own knowledge, assure him that I am not one of those who cannot reconcile themselves to contemplate the possibility of peace even with Bonaparte, but I am satisfied it must be a peace founded upon a principle of authority and not of submission. That to obtain, and still more to preserve it, we must rouse and arm the people we have to conduct, and it is in the earnest desire of peace that I wish to see him employed, rather in preparing the nation for sacrifices and exertions than in idly flattering them with the notion that peace is at hand. I am anxious to learn what the internal system of Austria is at the present moment as to armament and exertions of all kinds, and I beg you will procure for me not only the *state* and *distribution* of their army, but information as to their means of keeping up their force, and also what steps have been taken to call forth in case of emergency the Landwehr or Militia. Until a solid organization of the mass of the population is secured we shall always find them timid as to acquisitions to the southward, and avaricious of extension on their Eastern frontier.

The progress made by the three Powers in the consolidation of a defensive system is a new and happy era in the revival, I trust, of European independence. It is in itself a mighty change in the face of affairs, and if it is sustained by a national sentiment in each State it may carry us through, but it must be interwoven with the Peninsula if we mean to bring France to terms. How many years since would the war have been terminated if the expectation of dividing her opponents (a hope but too frequently realized) had not tempted France to persevere? The elements of resistance now abound, if they can only be successfully combined.

If I have done injustice in any of my observations to your friend, Metternich, I shall be most happy to be corrected.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have received the *Moniteur* with the Austrian and Swedish papers. I hope this manifesto will make its due impression at Vienna. It is decisive as to the character the war is likely to assume, and Austria cannot too soon call forth the mass of her people. Nothing but an animated and armed population can secure her against the fate that awaits her if the French deluge should again burst in that direction. I recollect when Caulaincourt took leave at Prague nothing was to be published that could widen the breach between the father-in-law and his dutiful son-in-law, and yet I fear such nonsense was not without its effect, else Metternich could not have written so tame an answer to Bassano's Philippic. It appears as if his ears could hardly yet bear the sound of war, and that he is disposed rather to whisper than to din it into the ears of the nation. This message will, I trust, make him feel that he has no time to lose in making every part of the monarchy ring with the note of preparation. I cannot I own but consider the present communication as a serious and awful summons to us all for renewed vigilance and exertion. It convinces me that Bonaparte has determined to be numerically powerful on all points. This, I think, he has the means of being for a limited period and upon the confines of France. Having men under arms in abundance, he can make this gigantic array, but he cannot sustain it. If confined, even for a time to the sphere within which he now moves, it must dissolve, but the whole military history of the Revolution has taught us to dread that the monster once engendered on French ground may break loose to seek its sustenance elsewhere. This is the true danger against which the Continent, and especially Austria, has to provide, and she ought not to lose an hour in appealing forcibly to the nation. The people are now the only barrier. They are against France, and this is the shield above all others that a State should determine to interpose for its protection, which is so wholly destitute as Austria of a defensible frontier. With respect to means, the same question existed in Russia, and with tenfold force in Prussia. The necessity of the case, the spirit of the people once roused, and the energy of a determined Government soon called them forth. It is for Austria, infinitely more wealthy than either, to imitate their exertions. And she may thereby lay the foundation for a long peace. I have been carried much beyond my purpose, but the subject is endless, and I cannot disguise the dread I feel that the Austrian Minister is trifling

with an opponent who meditates nothing less than a *compromise* with his competitors for empire. If Europe is lost it will be on this rock the vessel will founder.

LX. [*F. O. Austria* 101.]

CASTLEBROUGH TO ABERDEEN. (No. 26.)

Foreign Office, November 5th, 1813.

[Transmits the ratifications of the Treaty of Toeplitz.]

