SAXONY

(DRESDEN)

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DRESDEN

FO 68/80: Francis Reginald Forbes to Viscount Palmerston, No 12, Dresden, 13 January 1851

Proceedings at the Dresden Conferences; strength of Austrian influence in Germany detrimental to British commerce; humiliation of Prussia

I believe I may with truth state, that up to the present moment little of any importance has been concluded at the Conference,[1] excepting recording that agreement respecting the Affairs of Holstein, which was in fact settled at Ollmutz [*sic*].[2]

Your Lordship may be assured of one point, that however long the present meeting may last, it will terminate in only making such alterations in the old Germanic Diet, as will strengthen the hands of Austria and Prussia, and afford an opportunity for perhaps conferring a new Name on old institutions, possibly, the greatest difficulty of the moment.

There is no use in disguising two facts – one, that Austrian Influence is now more powerful in Germany than it has ever been, – the Second, that the influence will be chiefly directed to injure the English Commerce, and through this Blow, to attack indirectly Her Majesty's present Government, whose Constitutional and Liberal Policy[3] is blamed and criticized in the most open manner by every one belonging to that of the Austrian Empire. The Southern German States have been promised high Protective Duties, and follow in the wake of their more powerful neighbour in the pursuit of this Bait.

The result of these Conferences will probably be, the giving a larger number of Votes to the two great Powers in the "Limited Council", whilst nearly the same number of Votes will be preserved in the

[1]Dresden Conferences, 23 December 1850–15 May 1851. These were attended by representatives from all members of the German Confederation to discuss the future political and economic organization of Germany.

[2]The Olmütz Punctation was signed by Austria and Prussia on 29 November 1850 and called for the dispatch of federal commissioners to Holstein and the settlement of the crisis on the basis of the laws of the Confederation. The ultimatum set by the commissioners to end all hostilities was accepted by the *Statthalterschaft* on 11 January 1851.

[3]In 1851, the British government was headed by Lord John Russell (prime minister since 1846), and followed a general reformist programme.

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Plenum, each of the powerful Rivals hoping to gain them over and be thus enabled to outvote the other.[4]

There will probably be a new and very limited Law of Election, and a general revision of all existing Constitutions, a measure most palatable to the several Governments which have Chambers.

Prussia, perhaps, submits to Austria for this very purpose, but the fact of her approving all the measures proposed by Prince Schwarzenberg seems almost undoubted.

There is an endless Presentation of Notes and Plans, for all those who assist at these Conferences wish to appear to do something more than listen and approve, although they must feel conscious that these are scarcely attended to, when read.

The Prussians may seek to disguise the Fact, they may even for a time delude themselves; but the feeling exists and must exist, that they have been humiliated and that they owe this humiliation to their present Sovereign and Austria, backed by Russia; and the stronger and more real the enthusiasm lately shewn, the feeling must be proportionately bitter against those who so completely succeeded in neutralizing it. Besides accounts reach Dresden from Bohemia, that the Catholic Clergy are now doubly overbearing against those of another Confession, and are fully aware of the support which the Government is sure to give them: they court every body which can aid their reactionary Plans, but this conduct must be unpalatable to their Protestant Neighbours.

FO 68/81: Francis Reginald Forbes to Viscount Palmerston, Confidential, No 52, Dresden, 23 April 1851

Saxon royal family urging that presence of Eberhardt in London is desirable to prevent terror during the Great Exhibition

I consider it my Duty to transmit to Your Lordship the inclosed Letter and its Translation, which I received on the 21st Ulto from Monsieur Eberhardt, Councillor of the Government (Regierungs Rath) who is now at the Head of the Police Department in Saxony.

[4]According to the Federal Act of 1815, the 'Limited Council' (*Engerer Rat*) of the Federal Diet consisted of seventeen representatives, with Prussia and Austria having one each; in the *Plenum* – whose responsibilities included the admission of new members, military affairs, and any alterations or interpretations of the Federal Act and the Confederation's institutions – each member state had at least one vote and additional votes depending on size (Austria and Prussia having four each).

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His Name and Talents are well known to Their Royal Highnesses, The Duke[5] and Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg Gotha, for He passed a Number of Years at Gotha, which is a sort of Central Point for the Police of all that Part of Germany, and where He had constant Applications for Assistance from most of the neighbouring States.

Having known Him very well in Gotha I see a great Deal of Him here, which will account for his Writing me the inclosed Letter, and when I informed Him that I should transmit it to Your Lordship, He said, He must ask me to beg that his Name might be brought forward there as little as possible, for that the contrary might be of Disadvantage to the good Cause.

Might not his Presence in London at this Moment be of great Use? I am certain, that the Saxon Government would not refuse their Sanction, for I can not conceal from Your Lordship, that there is an universal Terror respecting the Great Exhibition[6] and the Plots probably concerting there amongst such a Collection of reckless Democrats. The King, The Queen,[7] Prince Albert all spoke to me last Monday in this Sense, and begged that I would impress the Danger on my Government, and painful as it is, I must add, that there exists a general Idea, that a Rebellion or Insurrection in Germany would be favourably viewed in London.

I will continue to furnish Your Lordship with any further Information I may obtain, but can vouch generally for the Accuracy of Eberhardt's Information as He is in constant Correspondence with the Heads of the Police in several other Countries.[8]

FO 68/81: Francis Reginald Forbes to Viscount Palmerston, No 87, Dresden, 27 October 1851

Current tranquillity of Germany; apprehensions regarding the future

I had the Honor of receiving on the 11th Ultimo, Your Lordship's Despatch No 26, of the 7th of this Month, transmitting to me for my information, a Copy of One from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires

[5]Ernst II.

[6]The Great Exhibition of 1851 opened on 1 May in London.

[7]Maria Anna.

[8]Enclosures not included in FO 68/81; a note in the volume reads: 'a Letter, and its translation from Mr. Eberhardt, Head of the Police in Saxony, concerning the Plots of the Refugees in London, and giving Extracts of Papers seized here – copy of this Encl to Home Office May 5/57'.

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at Hamburg,[9] reporting the Substance of the answer of that Government to the Austrian and Prussian Notes[10] advising a revision of the Constitution, and instructing me to express to the Governments to which I am accredited, the anxious hope of Her Majesty's Government, that the Diet may not take any steps to interfere on this Head, with the Freedom of the Hamburg People to modify their Constitution according to their own views of their interests.

I availed myself of the first opportunity, and spoke to Monsieur de Beust on this subject, but I entertained small hopes of inducing His Excellency to send instructions in this sense to the Saxon Representative at Frankfort.[11] I was not deceived in my expectations, for he told me at once, that Hamburg was such a Focus of Faction and Democracy, that few German Powers could wish to encourage the Liberal Party and that he would support such resolutions of the Diet as would retain within proper bounds, the dangerous spirit existing there. He also mentioned its being the refuge of so many dangerous characters, and that their presence on the Continent was a constant cause of alarm.

The present state of Germany is the tranquillity which is the consequence of Exhaustion, but I frankly own I entertain great apprehensions that this will not long continue, for the central Provinces, Thuringia, Hesse, &c, are full of smothered discontent and excitement. The Authority of the Frankfort Diet can only be maintained by force; for what moral Respect can be felt for a Body, which only acts in one Sense? – Hanover affords the best instance of this: when His present Majesty, on his accession to the Throne, overturned the Constitution,[12] the Diet refused the complaint of his subjects, and declared itself incompetent to interfere between the Sovereign and them, and now, the same Body is trying to induce His Majesty to alter Laws, because they are too much in favor of those who complained some years before. Times are altered in Germany, and all this is canvassed and appreciated by that middle class, which, generally speaking, are now the richest, and which by giving employment to those lower than themselves, exercise a direct influence on the mass of the Population.

I should be failing in my Duty, were I not to state openly to Your Lordship my humble opinion, that Germany is only quieted

[9]Forbes refers to FO 33/131: George Lloyd Hodges to Viscount Palmerston, No 68, Hamburg, 19 September 1851 (not included in this volume).

[10]Austrian and Prussian notes of 9 August 1851; the Hamburg senate answered on 15 September 1851. For the Hamburg Constitutional Question, see n. 11 in Hamburg section.

[11]Julius Gottlob von Nostitz und Jänkendorf.

[12]The Hanoverian constitution of 1833 was repealed on 1 November 1837. For the constitutional conflict of 1851 see n. 11 in Hanover section.

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on the surface, and that another outbreak will take place at no very distant period. As long as the Troops are steady, the Governments will probably be able to suppress it, but this cannot last for ever, and one, if not two, Regiments forming part of the Garrison of Erfurt, had to be removed elsewhere, on account of the Republican spirit which pervaded them. This is a fact, and was openly mentioned in that Fortress.

FO 68/84: Francis Reginald Forbes to Earl Granville, No 9, Dresden, 30 January 1852

Confidence Saxony will remain committed to parliamentary system despite broad trends of reactionary government in Germany; criticism of foreign exiles residing in Britain; political and economic difficulties throughout Germany

I have perhaps delayed longer than I ought to have done, acknowledging the receipt of Your Lordship's Despatch No 3, of the 13th of this Month, transmitting to me, for my information, Copies of the Representations made to Her Majesty's Government on the Subject of the proceedings of the Foreign Refugees in England, as well as of the Instructions addressed by Your Lordship on that subject to Her Majesty's Ministers and Chargés d'affaires at Vienna, St. Petersburg, Paris and Frankfort.[13]

It reached me on the 19th Ultimo, but I was anxious, previous to addressing Your Lordship, to be able to form some opinion of the effect produced by such an able and temperate answer to their Notes. In some of my preceding Despatches, I have already alluded to the indefinite Hopes raised in most of the existing Governments in the North of Germany by the System of undisguised reaction pursued in Austria and now strengthened by the (temporary?) success of the late changes in France:[14] however, as far as the Saxon Ministers are personally concerned, I am convinced that they will infinitely prefer governing through means of their Diet (as they have hitherto succeeded in doing) to risking such alterations as might only last for a short period; at the same time, the position of this Kingdom leaves the Saxon Government but little independence of action; in the

[13]Earl Granville, in his circular dispatch of 13 January 1852 to the Earl of Westmorland, George Hamilton Seymour, George Sulyarde Stafford Jerningham, and Richard Edwardes, assured these governments that while the British government could not 'propose to change the laws of England', it would consider any 'attempts on the part of the foreign refugees in England to excite insurrection against the Governments of their respective countries [. . .] as a flagrant breach of the hospitality which those persons enjoy'.

[14]Forbes refers to Louis-Napoleon's *coup d'état* of 2 December 1851.

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Germanic Diet they must always follow the impulse given by others, and, although treating their own Political Offenders with a leniency, which has degenerated into weakness, and pardoning immediately after sentence many of those who have been most prominent in the disturbances of the so called, liberal years, must join in deprecating that general protection of Political Refugees in England, which is basised [*sic*] on the generous, though often mistaken feelings of our Nation.

The partial change in Her Majesty's Government,[15] created even here, a very great Sensation; the one Party affected to consider as certain the fulfilment of all their preposterous views, – that now the Refugees would be driven away from England, and the reactionary System openly supported, – whilst the other, with perhaps as little sincerity, and setting aside the firm and steady principles of England, pretended to look upon Constitutional Freedom as shaken to its Base. It was in vain, that I repeated that there exists no Law which could be brought to bear upon the Question of the Political Refugees, and that it seemed impossible for any Government to pass such a Law through the House of Commons, the above erroneous opinions continued, & the German Newspapers teemed with incorrect Reports of that Answer, a Copy of which I owe to Your Lordship's goodness.

I cannot but express the pleasure with which I received this most able answer; and having long perceived, the Bias in his mind, originating most probably from Vienna, I immediately placed it in Monsieur de Beust's hands, for it was of consequence that His Excellency should have a precise Knowledge of it, and not receive, possibly, a garbled copy from Berlin or Vienna. He read it through twice with very great attention, but, speaking sincerely, with apparent disappointment, and after thanking me for this important communication, requested that I would leave it with him to shew to His Majesty. I had not the slightest objection to oppose to this request, and the King next evening thanked me in the most gracious manner for having done so.

I must in justice add, that His Majesty, as well as Prince John, have perfectly understood any remarks upon what is now passing in England, that I have presumed to offer to them, and are quite reasonable in their own observations.

To say that Germany is settled down is idle; in Austria, Martial Law exists with as much severity as heretofore, and not even a Copper Coin is to be seen in the whole Empire; the instant any Specie is issued, it disappears and is hoarded up, which is the greatest proof of want of Confidence in the Government, whilst the moment you pass to Frontier on any side, there is as much Silver in circulation, as one can

[15]In December 1851, Earl Granville succeeded Viscount Palmerston as Foreign Secretary.

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wish. The discontent of the Bohemian Nobility and Gentry is very great, and their large Properties, give them great influence. Even here and in Prussia there exists a feverish feeling of uncertainty, although the Saxon Finances are in a prosperous state.

On one point, I can venture a positive assertion, that if Kossuth were to return to Hungary, his influence is at an end: the Speeches he made in England and in the United States, combined with details of his former life which are now generally known, have completely destroyed any delusion about him.

FO 68/84: Francis Reginald Forbes to Earl of Malmesbury, No 36, Dresden, 23 September 1852

Conversation with Beust on dispute within Zollverein*; pro-Prussian feeling in Leipzig and Dresden; grave danger of present commercial crisis for Germany*

The Baron de Beust returned from Munich[16] yesterday, and I saw him this morning.

His Excellency, in answer to my question, said that he had reason to be satisfied with the result of his journey, for that he had succeeded in procuring an Answer to the last Prussian Note,[17] which was drawn up in such moderate terms, that it threw the whole odium of a rupture of the Zollverein upon Prussia, and made it plain to all, who could or would form any judgment on it, that opposition to and jealousy of Austria were now the only motives of the Prussian Policy; He told me that in this Answer, the Coalition had stated that they would not any longer insist on even a mention of a Commercial Union with all Austria, but only on that Commercial Treaty with her, which Prussia not only designates as desirable, but necessary, and which, with so many points already agreed upon, and even approved of by Prussia, might be negotiated and concluded in a few weeks. He said that Prussia had denounced the Zollverein, unless they accepted her Treaty with Hanover,[18] and that in the face of such an arrogant declaration, they could best assert their independence, by making and keeping to this condition. I alluded to my having heard that Hanover had no wish to remain alone with Prussia (of which Monsr. de Beust was also informed), for she had made her Treaty with the Head of the Zollverein, and not with a single Power, and expressed my fear, that the Government of Berlin might, as a last resource, throw itself into

[16] A meeting of the governments of the Darmstadt Coalition (see n. 10 in Prussia section) was held in Munich from 17 to 19 September 1852.

