STUTTGART

FO 82/55: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 9, Stuttgart, 2 March 1848

Liberty of press to be granted by King of Württemberg; state of affairs in Baden; stormy sitting of Baden chambers; concessions inevitable

The petition for liberty of the Press which I informed Your Lordship by my Despatch No 7 of yesterday, would be presented by a portion of the Inhabitants of Stuttgardt to The King is I learn actually drawn up, and receiving signatures at the moment I am writing. But The Royal decision has been already taken on this question and I am just informed by Count Beroldingen that a Decree[1] is being published granting the desired concession and that this Decree will be issued before the Petition can be presented.

In Stuttgardt every thing wears the appearance of tranquillity and I have no doubt that this spontaneous and timely act of The Sovereign will materially tend to preserve it.

The two Despatches which I have the honor to enclose from Mr. Craven give a less satisfactory account of the state of things in Baden, Mr Craven's No 4 mentions the arrest of certain workmen and others who appear to have had a design to create disturbance.

I learn that the arrests were fourteen in number, and amongst them were two Artillerymen of the Baden regular Troops. A Battalion of Infantry has been sent for from Rastadt which can arrive in Carlsruhe in about an hour and a half by Rail Road.

The sitting of the Chambers referred to in Mr Craven's Despatch No 5, was, as I am told from other quarters a most stormy one, and the gravity and decorum of the legislative assembly much interrupted by the conduct of the Audiences in the Tribunes. I have not time before the Post leaves to prepare a complete translation of the account of this sitting which Mr Craven has enclosed in his Despatch but I beg to subjoin a brief precis. Your Lordship will observe that the Ministry avow their intention of granting all the demands of the Carlsruhe Petition.[2]

[1] Decree on the lifting of censorship of 2 March 1848.

[2] Petition of the Carlsruhe citizens' assembly of 28 February 1848. The demands made in this petition – for the liberty of the press, trial by jury, the armament of the population, and

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It is to be apprehended that the Population of Baden will take advantage of the present state of things in France[3] to obtain concessions which will materially weaken the Government. The Grand Duke cannot hope to receive such timely support from His neighbours as should enable Him successfully to resist, and with the prospect before Him of succumbing in a struggle in which the popular party would have the sympathy and most probably the aid of France and the hope that by yielding, His Government may conciliate popular feeling and preserve National Union, the alternative of concessions which will most probably be carried beyond the point of safety, seems almost inevitable.

Mr Craven expresses a strong conviction that there will not be an outbreak, an opinion in which I concur, as I trust that the national feeling on one hand which was so strongly evinced against apprehended French aggression in 1840–41[4] and the prudence of the Government on the other, may prevent such an occurrence, the danger of which in the present conjuncture cannot be contemplated without great apprehension.

I enclose a translation of a proclamation[5] of the radical party which Mr Craven tells me has been extensively circulated in the Grand Duchy.[6]

FO 82/55: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 16, Stuttgart, 10 March 1848

New ministry in Württemberg; King's concessions

My Despatch No 15 of the 7th Inst. stated that an intended change of administration in Wurtemberg had been projected but had failed of being carried into effect. I have now the honor of informing Your Lordship that The King has been pleased to appoint Monsieur Römer to the Department of Justice, Monsr Duvernoy to that of the Interior,

equality of rights for persons of all creeds – corresponded with similar petitions produced at the same time in various other cities.

[3] French February Revolution.

[4] In 1840 French foreign policy focused on reconquering the Rhine frontier, which had been lost in the territorial reorganization of 1814–15.

[5] 'Demands of the German Nation'. Among the most important of these demands were freedom of the press and personal civil rights, an all-German parliament based on universal suffrage, the abolition of all privileges, and protection and guarantee of labour.

[6] Enclosures: Copy, Craven to Malet, No 4, Carlsruhe, 29 February 1848; Copy, Craven to Malet, No 5, Carlsruhe, 1 March 1848; Translation, Précis of debates in the Baden Chambers; *Badischer Landtagsbote* No 73, 29 February 1848 (*Beiblatt zur Karlsruher Zeitung*); Translation, Demands of the German Nation.

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Monsr Goppelt to that of Finance, and Monsr Pfizzer to that of Public Instruction and Worship.

The President of the Council Monsr de Maucler, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Count Beroldingen and the Minister of War Count Sontheim retain their Posts.

Monsr Römer is a Deputy of the States and a member of the opposition, Messrs Duvernoy, Goppelt and Pfizzer are men of liberal opinions, and the measures of popular Concessions[7] which The King has determined on granting to His People will be introduced under their auspices to the Chambers on their reassembling on Monday next.

The confidence I have already ventured to express to Your Lordship of the maintenance of tranquillity in this Kingdom is much increased by the prospects which the state of things arising from the modification of the Ministry holds out.

The promised concessions of the Crown will be legally carried out under the guarantee of a responsible Ministry, and the readiness which The King has shewn in granting the popular demands, while He has taken care that their enactment should be effected by the regularly constituted Legislative Chambers, will not fail to create the best impressions both of His Majesty's good intentions and of His continuing to maintain the high character for circumspection and prudence which His Majesty has hitherto so deservedly held.

Count Beroldingen's retention of office will be particularly acceptable to every individual member of the Diplomatic Body, and his and Monsr de Maucler's having consented to act with the newly appointed members of the Cabinet afford safe pledges that the conservative principle is not laid aside in the composition of the Government. [. . .]

FO 82/55: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 17, Stuttgart, 14 March 1848

Uprising against landed proprietors by peasants demanding the abolition of feudal rights; measures and concessions of new Württemberg ministry

Disorders of a somewhat alarming Kind have broken out in this Country in certain rural Districts.

The Peasantry on the frontier of Baden where a Despatch which I have already forwarded from Mr Craven in my No 15 reported

[7] The new ministry submitted to the *Landtag* a series of laws (armament of the population and freedom of assembly; abolition of tithes and other manorial dues), which were accepted with a large majority.

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some disturbance to have arisen from the retention of feudal rights by the Landed Proprietors have sought forcibly to extort the cession of these rights from various Noblemen in the contiguous Territory of Wurtemberg where similar privileges still exist. In the district between Heidelberg and Heilbron the outbuildings of one Proprietor[8] have been set on fire, and another[9] has been compelled to sign a renunciation of certain claims of long standing which he held against his Peasants; and various other acts of plunder and violence are reported to have been committed.

In another district in the neighbourhood of Niederstetten the Chateau of Prince Hohenlohe-Bartenstein has been burnt.

The cause of these serious disturbances has been in all cases the same.

The Wurtemberg government has been for some time occupied with measures for abolishing the obsolete usages out of which these disorders have under the present excitement so unfortunately arisen. The Proprietors whose revenues depended in some measure on the forced labour of the Peasants were to be indemnified by the State but the scale of the indemnity being fixed as the Proprietors generally thought too low, they have in many cases rejected or delayed commutation and in the present disturbance are reaping the fruit of this unwise conduct.

Troops have been dispatched to the disturbed districts, and a proclamation[10] of which I have the honor to enclose a translation has been issued, the combined effects of these measures will it is hoped and expected prevent the continuance of disturbances which however alarming, there is no reason to attribute to any other than the purely local causes I have the honor of stating to your Lordship.

I have only just time to add a translation of the manifest of the new Administration, which has been published this day. Your Lordship will perceive that positive pledges are given for all the concessions which my previous Despatches have announced, and that particular stress is laid on that very important point which has been most controverted viz: a change in the Constitution of the Diet.[11]

[8] Not traceable.

[9] Klemens August Graf zu Leiningen-Neudenau.

[10] The proclamation of 11 March 1848 announced that the revolutionaries would be hotly pursued and warned against further breaches of the law.

[11] Enclosures (copy and translation): Manifest and proclamation issued by the new administration, 11 March 1848. The manifest contained the following points: re-establishment of freedom of the press, the army to swear allegiance to the constitution, introduction of freedom of assembly, new elections to the chambers, introduction of public trials and trial by jury, a new system of criminal proceedings, abolition of feudal rights, reform

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FO 82/55: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 21, Stuttgart, 17 March 1848

State of Baden; attempt to proclaim a republic in Constance; popular assembly to be held in Offenburg; Welcker appointed new Baden plenipotentiary and Bassermann commissary to the Federal Diet

The report from Mr Craven, of which I have the honor to enclose a Copy, of the state of things in the Grand Duchy of Baden is more unfavorable than any which I have hitherto received. The danger of any outbreak in that quarter is greatly increased by the proximity of France, and I can only hope that the confidence which Mr Craven's earlier Accounts expressed of the maintenance of order may be realized, and that the sombre aspect of affairs given in his Despatch No 22 may be drawn under the influence of the exaggerated apprehensions and reports of those by whom he is surrounded.

We have here also authentic intelligence of the state of things in the Odenwald a district comprising part of Baden and of Hesse Darmstadt, and on the immediate frontier of Wurtemberg, and there appears to be no farther ground of alarm from thence.

The attempt made to proclaim a Republic at Constance[12] of which Mr Craven speaks, appears as I learn from other sources to have been the act of a very small number of persons, and not to have met with support or sympathy enough to give any serious alarm, but in the present moment the mere mention of that word creates in many minds a panic fear.