I have received the Prince Regent's commands to communicate in the most gracious terms to your Lordship H.R.H.'s full approbation of your conduct in having so far anticipated H.R.H.'s views by prevailing on the Court of Vienna to comprehend in the engagements contained in the present Treaty those points for which the faith of the British Government stood pledged, and the cordality with which these several engagements have been adopted by the Austrian Government is received by the Prince Regent not only as a proof of the enlightened policy which actuates the Councils of the Emperor of Austria, but of H.I.M.'s personal desire to renew with this Government a connection of the closest description. I shall address Your Excellency in a separate dispatch on the subject of our engagements with Sweden. I shall therefore only here observe that the grounds on which this point was in Treaty omitted as a matter of express stipulation are considered here as satisfactory, and H.R.H. doubts not they will be so regarded by the Swedish Government.

Your Lordship will have received ere this the instructions of the 28th September,¹ so long detained by contrary winds, relative to the shape which H.R.H.'s confidential servants are desirous of giving to their engagements with the Continental Powers. In comparing the arrangements therein suggested with the stipulations contained in the Treaty as signed, you will find the main distinction to be, that in the latter the several points stated in the secret Article are successively enumerated as objects of the Alliance, but no discrimination is made in the obligation contracted between those that are desirable and those that are essential. In the *Projet*, as transmitted from hence, the object was, after describing the leading arrangements to which the efforts of the Confederacy were to be directed, to take out of that general class such as were considered in their nature indispensable to the reconstruction of a counterpoise against the power of France, and to declare these to be terms *sine qua non* of a peace. It is

also to be observed that in the Secret Articles as signed no notice is taken of Italy in enumerating the objects of the Alliance, and the reference to Holland, by taking the Rhine throughout as the barrier, amounts to a dismemberment, leaving the most important division of the United Provinces in the hands of the enemy.

In adverting to this distinction, however important, Your Excellency will not suppose that the progress you have made towards consolidating the system of the Continent is not duly appreciated. The measure you have achieved is considered, on the contrary, as leaving comparatively little to be done, whilst all-accomplishment is essentially facilitated. I shall under these impressions abstain from giving any further directions of this subject till I am in possession of the measures adopted at the Head Quarters in consequence of the instructions already referred to. In the meantime no hesitation has been felt in at once ratifying what Your Excellency *has accomplished* with equal judgment and ability, leaving it to subsequent deliberation to decide what further measures it may be prudent to adopt for the complete consolidation of the Confederacy, after we are fully possessed of the sentiments of the several Allied Courts.

LXI. [*F. O. Austria 102.*]

ABERDEEN TO CASTLEREAGH.

(Most Secret. No. 27.)

Frankfort, November 8th, 1813.

M. de St. Aignan arrived here this day, and had an interview with Prince Metternich. Immediately after his departure I had a long conference with the Prince and Count Nesselrode. It is determined that he should return to-morrow morning to France and repair with all expedition to Paris, where it is said that Bonaparte now is. He is to bear the propositions which I mentioned to your Lordship in my dispatch No. 23.¹

A question arose between us whether it would be proper to inform Bonaparte of any objects connected with the French frontier which might be open to negotiation. Count Nesselrode wished to state the terms of the Allies in the first instance as high as possible, and reduce them afterwards in the event of negotiation. I was of opinion that it would be the preferable course to

¹ Aberdeen to Castlereagh (No. 23), October 29th, 1813. "In consequence of the British answer having been received [No. LVIII.] it has been determined to open a communication with Bonaparte, but in such a manner as to give rise to as little speculation as possible, and indeed the whole affair is to be kept a profound secret." *F. O. Austria 102.*

state the terms as low as possible, and firmly to adhere to them. I told him that, if the propositions were made with the hope of being accepted, common sense dictated that they should be rendered as palatable to Bonaparte as was consistent with the fixed views of the Allies. If the propositions were made without any such hope, I deprecated the whole proceeding as being most erroneous in principle, and calculated to produce the greatest injury to the common cause. I observed that it would be much better to defer making any overture at all, if it was not thought that we were in a sufficiently commanding situation to make that which we were determined to press. In this reasoning Prince Metternich concurred, and it was at last agreed that the specific line of the French frontier towards Holland and Piedmont should be open to discussion, taking care to make the independence of Italy and Holland conditions of peace *sine quibus non*. Thus the matter stands at present; but I should inform your Lordship that M. de St. Aignan is not sanguine in his belief of Bonaparte being sufficiently reduced to accept our terms. I have urged the necessity of secrecy in the strongest manner, and have obtained a promise from Count Nesselrode and the Prince that M. de St. Aignan should not see either of the Emperors previous to his departure, as had been originally intended.