[17] Prussian note of 30 August 1852.

[18] See n. 9 in Frankfurt section.

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the arms of the Democracy. He said that we had examples enough of what that Government was capable of doing, but that if such were to be the case, all the others would unite against it. I then mentioned the activity of the Prussian Agents here and in Leipzig, and their efforts to procure an outcry against the Government. He said he was prepared for this, and even more, although he hoped there would be no repetition of the scenes of May 1849,[19] but that if they could bring it home to any Individual, they would immediately arrest and punish him. He said that he felt how critical a moment it was, but that if they did fall, it should not be without resistance.

Although aware that there exists no one feeling of Patriotism in Saxony, I can hardly believe the folly of that for Prussia, which exists here and in Leipzig; but such is the case, and it seems nearly incredible that the Inhabitants of this Capital should be so infatuated or stupid as to wish to sink into the rank of a Provincial Town, still I cannot deny the fact, and they are utterly unable to appreciate the virtues, and distinguished Qualities of their excellent Royal Family, on whose presence their very existence depends, for if Saxony were to become a Prey to Prussia, Dresden would be deserted.

I must frankly say, that after so many years passed in Germany, I have never seen a moment, where more is at stake, and less present prospect of an arrangement. Let Prussia remain with or without Hanover, she has received another blow to her moral position: and after her failures at Erfurt & with her College of Princes,[20] – her having been at last forced to send her Representative to the Germanic Diet,[21] – her refusal to send a Plenipotentiary to Vienna,[22] though now admitting a part of what was done without her concurrence, – her refusal to admit an Austrian Plenipotentiary at Berlin, whilst she receives one from Hanover[23] – it is utterly impossible that the first Protestant Power in Germany should occupy that place to which her numerical force gives her the right. That She should be opposed to a Commercial Union with Austria is but natural: She would then stand in the position which she wishes to force on others; but means might

[19]Dresden uprising of May 1849.

[20]Forbes refers to the failed *kleindeutsch* unification project of 1849–1850, also known as the Erfurt Union after the seat of the union's parliament. The Erfurt Union was provisionally continued by the *Fürstenkollegium* (college of princes) from June to November 1850.

[21]Prussia re-entered the Federal Diet on 14 May 1851; its first representative was Theodor Rochus von Rochow.

[22]The Austrian government invited representatives of all the German states to a conference at Vienna, which began on 4 January 1852. It dealt with the Austrian proposals for a general German customs association, with or without Prussia.

[23]The Berlin General Conference of the *Zollverein* lasted from April until September 1852, but was without result. Hanover's representative was Otto Carl Klenze.

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have been found to avoid it, without isolating herself. With the daily extension of the principles of Free Trade in this part of Germany, I must consider that Union as visionary, and there can be but little doubt that its object on the part of Austria is the exclusion of British Commerce and Manufactures, which was a favourite plan of the late Prince Schwarzenberg, who thought it the only way of making War on England. At all events, the Divisions in Germany add daily and hourly to the influence of Russia, who must sooner or later be called upon to mediate between the conflicting Interests and Parties, and therefore will not be inclined to put an end to them, but it would be most desirable, if the Prussian Government could be induced by the persuasion of those Allies who are sincere to it, to meet the other States in their wish not to disturb the Commercial Prosperity of Germany; for the present line of policy, far from establishing her independent position with respect to Austria (the so-called Dualism) has only served to call forth a third Union of the other States, which includes Twelve Millions of Inhabitants, and adds to the already existing disunion.

FO 68/87: Francis Reginald Forbes to Lord John Russell, No 5, Dresden, 21 February 1853

Horror and indignation at assassination attempt on Austrian emperor; criticism towards Britain over handling of refugees

I returned to this Capital on the afternoon of the 18th ultimo, having paid my respects at the Grand-Ducal and Ducal Courts of Saxony, where I was received in the most friendly and distinguished manner.

I will not attempt to describe to Your Lordship the horror and indignation with which the intelligence of the attempt on the life of His Majesty, The Emperor of Austria was received here by the Royal Family and all classes: it reached Dresden by Telegraph in a few hours after it was committed, and spread like lightning.[24] The later accounts have completely reassured the public mind, as to the probability of the slightest danger, for it was feared that the weapon might have been poisoned, but there are reports without end concerning the Criminal, who is stated to have received the sum of Fifty Pounds the day before the event. His immediate declaration of having no accomplices must be considered as a proof of the contrary, and there can be no doubt that a regular Plot has been organized by the Democrats now in England, for it is a remarkable circumstance, that on the very day,

[24] János Libényi attempted to assassinate Emperor Franz Joseph on 18 February 1853. The emperor suffered a wound to the back of the head.

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when the late insurrection at Milan[25] was attempted, all the Leaders of the Democratic Party in Saxony, and who had been the most compromised in the years 1848 and 1849, arrived simultaneously at Dresden, which at the time excited much surprise at the Police, without being able to attribute it to any cause. I neither can, nor ought to conceal from Your Lordship that all this, combined with the Proclamations of Mazzini and Kossuth printed in England,[26] and spread over the Continent as widely as they could, has raised an universal outcry, not so much against the Asylum which the two rebels have found there, as against the facility and impunity, with which they all seem to be allowed to frame and mature their plots, for subverting all order on the Continent, and making their Countries a Prey to murder and pillage. I do assure Your Lordship, that the manner in which England is now spoken of, is painful to the greatest degree, and most difficult to bear. On the evening of the 19th, at the house of the Minister of Justice,[27] Prince John attacked me, in so warm a manner, not even sparing Individuals forming a part of Her Majesty's present Government, that I was forced to make His Royal Highness some very pointed observations, on the weakness shown by almost all the German Sovereigns in the years 1847 and 1848, which must have been disagreeable to him. However in justice to the Prince I must add, that a few minutes later, His Royal Highness came up, and said; "Mon cher ami, j'espère que vous n'attacherez pas d'importance à ce qui s'est passé entre nous tout à l'heure, mais nous vous regardons comme notre ami, et celà entraine, car vos sentimens personnels nous sont parfaitement connus."[28] It is in vain to tell them that there as yet exists no law in England, by which they can be sent out of the Country, and there are a Class who would immediately raise an outcry against passing one: they think that Her Majesty's Government has only to propose such a law to Parliament, and they can, if they wish, carry it through, but one point they do forget, that all of which they now complain, was what they sent their Troops to support in Holstein, where every Outcast of Germany was collected together.[29]

[25]The insurrection, which was prepared by Giuseppe Mazzini, took place on 6 February 1853 (Carnival Sunday). However, the plan to seize the arsenal and incite a popular uprising failed.

[26]During the insurrection at Milan, two proclamations were posted: one called for a general uprising throughout Italy in the name of the 'Italian National Committee', signed by Mazzini; and the other, signed by Kossuth, was directed to the Hungarian soldiers in the Austrian army in Italy.

[27]Ferdinand von Zschinsky.

[28]'My dear friend, I hope that you do not attach any importance to what occurred between us a short while ago – we consider you to be our friend, as your personal feelings are perfectly known to us.'

[29]Forbes is alluding to the First Schleswig-Holstein War of 1848–1851.

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I saw Monsr de Beust yesterday, who was most reasonable, but at the same time told me openly, that he was convinced that if some steps were not taken in England, to protect the Continental Powers from the Refugees there, they would be forced in their own defence to adopt the measures proposed more than a year back by Russia for protecting themselves against England.[30] I must repeat to your Lordship, that well as my own personal opinions are known, and by no one better than the Austrian Minister[31] at this Court, who has always shown me the greatest attention as to Passports &ca., the constant reproaches concerning the impunity of the Refugees in England are most grating, and I must sincerely express my fervent hope, that Her Majesty's Government may, with the assistance of Parliament, be enabled to frame some measures to put a stop to what is so contrary to every principle of international Justice.

FO 68/87: Francis Reginald Forbes to Earl of Clarendon, No 25, Dresden, 4 May 1853

Beust's tour of Saxon manufacturing districts; importance of Zollverein *for Saxon commerce; great progress of Saxon industry*

Monsieur de Beust returned last Saturday night from an official Tour to Chemnitz Zwickau, and the other manufacturing Districts, which is his first Visit there, since he has held the Home Department. His Excellency was everywhere received in a manner with which he might well be satisfied, and informed me, that not only the Inhabitants were becoming every day more quiet, and loyal, but that the Heads of the principal Manufactories, where there is an immense Property at stake, had waited on him, and expressed in the strongest Terms, their entire confidence in the Government.

They also told him; that although they were delighted at the continuance of the Zollverein, and at the Treaty between it and Austria,[32] they had made every possible arrangement for the Event of a Rupture with Prussia, and had not entertained any serious apprehensions of its Consequences.

[30] In a letter to Baron Brunnow dated 9 December 1851, Count Nesselrode had suggested that Russia would restrict the entry of British citizens as a result of the Refugee Question, citing the precedent of British measures taken against American citizens in 1848. He also entered into negotiations with the governments of Austria and Prussia regarding the possibility of simultaneous measures.

[31] Franz Seraphim Graf von Kuefstein.

[32] For the continuation of the *Zollverein* and the Austro-Prussian commercial treaty, see n. 90 in Württemberg section and n. 5 in Bavaria section.

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How far this last assertion may be sincere, is very doubtful, and I have always feared, that a Rupture of the Zollverein must have produced much Misery, but it is quite certain that the Saxon Industry and Manufactories are making immense Strides. Machinery of all Sorts is now made at Chemnitz, and is not only sent to all Parts of Germany, but even exported to Russia. Coarse Hosiery is also sent in large quantities to the United States, and the present Government are doing all in their Power to favour the Development of the different Branches of Industry.

The mining Academy at Freiberg[33] is considered to be on such a superior Footing, that there are Students from all Parts of Europe, even from Spain, and the Mines are still very productive: In the first three months of the present Year, the Mines of the Freiberg District have brought in nearly Three Hundred Thousand Thalers: (almost £45,000) there were 2,374 Pounds of Silver, besides other Minerals, and although the net Profit to the State is not very large, they afford Employment, and Means of Subsistence to the large and poor Population of the Mountains. The Coal Mines in the Neighbourhood of Zwickau have been worked in the last Year to the Value of £140,000; no account of those in the Neighbourhood of this Capital has as yet been published, but there cannot be a better Proof of their Value, than the Fact, that a Subscription having been opened for a Railroad, which at present will only extend about Eight English Miles (although it will certainly be continued to Freiberg and eventually to Chemnitz) but will pass through the midst of them, a much larger Sum, than was requisite, was subscribed in Two days.

If it only prospers one half as well, as the Railroad between this Capital and Leipzig, the Shareholders may think themselves lucky for in the last Meeting of those Subscribers, they received 14 per Cent, net; however the Government has made a much better Bargain respecting the one towards Freiberg, and has reserved a Right of buying it back in a fixed Term of Years.

FO 68/87: Francis Reginald Forbes to Earl of Clarendon, No 35, Dresden, 2 July 1853

Feelings in Saxony on Eastern Question; desire of Prussia and Austria to maintain peace; French opposition to Russia; Saxon concern over Franco-British alliance

I had the Honour of receiving on the 19th of the preceding Month, your Lordship's Despatch No 7 of the 14th of last June, in which you are

[33] *Bergbauakademie* in Freiberg, founded in 1765.

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pleased to inform me of the view taken by Her Majesty's Government, of the grave Events now occurring in Turkey,[34] and to instruct me to take every proper opportunity of urging on the Saxon Government the necessity, that they should use all their influence, in favour of moderate and pacific Counsels.

The Members of the Saxon Government, and particularly Monsieur de Beust, are very much on their Guard, when speaking of the Line of Policy now adopted by Russia towards Turkey, and it must be admitted, that as small a Power as Saxony, placed between two of the largest, can hardly pretend to have an independent position: She must follow in the Wake of one of her Two great Neighbourgs [*sic*], and with the undisguised leaning of Monsieur de Beust towards Austria, Saxony must and will act in conformity with her. Luckily on this great Question, Austria and Prussia seem as yet to have the same Wish and opinion, that of maintaining Peace: the French Legation in Berlin are loud in their Praises of of [*sic*] the able and honourable Conduct of Monsieur de Manteuffel at such a critical Moment, and surely Austria cannot wish to see Russia again in the Principalities,[35] nor engaged in a War, on the Frontiers of that part of her Empire, where she feels herself least secure.

My French Colleague, Monsieur Mercier, called on me yesterday, and read out to me one of the ablest Dispatches,[36] I have ever heard, placing the Conduct of Russia towards Turkey in its proper light, stating that France might just as well put forward the same pretentions, as to the Roman Catholick Subjects of the Porte, and pointing out, that no Treaty between the Two Powers can be fairly brought forward to authorize the Russian Pretentions.[37] Monsieur Mercier informed me, that he had given this Dispatch to Monsieur de Beust, for the purpose of its being laid before His Majesty, but added, that he did not expect

[34]Clarendon wrote that, following the breakdown of negotiations at Constantinople (owing to the Russian demand to become the protector of Orthodox Christians throughout the empire), Britain and France had urged the Ottoman Empire not to accept the Russian ultimatum, and ordered their fleets to the Dardanelles. While admitting that the situation was grave, Britain hoped that Austria's similar desire to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and stability in Europe could lead to a peaceful solution. As a result, envoys were instructed to use 'every proper opportunity of urging the Government to which they are accredited to use all the influence they possess in favour of moderate and pacific counsels'.

[35]Russia had intervened in Wallachia and Moldavia during the revolutionary events of 1848. The Convention of Balta Liman of 1 May 1849 resulted in the joint occupation of the principalities by Russian and Turkish troops, who remained until 1851.

[36]Circular dispatch of the French foreign minister, Drouyn de Lhuys, dated Paris, 25 June 1853.

[37]Russia justified these claims by referring to the Treaties of Kuchuk Kainarji (1774), Bucharest (1812), and Adrianople (1829).

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any very extended Comment from Monsieur de Beust on its Contents, for that I must also have remarked, how much that Minister as well as the most of our Colleagues avoided entering on the subject with us Two. This is certainly the Case, and however little a War is wished for, the intimate Alliance between France and England, is no source of Pleasure to any of them.