Offenburg where the meeting[13] which seems to afford so much ground of uneasiness is to be held tomorrow is a Town of about 6000 Inhabitants, the centre of a rich agricultural district, and at no great distance from Strasburg.

Monsr. Welcker and not Monsr. Nebenius as previously reported is named to replace the late Baden Minister[14] to the Diet at Francfort, and Monsr Basserman is associated with him as Commissary to the German Diet to concert measures for the assembling the projected German Parliament.

Both these Gentlemen are leading members of the opposition – the latter is a Bookseller at Mannheim and a Man of considerable

of state and local administration, creation of an all-German parliament, reinforcement of the German nation.

[12] The demands for the introduction of a German republic originated in Constance in the so-called 'permanent committee'.

[13] On 19 March democrats from the whole of Baden assembled in Offenburg. Amongst the demands were abolition of the first chamber and 'cleansing' of the second, the abolition of all taxes except income tax and wealth tax, and the separation of church and state.

[14] Friedrich Landolin Karl Freiherr von Blittersdorf.

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property, he was the person who first mooted the question of a German Parliament in the Second Chamber of the Baden States.

I have instructed Mr Craven to come to Stuttgardt should any necessity compel him to quit his Post.[15]

FO 82/55: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 33, Stuttgart, 14 April 1848

Threat of armed invasion by German republicans from Switzerland; appeal by German states to Swiss government

Considerable uneasiness still prevails with respect to the menaced armed invasion of German workmen on the Grand Duchy of Baden.[16] This uneasiness is increased by the state of popular feeling in the District called the See-Kreis adjoining the Swiss Territory. The Peasantry of this District have expressed a determination to oppose the entrance of the Wurtemberg and Bavarian Troops ordered to occupy that portion of the Frontier, but a sufficient Force, (about 15,000 men,) will be shortly assembled to overcome any resistance which may be attempted by unorganized forces; still the existence of these dispositions in a part of the Country threatened with an incursion of armed Republicans from without, affords real ground for alarm, and the spirit of the Baden Troops is represented as being very indifferent and not to be depended upon.

A few days will in all likelihood decide the question, which as the French Authorities at Strasburg have refused to permit the Emigrants to leave France in Arms, seems to depend mainly on the conduct of the Swiss Government.

Pressing instances have I learn been made to the Vorort[17] by the neighbouring German States collectively, to induce them to adhere to the principles of international Law in preventing the threatened incursion, and menaces of reprisals in the shape of blockading the Frontier, have been held out, should the Swiss Government permit or connive at so flagrant an infraction of recognized principles as that with which Germany is threatened.

It has been officially declared at Carlsruhe that the Individual[18] whose arrest I mentioned in my Despatch No 32 dated the 10th Inst.

[15] Enclosure: Copy, Craven to Malet, No 22, Carlsruhe, 15 March 1848.

[16] The armed invasion announced here started on 13 April in Constance under Friedrich Hecker's leadership. En route to the Black Forest the number of freedom fighters swelled to 1200.

[17] Name of the alternative site – in 1848 Bern – for meetings of the *Tagsatzung*, at which deputies from the Swiss Cantons conferred on the concerns of the Swiss Confederation.

[18] Joseph Fickler.

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is proved to have had treasonable correspondence with France, and it is asserted that Messrs Struve and Hecker, the latter a Deputy of the Baden Chamber, are implicated in this serious charge.

FO 82/55: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 34, Stuttgart, 17 April 1848

Failure of Hecker and Struve to incite a republican movement; military precautions on French and Swiss frontier

The reports I receive from Mr Craven and accounts which may be relied on from other quarters, announce a favorable change in the opinions of the Population of the District of the (See-Kreis) Lake of Constance of Baden.

Efforts were made by Messrs Hecker and Struve to incite the inhabitants to a republican movement which was to have been supported by the workmen from France, but have signally failed, and those two Leaders with a few followers, have been compelled to fly, as is conjectured, into Switzerland.[19]

The Bavarian and Wurtemberg Troops whose entrance into the Grand Duchy was at first opposed by the Peasantry under misapprehension of their objects have been welcomed at Donaueschingen, the residence of Prince Furstenberg, and other localities as preservers.

All fear of the Population shewing sympathy with the menaced incursion from France or Switzerland being removed, no apprehension is now felt as to the result, should the misguided men who planned it persevere in their intentions. Ample military precautions are taken both on the French and Swiss Frontier, and I learn from the best authority that the Baden Government have every reason to rely on the sincerity and good faith of the French Frontier Authorities in doing their utmost to arrest the exit of any armed body from that Territory.

FO 82/55: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, Confidential, No 50, Stuttgart, 18 June 1848

State of public opinion in Württemberg; King's demeanour attributed to Russian influence; people apprehensive of republican movements; opinions on proposed establishment of a central power at Frankfurt

There is little if any alteration apparent in this part of Germany in the state of public feeling.

[19] At this point the ringleaders of the April uprising had not yet given up. On 20 April Hecker fled to Switzerland, as did Struve after his defeat on 24 April.

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The King observes an attitude of perfect quiescence, and I learn that the present aspect of political affairs is studiously avoided to be touched upon in the Court Circle. That the progress of events is contemplated with satisfaction can scarcely be imagined, indeed my previous reports to Your Lordship of His Majesty's avowed opinions prove the contrary.

His Majesty's actual demeanour may be chiefly if not wholly attributed to His Son's alliance with a Russian Princess.[20]

Any movement on His Majesty's part no matter how trivial (unless in a liberal sense, in which He can hardly go farther than He has already done,) would be attributed to Russian influence, and compromise not only His own popularity but render the position of His Daughter in Law even more precarious than it now is.

His Majesty therefore acts in such a manner that His responsibility can in no degree be implicated by any act of His newly appointed Administration,[21] thus The King avoids all blame for measures some of which are at least of doubtful prudence, a laxity in the enforcement of the law being very generally admitted which savours of great timidity in its administrators, and this is a fault which no one would impute to His Majesty, who may thus at least claim the merit of allowing the principle of responsible Government to be really carried out.

Very considerable apprehension of republican movements both in Baden and in Wurtemberg are still felt or at any rate avowed, principally by the upper classes.

It is also said that attempts are made to tamper with the fidelity of the Troops, and that emissaries are busy spreading communist doctrines amongst the Peasantry and unemployed workmen.

The uneasiness created by rumours of this description is very injurious to public tranquillity; and the employers of labour and consequently the labourers themselves, are suffering severely from the general stagnation of all kinds of Industry.

Considerable bodies of artizans thrown out of work are employed by the Government and the various municipalities – but there is a general feeling that this state of things can not last long, and that unless reviving confidence brings about a return to a more normal condition some convulsion must ensue.

If I gather rightly the opinions I hear expressed as to the proceedings at Francfort the proposal for the establishment of a central Executive power which finds the most general assent is that of Monsr Dahlmann for a triumvirate,[22] one member of which should be named by Austria,

[20] Crown Prince Karl married the Russian Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaievna in 1846.
[21] For the cabinet reshuffle cf. pp. 310–311.
[22] Cf. n. 21 in Frankfurt section.

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one by Prussia, and the third elected by the other German States on the nomination of Bavaria.

The proceedings of that Assembly are however so dilatory, and so evidently impeded by counteracting influences, that it is much to be apprehended no genuine accord will be arrived at, except under the pressure of some such catastrophe as shall induce voluntary submission to a paramount authority, now regarded by several important sections of the Community with repugnance and mistrust.

FO 82/55: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 62, Stuttgart, 28 September 1848

Defeat of a body of republican refugees in Baden; failed movements in Baden and Frankfurt; popular festival to celebrate the King of Württemberg's birthday

Before leaving the Grand Duchy of Baden on Tuesday last the 26th Instant to return to this Residence that Country was considerably agitated by a fresh incursion[23] of Refugees and others from the Swiss Frontier under the leadership of the republican Struve.

The force he brought with him was stated to amount to between two and three thousand Men, and they created much alarm and considerable disorder in the Frontier district, seizing sums in the local public chests, publishing threatening notices, and menacing all those who did not join them with death. Little sympathy however appears to have been felt for this Leader or his objects in the district he had hoped to raise in rebellion; his adherents, amongst whom there were reported to be some Italian and Polish refugees, were dispersed in their first encounter by the Troops sent against them, and Struve himself was arrested by the Peasants and delivered into safe custody at Schlingen on the evening of the 26th.

It is positively stated here today that he was forthwith tried by a Court Martial and shot.

A considerable force of Hessians and some Prussian and Austrian troops have been sent into the Grand Duchy and there seems no doubt that this attempt to raise a republican Insurrection in that Country has totally failed.

Your Lordship will see by the proclamation of the Wurtemberg Government which I have the honor to enclose[24] that the disturbances at Frankfort,[25] this incursion into the Grand Duchy of Baden, and

[23] Second Baden uprising, 21–25 September 1848.

[24] Enclosure (copy and translation): Proclamation of the Württemberg government, 23 September 1848.

[25] Cf. pp. 38–39.

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similar projects to raise rebellion in Wurtemberg and Hesse, were actually organised and intended to break out simultaneously.

The movements at Frankfort and in Baden having failed, it is to be hoped nothing serious will occur in this Country, but some uneasiness is felt, and Troops are held in readiness to act and are being moved in various directions where disturbance is menaced.