I took this opportunity of asking the Prince his intentions respecting the Proclamation,¹ which I also mentioned to your Lordship in my Dispatch No. 23. He told me that he meant to publish it forthwith. On this subject I had thought a good deal, and had come to the determination to dissuade him from adopting this measure at the present moment. I told him that a proclamation issued at the time of making propositions to Bonaparte could not possibly produce a good effect—that however moderate it might be it would certainly tend to irritate Bonaparte, at the same time that, from a decent regard to him, the Allies deprived themselves of the benefit of a vigorous and energetic appeal to the feelings of all those countries about to throw off his yoke. If he accepted our propositions, the proclamation was useless or injurious; if he refused to treat, we might compose a much better than we could now venture to issue. Count Nesselrode appeared to assent to the propriety of my observations, and finally the Prince consented, at my entreaty, to delay the publication in order to give effect to the mission of M. de St. Aignan, and then to act as circumstances may require. The fact is that I am not sanguine

¹ The Proclamation to the French people subsequently issued on 1st December.

as to the effect of this or any other proclamation on the people of France, and if your Lordship will call to mind the evidence of history on these subjects, I think you will assent to the justice of this opinion. If the inhabitants of an enemy's country be well disposed they will rise without proclamations, and I am not aware of any instance in which a people were ever moved by these means, who were not otherwise well inclined. The possible effect of such a measure in France should be a secondary object, but there is no doubt that it might be of essential service in encouraging the perseverance and fortifying the zeal of those countries, who are struggling for independence. It is to them that we should show the absolute necessity of continued exertion, and should prove that the blessings of peace are not withheld from them by any hopeless projects of ambition and unjustifiable views of foreign conquest.

I am happy to inform your Lordship that, notwithstanding the pacific overtures to which I have drawn your attention, the military preparations and movements continue with unabated activity, nor will any pause be produced in consequence of this or any other measure of the kind. The present plan for the continuance of the campaign I shall have the honour of detailing to your Lordship in a separate dispatch.

LXII. [*F. O. Austria 102.*]

ABERDEEN TO CASTLEREAGH. (Most secret. No. 31.)

Frankfort, November 9th, 1813.

Prince Metternich and Count Nesselrode were to see M. de St. Aignan this evening previous to his departure in order to settle finally the propositions to be made to Bonaparte. They requested me to join them, as if by accident, in the course of their meeting, which I accordingly did.

M. de St. Aignan reduced to writing, but in an informal manner, the utter impossibility of a Continental peace. The notion of anything but a general pacification could never for an instant be admitted, and the Allied Powers were too closely united ever to swerve from this decision, or to abandon the basis on which only they were prepared to treat. Among the conditions, *sine quibus non*, were stated the adoption by Bonaparte of the natural limits of France, meaning generally the Alps, the Rhine, and the Pyrenees.

The absolute independence of Germany and the renunciation of every species of constitutional influence on the part of France, not meaning thereby the natural and indispensable influence

which every powerful state must exercise over its weaker neighbours.

The restoration of Ferdinand VII. and the ancient dynasty to the throne of Spain.

The existence of states, absolutely independent, between the Austrian and French frontier towards Italy.

The absolute independence of Holland, but the precise line of frontier as well as form of Government to be subject to negotiation.

These were the principal conditions which might be considered as a basis of negotiation; if they were accepted, a place on the right bank of the Rhine might be rendered neutral and a Congress assembled. On no account whatever would any armistice or truce be concluded, nor would the progress of military operations be interrupted.