The Feeling in all this part of Germany is decidedly and strongly opposed to Russia and Russian influence: that is the general Feeling, for the several Governments, who are now recovered from their Terror during the preceding Years,[38] and are trying to get back, what they had not the courage then to refuse, even in Part, look to her as the only Power, which would come to their assistance, whenever there occurs another outbreak in Germany. With all this, the Russians, who pass through Dresden in great Numbers speak with such undisguised contempt of the Austrian Officers and Soldiers (but chiefly of the former) that it is impossible it should remain unknown to them.

I cannot presume to pronounce an opinion, as to whether Russia will proceed to Extremities: She has no one just ground for occupying the Principalities, and if the other European Powers have good Reasons for wishing to avoid a War, She has just as many: Poland is quiet from Exhaustion, and from seeing a present impossibility of Success: but their Spirit and Hatred of Russia are still there, and any reverse experienced by that Power will be hailed with joy in all Parts of Germany.

I saw Monsieur de Beust this afternoon, and spoke to him of the French Dispatch; he admitted, that it was ably written, but said that it was refuted by an Article in the Journal de St. Petersburg on the 22^{d} Ulto, which refers to a Protocol on the Greek Affairs of the 3rd of February, 1830,[39] in which France claimed a Protectorate over the Catholick Subjects of the Porte. I answered, that the position of France, and her distance from Turkey placed any pretention of this Sort on a very different Footing, and that Russia ought to weigh the matter well, before she engaged in a War at the present Moment. Monsieur de Beust answered, "But France ought to know, that in the Event of a War, Austria and Prussia will side with Russia." I said "I suppose the former might think herself obliged to do so, but for the Second, the Case appears different, and both should not forget, to what losses they are exposed by a maritime War, with two such United Powers: their commerce, Navy, and Ports would be ruined in a very short time." Monsieur de Beust merely added, that he hoped Things would not come to this Extremity, and terminated the Conversation.

[38]Forbes is alluding to the revolutionary events of 1848–1849.

[39]The Third Protocol of London was adopted by the protecting powers on 3 February 1830. This established religious toleration and guaranteed the privileges of the Roman Church in the newly established Greek state.

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I have no means of judging, whether what he said, is grounded or not, but the Prussian Officers and Army have the most violent and open dislike to the Russians.

FO 68/92: Francis Reginald Forbes to Earl of Clarendon, Confidential, No 21, Dresden, 28 April 1854

Visit of the Duke of Cambridge; tensions due to divergent views on the Crimean War and pro-Russian feeling in Saxon court

I avail myself of the passage of a French messenger, which enables me to enter into some Details as to the visit of the Duke of Cambridge.[40]

I had already been apprized of His Royal Highness' arrival by Telegraphick Messages from Berlin and Vienna, for the one from Paris did not reach me, till the night of the 19th. I wrote to Monsieur de Beust, as well as to Monsieur de Gersdorff, saying to the latter, that I would have dinner prepared for His Royal Highness at my house, as I felt certain He would only pass through Dresden, and would meet him at the station with my carriages. Monsieur de Gersdorff immediately answered, that the Royal carriages would be sent for him, and that His Royal Highness, as well as The Hereditary Grand Duke and Duchess of Mecklenbourg Strelitz,[41] who arrived a short time before the Duke, would be invited to dine at Court. There was some delay as to the Train from Leipzig, so that His Royal Highness could not, as He had originally intended, merely pass through this Capital, and remain the night at Prague, and consequently Their Royal Highnesses rather unwillingly accepted His Majesty's invitation to dine at the Vineyard, three miles from Dresden, which prevented their passing quietly together the few hours that chance had afforded them. I was equally honoured with an invitation. The King and Queen[42] received Their Royal Highnesses in the most friendly manner, although His Majesty was evidently not in his usual state of mind, and His Royal Highness' Allusions to his Journey and Campaign[43] were but coldly received by The King. As soon as dinner was over, Their Majesties led the way to the Terrace, and the Duke and Grand Duchess having accompanied The Queen, The King began to speak on the War with the Grand Duke, and worked himself up into a state of irritation such as I have never before witnessed, His gestures, when speaking, being most animated, and his face flushed with Anger.

[40] Prince George.
[41] Friedrich Wilhelm and Augusta.
[42] Maria Anna.
[43] Prince George, divisional commander in the British army since February 1854, was on his way to Constantinople and the Crimea; on his journey to the theatre of war he was to deliver a letter from Queen Victoria to Emperor Franz Joseph in Vienna.

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The Queen, who has more command over herself, but who during the dinner had been remarkably silent and out of Spirits, equally pronounced Opinions to the Duke of Cambridge, which surprised His Royal Highness to the greatest degree.

His Royal Highness left this [*sic*] for Vienna at Ten o'clock that night, but I hope, that I may be forgiven for adding one additional Proof of the violent feeling existing here against England and France. The Grand Duchess on taking leave of Her Royal Brother, as the Train moved off, was deeply affected even to Tears, and took my arm to return to Her carriage: when Prince Albert of Saxony, who had accompanied the Prince of Wasa,[44] approached, and I drew back, imagining, that He would offer Her his arm (which he did not): The Grand Duchess said "it is dreadful to take leave of one's Brother under such circumstances". Prince Albert merely answered, "And He is going to fight side by side with Klapka" and left her, to proceed to the carriage. Her Royal Highness was deeply shocked, and along with The Grand Duke left Dresden on the afternoon of Sunday, the 23rd to return to Strelitz.

In short here, as well as in most of the smaller German States, the Sovereigns seem not only to think, that they owe their Thrones to Russian protection alone, but what is incomprehensible to every Englishman, feel no reluctance in openly admitting it.

My sole and unanswerable reply to all their querulous abuse of England and France here is, "If you are certain of an eventual agitation on the part of the Liberals, prepare for it in Time: but if they outnumber you, then do not tell me, that your Governments or administrations are good: if they were worth preserving unaltered, all who have any property to lose, would rally round, and support them". For this however, a national feeling were requisite, and it exists not in this part of Germany.

FO 68/92: Francis Reginald Forbes to Earl of Clarendon, Confidential, No 51, Dresden, 15 August 1854

Accession of King Johann; comparison with his predecessor, Friedrich August II; favourable impressions of Johann, despite pro-Russian leanings

The passage of the French Courier affords me the usual opportunity of writing unreservedly concerning the late change of Sovereigns.[45]

[44] Gustav.

[45] Johann succeeded Friedrich August II as King of Saxony on 9 August 1854.

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It can not be unknown to Your Lordship, that nine or ten years ago there existed a strong Prejudice against the present King of Saxony on account as well of his supposed Bigotry, as of his unconstitutional Tendencies, and that this Feeling operated in Favour of the late King who was known to be extremely liberal on matters of Religion, and was apparently sincerely attached to the Constitution. The years, 1848, and 1849 have materially altered both these opinions. As respects the late King, it was discovered, that He in Fact had very few decided opinions, though honest about them, when they did exist, and that his Constitutionalism was rather the Result of an habitual Dislike to Business and of His wish to enjoy a Private Life as much as it was possible, than of any real Inclination for the Representative Form of Government; whilst His Brother now on the throne took the greatest interest in all that passed, was better informed on all Subjects than most men, and generally speaking alive to any infringement of what He had sworn. Of late years, He was the only adviser of his Predecessor, and it is well known, that He was the only Person, who could induce the late King, to oppose the views of Monsieur de Beust, who up to the accession of the present King was de facto Sovereign of Saxony. Then came the Insurrection of 1849,[46] and neither the Publick nor the Troops have ever forgotten the late King's precipitate Retreat to Königstein, nor the prolonged stay He made there long after all and every Danger was over.

The Prince Royal, Albert, has hitherto had no thought but for Military affairs and the army. His Marriage was also very unpopular, although the Princess[47] by Her natural and unaffected kindness gains every day in publick Opinion. At one time, there certainly existed a Wish, that He should ascend the Throne on the Death of his Uncle but this is now completely at an End, and they say "He is too young and has yet much to learn": the present King's accession is backed by the Majority with sincere satisfaction. I will not state, that Monsieur de Beust entirely participates in this Feeling. The present King has never attempted to conceal His leaning towards Russia, which in all these small states is the Counter-poison to Democracy, but He speaks freely on the subject, is open to Conviction and will neither consent to, nor sanction any Measure until He has thoroughly examined and sifted it. I can already remark, that my Russian Colleague[48] is by no means satisfied with the new King and that this feeling does not entirely proceed from personal regret for the late King, who scarcely

[46]Dresden uprising of May 1849.
[47]Carola.
[48]Andrei Andreievitch Schreder.

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ever spoke on Business or the current Events with any of the Foreign Ministers. It was impossible to dislike His Late Majesty, but out of the Circle of his Family, He neither sought for nor seemed to wish for anything approaching to intimacy.

Of all the Foreign Ministers I have had the most opportunity of seeing Him in private, but there was always a Degree of Coldness and Embarrassment in his manner. Impartial judges all agree in saying, that the present King is a better and active Sovereign, and whatever may be his private Opinions about Russia, I am convinced that He will never allow His Reason to be unduly biased by them.

FO 68/95: Francis Reginald Forbes to Earl of Clarendon, No 6, Dresden, 4 February 1855

Debates in Saxon chambers over enlistment of Saxon citizens in British German Legion; unpopularity of Britain throughout Germany

On the 1st of this month a question, as well as a motion concerning the enlistment for an English Foreign Legion,[49] were brought forward in the first Saxon Chamber. A Baron de Welcke [*sic*] (of that Class, which are to be found in every Country, where the Representative System exists) a man with more application than Intellect, but who imagines he is of great political importance, because he meddles in every thing, had given notice of these two days Previous: I asked Monsieur de Beust how he intended to meet the two. He said that it was quite contrary to his Wishes, that the subject had been mentioned, and that he had desired one of his friends to speak about it to Monsieur de Welcke, but added, "you know him, and that this will be of no use!" that he would do all in his power to prevent a debate, which would only lead to Irritation on all sides. Monsieur de Welcke began by saying it was a well known fact, that England intended to raise a Foreign Legion for the purpose of prosecuting the War in the East, that she principally looked to Germany, and the English policy recoiled from no means for attaining its ends. That the Saxon Laws have from time immemorial forbidden Recruitment for a Foreign Service, still there was no such facility now afforded to Emigration, it was extremely possible, that Saxon subjects might be persuaded to enter the English Foreign Legion, without obstacles being thrown in their way. Admitting, that the Saxon Government may be occupied with

[49]Mercenaries from Germany were recruited for the British German Legion on the basis of the Enlistment of Foreigners Act of 1854 (see n. 23 in Hanover section). The 14,000 men of the 'Foreign Legion' (which also included the Italian and Swiss Legion) were not actively involved in the Crimean War and were dismissed after its end.

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measures for obviating this, it would be satisfactory to many of the Inhabitants if they were to publish either a prohibition, or a warning, and in case that the Government gave him no satisfactory answer on this point, he would eventually move, – "that this Chamber in conjunction with the second request the Government to employ all means at their disposition to hinder its Inhabitants being seduced into entering the English Foreign Legion, or emigrating for that purpose". That he wished also to mention another still more national German point: "all would recollect the scathing manner in which the "Times"[50] whilst alluding to the above mentioned subject, had dared to speak of the qualities of the German Nation, as furnishing the most serviceable elements for a Foreign Legion. The Confederation ought surely to take the field against such Calumnies and to propose at least such measures against the English Recruitments in all German states. He would put this further question to the Government, whether they were inclined to propose the requisite measure to the Germanick Diet". If the Government consider this as impracticable, he will propose the following Motion to this Chamber "that the two Chambers shall conjointly request the Government to take competent steps at the Germanick Diet, through which Recruitment for the English Foreign Legion may be forbidden in all the states of the Confederation, and to restrain the Inhabitants from entering it". Monsieur de Beust rose, and said, that although he had no other notice of the above, than that it would be brought forward on that day, he would not refrain from saying a few words in answer. The Government had from the first had their attention fixed on this subject, because it was so intimately connected with the welfare of the Saxons: still that the measures to be adopted must not only be regulated by the Laws of the Country but by consideration out of it. That he would assure them, that on all these points, everything requisite had been done, and he hoped that this assurance would be considered sufficient when he added another to it: that according to all his received Reports, no attempt had been made as yet, to recruit Saxons in this Kingdom, and that the number of Saxon Subjects, who had left home for those places, was very small. That he would not now enter upon the last question, but could not omit observing, that the same subject had already been alluded to elsewhere, without being in fact seconded and it must be weighed, whether the care of their Subjects were not better left in the hands of each individual Government, whilst a demonstration from the Germanick Confederation would place it in a different point of view. Monsieur de Welcke declared himself satisfied, and the whole subject dropped. Your Lordship will hardly

[50] *The Times*, 6 January 1855.

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believe the degree of unpopularity, in which England now stands in Germany: the upper Classes who pretend to be enlightened, and well informed, read the Articles in the "Times" and those Speeches in Parliament alone, which laugh or sneer at Germany: and vain of their own acquirements (and God knows, there is little ground for vanity!) look up to Russia, the avowed enemy to all mental improvement, and work as much as they can on the Classes lower than themselves. It is impossible to make them understand, that the English Government has no control over the Parliament or the press, and to give an instance of their Violence, a young man related to one of the first families here made an application to me, and wished to enter the Foreign Legion as Officer. A rich relation, Count Einsiedel, sent for him and said, he was always happy to assist him, but if he entered the English Service in any shape, he would never again give him one sixpence.

FO 68/95: Francis Reginald Forbes to Earl of Clarendon, No 38, Dresden, 17 September 1855

Reactions to news of the fall of Sevastopol; regret and disappointment among upper classes; middle classes divided between delight at Russian defeat and continued jealousy of England

The glorious Intelligence of the taking of Sebastopol[51] reached Dresden in the night of the 10th to the 11th of this month by a Telegraphick Despatch to the French Minister,[52] a copy of which He immediately sent to me. A few hours later, this government received from Berlin, a copy of Prince Gortschakoff's account of the same event, which entirely confirms the French Intelligence. I immediately took every possible means of spreading the news of the successes of the Allies, but it was not generally known until the following morning, when both accounts appeared in the official Dresden Journal,[53] although several Persons sent to me the same evening to inquire as to the truth.

The impression produced is exactly what I expected in the higher class, and those who surround the court it is one of deep and undisguised regret and Disappointment. They have gone on for such

[51]The Siege of Sevastopol by British and French troops lasted from 8 October 1854 to 9 September 1855.

[52]Alexandre, baron de Forth-Rouen.