In this Residence and in the neighbouring Town of Cannstadt where the Government felt some apprehension of an outbreak on occasion of the Popular festival held this day to celebrate The King's birthday,[26] every thing has hitherto passed in the most orderly manner, and I am this moment returned from Cannstadt where, in spite of fears of disturbance so serious as to have caused the ground on which the Popular festival is held to be surrounded by Troops, I had the gratification of seeing The King very cordially greeted by a very large assemblage of His subjects.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's Despatches to No 45 inclusive.

FO 82/55: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 65, Stuttgart, 29 December 1848

Difference of opinion on commercial policy in northern and southern Germany; petitions by protectionists to Frankfurt National Assembly

The wide diversity of interests which exist between Northern and Southern Germany and which under the working of the German Commercial Union had already produced a feeling in the Southern States that their manufacturing industry was sacrificed to the shipping and commercial prosperity of their Northern brethren, is, in the present crisis of German affairs becoming more than ever prominent, and seems likely to throw as great or greater obstacles in the way of Union than any other of the many causes which impede its consummation.

Ever since the intended commercial policy of Monsieur Duckwitz has been understood to lean to liberal measures, the Protectionists have taken the alarm. The local Papers are daily filled with Articles advocating restrictive measures, and not only grounding their appeals to public feelings on motives of sectional interest, but on political grounds and ancient associations which their writers well know are still warmly responded to, and of themselves offer serious hindrance to the plans of centralization.

The translated portion of an Article from the Allgemeine Zeitung, which I have the honor to enclose is a fair specimen of the tone

[26] *Cannstatter Wasen*, founded by Wilhelm I in 1818.

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and spirit of these productions, which as I have already observed are growing more frequent and more violent in their language every day.

I already in my No 49 transmitted to Your Lordship a petition of the Wurtemberg Chamber of Commerce to the Assembly at Frankfort[27] stating the views and wishes they entertained, and their demands for high protective duties. I have recently seen a memorial of the Carlsruhe National association[28] likewise addressed to the Assembly at Frankfort in view of the new Tariff which is to be a subject of deliberation in that Assembly, this document advocates equally strong protective principles with the Wurtemberg petition and concludes by saying that their Brethren of the North and East will as the Memorialists hope and trust, as willingly consent to purchase National wares at somewhat higher rates than similar foreign productions, as they of the Southern States to contribute freely for the support of a German marine and maritime Commerce.

Your Lordship will not fail to perceive what extensive compromises and vast mutual sacrifices must be made before the opposing interests of the different States can come together on terms of conciliation.

I may add that I hear the importance of Trieste spoken of, as an outlet for the Manufactures of Southern Germany, an idea which I rather think originates with the would be seceders from Northern Germany than from anything which has transpired of Austrian Commercial policy.[29]

FO 82/58: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, Confidential, No 6, Stuttgart, 23 February 1849

Conversation with the Württemberg King on German affairs; supremacy of Prussia inadmissible; King's opinion on Gagern; expediency of territorial adjustment of Germany and situation in Baden; King's dislike of France; uncertain prospects of the Frankfurt National Assembly

I had this day the Honor of being admitted to an Audience of His Majesty The King on my returning from leave of absence, and beg to report some portions of His Majesty's conversation on this occasion, with which it must necessarily interest Your Lordship to become acquainted.

His Majesty entered at once into the subject of German Politics after enquiring if I had communicated to Your Lordship the remarks

[27] 'Request to speed up regulations for the protection of German labour and for an organized trade policy for Germany'. This petition was presented to the National Assembly on 19–20 June 1848 and was passed on to the *Ausschuß für die Volkswirtschaft*.

[28] Petition of the *Vaterländische Verein zu Karlsruhe*, presented to the National Assembly in November 1848.

[29] Enclosure: Translated extract of an article from the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.

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and opinions which He had charged me to make known to you, when I left Stuttgardt for London in January last.

On my assuring Him that I had not failed to acquit myself of this duty, His Majesty was anxious to learn the impression which I imagined His views had made on Your Lordship, and not less so on His Royal Highness Prince Albert, when I informed His Majesty that I had had the Honor of an Audience of His Royal Highness.

I assured His Majesty that all that He had charged me to state had been listened to with great interest and attention by Your Lordship, and that I had been charged by His Royal Highness Prince Albert to thank His Majesty for putting His Royal Highness in possession of His Majesty's views on matters in which His Royal Highness took so deep an interest.

The King said, He was quite aware that His own opinions were at variance with those which He believed to be generally entertained in England – that He could never regard the supremacy of Prussia as admissible, and that even if His own personal opinion was in favour of that Policy, He should be constrained to oppose it by the force of publick opinion. Austria might at this moment be too much occupied in other directions to oppose such a solution of present difficulties by force of Arms, but She would protest, and the Southern States might for the moment be compelled to submit, but theirs would be a reluctant submission, and one from which they would emancipate themselves on the first opportunity.

His Majesty was very anxious to learn Your Lordship's appreciation of Monsieur de Gagern, and in support of what He had already told me as derogating in His opinion from that Gentleman's pretensions to the character of a prudent Statesman, He told me that He had just seen Count Rechberg, who had been on a Mission from the Austrian Government to Frankfort, and who had told Him, that in the course of a long conversation with Monsieur de Gagern principally on the subject of German Unity, Monsieur de Gagern had said in answer to some objection of Count Rechberg's 'Eh bien, c'était le rêve de ma jeunesse, et s'il faut que pour le réaliser, le sang soit repandu, je ne reculerai pas'.

This, said the King, is not the language of a Statesman 'C'est une monomanie, mais pourquoi alors se poser en homme d'État'.

His Majesty amongst other topics enlarged much on one which, as Your Lordship will no doubt recollect from my previous reports, has always afforded Him a subject of diatribe and unfriendly comment – the division of Germany into such numerous fractions.[30]

[30] In February 1849 the German Confederation consisted of thirty-eight individual sovereign states.

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All these little States, said His Majesty, particularizing Cothen – Gotha – Weimar – Altenbourg – Nassau – Baden &c 'sont les répaires de vagabonds, et des révolutionnaires'.

This gave me an opportunity which I had been watching for, of saying to His Majesty, I hoped He would excuse the liberty I took, but that remembering the doctrines His Majesty had always professed of the expediency of some new Territorial Adjustment of Germany, and giving His Majesty entire credit myself for His patriotic views, I could not doubt that He was aware that other motives had been and were attributed to Him, and that wishes for Territorial aggrandizement and aims of personal ambition were imputed to Him, especially as regarded the Grand Duchy of Baden.

The King said, He was perfectly aware of the rumours to which I alluded, but that His opinions were no secret, and that having made formal declarations in this respect to the Cabinet of Berlin, 'Il était parfaitement en régle'. That He would not seek to create an opportunity nor provoke measures which should lead to a result He had always regarded as desirable, but should it by any means be brought about, 'Il l'accepterait.'

As to Baden in particular He could only regard it as a long strip of land with little natural cohesion in its population, and a feeble political organisation, placed on the most vulnerable Frontier of Germany. The Brisgau was Austrian in feeling, and Manheim, Bavarian. For the Grand Duke personally His Majesty professed most friendly feelings, but as a Sovereign He thought Him unfitted for difficult times, and as for the Government, said His Majesty, I have no respect either for their principles or practice.

They cannot maintain their own internal tranquillity and consequently throw heavy burthens on Wirtemberg and their other neighbours, who up to this day are compelled to keep their Troops in that Territory. His Majesty would appeal, He said, to any rational judgement as to the policy of making such changes as should put an end to this state of things.

Southern Germany, His Majesty, went on to say, must look to Austria, placed between Prussia and France 'et ne voulant ni de l'une ni de l'autre.' Austria is the support which nature and policy must incline and compel Her to lean upon.

Your Lordship will particularly remark The King's expression as regards France because His Majesty has been suspected, tho' I firmly believe without sufficient grounds, of having ideas of seeking support in that quarter. On all occasions on which I have heard His Majesty allude to that Country, it has been with strong feelings of dislike, and whatever other course His Majesty might be tempted to follow in

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pursuit of His objects, I am persuaded He would never look in that direction for an Alliance.

His Majesty discussed at some length the present prospects of the Assembly at Frankfort; plainly expressed His opinion that they were daily losing ground, and that the publick finding out their incapacity, would in the end call on other men to undertake the task of reorganization. His Majesty intimated that the plan of a Directory[31] had His qualified assent; but He coupled this with some remarks on the necessity of this Body (of which He would be a Member) not being fettered in their action by a responsible Ministry (even I presume with the Ministry now existing.) but acting directly with the Assembly itself.

I alluded to the secret Memorandum[32] which Lord Cowley had shewn me on my recent passage through Frankfort, one portion of which contained the project of placing His Majesty at the head of a Body of Austrian and Bavarian Troops to be concentrated in the vicinity of Frankfort. His Majesty said briefly, He had no part in such a project, that it was one of the thousand which events were daily causing to be put forth; and seemed to attach but little importance to it.