M. de St. Aignan noted also that England was ready to make great sacrifices in order to obtain peace for Europe, that she did not interfere with the freedom of commerce or with those maritime rights to which France could with justice pretend. I particularly cautioned him against supposing that any possible consideration could induce Great Britain to abandon a particle of what she felt to belong to her maritime code, from which in no case could she ever recede, but that, with this understanding, she had no wish to interfere with the reasonable pretensions of France. I took this opportunity to contradict the assertion which Bonaparte had made to General Merfeldt¹ of the intention of the British Government to limit him to thirty ships of the line, and declared that, so far as I knew, it was a prejudice without any foundation. Of course the whole transaction and interview were understood to be perfectly unofficial, and merely following up the conversation which Bonaparte had recently held with General Merfeldt. M. de St. Aignan seemed to be very doubtful of the probability of these terms being accepted, but he thought that, if the question could be placed with honour to the French nation, the magnitude of the sacrifices would not present any insurmountable obstacle to a general pacification.

I trust your Lordship will not disapprove of the part which I have taken in this affair. My great object, if any propositions were made, was to frame them so as to afford the greatest probability of success consistent with the fixed policy of the Allies. I hope the communication which has been made will be found to embrace the most essential points, and to demand as much as our actual situation entitles us to expect. My next object was that the whole transaction should be conducted with the utmost secrecy

¹ See L. Note 3.

and expedition. The return of M. de St. Aignan has not been attended with any remarkable circumstances, and instead of the shortest delay, the most energetic and vigorous measures will be continued for the purpose of carrying into effect the grand objects of the campaign.

LXIII. [C. C. IX. 73.]

CASTLEREAGH TO ABERDEEN.

Foreign Office, November 13th,¹ 1812.

Your dispatches from Frankfort of the 8th and 9th, with their accompanying private explanations, arrived by the Weser before those of an earlier date on the same subject were received. This was fortunate, else we should have felt some alarm at the notion of Louis being thought of for the Government of Holland.

I trust we may also feel assured, from the last accounts, that Metternich has no idea of a suspension of hostilities pending negotiations, even should a basis be agreed upon. Either of these expedients is deprecated here in the strongest manner. The former is now happily out of the question, by the act of the Dutch nation, to which we are parties; and the offer made by France in August to negotiate without a suspension of arms, renders it easy to decline a proposition which would protract discussion till the armies of France were again prepared to take the field.

You will not be surprised to learn, after such a tide of success, that this nation is likely to view with disfavour any peace which does not confine France strictly within her ancient limits. Indeed, peace with Bonaparte on any terms will be far from popular, distrusting, as the people naturally do, his submitting to destiny for any length of time; but you will perceive that these opinions have not turned us from our course. We still are ready to encounter, with our Allies, the hazards of peace, if peace can be made on the basis proposed, satisfactorily executed; and we are not inclined to go out of our way to interfere in the internal government of France, however much we might desire to see it placed in more pacific hands. But I am satisfied we must not encourage our Allies to patch up an imperfect arrangement. If they will do so, we must submit; but it should appear, in that case, to be their own act, and not ours.

I am aware that the internal difficulties of the Confederacy are great, but, once dispersed, to reassemble it will be impossible. We must, therefore, labour to render it effectual to its purpose

¹ So given, but it is obviously of a rather later date.

now, and your last reports encourage me to hope that such will be the result. The revolution in Holland is in itself a new feature in the war, and the fall of Dresden a great accession of strength.

I must particularly entreat you to keep your attention upon Antwerp. The destruction of that arsenal is essential to our safety. To leave it in the hands of France is little short of imposing upon Great Britain the charge of a perpetual war establishment. After all we have done for the Continent in this war they owe it to us and to themselves to extinguish this fruitful source of danger to both. Press this as a primary object of their operations, and, in order to render the value of the fleet, if taken or destroyed, more available for their present expenses, we shall be ready to pay them immediately in credit bills, which they can now realize as advantageously on the Continent as a bill upon the Treasury.

I hope my correspondence has latterly satisfied you that we do justice to your exertions and to the conduct of your Court. When we write we both naturally take our tone from the circumstances, not as then existing, but as known to us. Thus, when I was fretting about the Elbe and the apprehended indecision of Austria, the Allies were laying the solid foundation of all their subsequent glory, and Metternich was performing miracles, both in negotiations and in his armaments. You may assure him I shall not fail him in the long run, however I may complain when I am not satisfied the wheel is moving. There is no preference in any quarter which ought to give him umbrage, but some management which may keep the Russians more cordially at his back. He has behaved in the most loyal manner to us since we became friends, and he shall see, in our arrangements for the ensuing campaign, that we do him justice. . . .