[53]The *Dresdner Journal* was founded in 1846 and became an official government organ in 1850.

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a length of time persuading themselves that Russia was invincible, and that she could defy the two greatest Powers in Europe that they hesitate now to believe what admits of no doubt, and lose sight of her brilliant and magnificent Defence.

In the third and middling classes, the effect is exactly the contrary, and their delight at the Russian defeat is only tempered by their Jealousy of England, for, strange as it may appear, the Friends of Russia are infinitely more bitter against England than France, and in all the North of Germany, with perhaps the exception of Hanover there is, towards us, an universal feeling of envy, pervading all classes, even those who have enlightened opinions. It may be that they consider France as having no prospect for the future on which dependance may be placed, whilst the great good sense in England and the command of capital insure her a position in Europe, which is grating to all, and particularly to that class of states, which feel their dependance on others, however they may seek to delude themselves with a fiction of Union. These very states are the causes of the humiliation of Russia, for their Governments have gone on encouraging her to prolong a contest in which she must ultimately fall.

All this but tends to widen the breach between the higher and middling classes, and the pretentions of the former unsupported as they are by fortune, Information or Talent, and looking for support to foreign aid, become daily less bearable to those who are much richer and enlightened than those who affect to look down on them. A member of the Upper Saxon Chamber, belonging to a mediatised house, lately asked me whether I did not think it a shame that people of no birth whatever, like Messieurs de Bruck, Bach, Pfordten, &c, should be at the head of all the German Governments. I said, I thought it was a shame, but that this applied to the higher class, who are not able to fill the places from which they wanted to turn out the others. I added "Look around you here, in Saxony, I do not agree with M de Beust in his political opinions though feeling the highest respect for his integrity, and were he no longer Minister, who, in your class could take his place?" He literally could give me no satisfactory answer.

I already perceive one great alteration, and that is in the language of one class of employe's [*sic*] regarding Russia: formerly they did not dare to say one word against her, whilst now they speak openly of the undue Interference in everything which the Government has so long admitted. M. de Beust returns on the 18th of this month, and I am curious to hear his opinions as well as to see how he will affect to feel the fall of Sebastopol.

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FO 68/95: Francis Reginald Forbes to Earl of Clarendon, No 40, Dresden, 14 October 1855

Pamphlet by Gustav Diezel; difficulties of and obstacles to German unity; strength of regional and class divisions; Zollverein *as greatest step towards overcoming these*

On the 24th of the preceding month, I had the honour of receiving Your Lordship's Despatch No 19, of the 10th of September last, informing me that the attention of Her Majesty's Government had been called to an able Pamphlet[54] published in Gotha by a Monsieur Gustav Diezel, on the necessity of forming a national spirit in Germany at the present moment, and instructing me to report on the effect it had produced here, with the addition of any Remarks which may occur to me on its Perusal.

I could not take upon myself to answer Your Lordship immediately after receiving the Despatch, although this Pamphlet had already been forbidden by an order from the Home Office: I waited until I could ascertain whether it had been much read or talked of; so few had heard of its existence that I asked M. de Beust what had induced him to prohibit its sale. He answered that I knew how unwilling he is to use the extensive powers against the Press with which the Law invests him, that he had left unnoticed a work by Gervinus,[55] much more cleverly written and infinitely more dangerous in its Principles, from not wishing to raise curiosity, but that this Pamphlet contained so many attacks on Sovereigns that it was impossible to respect Monarchy and leave it unpunished and that this was the sole reason of his having forbidden the sale.

Many persons think that the name is not that of the real author, for it seems strange to write on such a serious subject from a small village[56] in Wirtemberg. That it is clever is certain, but it commences in the first page with the writer openly declaring his conviction of the inutility of writing Political Pamphlets (in which I fully agree with Him) for that every system and Theory may hope to find Partisans in the Publick but the moment it becomes a Question of Activity or active support of these "The words seem to have fallen without leaving a trace, creating only hesitation and doubt, and the man who imagines that he can reunite for Acts of Self-Resignation and Sacrifice what is so widely separated, is, from the first more certain of Ridicule and Mockery than success".

[54]See n. 28 in Hanover section.

[55]Beust was most probably alluding to Gervinus' *Einleitung in die Geschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1853).

[56]Göppingen.

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Again "In Times of War and Crisis, positive force seems alone to decide, and these are at the Disposal of the Governments. The last Months have undeceived all those who could for a moment think of working on the latter. What eloquence has not been expended on Prussia and without effect; the German Governments are influenced by Foreign Powers, not by political Writers".

This Monsieur Diezel admits that, with the exception of the two great Powers, the essence of the Confederation is peace, and particularly as not one of the Minor States has anything to gain in a War. That the constant vacillation of the Minor States towards Austria and Prussia prevents, to a certain degree, the overweening aggrandizement of either, and is therefore of such importance to Russia, that they feel themselves sure of her support and look up to her for it.

With all these admissions in the very beginning, the Author fills nearly one Hundred and forty pages, without, in my humble opinion, bringing forward anything to controvert them. Besides which, what does he mean by a national spirit? The North and South of Germany differ in manners, appearance, religion, almost in language, for they scarcely understand each other, and if it increases the political importance, will the Individuals be the happier for it? If he looks to a national Representation at Frankfort, it can only be done under the auspices of Prussia, and have they any reason to be proud of their last attempt at Erfurt,[57] in that line. Each individual state is admirably administered, their very smallness enables the Governments to attend to the wants and comforts of the lower classes, and if Germany becomes more united, it will be forced to interfere in War: besides the more united or general the Spirit becomes, it must entail the Disappearance of most of the smaller States who will be swallowed up in some powerful neighbour perhaps Prussia, for a national Representation of Independent States, each of which votes its own Budget, can only meddle in general policy, and involve them in some such War as that of Holstein[58] and probably to terminate like it.

The raising a national feeling is but too often only a Pretext for Revolution, and requires no ordinary Rulers to control and direct it: its first victims would be the nobility who are certainly not fit for as arduous a Task. With very few exceptions the prominent persons in most of the German Governments are of a secondary class, such as Monsieur de Manteuffel in Berlin and Monsieur de Pfordten in Munich, or men of no birth like Monsieur Bruck and Monsieur Bach in Austria. Even here there is only Monsieur de Beust, nor have the

[57] Forbes is alluding to the Erfurt Union of 1849–1850 (see n. 4 in Hanover section).
[58] First Schleswig-Holstein War, 1848–1851.

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last eight years produced anyone in the highest classes who can take their Places. That their [*sic*] may be Agitation, even partial outbreaks, is possible, but only in some years, the more so, as Russia is no longer such an object of fear to one Party, nor of Hope to the other. But the many Courts and Governments in Germany are of the greatest value of the nobility, as affording a Provision for their children small and miserable as the salaries are, and though the Prejudice as to Quarterings renders it difficult for the Third Class to pretend to those about the courts, they may loose [*sic*] their Fortunes.

Were the nobility to seek alliances with this richer but lower class they not only would add to their very small Incomes, but would gain the support of one much more numerous than themselves. Still as Germany now is, the hatred is strong between the inhabitants of the different states, as it once was between England and France. To go no further, the Saxons (excepting some of the Leipzig merchants) and Prussians dislike and ridicule each other on every occasion, while again the same bitter feeling exists between the Saxons and Bohemians, which last protest loudly against even being called Germans: the Bavarians dislike the Austrians and Swabians, and there exists everywhere in the same Kingdom unfriendly feelings between Towns.

I have now passed nearly Twenty seven years in Germany and certainly we owe to Prussia by the Zoll-verein, the greatest step that has yet been made towards bringing about a Diminution of the Dislike which existed between Countries joining each other, and speaking the same language, but it is only a Diminution, and this Pamphlet, which has been but little read in Saxony (there exists a Dislike to what is printed at Gotha, which is considered almost as a Focus of Democracy) cannot produce a "national feeling". I have never seen yet anything approaching it except on the Question of France extending her Frontier to the Rhine. If a national party arises it can only be to do away the Subdivisions of Germany and make it one great active and acting mass. And I should be curious to see which of the Minor Sovereigns will like to throw his own Territory and Independence into the Mass (though quite ready to take possession of those of His neighbour) the Fermentation of which is to produce a National Party.

FO 68/99: Francis Reginald Forbes to Earl of Clarendon, No 59, Dresden, 21 December 1856

Remarks on Saxon architecture

I had the honour of receiving, first, on the 19th of October, Your Lordship's Circular, dated the 14th of the same month, transmitting

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copies of the Conditions on which Designs for a monument to be erected to the memory of the late Duke of Wellington from Foreign Artists would be received.

And on the 22nd of the preceding month, November, I had equally the honour of receiving Your Lordship's Circular of the 14th of that month, with printed copies of the conditions (accompanied by Maps) on which designs of foreign Artists for certain Publick Offices in London would be received by Her Majesty's Government.

On both occasions, I transmitted copies of the several Enclosures to the Baron de Beust who holds the Home as well as the Foreign Department, along with explanatory notes; from the Home Department I conclude that copies will be sent to the Schools of Architecture, but I cannot hold out a Prospect of any good resulting from them.

It would be difficult to say which is worse in Saxony, of their Publick or domestic Architecture. The two great Buildings of late years, are the Theatre and Museum,[59] as they call the Picture-Gallery: it, in fact, contains other collections. The exterior of the Theatre is far from handsome; it is a heavy misshapen mass with two principal fronts, the one of which is flat, and has not sufficient extent for its height, whilst the other Facade is semicircular, and would be appropriate for a hot climate. The interior arrangements are very good.

This is exactly the case with the Picture-Gallery: The exterior is very ugly, heavy, and of a different style of Architecture from the rest of the beautiful Zwinger, whilst the Interior for the Pictures is excellent.

I have taken the liberty of acknowledging the two circulars in the same Despatch for they are written on the same subject.

FO 68/102: Francis Reginald Forbes to Earl of Clarendon, No 30, Dresden, 29 June 1857

Observations on penal system and capital punishment in Saxony

I had the honour of receiving, yesterday, Your Lordship's Despatch No 12, of the 20th of this month, containing a copy of an Article from the "Allgemeiner Anzeiger" of Cologne, respecting the transmission of Felons to Australia at the Expense of German Governments.

I have never yet heard of anything of the sort being even thought of in Saxony: if it were the case it could hardly be kept a profound secret, and the Press is so little restrained, that it would have found its

[59]The first *Hoftheater*, completed in 1841 (burned down in 1869), and the *Gemäldegalerie*, completed in 1854. Both were designed by Gottfried Semper.

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way into some Provincial Paper. I shall however make every Inquiry, before taking any official Step. There are several Penal Establishments in Saxony; the two principal ones are at Waldheim, not far from Chemnitz (the Third town in Saxony) and in the old Royal Residence of Hubertusberg: but Waldheim is the prison in which criminals are principally confined who are either condemned to hard labour for life or for a lengthened term of years. There is also a large Penitentiary for both sexes at Zwickau, and all three are admirably conducted. Murder is not a common occurrence in Saxony, and capital Punishments are rare: they are now inflicted by a sort of Guillotine, on which they here imagine they have made improvements, but it obviates such horrid scenes as have occurred not long ago, where the Sword was in use.[60] The Executions always take place in the courtyard of the Prison and in the presence of the Authorities, and of the few Persons who are admitted by them. This system of private execution is found to be very advantageous: it puts an end to any Theatrical Display of false courage on the part of the Criminal, and does not familiarize the spectators (mostly Women and young people) with such dreadful scenes. It might well be introduced everywhere, and principally in populous cities like London and Paris.

FO 68/102: Francis Reginald Forbes to Earl of Clarendon, No 58, Dresden, 31 October 1857

Reactions to British military success in India; feelings towards Britain in Saxony, Prussia, and Austria; conversation with Metternich

The inhabitants of Dresden are at no pains to conceal their Disappointment at any success of Her Majesty's arms in India, and the intelligence of the fall of Delhi[61] was received here with evident displeasure. This feeling pervades the higher classes who are all jealous of England, and I can not say that one single Saxon has congratulated me on the turn affairs have lately taken in India. If they mention it at all, it is to allude to the difficulties which England has yet to surmount, and which, I take care to answer, will all be vanquished by that perseverant bravery, which increases even after a check, and is sure to conquer in the end. I am told that the same narrow minded spirit prevails also in Prussia, but Your Lordship must have better information on this head than I can attain. At the same time that the

[60]The *Fallschwert* was introduced in Saxony in 1853. Württemberg adopted it in the same year, and Bavaria the next.

[61]During the Sepoy Uprising, Delhi was held by Indian rebels from May 1857 until its recapture by British troops in September.

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Austrians, whom I see, high or low, are all sincerely delighted at any good intelligence. During his late stay here, old Prince Metternich spoke to me on the subject with warmth, and gratitude, for all the Kindness he had received in England.[62] He said that He had never for one moment doubted what the issue of the contest would be, for that the English were sure to conquer: that the contrary would be the greatest of misfortunes for all Europe; and that He was convinced that every Austrian thought like Him. That his opinion was, that the territory was too extensive for England to hold through her troops, as she now must; and that he would not regret, for us, a Diminution of it. This is exactly the same language which Count Buol held, when he called on me about a week later, and I have never heard the Austrians speak in any other sense.

The higher classes here are so narrow minded that they partly dislike the English because the numbers settled in Dresden have made living dearer, and they blame our country for their personal inconvenience. The middling Class are wiser: we pay better and hire their houses, and they, if not more sincere, conceal their Feelings better. The Saxon Press is just, and moderate.

FO 68/104: Francis Reginald Forbes to Earl of Clarendon, No 2, Dresden, 18 January 1858

Sensation created by assassination attempt on French emperor; opposition towards Britain because of Refugee Question

The Intelligence of the miserable attempt on the life of the Emperor of the French[63] has awakened the Saxons from their usual apathy, and has created more sensation here than I expected. The recollection of the friendship between the Emperor Napoleon and the first King of Saxony Frederick Augustus still exists, and they do not forget that He gave back a part of Poland under the name of Grand Duchy to their Sovereign;[64] they therefore feel really interested in the present dynasty, and have a horror for that premeditated system of assassination which is not in the German character. They join with the French

[62]Metternich had taken refuge in England in 1848, following the Vienna March Revolution.

[63]The Italian nationalist Felice Orsini had attempted to assassinate Napoleon III in Paris on 14 January 1858.