His Majesty enquired with interest into the general prospects of British Foreign Policy, particularly in Italy, and ended the conversation by saying that Germany was so changed and so changing, that it required close observation, and daily study to seize the various phases of passing events, and to judge eventual possibilities – that to a Person in His own position, an expectant attitude was the sole possible – that the longer the present state of uncertainty at Frankfort endured, the better He considered were the chances of a future favorable solution. Any rash movement of the Princes might endanger the Monarchical Principle and precipitate the Country into a new and terrible revolution – 'Enfin', said His Majesty, 'quoique tout est dans l'incertitude je ne suis pas sans espoir, qui vivra, verra'.

FO 82/58: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 23, Stuttgart, 15 May 1849

Insurrection in Baden; flight of Grand Duke from Carlsruhe; provisional government installed at Carlsruhe; military state of affairs

The two Despatches from Mr Craven which I have the honor to enclose, give some account of the commencement of the very serious events which have occurred in the Grand Duchy of Baden; having

[31] Cf. n. 78 in Frankfurt section.
[32] The details of the memorandum could not be established.

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been myself to Heidelberg during a part of the day yesterday, I can supply some farther details which were made known to me by eye witnesses or well informed persons, and can positively inform Your Lordship that the Grand Duke with the whole of His Family has fled from Carlsruhe and is believed to have gone to Germersheim; that the whole of the more respectable portion of the Inhabitants of Carlsruhe have also quitted it, the greater number having gone to the Town of Lauterbourg on the French Frontier; and that a provisional Government of which Mons. Brentano is said to be the chief and Messrs Itzstein and Peters[33] are Members, is installed at Carlsruhe.

These events have ensued upon a military revolt at Carlsruhe which commenced on the evening of Saturday the 12th and which from all appearances was a concerted movement with what took place at Offenburg on the following day.[34]

Rastadt is I learn wholly in the power of the revolted Troops, but that portion of them which deserted their Colours at Carlsruhe have disbanded, after a short conflict with some of the Burgher Guard in which a few lives were lost on either side. Prince Frederic the second son of the Grand Duke on hearing that disturbance had begun in the Infantry Barrack repaired there to remonstrate with the mutinous troops, but was received with personal violence, and is reported to have saved Himself by jumping out of a window. One Officer of Cavalry was shot dead, and several others maltreated; very few of the men of any branch of the services remained true to their duty.

The political Prisoners, Struve, Blind, and Bornstedt were forcibly rescued from the Prison at Bruchsal and made a sort of triumphant entry into Carlsruhe yesterday evening, attended by a rabble of armed men bearing a red flag and by a number of disorganized and mutinous Troops. From the known principles of these men the most violent measures and sanguinary proceedings may be apprehended.

There does not exist now within the Baden territory any Military force to be depended on. Mutiny had already begun amongst those stationed in the Oberland, and at Mannheim on Sunday there was a rising similar to that at Carlsruhe which ended in the withdrawal or flight of all the Officers, and the Troops dispersing themselves to

[33] Josef Ignaz Peter.

[34] On 12 and 13 May delegates of Baden's democratic associations and leading revolutionaries from the neighbouring Rhineland and Palatinate assembled at Offenburg. When the demands decided upon on 12 May (among others the dissolution of the chambers, the dismissal of the ministry, amnesty for political offenders, and the fusion of army and militia) were rejected by the Baden government, the public meeting with some 20,000 participants resolved on 13 May to put the Frankfurt Imperial Constitution into force by revolutionary means. Further measures were entrusted to a committee (*Landesausschuß*); on 14 May it appointed a revolutionary government at Carlsruhe.

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their homes. The concert and simultaneousness of this extraordinary desertion of their Colours by a whole Army, gives ample proof of the nature and origin of the movement – at Rastadt a few thousand men have been kept together as it was naturally concluded that a regularly fortified Town could only be held by men under some sort of discipline, but the Troops elsewhere have been stimulated first to insubordination, and then to disband themselves probably with the expectation of spreading a certain element of confusion throughout the whole breadth of the land.

At Carlsruhe a portion of the Burgher Guard stood gallantly forward to defend order, and with the exception of one House belonging to an obnoxious Officer[35] being pillaged and demolished, and some damage done to the Grand Ducal Palace I could not learn that up to the evening of yesterday any serious injury had been done to publick or private property.

Such however is the present state of Baden, the Government is in the hands of a revolutionary party professing ultra republican opinions, and backed by the communist Leaders of the former attempts at rebellion made last year, and the strong federal Fortress of Rastadt recently provided with nearly 300 pieces of Artillery, and with enormous Stores and military supplies of all kinds in the hands of some 4000 revolted troops.

To oppose these internal elements of disorder there may perhaps be some portion of the Burgher Guard inclined to do their duty, but without direction or concert it would be wrong to rely on such a resource and there does not appear to be any other but the interference of federal troops from the neighbouring States. The Grand Duke has I learn already appealed to the Central Provisional Government at Frankfort,[36] but the state of almost every part of Germany at this crisis is such that Troops can with difficulty be spared even where their fidelity can be reckoned upon. I had the honor of seeing The King of Wurtemberg on my way hither through Ludwigsburg this morning and His Majesty said that without having 30,000 men disposable it would be folly to attempt a military occupation of a Country in such a state. His Majesty anticipates much confusion, and informed me that orders had been sent to the Wurtemberg Troops in Baden to concentrate themselves at Donaueschingen and to retreat into their own territory if any serious attack was made upon them. His Majesty said that it was in fact absolutely necessary to take some time to see the nature and tendency of the very extraordinary movement which has

[35] Ernst Holtz.

[36] Baden did not appeal to the Frankfurt central power for help until 25 May, having already asked Prussia for military support on the previous day.

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occurred in the neighbouring State before deciding on what course to take.[37]

FO 82/58: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 25, Stuttgart, 17 May 1849

Installation of provisional government at Carlsruhe; proclamations to the citizens, authorities, and the army; tactic of thrusting the constitution forward as the forlorn hope of the republican movement; explanation for the total disorganization of the military force and the conduct of the troops

The reports I receive from Mr Craven this day, of the progress of events in the Grand Duchy of Baden, acquaint me with the installation of the Provisional Government[38] in Carlsruhe on the 14th and that their reception by the population of that Town was marked by the absence of all appearance of sympathy or enthusiasm.

About 3000 Soldiers and armed Peasants who accompanied them are quartered on the Inhabitants, and Mr Craven reports that it is intended to move the reinforcements which were hourly flocking in, upon Heidelberg, in order as was said to march eventually upon Frankfort.

The Burgomaster[39] and National Guard of Baden have in a great measure removed the fears of Strangers residing in that Place for their personal safety, by issuing a declaration of their determination to protect them, and Mr Craven informs me that he has no intention of availing himself of the permission he had requested me to grant him to go to Strasburgh, unless matters wore a more menacing aspect than at the moment in which he wrote.

The Official Organ[40] of the intrusive Government contains four proclamations addressed 1mo to their fellow citizens, and signed by Brentano – Peter – Eichfeld – and Goegg – making known their assumption of Office as members of the executive Government.

2do to the district Authorities signed by – Eichfeld – to further the return of the disbanded Soldiery to their respective Corps.

3o to the People signed by – Goegg – as Minister of Finance inviting confidence, and engaging to fulfil all the pecuniary obligations of the preceding Government.

[37] Enclosures (copies): Craven to Malet, No 9, Carlsruhe, 13 May 1849; Craven to Malet, No 10, Carlsruhe, 13 May 1849.

[38] Cf. n. 34 in this section.

[39] Jakob Malsch.

[40] *Karlsruher Zeitung*, founded in 1839, had so far been an organ of the court and the government.

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4° to the Army, signed by – Eichfeld –. This is the most significant of all these documents, it informs those to whom it is addressed that their conduct (that is mutiny) has served their beloved Fatherland.

That they have to uphold the Constitution against the ungerman Russo Prussian oppressors who would put it down – and terminates with an appeal to them to conquer or die for the Constitution – (Reichsverfassung).[41]

Your Lordship will not fail to observe that his tactic of thrusting the Constitution forward as the forlorn hope of the republican movement is studiously observed – it is of the same cast as the policy of Kossuth in persuading the Magyars that they are fighting for their dethroned King,[42] but as it is practised amongst a better educated and more easily undeceived People, can hardly long continue to influence them.

The policy of not yet proclaiming the Republick is, I am convinced, an arrangement of the Leaders at Frankfort who are waiting to see the result of the simultaneous attempts at insurrection made in various directions before they completely throw away the mask.

It must be confessed that the circumstances attending these events in the Grand Duchy of Baden give rise to the most serious apprehensions.

The entire military Force of that State of the old German Confederation which ranks next to the Royal Governments in population, and which by its neighbourhood to France is even more important than most of them for the common safety, has been suddenly and totally disorganized.

The example is most dangerous, and the possibility of such a catastrophe happening elsewhere deserves that enquiry should be directed to the means which have brought it about.

I believe the explanation will be found a very simple one, and is comprised in the impossibility of serving two Masters.

Ever since the notion of German Unity has been afloat it would be absurd to deny the influence which the idea has had on large masses of the Population, the obstacles which it has encountered have been adroitly represented by a certain Party, as chiefly caused by the Princes; and when in Baden, among a generally well educated People, the moment arrived of taking the Oath to the new Constitution, which the Troops were persuaded was perilled by a League of Sovereigns led on by Prussia, the bonds of discipline were at once broken by the sentiment that the new Oath was binding them to duties in direct antagonism to their former obligations, and that they might be instantly called on by opposing interests to fulfil these conflicting engagements.