LXIV. [*F. O. Austria 103.*]

ABERDEEN TO CASTLEREAGH. (Secret No. 47.)

Frankfort, November 28th, 1813.

I have the honour to enclose for your Lordship's information copies of a letter addressed by the Duke of Bassano to Prince Metternich, and of the Prince's answer.¹

Your Lordship will understand that the first intimation which Bonaparte had received of the consent of Great Britain to the meeting of a Congress during the war was conveyed by M. de St. Aignan. I have already informed your Lordship that I com-

¹ Duke of Bassano to Metternich, November 16th, 1813; Metternich to the Duke of Bassano, November 25th, 1813.

municated the substance of your Lordship's Dispatch No. 14¹ to Prince Metternich, and that in consequence of the reasoning contained in it the peculiar form of M. de St. Aignan's Mission was adopted. It is from a conviction of the truth of this reasoning that a private intercourse is still preferred to a public overture, at least until the parties shall agree on some general basis. The whole advantage of a public official intercourse would be on the side of France. The hopes of peace would stimulate the French nation to greater exertions and fresh sacrifices, while it would only damp the spirit of the Allies and paralyse their energy. As it is, Bonaparte may probably hold out these hopes to the people of France, his success must be incomplete; while our silence and the activity of our military movements keep alive the warlike ardour of our friends. Whatever may be the preferable course respecting this question, I can assure your Lordship that both the Imperial Courts have framed their conduct on their belief of what would be most approved of by the British Government.

The answer of Prince Metternich to the Duke of Bassano appears to be perfectly conformable to the reasoning employed in your Lordship's dispatch, No. 14. No Congress will be thought of or negotiations entered into without a previous agreement of some general basis, and although the enemy seems to wish to avoid coming to any specific statement, there are private accounts from Paris worthy of credit which indicate the probability of his pacific disposition being more sincere than it has hitherto been.

In consequence of the allusion of the Duke of Bassano to M. de St. Aignan's report of what had been said by the British Minister, I thought it right to address a note to Prince Metternich, stating explicitly the share which I had taken in the conversation and the circumstances in which I was placed. Your Lordship is already informed from my dispatches Nos. 31 and 39² of the particulars of the proceeding, but I thought this step necessary to avoid the possibility of all error or misinterpretation. I have the honour to enclose a copy of the note in question, as well as of Prince Metternich's answer,³ which I trust your Lordship will find satisfactory in all its parts. It is probable that Bonaparte may endeavour to entangle us in the question of maritime rights, and in the event of the failure of any negotiation to throw the whole odium of the prolongation of the war upon England. With this prospect your Lordship cannot fail to consider the declaration of the Austrian Minister as peculiarly gratifying; I shall com-

¹ LVIII.

² See LXII.

³ Protesting against St. Aignan's insinuation that Aberdeen had agreed to discuss the "maritime rights."

municate officially to the Courts of Russia, Prussia, and Sweden copies of these papers, in order that the passage of the Duke of Bassano's letter may be perfectly understood.

Your Lordship is not to understand that the unofficial communication made by M. de St. Aignan embraced the whole basis of negotiation, or contained a specification of every condition *sine qua non* on the part of the Allies, but it was thought right to confine the proposition in the first instance to those questions directly affecting the French frontier, and in which France was most immediately concerned. For this reason no mention was made of Poland, an object of the deepest interest to the three great Continental Powers; for this reason also all mention of Norway was postponed. It is in this point of view that your Lordship is to consider the omission of Portugal, Sicily, and a variety of important objects in M. de St. Aignan's minute; but it appears to me that if Bonaparte agrees to the summary conditions recited in that paper, we should not be justified in desisting from the endeavour to ascertain by negotiation whether he may be brought to accede to the whole of those conditions of peace, which are absolutely indispensable on the part of the Allies. . . .