[64]Between 1697 and 1763, the Wettins had been Kings of Poland as well as Electors of Saxony. The 1807 Treaties of Tilsit had placed the newly created Duchy of Warsaw in a personal union with Saxony under Friedrich August I, which lasted until the dissolution of the duchy in 1813.

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in expressions of joy that this execrable Plot (as far as it is yet known) should have been conceived and executed only by Italians, whose reputation for cowardly assassination is so fully established.

At the same time I should fail in my duty if I did not add that complaints are loud against England and Her Majesty's Government for harbouring such an atrocious villain as Mazzini, and that it is universally said that if the British nation really feels that horror for such crimes which they profess, their Representatives would not fail to pass a Bill which would enable Ministers to rid our country, and perhaps Europe of such execrable wretches. It is really painful to be forced to hear these Remarks, which are generally terminated by saying "as long as you don't try for means to send away the originators of such crimes, in the eyes of the world, you are participators in them". Some of my colleagues are very violent in their observations, but not the French Minister,[65] who always says that he trusts to English honour for giving France every assistance in her power.

The untimely and melancholy death of General Havelock has not passed unnoticed, but I have always seen the higher classes here lay stress upon our Reverses or Losses, whilst our success and Victory pass without remark. This is not, I repeat, the feeling of the middling classes who feel for and with England. The Press is universally on our side.

FO 68/104: Francis Reginald Forbes to Earl of Malmesbury, No 16, Dresden, 22 March 1858

Muted reaction to new British government; broad approval of British foreign policy in Saxony; contrast between good sense in England and pervasive jealousy in Germany

On the evening of the 18th Ulto., I had the honour of receiving Your Lordship's Despatch marked Circular of the 8th of this month, making known to me for my information, as well as for that of the Saxon Government, the principles on which Her Majesty's Government propose to act in their intercourse with Foreign Nations.[66]

I saw Monsieur de Beust on the following day, and fully convinced that no assurances of mine could do sufficient justice to the spirit of manly moderation which pervades the Despatch itself, I at once placed it in His Excellency's hands, who read it through with the

[65]Alexandre, baron de Forth-Rouen.

[66]Malmesbury's circular of 8 March 1858, issued shortly after his appointment as foreign secretary, set out the general principles of British foreign policy in conciliatory terms. Among other things, it stated 'that no surer guarantee for peace is to be found than in the maintenance and extension of commercial and social intercourse between nations'.

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greatest attention. On giving it back to me he said that nothing could possibly be more satisfactory than its contents, and that by following such principles there was the best founded hope of preserving that peace which is essential to Europe.

Altogether, the change of Government in England[67] has created less sensation in this part of Germany than so important an event generally causes. It is felt that on the great European Questions, whatever may be the Government, there can be but one opinion, though modified by circumstances, and that no one of any Party in England will omit any Effort to avert an European War. Although unwillingly avowed, the Germans cannot but admit to themselves the practical good sense of all classes in England, each of which has the innate feeling of its usefulness to the Commonwealth, in its own natural sphere, whilst in this part of Germany, each Individual not only envies the neighbour who is born and placed higher than himself, but having perhaps a smattering of general information imagines that he is equally capable of filling the place, and pushed on by vanity is always ready to intrigue against him.

FO 68/104: Francis Reginald Forbes to Earl of Malmesbury, No 33, Dresden, 10 June 1858

Opposition in the Saxon diet to the government over military affairs; attacks on Beust over financial speculation

The Saxon Diet has lately shown a spirit of resistance to the Government which is very new in its parliamentary annals.

Both Chambers have refused the estimates of the Minister of War,[68] and have insisted on a Reduction of the army to the amount of Five Thousand men. The Minister of War is not only firm, but very obstinate, and was strongly advised, but without success, to propose a still smaller reduction, with the promise of more, if peace were not interrupted. The Government has, however, declared to both Chambers[69] that they neither can nor will diminish the army and it will be curious to see what can be the result of the dispute. Monsieur de Beust seems to think that the Diet will be satisfied with some other Reductions and submit on the point now at issue.

[67]In February 1858, Palmerston's government collapsed over his handling of the Orsini Affair, leading to the formation of a minority Conservative government under the Earl of Derby.

[68]Bernhard von Rabenhorst.

[69]Rabenhorst's declarations of 19 May to the first chamber and 4 June 1866 to the second chamber.

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The Credit Mobilier[70] was also introduced here: though not encouraged by the Government. Those at the head of it had offered Monsieur de Beust a number of its shares which at least insured him a clear profit of £1500. They even wanted to make a present of diamonds to his wife,[71] but I need not add that these bribes, for they are nothing else were contemptuously spurned. The Bubble has had a great many fissures, if it has not yet burst, and the poorer members who have suffered have been loud in their outcries. The richer party who have won enormously, began to attack Monsieur de Beust, in the hope of averting attention from themselves: they spoke at one of the Ministers in the Chamber, alluding to "one not in his place". Yesterday Monsieur de Beust requested permission to address the upper chamber on an affair which was personal to himself: He recapitulated the malicious insinuations against the Minister "not in his place", that he was that Minister, and that far from avoiding investigation, He was ready to demand it: and that he had no Right to expect attacks from those who after trying to gain him on their side, had profited so enormously by the speculation as some of those then present. He fixed his eye on a M. de Schönberg-Bibran, one of the richest men in Saxony, and who has realized the enormous sum of Fifteen Thousand Pounds, by selling his shares.

This has completely silenced his enemies who must be very ignorant of his habits to accuse Monsieur de Beust of caring for money.

FO 68/108: Augustus B. Paget to Earl of Malmesbury, No 36, Dresden, 3 May 1859

British anxiety that German states should act against France in Italian Crisis; sympathy in Saxony for Austria and interest in British policy

I called this morning on Monsieur de Falkenstein, the Minister of Public Instruction, on whom, in the absence of Monsieur de Beust, have devolved the duties of Minister for Foreign Affairs, and stated to him, in accordance with the terms of Your Lordship's Telegram received in the night, and recorded in my despatch No 35 of this day, that Her Majesty's Government saw with great anxiety the increasing wish of the German States to act against France; – that they could not perceive that they had any casus belli against her, and

[70]The Allgemeine Deutsche Credit-Anstalt was founded in 1856 in Leipzig on the model of the French Société Générale de Crédit Mobilier, which had been chartered by presidential decree in November 1852 as a joint-stock company and quickly dominated French finance and infrastructural development.

[71]Mathilde Freifrau von Beust.

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that the Confederation would not be justified in creating an European war at present.[72] Should however the Confederation think otherwise, and take the aggressive, Her Majesty's Government deemed it their duty to forewarn them that England, preserving neutrality, could render no assistance in such a case, and could give them no moral support.

Monsieur de Falkenstein in commenting upon the importance of this communication, which, in order to impress it the more forcibly upon him, I repeated twice or three times over, said that as far as this government was concerned it was not their wish that any hostile step towards France should now be taken, but it was impossible to say, that in times like the present, measures of forecaution were not necessary, and Monsieur de Falkenstein could not see that anything which had been done in Germany could be construed into an act of aggression.

The French, continued Monsieur de Falkenstein, have a corps of observation at Nancy under the Duke of Malakoff. If the Emperor has no evil designs on Germany what is the object and intention of this corps, and, he inquired, is it to be considered an act of hostility towards France if the German powers place a corps of observation on their own frontier. The mobilisation of the Federal army had not yet been ordered, nor could His Excellency say when such a measure was to be taken by the Diet, – but he merely put the question, and wished to know whether a step taken in Germany is to be considered hostile to France when one of a similar nature taken in France is not considered hostile to Germany.

Monsieur de Falkenstein then alluded to the 47th Article of the Federal Constitution,[73] and said that according to its provisions the Bund had to consider, in the event of one of its members being attacked in its Possessions out of the Confederation whether then the safety of the whole Confederate Body did not require that it should come to the support of that member.

I replied that it would be difficult to show that any member of the Bund had been attacked in the present instance. Monsieur de Falkenstein said that although it was true Austria had been apparently the first to commit an actual breach of the peace,[74] yet that in point of fact her hostile step had been forced upon her by the difficulties of her situation, and that her attack only amounted in reality to an act of self

[72] For the Austro-Sardinian Crisis see nn. 53 and 57 in Frankfurt section.

[73] Article 47 of the Vienna Final Act of 15 May 1820.

[74] Austrian troops invaded Sardinia on 29 April 1859, following the rejection of the Austrian ultimatum of 19 April demanding the immediate cessation of Sardinian mobilization. France then entered the war under the terms of its alliance with Sardinia of 10 December 1858.

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defence resulting from the conduct of France, and that therefore the 47th Article of the Federal Constitution might be said to hold good.

I replied that it was useless to argue now respecting the past. Austria, I imagined, had good reasons for what she had done, and it was not my desire to reflect unfavourably on her conduct, much less to defend that of France. The fact however that Austria had rendered hostilities inevitable at a moment when a fair opportunity for coming to an amicable arrangement was afforded was beyond all question, and construe the 47th article how he would it was impossible to show that a casus federis[75] had yet arisen. As long as Germany remained neutral, I said, it was just possible that some means for putting a stop to the war at no very distant moment might be found; but that if once Germany became implicated there was an end of all hope of anything but bloodshed and misery in Europe for years to come.

It is useless to give Your Lordship further details of this conversation, at the outset of which indeed, as I have said in the beginning of this despatch, Monsieur de Falkenstein admitted the point which I had come to urge, – but I think it my duty to lay before Your Lordship what I gather not only from official but unofficial sources to be the universal feeling of Germany at this moment. It is that of apprehension mingled with animosity towards France, whom, under its present ruler, they consider as destined to become again their ruin and their scourge.

In vain may the French Government in their instructions to their diplomatic agents assert that this war which they profess to wish to limit and to localize, has been undertaken for the defence and benefit of oppressed nationalities, and in the cause of civilization; – in vain may the command given to the Duke of Malakoff be qualified, as the French Minister[76] here has been directed to qualify it, as simply a titulary appointment, – the recollection of the first Empire[77] with its equally tranquillizing assurances will come back, and a deep rooted conviction that its counterpart is now to be performed has undoubtedly sprung up in Germany. Austria is to be the first to receive the fatal blow, and when she is rendered powerless, and division and mistrust is sufficiently sown between Prussia and the other Powers it is easy to foresee what will be their fate. Such is the language generally used. I have already on several occasions reported to Your Lordship the mistrust with which the wise and conciliatory conduct of Prussia during the late negotiations has been viewed. The order[78] however for placing the

[75]See n. 65 in Frankfurt section.

[76]Alexandre, baron de Forth-Rouen.

[77]First Empire under Napoleon I (1804–1814/1815).

[78]On 20 April 1859, Prince Regent Wilhelm ordered that the three army corps of the Prussian federal contingent be placed on a war footing (*Kriegsbereitschaft*).

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whole of her army on a war footing has rallied in some degree public confidence in her intentions, though it would be going too far to say that it has set all minds at rest.

I am here writing from a Capital where no doubt great sympathy is felt for Austria, but where nonetheless opinions are moderate in comparison with those held and expressed in other parts of the Confederation. I have merely related to Your Lordship the sentiments which I hear every day around me. They are those not of a particular circle of society, but, I fully believe, of every class of the population throughout Germany: and if such is the case, it does not seem too much to predict that if the fate of war should be that Austria is forced back into her own territory and is there attacked by France, although that territory may not form part of the Confederation, the whole of Germany will rise as one man to her support, and it will be in vain to attempt to restrain them by counsels of moderation and forebearance.

It is needless for me to say with what anxiety all eyes are turned towards England in this most momentous crisis, and that almost any sacrifices would be made in deference to her wishes to obtain her support, but I should be only deceiving Your Lordship were I to express the opinion that the withholding of that support will prevent the German governments from pursuing the course which I have indicated.

I may perhaps appear to speak with a confidence which is out of proportion to my present diplomatic sphere, but I can assure Your Lordship that I only do so after maturely weighing the information which I have collected from various quarters, and from a conviction that it is the duty of every British agent abroad in moments like the present to furnish Her Majesty's Government, in order that they may arrive at a just conclusion, not only with the substance of what he learns, but with his own impressions thereupon.

FO 68/108: Augustus B. Paget to Earl of Malmesbury, No 56, Dresden, 25 May 1859

Beust's intentions for German middle states to follow collective policy to counter Prussian overbearance

I have had the honour to receive Your Lordship's Circular of the 17th Instant desiring me to conform my language entirely to the terms of Her Majesty's Proclamation of Neutrality,[79] and to give no advice nor

[79]Proclamation by Queen Victoria, 13 May 1859. It stated that Britain would 'abstain altogether from taking any part, directly or indirectly' in the Austro-Sardinian War, and

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express any opinion official or personal as to the conduct which it behoves Germany to adopt under present circumstances.

Your Lordship may rely on my following out these instructions to the very letter, and I shall do so the more willingly, as I feel convinced that nothing I could say, even though it should be on the authority of instructions from Your Lordship would be likely to produce any influence on Monsieur de Beust.

I am mistaken if His Excellency's object is not the revival of the Bamberg coalition.[80] In my last interview with His Excellency he discoursed much on the policy of the Prussian government; said that their protest against the Hanoverian Proposition[81] was in the highest degree improper and out of order. He disapproved, he said, of the moment chosen by Hanover for making this proposition, and had done his best to prevent it, – but in an assembly of States, such as the Diet, that a proposition, which embodied after all the views of the whole body, should be made a subject for protest, before it had been referred to a Committee, or indeed taken into consideration, was against all rules, and showed a disposition to treat the other members of the Diet with an overbearance and contempt which was not to be borne. It was time he said that Prussia should be made aware that there was a third power in Germany, namely the smaller States who consisted of 18 million of people, and furnished together a force of 250,000 men to the Federal Army. No one, he continued, knew what the intentions of Prussia were, – they were enveloped in the deepest mystery. Why did she not enter into confidential communication with the other German Governments, who would then know what they were about, and what they had to expect. For his (Monsieur de Beust's) part, he thought that if things were to go on much longer as at present, the best thing to do would be to put all the Federal forces again on a peace footing. It was useless to be spending million after million for no purpose whatever. The "Dresdner Journal" writes very much in the same strain, and in a recent article is was broadly stated that whatever Prussia had hitherto done had been in consequence of the pressure put upon her by the smaller States, and it was only by these continuing to exercise that pressure that she would be induced at last to act in accordance with the interests and wishes of Germany.

would 'maintain a peaceful and friendly intercourse' with the belligerent powers. It then commanded all British subjects 'to observe a strict neutrality'.