[41] For the Frankfurt Imperial Constitution cf. n. 81 in Frankfurt section.
[42] Ferdinand.

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I know no other explanation that can be offered for a simultaneous dereliction from their duty of a Body of upwards of 17,000 regular Troops; or which can in any other way palliate their conduct.

There needs no argument to prove the absolute necessity of an entire new organization of a political System, one Member of which has presented in a critical moment so fatal an instance of sudden dissolution.

FO 82/58: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 35, Stuttgart, 29 May 1849

Petition to second chamber of Württemberg from the popular meeting at Reutlingen; democratic clubs dictating the legislature; danger of placing Württemberg in open hostility to Prussia

The course which in the preceding Despatch I anticipated would be adopted by the Meeting at Reutlingen[43] is precisely that which they have taken: a deputation of 64 is to present to the Second Chamber this day a petition founded on the following bases: 1st: Immediate recognition and active support of the Alliance decreed by Imperial Law with all the States of the Empire, consequently also with Baden and the Palatinate.[44]

2d: Immediate recall of the Troops from their offensive position on the Baden frontier, and refusal of permission for the passage through the Country of Troops that have not taken Oath to the German Constitution and more particularly the non-admission of such into the Fortress of Ulm.

3d: Immediate arming of the whole Population, in order to be prepared for and enabled to repel every attack of the Enemies of the Empire, and to support every German Fraternity against such.

4thly The immediate publick and solemn administration of oath to the whole army as well as to all spiritual and civil functionaries.

5thly Amnesty for all persons accused or imprisoned for political offences.

The Deputation assuming the form of a permanent Committee is to remain in permanence at Stuttgardt to watch the progress and promote the success of their demands.

[43] On 27 and 28 May the so-called 'Whitsun Assembly' of dissidents and democrats took place in Reutlingen. The petition referred to in the dispatch was decided at the large popular gathering of 28 May, attended by some 10,000 people.

[44] A union was called for of those states which, like Württemberg, had recognized the Imperial Constitution (cf. n. 81 in Frankfurt section).

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The Cabinet having already declared itself, must necessarily oppose the adoption by the Chamber of the measures proposed; And it is generally believed that they will be in a minority.

Monsieur Römer will thus have full experience of the dangerous tendencies of the democratic club organisation by means of which he compelled The King to give His assent to the adoption of the Frankfort Constitution.[45]

These Clubs are now dictating the national Legislature and the majority of the Second Chamber which Monsieur Römer carried with him in his first attack on the Royal Prerogative, having already turned against him, it is pretty evident that unless the very perilous experiment of a dissolution is resorted to, which to all appearance would necessitate an immediate appeal to force, the King can have no alternative but calling to His Councils the Leaders of the Republican Party. The necessary results of such a solution of the difficulty, in placing Wurtemberg in open hostility to Prussia, are evident from the language of the Reutlingen resolutions quoted above.

The sittings of the First Chamber are indefinitely suspended from want of a sufficient attendance of members. Their influence on the course of events has lately been so imperceptible, that no importance need be attached to this event.

FO 82/59: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 43, Stuttgart, 7 June 1849

Proceedings and intentions of the seceding portion of the Frankfurt National Assembly at Stuttgart; three different parliamentary schemes existing in Germany

The seceding portion of the Frankfort National Assembly having, contrary to the expectation of many, constituted itself at Stuttgardt, new and very serious obstacles to the Unity at which it professes to aim are at once created, and the elements of confusion already at work, seem likely to be called into more vigorous action.

The Members who have met here, have commenced their labours by unequivocally throwing down the gauntlet to Prussia. They declare the Constitution just promulgated under the auspices of that Government[46] and with the concurrence of Hannover [sic] and

[45] The question of recognising the Frankfurt Imperial Constitution led to a government crisis. Wilhelm I was eventually persuaded by Friedrich Römer to accept it on 24 April.

[46] For the Erfurt Union's constitution of 28 May 1849 cf. n. 115 in Prussia section.

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Saxony, null and void. And all those who promote or forward it, guilty of Treason. They next proceed to substitute a Regency for the Central Government still existing at Frankfurt, and pressing on the election of this new Executive Power with breathless haste resolve beforehand, (though they have no apparent means of carrying out their resolution) that the functions of the existing Central Power do cease and determine with the nomination of their Regency which they take care to make responsible to themselves.

They proclaim an unshrinking and inviolable adhesion to the Constitution of Frankfort[47] as opposed to that of Berlin and more especially that they will enforce the elective Law[48] and that all their efforts shall tend as well to the election as to the due assembling of the Parliament (Reichstag) on the 15th of August.

Simultaneously with these proceedings there appear in the Publick Papers notices of another General German Parliament, invited to meet at Gotha at the summons of Messieurs Gagern, Dahlmann, Franke, Soiron, Mathy &c.[49]

Germany in short is at the moment summoned to range Herself under Three different Heads, and is threatened with Three National Assemblies;[50] each arrogating to itself similar pretensions and professing to have but the one End of Unity in view. To attain that much-coveted end, the whole length and breadth of the Land is, by a strange perversion of principles and miscalculation of means, wrought into such a state of excitement that it seems almost impossible the crisis should pass without a Convulsion.

The Assembly here numbers all, or nearly all, the most marked Leaders of the Left Section as they were distinguished at Frankfort; the manner in which they have commenced operations leaves no doubt as to their intentions, but it remains to be seen whether the Country is really in such a state as to submit to the dictation of this revolutionary fraction of its Representatives, or whether it contains within itself, as I believe it does, means of efficiently resisting their subversive doctrines. The schism is violent, and there seems no hope of conciliation or compromise.

[47] Cf. n. 81 in Frankfurt section.

[48] Imperial electoral law of 12 April 1849.

[49] Cf. n. 104 in Frankfurt section.

[50] Malet is referring to the Stuttgart Rump Parliament, the meeting in Gotha called for June, and the planned parliament of the Erfurt Union.

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FO 82/59: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 46, Stuttgart, 8 June 1849

Question of acknowledgement of the regency elected by the Stuttgart Rump Parliament; discussion in second chamber; return to order in South Germany is at stake

My previous reports will have informed Your Lordship of the nomination of the Regency of whose first Proclamation[51] I have the Honor to enclose a Copy and Translation. It is unnecessary to make any comment on this document, which is precisely such as might have been expected from the source from which it emanates.

The unequivocal declarations as to the necessity and expediency of an appeal to force already made in the Assembly, and the bare fact of the selection of such men as its choice fell upon to assume the so-called Regency, have however called forth an explosion of counter feeling here which will probably bring matters to a speedy decision, and as there is reason to think in a way that the promoters of the adjournment to Stuttgardt little expected.

I have already acquainted Your Lordship that the views of Monsieur Römer and the state of the publick mind were not in accordance with the well known principles of the Assembly which has adjourned from Frankfort.

I have now the Honor to annex the Ministerial declaration[52] which was published here this morning, and further to acquaint Your Lordship that the Administration withheld from the National Assembly the use of their Chambers for this morning and summoned a meeting of the 2^{d} Chamber which is now discussing the vital question of refusing to acknowledge the Regency.

It so happens then by a singular train of circumstances that the vote now pending may decide the question of a speedy and general return to order, or light the flame of civil War in all Southern Germany. If this Country succumbs to the Revolutionary influence of the fragment of the National Assembly which is striving to push matters to Extremity, the movement in Baden and Rhenish Bavaria[53] which is already giving signs of weakness, will be revived in those Provinces, and receive all the aid which the men and money of Wirtemberg can afford; for it is

[51] The provisional regency was elected on 6 June 1849 and consisted of five deputies from the Rump Parliament. The proclamation of 7 June 1849 announced the transfer of the central power from the Frankfurt central government to the regency. It also called for the people to support the Frankfurt Imperial Constitution and to 'battle on in the inevitable fight between absolutism and freedom'.

[52] The proclamation of the Württemberg government of 8 June 1849 denied the provisional regency the right to pass resolutions that applied to Württemberg and to command the Württemberg army.

[53] Cf. pp. 377–379.

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not to be doubted that all this would happen, should the Government of this Country pass into the hands of the Republican Party.

If on the other hand, the Administration can set the example of defying the newly created Regency, the example will be contagious, and this would-be Government which arrogates to itself so vast a Power, but which can not in reality command either men or means, will expire of inanition. Neither can it be supposed that the Body which pretended to call it into existence could long survive the obloquy and ridicule which must in such a case attach to their position.

If this view of the question is correct, the Second Chamber of the Wirtemberg States General becomes the first whereon a vast interest centres, and I hope that a decision where so much is at stake may be arrived at before the departure of the Post.

P.S. The Vote will not be given till tomorrow Morning; the forms of the House forbidding an immediate decision. The opposition moved for a Committee but were defeated on a division by 86 to 14.

Very violent language was used, but so far the Ministry have decidedly the Upper hand.