LXV. [*F. O. Austria* 101.]

CASTLEREAGH TO ABERDEEN. (No. 38.)

Foreign Office, November 30th, 1813.

[Acknowledges Aberdeen's account of the overture to St. Aignan.]

With respect to the period which has been selected for this overture, His Royal Highness is disposed to defer to the judgment of his Allies, it being a question on which they must, for various reasons, be more competent to decide than himself. And your Lordship is authorized to acquaint the Emperor of Austria that His Royal Highness will be prepared to negotiate on the basis proposed, in the event of its being accepted by the enemy, understanding thereby the Alps and the Pyrenees to be admitted as the boundary of France and the Rhine, with such departure therefrom as may sufficiently provide for the independence and security of Holland and of Switzerland, although the latter is not specifically named in your dispatch.

The Prince Regent highly applauds the determination taken by the Allies upon no account to suffer active operations to be suspended in consequence of this overture or during any discussions that may grow out of it. Your Lordship must be aware that the protraction of the negotiation would not fail to prove most

prejudicial to the common cause. His Royal Highness also trusts that any unnecessary delay or equivocation in accepting this basis will be at once considered tantamount to its rejection by the enemy, and that the Allies will in that case make such an early declaration of the measures adopted by them for terminating the war as may satisfy the world that the continuance of the war is not owing to the unreasonableness of the Allies, but to the ambition of the ruler of France, and that no hope can exist of obtaining a secure and honourable peace except from a vigorous prosecution of the contest.

The Prince Regent desires your Lordship will further declare his entire approbation of the omission in the proposed basis of any proposition on which the Allies were not prepared peremptorily to insist. And His Royal Highness persuades himself that his desire for peace will not be questioned, when he declares that in his judgment less could not have been demanded at the present moment from the enemy than what has been proposed, in justice to the great and progressive successes which have blessed the Allied arms, and, above all, to the future repose and security of Europe. In agreeing to negotiate in concert with his Allies upon this basis, moderate as it must be deemed to be in the present circumstances of the war, His Royal Highness trusts that its admission will be insisted upon as preliminary to any discussions.

His Royal Highness considers it highly material to the general interests that such sacrifices as Great Britain may be prepared to make for the welfare of the Continent shall be applied to the satisfactory arrangement of those limits which appear to be left indefinite in the basis, viz., the Frontier of France towards Piedmont and Holland, and more especially to such an arrangement for the latter as may place it in a competent state of strength and security. In adverting to the basis as affecting Holland, your Lordship will perceive that the form of the government of that State can no longer be matter of negotiation between the Allied Powers and France. His Royal Highness feels confident, after the glorious and successful effort recently made by the people of that country to assert their independence under the Government of the House of Orange, that there will be but one sentiment amongst the Allies as to the support they shall receive, a support which Great Britain has not hesitated to afford of the largest scale which circumstances would permit.

In contemplating the magnitude of the interests that are now at stake it is most gratifying to His Royal Highness to observe the gigantic means which the energies and attachment of their

subjects have placed at the disposal of the Allied Sovereigns. His Royal Highness is satisfied that on their wisdom, firmness, and union, Europe may confidently rely for its future safety, and that they will not lay down their arms until this, the great object of the Confederacy, shall have been satisfactorily secured. In this persuasion I have only further to perform the grateful duty of signifying to your Lordship that the Prince Regent has been pleased most graciously to approve of the part your Lordship has borne in these delicate and momentous discussions.

LXVI. [*F. O. Austria 101.*]

CASTLEREACH TO ABERDEEN. (No. 44.)

Foreign Office, December 7th, 1813.

[Further concerning the overture to St. Aignan.]

Your Lordship's letter of the 16th transmitting a memorandum as drawn up by that gentleman of what he chose to represent as having passed at the interview with the Austrian and Russian ministers in your Lordship's presence was only yesterday received. Your Lordship upon perusal of this memorandum very properly protested against the accuracy of this document, but as it does not appear that this protest was made in writing,¹ His Royal Highness's Government considers it highly expedient that your Lordship should make such a communication in the form of a note verbal to the Ministers of the Allied Powers who were present at that interview, as may record that your Lordship was not to be considered as a party, even unofficially, to the terms in which the memorandum was drawn up, and that this protest may include the sentiments of your Government upon the said minute I enclose the sketch of a note which appears to His Royal Highness's Ministers suitable to the occasion.