[80]For the Bamberg Coalition see n. 9 in Bavaria section.

[81]On 13 May 1859, Hanover proposed that the Federal Diet place a corps of observation on the Rhine. Prussia filed an 'explicit and emphatic' protest against this proposal on the same day.

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I merely said in reply that although it was not my province to defend the policy or conduct of Prussia, I could not help remarking with reference to His Excellency's observation as to the mystery with which that policy was surrounded, that I thought the declaration recently made in the Prussian Chambers by Monsieur de Schleinitz and the speech of the Prince Regent on closing their session were sufficiently clear and explicit, as to the intentions of the Power.[82]

FO 68/109: Charles Augustus Murray to Lord John Russell, No 11, Dresden, 11 November 1859

Great enthusiasm at celebrations of centenary of Schiller's birth

Yesterday, the 10th Instant, the centenary anniversary of Schiller's birth gave rise to the greatest excitement which this quiet city has known since 1849. Preparations for doing honor to the memory of the great Poet have been going on for several weeks past, and the national enthusiasm has been exhibited in the most multifarious and fantastic shapes; not only have the shops swarmed with Schiller Portraits, Prints, Miniatures, busts and medals, but the mania has extended to every branch of trade, and the town has been inundated with Schiller Champagne, Schiller Beer, Schiller dolls, Schiller sweetmeats, Schiller tarts &c &c. I had heard it asserted by some that the name of Schiller had been used on occasion by a large number of the Radical Reform Party, in order to cloak the real object of their enthusiasm, namely to do honor to the memory of R. Blume [*sic*] the Saxon Patriot who was shot at Vienna on the 10th of November 1848, but I did not put much faith in the assertion, and certainly here it merited none at all, for a more orderly, goodhumored assemblage I never saw; the statue of Schiller was placed on a high Pedestal in the centre of the old Market, and after two of his Dramas had been performed at the Royal theatre, an immense procession consisting of all the guilds and trades in the town, bearing torches, and accompanied by bands of music, proceeded through several of the principal streets to the great square of the Altmarkt where they formed in good order, the glare of the innumerable torches producing a very striking effect; a speech was delivered in honor of Schiller which no one could hear, owing to the size of the space and the density of the multitude, but afterwards a hymn was sung in which numbers of the torch-bearers joined, and

[82] On 5 and 14 May 1859, Schleinitz and Prince Regent Wilhelm stated that the main points of Prussian policy were: the restoration of peace; the defence of the security of Germany; the promotion of national interests; and the maintenance of the European equilibrium.

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which was welcomed by acclamations from the immense assemblage; after making bonfires of the unextinguished torches they separated as quietly as they had assembled and went to pay the last honors of the day to Schiller's memory in the numberless Beer taverns which are to be found in Dresden. I witnessed the whole ceremony from a window which commanded a view of the Altmarkt and I did not hear a single world uttered which had the slightest political tendency.

FO 68/112: Charles Augustus Murray to Lord John Russell, No 37, Dresden, 25 May 1860

Divisions between states ensures Germany cannot present a united policy against France; negative response to Garibaldi's campaigns in Sicily; general unease and slowing in commerce

I have not of late sent translations of the leading articles of the Dresden Journal because they have been chiefly taken up with arguments and disputes with other German Journals on the merits of the Hesse-Cassel question[83] and other local matters on which the Press in Germany has lately been expatiating to an extent and with an acrimony disproportioned to the general interest of the subjects under discussion.

Assuredly the Question of the highest importance especially in the present and prospective condition of Europe, is whether there is any reasonable ground for believing that a better understanding is likely to grow up between Prussia and Austria, which shall include in its influence the secondary Powers and Duchies of Germany and thus enable the Confederation to present, in case of need, an united front to the ambitions or aggressive designs of France; I regret to say that so far as I am able to draw conclusions from what I see and hear in this place, I can find but little improvement in the political state of Germany. Although these Powers cannot be blind or indifferent to the scarcely-disguised intrigues of French emissaries on the banks of the Rhine, so far from making any united efforts to prepare for the coming storm, they continue to busy themselves with questions of internal interest that provoke discussions and lead towards discussions which unless healed in time must tend to their common destruction. These Parties, as always happens in such cases, throw upon each other that blame which an impartial observer would be rather inclined to divide between them, tho' not in equal proportions; for undoubtedly Prussia is right in demanding that those reforms should be carried out in the German Diet, the necessity of which has been long since

[83]For the constitutional question of Hesse-Cassel see n. 79 in Frankfurt section.

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admitted by the majority of its constituent members, but in supporting these views, it is the opinion of Austria and the Powers that side with her, that Prussia has shown a tendency to self-aggrandizement which is inconsistent with a patriotic feeling for the rights of other Powers in the Confederation, and they are especially annoyed that at this critical season she should have stirred the Schleswig question, thereby inducing Denmark to seek a closer alliance with France and giving the latter power a pretext for interference of which she will not fail to avail herself whenever it may suit her policy to seek a quarrel with Germany.[84]

It is scarcely necessary for me to inform your Lordship that the Garibaldi movement[85] is looked upon here with the greatest disfavour and the most opprobrious epithets are freely lavished upon its daring leader and his supporters.

Such, my Lord, is a sketch of the views and sentiments that I find generally prevalent here on the political questions and events which are now engaging the attention of Europe; as a natural consequence of the general feeling of uneasiness, trade is sluggish, and at the late Leipzic fair, which is its barometer in Northern Germany, the sales were much below the average.

FO 68/112: Charles Augustus Murray to Lord John Russell, No 41, Dresden, 16 June 1860

Irish volunteers to Papal States travelling through Saxony

I happened to be at the station of the railway from this City to Vienna on Thursday last when I saw there about 200 Irish who were on their way via Trieste to join the Papal Forces in Italy;[86] it is long since I have seen such a miserable set of ragamuffins, all were ragged, two thirds at least, boisterously tipsy, and a considerable number so dead drunk that they could not stand; some were elderly men, others boys, many diminutive and many sickly; in the whole assemblage I did not see 10 who would have passed muster for the army, navy or police in

[84]Murray refers to the effects of the debates in the Prussian House of Deputies (3 and 4 May 1860) on three petitions, which requested the non-incorporation of Schleswig with the Danish kingdom, the equal rights of Schleswig as part of the Danish monarchy, and the equality of German and Danish nationalities.

[85]At the time of the dispatch, Garibaldi had declared himself Dictator of Sicily in the name of Vittorio Emanuele II; the 'Expedition of the Thousand' had landed in Sicily (11 May 1860) and won its first battle against Neapolitan troops.

[86]When the Wars of Italian Unification threatened the Pope's temporal authority over the Papal States, a battalion of around 1,300 volunteers was raised in Ireland to support the Papal forces.

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England; the railway officials informed me that several other gangs had lately passed, scarcely less ragged and drunken than these:– it is a melancholy sight My Lord to see these poor misguided creatures going far away from their homes caring nothing for whom or against whom they are called to fight, so long as they get plenty to drink; their appearance and conduct in passing through Germany is a disgrace to civilized England, and I heartily wish their misleaders had carried them by sea to their destination.

FO 68/112: Charles Augustus Murray to Lord John Russell, No 65, Dresden, 23 November 1860

Offensive placards against king over Italian policy; lack of reasons for serious discontent in Saxony

Your Lordship may have seen it reported in the newspapers that a short time ago the King of Saxony had sent a decoration to King Francis the 2nd at Gaeta:[87] – it is not my province to offer any opinion as to whether in the present state of political feeling in Germany this act was prudent or well-timed, but the consequence of it was that a few days afterwards placards of a purport offensive to His Majesty were posted at several of the public places and thoroughfares of this city; they stated that if His Majesty sympathised so much with the cause of his Royal brother at Gaeta, he had better go thither himself, and his return would not be desired. Notwithstanding all the vigilance of the Police these placards were affixed during two successive nights, and the author or authors have not been discovered. I believe that the event, though of little consequence in itself, and productive of no visible sensation in the public mind, has given considerable annoyance to the King who wishes and endeavours to secure the attachment of his subjects: indeed few continental nations have less cause for discontent than the Saxons, their taxation is not onerous, their agriculture is thriving, their trade increasing, factories and breweries are springing up in various directions, and the prosperity of the City itself is evinced by the unprecedented number of houses, and streets which are now in the course of construction. Although the issue of the above-named placards may be the work of some mischievous individual, and thus have no political significance, I have thought it my duty to report it for Your Lordship's information.

[87]Francesco II, King of the Two Sicilies, had fled to the coastal fortress of Gaeta in September 1860.

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FO 68/117: Charles Augustus Murray to Earl Russell, No 59, Dresden 11 November 1861

Course to adopt regarding British subjects in a state of destitution abroad

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's Despatch No 47 of November 6, with enclosure for Mr Consul General Crowe, which latter I have forwarded by Post: I regret to find that in desiring Mr Crowe to send home the two distressed British Subjects[88] referred to in that Despatch, I had inadvertently contravened a clause in the Instructions notified in the Gazette of July 11 1856:[89] – while admitting the considerations of public economy which dictated those Instructions, and which render an observance of them necessary as a rule, I should be glad to be honoured by Your Lordship's views as to the conduct which I should pursue in future under similar cases of exceptional and undeserved hardship; for, situated as this Mission is in the very centre of Europe, we have not the means enjoyed at many Foreign Capitals of sending home in merchant ships at a trifling expense British Subjects who apply to us in a state of destitution; the case has happened several times during the last two years and I have had no resource but to furnish the required assistance from my own pocket and from subscription raised among the British residents: it may indeed be said that English skilled labourers, engineers, miners &c., should not engage for service in foreign Countries, without previously ascertaining that they would earn a sufficient remuneration for their maintenance and return, but Your Lordship is well aware that circumstances sometimes occur which defeat expectations based on the most careful and prudential considerations, such as the case in regard to the two poor men lately sent home by Mr. Crowe, they were steady industrious men, receiving good wages and had every reason to hope that they would be able to return to England with a considerable sum in hand.

They were employed in a mine at some distance from this city, when the Contractor through whom they had been engaged, failed, and went away owing them one or two months wages; their furniture, beds, &c &c were sold to pay their rent, and when they reached the streets of Dresden they had nothing but the Clothes on their backs; one of the two was a married man, he had a child lying dead which he could not afford to bury, and his wife was expecting her confinement in

[88] Joseph Matthews and Uriah Brunt.

[89] On 11 July 1856, the Foreign Office announced in the *London Gazette* that British subjects employed in manual professions ('as Railway Labourers, Miners, Engineers, &c') in foreign countries were 'not considered by Her Majesty's Government to be entitled to relief as British subjects, or to be sent back to this country [Great Britain] at the public expense'. British consuls were instructed 'not to afford relief in such cases'.

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a few weeks. I need scarcely inform Your Lordship that we subscribed immediately among the English residents a sum sufficient to pay the funeral of the child, and to afford the poor fellows the necessary food and shelter, but after these expenses were provided for, we found that the remainder of our subscriptions which had amounted to sixty five dollars would not carry them further than Leipzig, where I believed that Mr Crowe could send them home at the public cost: – now, My Lord, on the recurrence of cases similar to this, I know not how to act. I cannot allow a British Subject to die of cold and starvation in the street, I cannot make frequent appeals to the charity of the British Residents, few of whom in this place are persons of wealth, and my own official income is far from affording me the means of exercising liberality on such occasions.

I have taken the pains to ascertain among my Colleagues what is the course which they follow in cases of this kind; I find that, in all of the Foreign Missions here, the Ministers have the power of rendering assistance to the subjects of their respective Governments; there are several who by general instructions are not indeed permitted to relieve and send back at the public cost their indigent countrymen, such a permission would open the door to much abuse in respect to idlers and vagabonds, but I have found no Mission in which the Minister cannot make an exception in cases of great and undeserved distress; these he relieves and sends home on his own responsibility and requests authority to include the cost in his Extra Disbursements which is never refused: in other Missions I find this course to be the rule, and not the exception; thus it results that, if the General Instructions issued by the Foreign Office on this subject are in all cases to be strictly followed, a British Minister abroad representing a Power usually considered the wealthiest and most liberal in Europe, is the only one to whom the exercise of this discretionary humanity towards his countrymen in distress is not permitted.

FO 68/127: Charles Augustus Murray to Earl Russell, No 7, Dresden, 20 February 1863

Polish insurrection; liberals and democrats opposed to Prussian intervention, but ambivalent towards Poles

I have forwarded to Your Lordship by this messenger a dispatch sent to me under flying seal by Her Majesty's Consul General at Leipzig in which he details the prevalent views of the German Public on the subject of the Polish insurrection.[90] Mr Crowe has doubtless at Leipzig

[90]January Uprising against Russian rule in Poland, 1863–1864.

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better opportunities than I have for ascertaining the sentiments and objects of the Leaders of the National Verein[91] and of the extreme Liberal Party than I have in this capital; that they should view with dissatisfaction a direct interference on the part of Prussia to assist Russia in putting down the insurrection is perfectly natural, and is accordingly set forth in all the organs of the press which represent their sentiments; but it certainly argues very little in favor of their liberal Principles if (as Mr Crowe represents them) "they have never hesitated to declare that whatever might have been the original cause of the partition of Poland,[92] the deed itself having been accomplished, is not now to be altered" and, if "they deny the right of the Poles to hope that Posen should ever again form part of a non-German territory", a party adopting a Programme so selfish, illiberal, and inconsistent as this, is certainly most unfit to set itself up as the Champion of Liberty and Progress in central Europe: whatever may be the opinion entertained of the Convention said to have been signed between Russia and Prussia,[93] there is no doubt that the latter is obliged in self defence to concentrate a considerable military Force on the Polish frontier "Iam proximus ardet Ucalegon",[94] and recent accounts describe Posen as being by no means so quiet or safe as it was supposed to be.

The liberal leaders in Germany are represented in Mr Crowe's dispatch as limiting the present insurrectionary movement in Poland "to the middle classes and small landed proprietors", but this limitation is no longer correct, for Your Lordship must be, ere this, aware that independently of the students and the Clergy, great numbers of the Poles of the higher classes from London, from Paris, and other parts of Europe have for some time been flocking the scene of action.

It now appears that the outbreak, precipitated by the harsh measures accompanying the recruitment, took the Leaders of both Parties by surprise, so that if on the one hand the plans of the revolutionists were not matured, on the other the dispersal of the Russian troops at the time, and the state of the roads rendering the movement of troops otherwise than by railway almost impracticable, shewed that they were equally unprepared for so early an insurrection.