The National Assembly are to meet at 6 – and some expectations are entertained of their quitting Stuttgardt voluntarily and adjourning to Carlsruhe.[54]

FO 82/59: Augustus Denham Craven to Viscount Palmerston, No 6, Strasbourg, 8 June 1849

Insurrection in Baden; arrest of Struve and disarmament of his followers; developments in favour of moderate party under leadership of Brentano; report of troops marching to Carlsruhe

On the 6th inst at Carlsruhe, Struve, at the head of the Foreign Legion (a motley assemblage of Poles, Hungarian, French and Germans) to whom he had promised three hours pillage, made an attempt to proclaim the 'Red Republic'.

Brentano the Chief of the Provisional Government,[55] and till now the associate and partizan of Struve, placed himself, on being informed of the project, at the head of the National Guard, Volunteers and Regular troops; surrounded Struve and his armed supporters, and succeeded without shedding a drop of blood, in capturing him and disarming his followers.

[54] Enclosures (original and translation): Proclamation of the German Regency, 7 June 1849; Proclamation of the Württemberg government, 8 June 1849.

[55] Cf. pp. 325–327.

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This act of resolution on the part of Brentano has turned the scale for the moment completely in favor of the more moderate party and opened a door of reconciliation between it and the Grand Duke.

General Hoffmann, the late Grand Ducal Minister of War, is said to be advancing up the left bank of the Rhine with a Corps of Hessians for the purpose of crossing the River immediately opposite Carlsruhe and marching directly on that town.

Should this report prove founded, which I much doubt, for I cannot understand how any body of troops can pass unobserved and unopposed through the Palatinate at this moment, however closely they may cling to the Rivers bank, a restoration of the Grand Duke might be effected without bloodshed. To avoid the entrance and occupation of the Prussians there is scarcely an individual of any class civil or military who would not return to his allegiance, and as Brentano has, ever since his assumption of the Government of the Grand Duchy, invariable professed his fidelity to his Sovereign and to monarchical principles it would not be difficult, after his victory over the Republican party represented by Struve, and the extraordinary talent which the lawyers of this Country possess for reconciling rebellion with constitutionalism, to make his peace with the Grand Duke by returning to the original compromise proposed at the fatal meeting at Offenburg,[56] that of the Grand Duke's dismissing his Ministry and allowing Brentano to form another.

This much to be desired result depends then entirely upon the truth of the report of General Hoffmann's arrival before Carlsruhe. Should it prove unfounded, as I have strong reasons to fear, in spite of the sanguine assurances of the numerous Baden fugitives now here, and of my own information from the Grand Duchy, the Ultra democratic party will have time to muster its forces again, and being possessed of far greater energy and less conscience, will have recourse to those extreme means which it will require the combined force of the various Federal contingents to overcome.

Such is the position of affairs in the Grand Duchy of Baden since my last report to Your Lordship. In the meantime the advance of the Prussians appears as distant as ever, owing doubtless to the differences which have sprung up between the Prussian Government and the Central Government at Frankfort.[57] If this delay however is prejudicial to the return of order in the Palatinate and Grand Duchy of Baden, it is favorable to the more important question of the complications which would probably arise from their advance, with Austria and

[56] Cf. n. 34 in this section.

[57] In the event of military intervention in Baden, Prussia wanted to act independently, not on behalf of the empire as intended by the ministry in Frankfurt.

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Bavaria on the one hand, and with the French Government on the other.

FO 82/59: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, Confidential, No 53, Stuttgart, 15 June 1849

Conversation, in conjunction with French minister, with Württemberg minister for foreign affairs, urging him to get rid of the Stuttgart Rump Parliament; position of the Württemberg government

Considering the critical position of Affairs in Wirtemberg, and weighing the consequences which the presence and action of the fraction of the late National Assembly of Frankfort[58] which has fixed itself here, may entail; viewing the probable results as not only dangerous to the Peace of the Country, but in case this Revolutionary Party should succeed in its avowed objects, as necessarily involving much more important interests, extending to the alarming prospect of kindling a general War of principles I have thought it my Duty in conjunction with Monsieur de Fontenay my French Colleague who entertains precisely similar views, to call on the Wirtemberg Minister for Foreign Affairs, and state them to him in an unofficial and friendly manner.

Our main endeavour was to impress on Monsieur Roser the necessity of getting rid of the so-called National Parliament, taking care to assure him that the step we took in speaking on the matter was solely prompted by our solicitude for the preservation of General Peace, and that had we regarded it as a matter solely appertaining to the domestic polity of Wirtemberg, we should have abstained from any measure of the kind, however unofficial.

We referred to the Revolutionary Publications of the Baden Provisional Government of which I have kept Your Lordship informed,[59] and pointed out the identification of the Assembly here with all the acts and principles of that Government: We reminded him of the attempted usurpation of Power here by the Regency appointed by the Assembly,[60] and drew his attention to the consequences of any concession or weakness which should permit so illegally constituted a Body to exercise any authority or influence; and we urged the necessity of taking decided measures to prevent such an issue, and to arrest the very prejudicial agitation kept up by their means.

I particularly mentioned the appeals of the Baden Democrats to French Assistance – appeals which the Assembly here have neither

[58] For the Stuttgart Rump Parliament cf. pp. 328–331.
[59] For the Baden provisional government cf. pp. 325–327.
[60] Cf. pp. 330–331.

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repudiated or blamed, and both Monsieur de Fontenay and myself spoke of the complications which might arise from an eventual Prussian occupation of this Southern part of Germany, if, (as might fairly be assumed) that Power succeeded in putting down the democratic movement which it was attempted to extend from Baden to Wirtemberg.

Monsieur Roser did not contest any argument we used, or deny that his Government felt the presence of this Assembly in Stuttgardt as an immense Evil, but while he thanked us personally for the step we had taken in expressing our opinion, which he allowed he partook, he said he feared in the present situation of the Government in respect of the Assembly, he should not be able to find any support in our arguments sufficient to induce the Cabinet to adopt any vigorous measures, and thought perhaps he had better abstain from even mentioning to his Colleagues the step we had taken.

We observed that having acquitted ourselves of what we conceived a friendly office, We left him entirely to his own discretion as to the use he might make of our private opinions in giving weight to those which he allowed he so completely shared with us.

I am informed that the Question of the recognition of the Assembly so often put off, will positively come on tomorrow.

What turn the Debate may take after Monsieur Römer's imprudent declaration[61] which I reported in my last No 52 it is very difficult to say.

FO 82/59: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 57, Stuttgart, 19 June 1849

Prevention of the meeting of the Stuttgart Rump Parliament by the Württemberg Government; military measures

The details of the events of yesterday, and the manner in which the publick sitting of the Rump Parliament[62] was prevented, present some points of interest and occurred as follows.

Towards 3 o'Clock the whole of the Members, as is asserted, advanced in procession towards their intended place of meeting headed by the Wurtemberg Deputies, Messrs Uhland the Poet, and a Member named Schott leading.

Their progress was arrested by the Troops whom I mentioned in my last Despatch as occupying all the streets leading to the riding School.

[61] On 14 June Friedrich Römer declared before the second chamber that he did not recognize the regency (cf. n. 52 in this section) or the central government at Frankfurt.

[62] For the Stuttgart Rump Parliament cf. pp. 328–331.

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The Deputies attempted to remonstrate with the Troops, and with the Captain in command at the point where they wished to pass, and Monsr Löwe the President coming forward began to speak, but his voice was instantly drowned by the Drums being ordered to beat.

Some of the Deputies then made an effort to press forward, but were resisted by the Troops, and Monsr Uhland and another Member are said to have received blows from the flat of Sabres or Lance handles.

They were at any rate forced to retreat, the Troops acting firmly but with moderation, and evidently not all sympathizing with the Partizans of the so called national Parliament, who though they mustered in considerable numbers and consisted mostly of the Youths of the Polytechnic School and Students, were unarmed and though they cheered the Deputies and groaned at the Troops made no attempts at useless violence.

The Deputies then retired to an Hotel in the Town where one of them attempting to address the Populace from the balcony was prevented by a threat of arrest by the military, and they were then content to hold a sort of conclave in a room of the Hotel, in which among other futile proceedings they pronounced decrees of Treason against Monsr Römer – and of outlawry against General Miller!

They also decided to hold a publick meeting at this day in a publick Coffee House.

A strong force of all Arms occupied the Town during the latter part of the day, and a Battalion of Infantry and two Squadrons of Lancers bivouacked on the Palace Square.

The Burgher Guard were also under Arms, and assembled as I learn with alacrity with the exception of a portion of one Battalion which declined the service for which they were summoned.

I have not heard of any breach of the publick tranquillity, indeed the military force displayed was sufficient to check all disposition of the kind had it even existed to a far greater extent than it does among the population of this Capital.

A hand cart full of concealed Arms was stopped in the main Street, and taken with three or four members of the Gymnastic Society who accompanied it to the Police Office. I also have been assured, that a few notorious republicans who were overheard expressing their opinions too freely, were maltreated by some of the Troops, and that a few arrests were made.

On the whole the step taken by the Administration has so far been successful, and it is understood that if the proceedings of the Francfort Deputies today are of such a nature as to provoke the necessity – the Town will be declared in a state of siege and the Members who refuse to leave it voluntarily be arrested and conveyed to the Frontier.