Your Lordship must be aware that the document in question is not merely objectionable in putting forward a very loose and equivocal description of the sentiments of this Government on what is called the freedom of commerce and navigation. The manner in which this subject is referred to is obviously calculated to encourage the enemy to attempt to introduce discussions upon maritime rights into the negotiations for peace. Against any such attempt your Excellency is directed to protest in the strongest manner on the part of your Court. And for the sentiments which determine His Royal Highness's Government to consider this point as a condition *sine qua non* of negotiation on their part, I beg leave to refer your Excellency to the enclosed extract of my dispatch to Lord Cathcart of the 27th of September last.²

¹ But see p. 113.

² XIX.

Your Excellency will also observe that in referring to the independence of Holland this memorandum is altogether silent on the important point of an adequate barrier for that State. It also very unjustifiably assumes the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine to be the *natural* boundaries of France, a concession which there can be no pretence on the part of the enemy for claiming, because the Allies may, on grounds of expediency, have acquiesced at the period this overture was made in negotiating on such a basis, subject, however, to certain important modifications. Neither will the enemy have any ground of claim hereafter to assume that basis as against the Allies, should he decline the proposition now made to him. The reference to the natural influence of France over the intermediate States is also capable of misconception, and ought to be protested against as far as it may be liable to be perverted into a disclaimer on the part of the Germanic body of any right to form a federal connection under a constitutional head to the exclusion of foreign influence.

Your Lordship's determination not to make yourself a party to the memorandum in question, by suggesting any alterations in the frame of it, was perfectly proper. But as misconception may hereafter exist upon this subject it is requisite that your dissent, and that of your Court from its accuracy, should be recorded in the manner above suggested, both for your own justification and that of your Government.

LXVII. [C. C. IX., 89.]

CASTLEREAGH TO ABERDEEN.

Foreign Office, December 7th, 1813.

You know how acutely we feel upon all political subjects when our feelings have been long excited by animating events, but that, at all times, a maritime question touches us to the quick. I cannot conceal from you the uneasiness of the Government upon the perusal of St. Aignan's Minute: and most certainly such a document, if published by the enemy, without any counter-document on our part, would excite unpleasant impressions in this country. It is, therefore, deemed indispensable to record our sentiments in a producible shape, and I lose no time in instructing you accordingly.

I apprehend, after presenting your note to Metternich, your course will be to transmit a copy to Lord Cathcart for the information of the Russian Government. You will assure the Allies that we act not from the smallest sensation of distrust, but from the

necessity imposed upon us of always keeping our case in a shape which, if produced to Parliament, would justify our vigilance and correctness as not having left the enemy a caviil as to our real intentions.

We shall feel much anxiety till an Allied force, adequate not only to its protection, but to assume the offensive towards Antwerp, is assembled in Holland. We consider it of great importance that the Allies should countenance the Prince of Orange as early as possible. Pray encourage the Austrian Government to send a Minister to the Hague. With their support and our arms we may soon hope to have a respectable force established in that most important quarter. If Charles has left you again, impress the same idea upon Prussia. I have not time to write more.

LXVIII. [*F. O. Austria* 103.]

ABERDEEN TO CASTLEREAGH. (No. 53.)

Frankfort, December 9th, 1813.

I am just returned from a long conference with Prince Metternich and Count Nesselrode on the subject of the Treaty of Alliance. The difficulties which I had to encounter, and the irresistible arguments with which I was furnished chiefly from your Lordship's dispatches to Lord Cathcart, rendered the interview sufficiently animated. I placed the question in its true light, reprobated the notion of its being an object more essentially interesting to Great Britain than to either of their respective States, and declared to refuse such a Treaty at the present moment was a policy as blind as it was illiberal. I strongly urged the importance of such a bond of union at a moment when the prospect of negotiation was at hand. The existence of such a Treaty would be of more value in any intercourse with Napoleon than a victory of the most splendid description. It cannot be necessary for me to detail to your Lordship the various arguments and modes of persuasion which I employed to make them fully comprehend the question. It is sufficient to say that I left none untouched of which I was possessed, or which the copious nature of the subject afforded.