[91] For the *Nationalverein* see n. 71 in Frankfurt section.

[92] As a consequence of the three partitions (in 1772, 1793, and 1795), the effects of the Napoleonic era, and the Congress of Vienna, Polish territories were held by Prussia (Duchy of Posen), Austria (Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria and Grand Duchy of Cracow), and Russia (Congress Kingdom of Poland).

[93] The *Alvensleben* Convention of 8 February 1863, in which Prussia agreed to cooperate with Russia in the suppression of the Polish rebellion.

[94] 'Ucalegon burns next' (Virgil, *Aeneid*, II, 311), meaning that the house of one's neighbour is on fire.

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What ground the German Liberals have for attributing to Marquis Wielopolskie the project of establishing a Polish Monarchy under the Grand Duke Constantine I have no means of ascertaining.

FO 68/127: Charles Augustus Murray to Earl Russell, No 45, Dresden, 18 December 1863

Saxon troops leave for Holstein; public support for soldiers in Dresden, as opposed to Crowe's reports of sullen discontent in Leipzig; Beust's evasive statements

I have the honour to forward by this day's Messenger a despatch sent to me under flying seal by Her Majesty's Consul at Leipzig reporting the movement of troops from that city towards Holstein, and also various paragraphs extracted from the "Leipziger Zeitung".

The Saxon Contingent originally fixed at 3000 men has, as Your Lordship is aware, been raised to 6000; one portion of the force was despatched, as reported by Mr Crowe from Leipzig, and the remainder was sent from this city partly by the way of Berlin and partly by that of Magdeburg. I was in the streets when the troops were passing through the town to the railway station, and I must say that here there existed none of those symptoms of sullen discontent which are reported by Mr Crowe as having been exhibited at Leipzig; on the contrary they were followed by crowds of both sexes and of all ages wishing them good speed, and so many were the gratuitous cans of beer given to them on their passage that it must have caused their officers some trouble to keep these drink-offerings within the bounds required by discipline. I indeed must confess, My Lord, that I am at a loss to reconcile the "total absence of greeting and encouragement" and the "sullen discontent" described by Mr Crowe as having been exhibited by the population at Leipzig with the feelings which he truly attributes (at the close of his despatch) to "a vast majority of Germany" on this Schleswig Holstein question. I am not in a position to confirm or to disprove Mr Crowe's surmise that the paragraphs which he quotes from the "Leipziger Zeitung" were penned by the Saxon Minister; – it certainly is considered a government paper, but upon various occasions M. de Beust has declared to my colleagues and to myself that the Saxon Government only holds itself responsible for that column which is called "official," and that on all questions of general policy or public interest the Editor and his contributors give utterance to their own sentiments.[95] From what I have before had the honour of reporting to your Lordship of M. de Beust's speeches and also of articles that

[95]The *Leipziger Zeitung* (established 1660; an official organ of the Saxon government until 1850, and semi-official from 1854) was under the direction of Cäsar Dietrich von Witzleben,

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have appeared in the "Dresdner Journal", your Lordship will have gathered that among all the Statesmen in Germany there is none who has pronounced himself more strongly against the validity of the provisions of the London Treaty of 1852[96] in so far as they contravene what he and those who think with him term the rights and privileges of the Confederation, but although he has spoken several times on this subject in the Chambers he has never carried his arguments to the extreme conclusions advocated in the "Leipziger Zeitung". In a debate which occurred the day before yesterday on a motion the object of which was to engage the Saxon Government to pledge itself to more extreme measures, the Minister made a speech in which he adroitly evaded most of the points urged upon him, and concluded by requesting the Chamber to repose confidence in a Government which had already given sufficient proof of its resolution to maintain German honour and German rights.

FO 68/132: Charles Augustus Murray to Earl Russell, No 16, Dresden, 25 February 1864

Beust returns from Würzburg Conference; attempts by middle states to conduct united policy on Schleswig-Holstein Question

I saw M. de Beust yesterday on his return from the Wurzburg Conference,[97] being curious to learn what information he would be disposed to communicate as to its proceedings and results.

The chief ostensible object in view seems to have been, as I had the honour of suggesting to your Lordship in my despatch No. 12 of the 14th instant, to arrange a Programme by which the secondary States in Germany might be enabled, by their united action, to exercise such a pressure upon Austria and Prussia as should bring those Powers under the control of the Diet in respect to their Schleswig-Holstein policy. The Saxon Minister seems to think that this object was promoted, if not attained, by the Conference, while the telegraphic notices that have reached this place from other parts of Germany would lead to a contrary impression. His Excellency does not make any secret of the dissatisfaction with which he has viewed the proceedings of Austria and Prussia in the Duchies, and according to his view they have placed themselves in a dilemma from which they will find it difficult to escape without damage to their consistency: I am led to infer from

who was both the newspaper's chief editor and a senior civil servant (*Regierungsrat* and *Königlicher Commissär*).

[96]See n. 97 in Frankfurt section.

[97]Würzburg Conference of 18–19 February 1864 (see n. 73 in Bavaria section).

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his language that the Governments represented at the Conference will use their utmost exertions to prevent the final settlement of the succession in the Duchies being decided otherwise than by the majority of the votes at the Diet, and in the maintenance of this principle they expect to attain two objects – the support of the Masses and of the Press in Germany, as resulting therefrom, the recognition of their own importance and patriotism.

A brief summary of the objects and results of the Wurtzburg Conference appears in this day's Dresden Government Journal[98] and concludes with the words – "The governments therein represented were guided by a common principle, namely, on the one hand to avoid everything which might be construed into a desire of impeding the military action of the German Great Powers in Schleswig, while holding firmly, on the other hand, to the views which they had heretofore maintained on the question of right, and using every means provided by the Federal constitution to carry their views into effect".

Before this despatch reaches your Lordship there is no doubt that the measures proposed and adopted at the Wurtzburg Conference will have transpired and have reached you in a more full and complete form than the sketch which I have traced above.

FO 68/132: Charles Augustus Murray to Earl Russell, No 17, Dresden, 2 March 1864

Reactions in Saxony to Prussian threats

Various reports have recently been circulated in Germany and have found their way into the newspapers touching the threatening language held by Prussia to Saxony before and since the Wurtzburg Conference,[99] and also touching the results supposed to have arisen therefrom. It has not transpired here whether General de Manteuffel was actually the bearer of a comminatory letter from the King of Prussia to the King of Saxony,[100] but there is little doubt that the message which he brought partook of that character and it has had the effect of causing considerable uneasiness in this city. A possible

[98] *Dresdner Journal*.

[99] Würzburg Conference of 18–19 February 1864 (see n. 73 in Bavaria section).

[100] The letter of 15 February 1864 from King Wilhelm to King Johann was delivered by Edwin von Manteuffel. During his mission to Dresden from 15 to 17 February, Manteuffel requested that the Saxon and Hanoverian troops in the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein be placed under joint Austro-Prussian command, threatening military consequences otherwise. For the Second Schleswig-Holstein War see n. 103 in Frankfurt section.

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occupation of Saxony by Prussian troops has been spoken of, and it has been reported that the Crown Jewels and other treasures in the "Green Vaults" were packed up ready for removal to the fortress of Königstein. Although there is doubtless great tension in the present relations between the two Courts, the above-mentioned reports are much exaggerated and the last of them groundless, as the "Green Vaults" were visited yesterday by an acquaintance of mine, and the Jewels and other treasures were exhibited in their usual places.

FO 68/132: Charles Augustus Murray to Earl Russell, No 37, Dresden, 7 June 1864

Visit of Friedrich of Augustenburg to Saxony; meeting of the Schleswig-Holstein Committee

I have the honour to inform Your Lordship that Prince Frederick of Augustenburg arrived here yesterday, and had an audience of the King. His Majesty must have come in from the country on purpose to meet the Prince, as the Court is now at the Summer Residence of Pilnitz:– it is stated that the Prince's projected visit to Vienna is at present deferred. The Schleswig-Holstein Committee[101] in this city wished to present an Address to His Highness, but he declined, stating that he was travelling strictly Incognito. His Highness' partisans in Central Germany have resumed their activity which had been suspended during hostilities, as they now feel tolerably certain that the succession Question will be decided in his favour; their present object is to prevent the cession of any part of Schleswig to Denmark.

A public meeting was held here in a temporary theatre called the Circus under the presidency of a certain Dr. Wigard.[102]

Two resolutions were proposed to the meeting; – the first to the effect that German might and German Right proclaimed that Schleswig should never be parcelled, nor separated from Holstein, and that both should be permanently annexed to the Confederation; – and the second was to the effect that the conduct of the English Government, Parliament, and Press, in regard to this Question, had been contrary to every principle of right, and unworthy of any civilized nation. These two resolutions were moved by a Dr. Scheffarth,[103] a noisy factions lawyer; he had been active in stirring up the revolutionary movement in 1848–9, but when the military measures employed for

[101]The Schleswig-Holstein Committee in Dresden, which supported the right of succession of Prince Friedrich von Augustenburg in Schleswig-Holstein, was founded on 21 November 1863.

[102]Public meeting of the Dresden Schleswig-Holstein Committee, 5 June 1864.

[103]Wilhelm Michael Schaffrath.

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its suppression seemed likely to succeed, he retired (according to approved demagogue custom) into obscurity, leaving the victims whom he had deluded, to undergo the penalty of their folly. His speech on this occasion, as it appears in the only local journal that reports it, does not contain more untruth, claptrap, and vituperation than might have been expected from such a speaker addressing a meeting composed chiefly of the lower classes: the resolutions were adopted by universal acclamation, and another motion was carried to the effect that the Dresden Schleswig-Holstein Committee should put itself forthwith in communication with the Committees formed in other German Cities for the same object, in order to insure a community of action.

The official "Dresdner Journal" has taken no notice of the proceedings of this meeting: – Your Lordship will probably have heard that on May 27th Monsieur de Beust sent from London a reply to a memorial transmitted to him from the Schleswig-Holstein Committee at Leipzig,[104] in which His Excellency assured them that he was thoroughly aware of the feelings and opinions entertained by the nations of Germany on this subject, and that he would personally have declined taking part in the Conference, rather than put his name to any document which compromised German rights and honour; but that "he entertained a confident hope that the discussions of the Conference would terminate in a result satisfactory not only to the populations of the Duchies, but also to every sensible (verständig) German Patriot". I sincerely hope, My Lord, that the Saxon Minister's anticipation may be realized, and also that the majority of his Countrymen may prove themselves worthy of being designated by the above epithet.

FO 68/132: Charles Augustus Murray to Earl Russell, No 47, Dresden, 12 July 1864

Beust's return from London Conference; enthusiastic reception by public; speech by Beust implicitly asserting rights of middle states

I have the honour to inform Your Lordship that M. de Beust returned on Friday last to this place having visited Paris, Frankfort, and Weimar on his route from England; he was warmly greeted on his arrival by a considerable crowd assembled at the railway station, but the great

[104]The address of the *Sächsische Gesamtausschuß für Schleswig Holstein* to Friedrich Ferdinand Freiherr von Beust of 10 May 1864 argued that the resolutions reached at the London Conference (see n. 106 in Hanover section) were not binding as the German people were not represented in the Federal Diet.

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demonstration in honour of his Excellency was reserved for Saturday evening, and it was carried out in the manner customary in this country. At about eight o'clock all the principal societies or guilds of the town assembled in a great square, each with its respective banner, and with bands of music, and thence they went in a procession lighted by torches (Fackelzug) through the principal markets and streets to the Foreign Office in front of which the procession halted, and the Choral Societies sang two or three hymns composed for the occasion, after which one of the chief Burghers,[105] appointed orator for the occasion addressed M. de Beust, who was stationed in a Balcony overlooking the procession, in a speech of considerable length. I need scarcely inform your Lordship that the hymns and the speech were all upon the same theme – German honour and German right as involved in the inseparable union of the Schleswig-Holstein Duchies with the German Confederation.

M. de Beust's speech in reply to the address was of course to the same purport, but it was short and in good taste. He disclaimed any personal merit in fulfilling the part that he had been called to play in the London Conference,[106] though he owned to a feeling of gratified pride at having been the person selected to represent the Confederation on the first occasion of its taking its place in the Councils of Europe, and he concluded by asking them to give the honour where honour was due and to give three cheers for the King of Saxony, who had from the commencement of this dispute concerning the Duchies so energetically and zealously defended the honour and the rights of Germany.

It is worthy of remark that both in the address and in the Saxon Minister's reply there is no allusion to Prussia or Austria, and there is no doubt that in his Excellency's mind the Germany referred to was that composed of the German States exclusive of the two Great Powers. The course of events connected with Sleswig Holstein in the last six months has been singularly favourable to M. de Beust's long cherished idea of a Confederation at Frankfort sufficiently united and sufficiently strong to control alternately Prussia and Austria according as the interests of Central Germany might require.

The crowd assembled on the occasion was immense: in fact the whole population of the City was in the streets; but after the ceremonial was concluded with the usual amount of cheers and hurrahs the companies and guilds filed off in different directions, and long before midnight all was quiet.

[105] Ludwig Hermann Lindner.

[106] Beust took part in the London Conference (see n. 106 in Hanover section) as the representative of the German Confederation.

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FO 68/137: Charles Augustus Murray to Earl Russell, No 27, Dresden, 28 July 1865

National choral meeting at Dresden; event is peaceful and non-political

The town of Dresden was thrown, during the early part of this week, into a state of the greatest excitement by a "Sänger Fest" or Monster Choral Meeting of a magnitude unprecedented in this or in any other country.[107] A building somewhat resembling in style those that have been raised of late years in England and elsewhere for Industrial Exhibitions, and capable of containing about 26,000 persons had been constructed on purpose for the occasion on the right bank of the Elbe about a mile from the town. Being intended for a Music hall it was built of wood, and the interior was decorated with paintings and transparencies illustrative of German History and Art. Nearly one half of the ground floor was occupied by the orchestra calculated to contain 12,000 singers besides the instrumental performers, the remainder of the space being left to the audience, for the upper classes of which were also galleries which ran round the greater part of the building. The exits and entrances, as well as the ventilation, were admirably managed, so that notwithstanding the heat of the weather little inconvenience was felt from it, as any spectator who wished to go into the open air could easily do so from any part of the building. The singers who were to take a part in this great National Festival had been invited from every clime and region where Germans are to be found. Each of these choral bands was preceded in the great Procession by a silk banner showing whence they came, and on these might be read not only countries like "Hungary", "Sleswig Holstein", and others bordering on Germany, but "Australia", "New York, "Cincinnati", and even "China". All these Choral societies had been supplied with the music and parts which they were expected to sing, and thus, as they came prepared, it was not so impracticable as might have been expected for the Conductor to direct the vocalization of this monster chorus.