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FO 82/59: Augustus Denham Craven to Viscount Palmerston, No 10, Carlsruhe, 19 August 1849

Return of the Grand Duke to Carlsruhe together with the Prince of Prussia; ceremonies on this occasion; gratitude of the Grand Duke to the Prussian King and army

His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Baden arrived from Mayence by water at Leopoldshafen, a small town on the Rhine about a league and a half from Carlsruhe, yesterday morning at 9 o'clock, and an hour after entered his Capital accompanied by His Royal Highness the Prince of Prussia,[63] who had proceeded to Leopoldshafen to receive him as he landed on the Baden Territory.

His Royal Highnesses carriage, in which sat the Prince of Prussia, was preceded by about 50 Baden Dragoons and Four Officers, (the only troops of the Grand Duchy who had escaped the insurrection by finding themselves at its outbreak already in garrison at Landau) and followed by other Royal carriages containing the Reigning Grand Duchess Sophia and the remaining Princes and Margraves of the Royal Family, (with the exception of the Hereditary Prince,[64] still labouring under severe indisposition at Coblentz, and of the Dowager Grand Duchess Stephanie) together with the Officers of the Court and the Grand Ducal Ministers.

The Procession advanced along the principal street, which was lined; on the right, by Prussian Troops, and on the left, by the Burgher Guard of Carlsruhe, to the metropolitan Church whence, after Thanksgiving, it repaired to the Palace, in the same order.

After about an hour spent in his private appartment, during which time the Royal Galleries filled with the Officers of the Prussian Army who had fought in the Baden campaign, the Grand Duke entered the principal saloon with the Prince of Prussia, and in presence of the Diplomatick Body, headed by the Austrian Minister,[65] and of the Prussian Generals von der Gröben, Hirschfeld and Peuker, commanding the three Army Corps, and of numerous others attended by their respective Staffs (scarcely a Baden Officer being present) proceeded, as laid down in the Ceremonial 'Programme', to express aloud his gratitude to the King of Prussia, the Prince, the Generals, and the Army who had saved his Throne, destroyed anarchy, and restored order in his dominions; ending his discourse by placing in the Princes hands the insignia of the Baden Order of 'Military Merit', with which he invested his Royal Highness.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Prussia returned a suitable, dignified and delicate reply; upon which the two Princes embraced

[63] Wilhelm.
[64] Ludwig.
[65] Rudolf Graf Apponyi von Nagy-Apponyi.

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each other and quitting the palace together, mounted their horses and took up a position in the Palace Square to witness the fileing off of the Prussian Troops and Carlsruhe Burgherwehr, at which the Grand Duchess and the Royal Family assisted from the Balcony, summoned by the Diplomatick Body, with the exception of the Austrian Minister, who retired during that part of the ceremony.

As soon as the troops had marched past, the Court circle was suspended to reassemble at the hour (3 o'clock) appointed for the Royal Banquet, which ended, it was dismissed and the Royal Personages closed the day by driving through the town in open carriages; the Grand Duchess preceding in one accompanied by the Prince of Prussia, and the Grand Duke following, in a second, with his son Prince Frederick.

As these two equipages proceeded through the streets, the latter was obviously greeted with far more numerous and louder acclamations than the former.

I wish it were in my power to bear testimony to any marked expression of happiness or contentment at the event of this day in Carlsruhe on the part of the inhabitants, but I regret to have to state that a shade of gloom pervaded the whole ceremony, in spite of the devices and decorations of the town in honor of the returning Sovereign, arising, I am convinced, not from any ill will towards His Royal Highness or his deliverers, but from a profound sense of the weighty political changes in the existence of Baden of which this days ceremony appears to be the forerunner, and the consciousness that this lately happy and prosperous Land has no alternative left between a foreign occupation or anarchy.[66]

FO 82/60: Augustus Denham Craven to Viscount Palmerston, No 21, Stuttgart, 20 September 1849

Article by Römer on the position of Württemberg towards Austria and Prussia with regard to the settlement of the future German Confederation; likely commercial consequences for Württemberg

The public press of the Kingdom of Wurtemberg has occupied itself considerably of late, with the question of adhesion to a Prussian or to an Austrian league.

The origin of this discussion took its rise principally in the publication of a species of manifesto, declaration or defence, (for it is difficult to define the precise nature of the paper) signed by the prime Minister of the Country, M. Römer, and published in a public Journal[67] known to depend entirely upon his direction and cooperation.

[66] Enclosures (original and translation): Programme for the return of the Grand Duke of Baden to Carlsruhe, dated 16 August 1849.

[67] *Schwäbischer Merkur,* Württemberg's most important newspaper, founded in 1785.

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I have the honor to enclose a copy and translation of the article in question.[68]

As regards the real views and intentions of the Wurtemberg Ministry, on the question at issue, no opinion can be drawn from this officially signed document.

The Austrian party here consider it as favorable to Prussia in its political comments.

The partisans of Prussia, on the other hand, look upon it as expressive of decided sympathy and tendency towards a Southern Federation, urged, under the false plea of greater commercial advantages.

Studied with attention (greater perhaps than it deserves) and judged of without any preconceived bias, this paper appears to me nothing more than a personal explanation of M. Römer's conduct and a preparation of the public mind for his adhesion to either eventuality according to circumstances, without breaking with the popular party, equally opposed to Austrian anti-constitutional tendencies, and to Prussian Supremacy.

Nevertheless if M. Römer's ambiguous document has not thrown any light upon the intentions of the Wurtemberg Government with regard to its share in the settlement of the future German Confederation, or elicited any refutation of his statement that the 'sentiments of the people of Wurtemberg are enlisted on the side of Austria from motives of historical, religious and popular sympathy' (three facts, of which the palpable fallacy of the second might with facility be demonstrated, and the exaggeration of the other two, except as regards the district of Upper Swabia, rendered manifest,) it has at any rate had the effect of calling forth by means of the public press irrefragable and practical arguments against the minister's statement that:

'The material interests of Southern Germany require a more intimate union with Austria'. That:

'The North of Germany, bordered by the ocean, is principally engaged in Commerce which is paralysed by protective duties' while:

'On the other hand, Southern Germany is devoted to Manufactures which, so long as they have not arrived at a high state of development, cannot prosper without protective duties'.

With reference to these three distinct assumptions, experience, facts and the official returns of the present 'Zollverein',[69] are there to prove them to be as many fallacies.

[68] Enclosure (copy): Römer's article from 4 September 1849 on the relative position of Württemberg towards Austria and Prussia.

[69] Customs Union.

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1° As regards any advantage which might accrue to the material interests of Southern Germany (Wurtemberg) by a more intimate union with Austria, and a consequent withdrawal from the Prussian Zollverein, so far from such advantage being probable, as regards Wurtemberg, a falling off nearly Two Millions of Florins would immediately ensue in the Revenue of the country, which could not be replaced or compensated by a Customs Union either with Bavaria alone or with Austria and Bavaria together.

Moreover such an arrangement would entail the organization and expence of Custom Houses, and a vast preventive service along the whole frontier of the Grand Duchy of Baden and of the Principalities of Hohenzollern, the most difficult possible to defend from the contraband trade, and – not to mention the numerous technical arguments in support of my opinion to be found in the official returns of the Commerce of Austria – it is out of the power of that Empire, even supposing her Commercial System to have undergone a sudden transformation, to offer any advantages whatever to the Commerce and Industry of Wurtemberg or to allow the latter to come in competition with her own.

Finally it must be remembered that the payments on the part of Austria would be carried on in her own paper money, which alone is sufficient to prevent this country from deserting the Prussian Customs Union.

2° Northern Germany both as regards the districts where protective duties have obtained, as well as those where they have not, far surpasses Southern Germany in the number, excellence and prosperity of its Manufactures. The Official returns of the Zollverein attest the fact of Southern Germany being tributary to the North for numerous Manufactured articles.

3° In reply to M. Römer's assertion that unless Manufactures have arrived at a high state of development they require protective duties in order to enable them to prosper, a reference to the state of the Trade of Saxony, proves that the Manufactures of that district, the most prosperous in Germany, flourished long before they were protected by high duties, and the same may be said of the principal branches of Manufacturing Industry in all the North German States, particularly as regards Cloth and Cotton Goods.

Wurtemberg bears evidence herself, that notwithstanding her protective duties, and the aid afforded by Government to native Manufacturing Industry, she fails in the principal requisites of a manufacturing state.

Under these circumstances, should matters not proceed so satisfactorily between the Cabinets of Austria and Prussia respecting the formation of a Central Power for Germany, as at the present

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moment appears likely, I take the liberty of expressing my opinion that the Kingdom of Wurtemberg, whatever may be the sympathies of its Government and people will, if called upon to decide between a Prussian or an Austrian Federation, ultimately confide its political interests to the guidance of the one with which its material interests are bound up, and that one, according to the opinions of the reasonable, experienced, and impartial men of this Country is decidedly not Austria.

FO 82/60: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 90, Stuttgart, 31 December 1849

Review of the events of 1849 in Württemberg and Baden; uneasiness about future developments; dissolution of Württemberg chambers

A review of the events of the year now ended as regards this and the neighbouring State of Baden would given occasion to register a series of facts which though they can only be considered as revolutionary in their origin and progress have not in reality produced any tangible result, beyond sweeping away the feudal institutions which still encumbered their political Institutions, and most assuredly have in no other way benefitted the People.