Both Prince Metternich and Count Nesselrode professed a strong desire to negotiate the Treaty, provided it was the wish of Great Britain; but some explanations were required. Prince Metternich made no material difficulty, but Count Nesselrode wished that the subsidiary arrangement should be connected with it. They both appeared to wish that, if Great Britain could not specify what particular conquests might be considered as objects

of negotiation at a peace, she would at least declare those which she would never consent to place in that predicament. I represented the folly of such a demand—that it must mainly depend on the state of Europe at the time of negotiation—that it would be tying up our hands to their own injury. Besides which the question was insulting to Great Britain—it betrayed an unjustifiable want of confidence in her. It exercised a right, which considering the unparalleled exertions of Great Britain in their cause, did not belong to them. In short, it appeared to me that such a demand would prove fatal to the project of the Treaty. I had proposed an article which Prince Metternich had approved of, in which the principle was admitted that Great Britain would consider such of her conquests as were not essentially necessary to her prosperity as a resource from which the conditions of a Continental peace might be improved, but that Great Britain must be the sole judge of the respective value of these possessions. Any further proposal on their part I could consider only as dictated by a desire to obstruct the progress of the negotiation and get rid of the Treaty altogether.

With respect to subsidiary arrangements, it appeared to me highly unbecoming to introduce into an instrument, which had for its object the final settlement of Europe, any particular stipulations of this nature. There was no objection to declare generally that Great Britain would assist the Continental Powers both with men and money to the utmost practical extent of her means, but they were too well accustomed to the liberality of the British Government, had too often experienced her generous exertions in their cause, to render a more precise stipulation necessary, even if it were decent and just. On this last point I have reason to hope that considerable impression was made, and that it will not be persevered in, especially as Prince Metternich assisted me in the discussion. I believe, however, that it is intended to present a joint note on the subject, when we shall know exactly what it is they desire.

I see clearly that Prince Metternich, although perfectly ready to sign the Treaty himself, is unwilling to follow the example of Prussia in separating herself from the Allies for fear of giving umbrage to Russia. He therefore will endeavour, if possible, to draw Russia with him. This may be all very right, but I could not help observing to them that they appeared by their conduct almost as anxious to make common cause against us as against France.

LXIX. [C. C. IX., 107.]

CASTLEREAGH TO ABERDEEN.

St. James's Square, December 22nd, 1813.

The march of events is so rapid, the points at issue so important, and the impossibility of keeping pace, by instructions from home with the necessity for them abroad, is such as to require, were it practicable, that the Government itself should repair to headquarters. As it is, they have thought it right that I should, during the recess, proceed there, to make such arrangements as the existing circumstances may require on the spot. You may, therefore, expect me early in the month, and I trust we may be enabled to decide on Pozzo's budget more satisfactorily when the discussions can be conducted under a full knowledge of the existing state of affairs. I shall, therefore, go no further with him or with the other Foreign Ministers here than to ascertain all the points on which they deem it expedient that I should obtain the sentiments of the Government before my departure for my final decision when we meet.

It gives me the greatest pleasure to observe that a little political controversy has made no change in yours and Charles's mutual confidence. If I could have foreseen the great questions that were impending, I should certainly have thrown the three Ministers that were at headquarters into a species of commission, and have required them to consider and decide upon subjects of general policy in their collective capacity, transacting the inferior details in their distinct capacities. What has been wanting was a central authority. The differences have been fewer than might have been apprehended, but where there are several independent authorities, there must be doubts as to the sentiments of the Government, Whilst I state the evil, and advert to what might have been in a great degree the remedy, I must say that, upon the whole, the Government has been most ably served, and I beg you will be assured we do ample justice you all. . . .

PART II

THE MAKING OF THE ALLIANCE
AND
THE FIRST PEACE OF PARIS