On Monday, which was the great day of the Festival, the singers assembled under their respective banners in a central place in the Town, near the residence of the Minister M. De Beust, and thence they walked eight abreast in procession through the principal streets and over the bridge to the great Music hall. The streets were admirably kept, no carriage being allowed in those through which the procession passed, and some idea of their numbers may be formed from the

[107]The *Deutsche Sängerbundesfest*, which included a general meeting of the deputies of the German choral societies, took place from 22 to 25 July 1865.

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fact that, although marching quick step and with little accidental interruption, the procession occupied four hours and a half in filing past the house from which I saw it. Notwithstanding the cheers and the flowers with which they were greeted from almost every window under which they passed, and the more substantial solace of beer offered them from many an open door, the greater part of them must have been greatly oppressed with heat, dust, and fatigue before they reached the Music Hall. Nevertheless they sung lustily through the evening, and the effect of some of the national German ballads sung by eleven or twelve thousand voices in chorus will not easily be forgotten by any one present who has any feeling for music.

On Sunday the King was present in the Hall, and His Majesty was most enthusiastically cheered both inside the building and by the vast crowd without when he left.

Many alarmists had predicted, and some still predict, that this huge gathering would prove to have had a political intent disguised under a musical mask, but I do not believe such to have been the case. It is very possible that among the thousands who compose these singing clubs in every country and districts [*sic*] in Germany, there may be tens and possibly hundreds who belong to the National Verein[108] and other democratic associations; but on this occasion the general object seemed to be to enjoy thoroughly the holiday which they had got, to lay politics aside, and to show the world what united Germany could do in the way of harmony. Even the Prussians, who certainly are not favourites here, were well received on this occasion. The day of the Procession proved beyond doubt the great popularity that M. de Beust enjoys in Germany, for certainly four fifths of these multifarious bands when passing his house saluted him with the most cordial and vociferous cheers.

I do not remember ever to have seen so vast a multitude as was assembled on this occasion so thoroughly good humoured and well conducted. No soldiers were required to keep order, there was neither drunkenness nor disorder anywhere visible, and whenever the pressure of the crowd threatened to obstruct the progress of the procession or of carriages, the foremost ranks of the crowd assisted the few policemen on duty in keeping the line.

Altogether it may be pronounced in my opinion a great success, though there are not wanting Germans of the retrograde party who still shake their heads and prophesy that evil will come of it.

[108] For the *Nationalverein* see n. 71 in Frankfurt section.

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FO 68/142: Charles Augustus Murray to Earl of Clarendon, No 17, Dresden, 8 May 1866

Large meeting in Dresden in opposition to a potential war; commercial panic

A monster meeting took place yesterday afternoon composed chiefly of the working classes in this city; there was a considerable amount of confusion and excitement such as is usually found at such meetings and the result was, the passing of a resolution to the effect that the Saxon people should resist and oppose any power whether it might be Austria or Prussia which should commence hostilities or invade the Saxon territory. The general feeling evinced by the meeting was very different from that expressed at the great meeting which took place at Leipzig a few days ago,[109] where a resolution condemning the Policy of M. de Beust in having caused military preparations to be made in Saxony and thereby afforded a pretext for Prussian hostility had been proposed, but not adopted; nevertheless the general sense of the resolutions passed, was of similar purport and to the effect that the true policy of Saxony was not to arm at all and not to take any part in the threatened conflict between the great German Powers. As a commentary on this opinion of the Burghers of Leipzig it is not irrelevant to recall the language lately used by the Prussian Envoy[110] to M. de Beust and reported in my despatch No. 13 of May 3rd to the effect that if hostilities took place between Prussia and Austria, "Saxony could not be neutral".

The monetary and commercial panic here continues in full force; business of every kind is stagnant and although the Saxon Government has referred the question to the decisions of the Diet, it has in no way acceded to the Prussian demand of disarmament,[111] as may be seen by its continued military preparations and by the announcement in this days official journal[112] that tenders are invited for the supply of a large number of horses of a certain size and quality, and to be delivered at the Cavalry Barracks in Dresden and various provincial towns in Saxony.

[109]Murray refers to the meeting of Leipzig city deputies (*Collegium der Gemeindevertreter*) of 6 May 1866, who argued in favour of the maintenance of peace as more conducive to the commercial interests of Leipzig. They objected to military preparations, including the drafting of recruits and the purchasing of weapons and horses.

[110]Gustav von der Schulenburg-Priemern.

[111]In a dispatch of 27 April 1866, Bismarck linked the demand for a cessation of armament with a threat of possible military action against Saxony. On 5 May, Saxony applied to the Federal Diet requesting a declaration from Prussia that it respected the federal peace as ascribed in Article 11 of the Federal Act of 1815. Prussia reacted to a conforming resolution of the Diet on 9 May by renewing the demand that Saxony cease its armament.

[112]*Dresdner Journal*.

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FO 68/142: Charles Augustus Murray to Earl of Clarendon, No 28, Dresden, 7 June 1866

Resolutions of Saxon second chamber in favour of an elected German parliament and increased military expenditure; speech by Beust on Austro-Prussian crisis

I have the honour to inform Your Lordship that on the 5th Instant the Saxon Chamber of Deputies met to discuss the two following Resolutions, connected with the present crisis in Germany; the first to the effect that the Saxon Government should use every exertion to establish the regulations necessary for summoning a general German Parliament, by means of direct and universal suffrage, if possible on the basis of the Laws enacted in 1849,[113] and Secondly, concerning the vote of an extra sum of four and a half millions of Thalers [£675555 – in margin] to enable the government to defray the military expenditure necessary for the defence and protection of the country.

The first of these resolutions gave rise to considerable discussion, but was ultimately carried with the consent of the Government. An amendment was moved and supported by several members of the Conservative Party, to omit the words underlined above, but it was rejected and the original resolution carried.

The grant of money was voted unanimously. It was a matter of surprise to many persons conversant with the present political condition of Saxony, that in a chamber composed of Members of extremely opposite opinions and many of them carrying their liberalism to the verge of republicanism the sentiment of Saxon Nationality and independence was unanimously expressed. The "priority of armament" with which Saxony has been so falsely and obstinately accused by the Prussian Government and Press was disclaimed and disproved by opposition and Ministerial Members alike and the conduct of the Government in having (after the threatening language used by Prussia)[114] made the military preparations necessary to prevent the country from falling helpless and weaponless into the hands of the first aggressor, was universally approved. I do not think it necessary to send Your Lordship separately a translation of the speech of M. de Beust, because it was necessarily in some respects a reflex of the sentiments of the chamber, and a repetition of the arguments and statements that he has had occasion to set forth and publish on various occasions during the last month: one of the salient points in his speech (evoked by some observations

[113]Imperial Constitution of 27 March 1849 and Imperial Electoral Law of 12 April 1849, both passed by the Frankfurt National Assembly.

[114]See n. 111 in this section.

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of a previous speaker)[115] was a distinct and categorical denial of any treaty or Convention existing between Austria and Saxony, in respect to the present difficulties: he stated emphatically that Saxony had only armed herself that she might be able to the extent of her means, to resist unjust aggression of her territory from whatever quarter it might proceed, and also to perform her duty to the Confederation according to the obligations legally imposed upon her as a member thereof.[116]

In speaking of the relations between the Saxon Government and that of Prussia, M. de Beust prefaced his observations on the late policy and the threatening language of the latter by saying that, however desirable it might be to avoid in public discussions, all personal allusions, he must be excused in doing so, if, as in the present case, those personal allusions had in them nothing offensive and yet had an important bearing on the subject under discussion: he then alluded to M. de Bismarck as "that man in an exalted station whose name you can guess, who is distinguished for his ambition, which is not a personal one, but takes its root in his warm attachment to his native country, he is remarkable for his bold determination of will and of action, for his high intelligence, and thorough appreciation of the powers which are at his disposal: add to these high qualities, the circumstance that, among other fortunate contingencies, the weakness and concessions of his opponent[117] have often contributed to his success, and then you will easily understand how the Saxon Government felt itself compelled to assign to admonitory expressions and comminatory messages from him an importance beyond what would have attached to them if proceeding from another quarter" – these words produced much sensation in the Chamber and also without its walls; it must be admitted that after all the abuse that has been heaped upon M. de Beust by the Government Press of Berlin during the last month, the "personalities" contained in the above passage are more temperate and more liberal towards his powerful antagonist than might have been expected.

The Minister concluded his speech by declaring that the Saxon Government had in all the measures which it had found necessary to adopt, consulted the honour and interests of Saxony as well as its obligations to the Confederation, and that it had used whatever influence it derived from its secondary position in Germany towards the maintenance of the Public Peace.

[115]Hermann Schreck.

[116]Notwithstanding Beust's assurances, the Saxon representative in the German Diet had already been instructed to agree to the Austrian proposal for the mobilization of federal troops against Prussia. See n. 119 in this section.

[117]The Austrian minister president, Richard Graf von Belcredi.

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FO 68/142: Charles Augustus Murray to Earl of Clarendon, No 36, Dresden, 28 June 1866

Occupation of Saxony by Prussian forces; pro-Prussian tone and erroneous reports of the war in the British press

Shut out as we are here from all communication with the outer world, excepting that which is allowed us by the good pleasure of the Prussian Military Authorities,[118] it is out of my power to give Your Lordship any accurate information as to the relative position or force of the great armies about to meet in conflict in Silesia; so far as I am able to form an opinion from the intelligence that has reached me, I am inclined to believe that Field-Marshal Benedek, has massed his forces with the railway in his rear from Prague to Olmütz, Parduwitz being about the centre of his line: the wonderful caution exhibited on this occasion by a commander as celebrated for his strategic skill as for his daring courage, leads one to infer that, on the declaration of war,[119] he found himself too weak in numbers to carry out his plan of advancing on Berlin via Silesia and Breslau, and, at the same time of detaching a force sufficient to prevent the occupation of Saxony by the Prussian troops; the comparative inaction in which he has hitherto remained has caused most of the unreflecting writers in the French and English Press to consider the cause of Austria and her allies almost lost in North Germany; and I observe that the "Times" and others are already beginning to salute with laudatory articles the expected Victor, whose overgrown ambition and unjust aggression they were angrily denouncing a month ago: no doubt it has been an immense advantage to Prussia to be able to occupy this rich and flourishing little Kingdom without firing a shot, and to use all its material resources as they are most unscrupulously doing to supply their troops with every necessary except arms:– English readers of the "Times" will of course believe that the Prussians are welcomed here as brothers, and that the Saxons wish no better and could do no better than to become incorporated with Prussia: that the populations received the occupying army in a friendly way is perfectly true, for what other course was open to them? Unavailing opposition would only have produced more evil exaction and moreover, as regards the individuals composing the mass of the

[118]Dresden was occupied by Prussian troops on 18 June 1866; on 25 June, General von der Mülbe, the Prussian military governor, imposed martial law.

[119]The war originated with a federal resolution on 14 June 1866 to mobilize the federal troops against Prussia. There was no Austrian declaration of war, as the Austrians regarded the conflict as a *Bundesexekution* (federal execution, see n. 99 in Frankfurt section) against Prussia for violating federal territory in Holstein. Prussia declared war on Austria on 21 June.

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population and the soldiery there was no hostile feeling, they felt that they were speaking the same language and formed part of the same German people, and scores of the soldiers openly avowed that they abhorred the war and the authors of it; but towards the Prussian Government and the Military Authorities who represent it here, it is impossible but that the poor Saxons should feel the most intense hatred; they are compelled to feed the Prussian Military quartered upon them twice as abundantly as ever they were fed by their own Commissariat, including a bottle of wine per diem for every officer and a quart of beer to every soldier, besides cigars – besides this a forced contribution is levied on the town amounting to 10,000 thalers per diem, while daily requisitions are made one day for 500 horses, another day for 1500 pair of boots and every other imaginable kind of supply for none of which is any payment made.

The Prussians yesterday demanded three thousand spade labourers, and they are about to throw up earth-works and entrenchments to the South and South East of the town, and for some time they have been blasting chambers in the Piers of the two beautiful bridges over the Elbe, preparatory to blowing them up if necessary; if my conjecture concerning the Austrian Commander's plan of campaign be at all near the truth, the first of these measures is fruitless labour and the latter barbarous and useless spite; for if Marshal Benedek can defeat the armies of Prussia in Silesia and march upon Berlin, he will never come near Dresden at all, but the Prussian forces in Saxony must evacuate it unmolested, in order to aid in the defence of the Prussian capital, whereas, if the Austrian Commander is unable to obtain a decisive advantage over the Prussians in Silesia, he must retreat for the defence of Bohemia and Vienna, and in that case Saxony remains a safe and convenient base for the operations of the Prussian army:– it is very disadvantageous to the British Public, and I think rather humiliating to us as a nation, that the writers in many of our leading journals are so ill-informed on all that is passing in these countries and mislead their readers by giving intelligence totally devoid of foundation; for the last weeks I have read in the English papers that "Batteries have been erected on the famous Brühlischer Terrace facing the Elbe", that Pirna is occupied by Prussian soldiers, and the "famous fortress of Königstein is in the hands of the Prussians", the fact being that not a single gun has ever been brought on to the Brühlische Terrace, that the Prussians have not occupied Pirna, and that the fortress of Königstein has not only not fallen into the hands of the Prussians, but has never been attacked by them:[120] if intelligence so incorrect as this is supplied respecting the well-known environs of this City where

[120]The Prussians had in fact taken Pirna on 19 June 1866.

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not a shot has yet been fired, what may we expect to hear when the turmoil of battle and the marches and countermarches of great hosts have begun in the comparatively unknown provinces of Eastern Silesia. I observe that even the critical "Saturday Review"[121] which often rebukes so severely the errors of its contemporaries devotes a long article in one of its late numbers to an analytical criticism of an address purporting to have been published by Field-Marshal Benedek to his army, but which every one here above the age of a school-boy knew at a glance to be a hoax – and which was afterwards found to have been the invention of a Prussian Squib writer at Cologne.[122]

[121] *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, a weekly newspaper established in London in 1855.

[122] The fabricated order of General Benedek of 17 June 1866 was published in numerous German and European newspapers, including *The Times* (22 June). The name of the author, a Prussian agent, is not traceable.

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