In one respect indeed the abolition of Tithes,[70] which where they still existed, were to a great extent in the hands of the Municipalities and mainly devoted to charitable purposes, the change is felt as an evil by the class most in need of assistance, and the necessary funds have to be raised by communal assessments which are producing much discontent.

The establishment of Trial by Jury,[71] though from the state of siege in Baden it has scarcely been practised, and is still too recent in Würtemberg to furnish grounds for a just appreciation of its working, does not promise favorable results.

The liberty of the Press has been suspended from the Military occupation of Baden – but while it really did exist, or rather while the republican revolution only allowed its own Organs to publish their principles in that Country it shewed of what excesses it was capable. The periodical Press of Würtemberg, was at one period nearly as objectionable, and sound opinions scarcely dared to find expression, but though great licence still exists, counter opinions now venture to declare themselves and may be hoped to be gaining ground.

[70] In Württemberg tithes were abolished on 17 June 1849.

[71] Trial by jury was introduced on 17 February 1849 in Baden and in Württemberg by the law of 14 August 1849.

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We have seen the Sovereign of one[72] of these States compelled to fly his dominions after a military revolt which has no parallel in history, and only able to return to His States after they had been reduced to obedience by the Troops of the Confederation, and permanently occupied by the forces of One[73] of them.

In the other, though no external assistance was called in, order and security were barely maintained, and the Sovereign unable to reckon on the fidelity of His Troops, was compelled to quit His Capital and yield to popular demands which trenched on His prerogative, and violated His conscience.

After periods of such violent agitation, comes the inevitable day of reckoning, and the enquiry of who has profited?

The Grand Duchy of Baden has suffered a pecuniary loss which including the indemnity of 3,000,000 florins required by Prussia, can hardly be less than equivalent to £1,500,000 Sterling.

Würtemberg begins the year with a financial deficit of some 5,000,000 florins, the balance having hitherto been almost invariably the other way.

To sum up all, the States are embarrassed – the People unsettled, and impoverished – legitimate Authority weakened – and the supreme Power discredited.

It might be expected that such a retrospect would have the effect of bringing back the greater portion of the population to a more rational way of thinking and acting, but there are not wanting those who attribute all the evils which have arisen to other than the true causes, and the natural course of seeking a remedy by a return to something like the old state of things is stigmatised as reactionary and retrograde, and though it may reasonably be hoped that the majority if not altogether sound, is still not irreclaimable, the Partizans of disorder still find numerous adherents, and many even from those classes whom their own manoeuvres have reduced to distress.

It is not therefore possible to look forward without some degree of uneasiness; the struggle is not yet over and I think I have observed that the symptoms of the Peoples return to more orderly conduct are too implicitly relied on by the higher Powers, as indicating a possibility of their being again governed as they formerly were.

Since the dissolution of the Wurtemberg Chambers a Royal Proclamation[74] has appeared which states in The King's name, the

[72] Baden.

[73] Prussia.

[74] Royal manifesto of 26 December 1849. The *Landtag* had been dissolved on 22 December.

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reasons for the dissolution, and appeals to the People against the course pursued by the Deputies of the discarded House.

Though signed by all the Ministers the whole of this document is a Royal and personal declaration of principles, and with reference to the Chamber which will be summoned to replace the one dissolved, after stating the qualifications which it is desirable the representatives should possess – the proclamation says 'An Assembly of such men may depend on Our willing cooperation, and it will afford Us the highest satisfaction to be enabled in Unison with them to revise the fundamental Law of Our Country'[.]

I am apprehensive that the mode in which this document is framed as it brings the personal and direct authority of the Sovereign into the foreground, as taking part in the making of Laws and general Government will raise afresh the whole question of Constitutional Government, and as the Elections are to take place by universal Suffrage it is unfortunate that such a handle has been afforded to the Democratic Party.

FO 82/63: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, Confidential, No 4, Stuttgart, 19 January 1850

Policy of Austria and Prussia with regard to German affairs; annexation of Hechingen and Sigmaringen by Prussia; activities by the Prussian party; Austria encourages party of national independence and holds out inducements to manufacturing interests of Southern Germany; Erfurt Diet unlikely to assume position originally assigned to it

The struggle of Parties and of Interests in Germany is entering on a new and interesting phase, and though the progress of events must mainly depend on the course followed by Austria and Prussia, it enters into the policy of these Powers to deal with the minor States in such a widely differing manner that they begin to assume a position and consequence beyond that which really belongs to their position of merely nominal Independence.

The absorbing principle, if not openly avowed by Prussia is the unmistakeable end to which every true Prussian looks forward, and the annexation of the two Hohenzollerns'[75] typifies in this sense, the destiny prepared for the minor members of the Confederation.

The way in which this political event has been brought about is worthy of a brief notice as explaining a transaction which Prussia terms a voluntary cession.

[75] On 7 December 1848 the Princes of Hohenzollern-Hechingen and Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen officially relinquished their authority in favour of the King of Prussia.

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Each of these little States, Hechingen and Sigmaringen, the one numbering about 50,000 the other less than 20,000 Inhabitants, had its democratic movement in March of last Year, and the respective Princes[76] deserted their residences, while their Governments fell into the hands of the first demagogues who chose to undertake the administration. This state of things lasted till it was put an end to by the occupation of both territories by Prussian Troops, simultaneously with the putting down the Baden Revolution.

No resistance was attempted by the People, and The Princes were enabled to return to their Residences, and have since under the protection of Prussian bayonets made a legal surrender of the Sovereign rights they no longer felt themselves in a condition to exercise.

This arrangement is sanctioned by Treaties, and is a perfectly natural one, nor do I believe it is regarded with dissatisfaction by any party excepting the dispossessed Democrats and the Wurtemberg Government, who do not like to see Prussia established in districts which are geographically enclosed in Wurtemberg.

I must however return from this digression, having indeed only cited the instance as illustrating the probable policy of Prussia towards all other Members of the Confederation whom She invites but by no means constrains to join with her in sending Deputies to Erfurt.[77]

Baden militarily occupied by Prussia can not avoid compliance – Wurtemberg is differently situated, and though a considerable Prussian party exists, comprising in its ranks some of the best informed and most enlightened men in the Country, as well as many others who merely mechanically join in the cry of German Unity, still they are numerically weak, being opposed both by the Ultra-Democrats, and by the advocates of different shades of independence, some of whom still cling to their separate nationality (particularismus) and some in sincerity, some as a cloak to other views protest against the exclusion of Austria.

Since the recent dissolution of the Wurtemberg Chamber convoked to revise the Constitution the Prussian party has shewn considerable activity, and their agitation was causing the Government much uneasiness. During its progress however the news of The King of Prussia's Message[78] to the Chambers propounding the changes He wished to see effected in the Constitution before swearing to observe it, arrived. This Royal Message has been generally unfavorably received by the men who stood forwards as advocates of the close alliance with

[76] Friedrich Wilhelm (Hechingen) and Karl Anton (Sigmaringen).
[77] For the Erfurt Diet cf. notes 148 and 156 in Prussia section.
[78] Message to both Prussian chambers of 7 January 1850.

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Prussia and of sending Deputies to Erfurt. The two extreme Parties – I mean the Democrats and the adherents of The King, or absolutists, regard it with different feelings; the first will only be more confirmed in their hostility. The second though they must involuntarily approve some of the principles put forward therein, are guided by such strong self interested views that they only look upon it as a fortunate means of detaching from their pursuit some of the most zealous of the Prussian party – who calling themselves Constitutionalists and partizans of the closer Union (engeren Bund) are in truth mostly democratically inclined, and especially have the strongest prejudices against, and hatred towards the establishment of an hereditary Peerage which The King of Prussia is endeavouring to bring about.

Under such circumstances and with the already existing leaning towards Austria which is strongest in the Roman Catholic portion of the Country (Upper Swabia) there is I apprehend little chance of this Government being compelled to join in sending Deputies to Erfurt.

At a recent publick meeting an Advocate of Prussia[79] said that it could not suit the People of Wurtemberg to be converted into an Austrian Frontier Province – he was answered by a speaker[80] who observed that it suited them just as little to be a rearward Province of Prussia.

Austria is evidently though secretly encouraging the party of National Independence not only here but in Saxony and elsewhere, and by this means, and without any other hostile demonstration than holding considerable forces in hand in Bohemia and in the Voralberg [sic] the policy of Prussia is kept in check. Austria at the same time holds out strong inducements to the manufacturing interests of Southern Germany to adhere to her by offering to adapt her Tarif to their requirements, and the expectation of thus obtaining a higher scale of protective duties is a powerful attraction to a Class which can neither compete with the productions of Prussia or of Saxony.

It would be very presumptuous to hazard conjectures on coming events, but having in a former report to Your Lordship expressed my apprehension of the consequences which might arise from the probability of a conflict between the provisional Central Power now established at Frankfort[81] and the Assembly which it is still projected to summon at Erfurt I venture to remark that the secession of Hanover

[79] Sixt Karl von Kapff. The meeting, attended by 600–700 delegates, took place in Plochingen on 13 January 1850.

[80] Not traceable.

[81] Cf. n. 137 in Prussia section.

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and Saxony from the Treaty called the Three Kings' Alliance,[82] and the continued determination of Bavaria and Wurtemberg to take no part in this project, to say nothing of the attitude of Austria, detract so greatly from the probable weight and influence of that projected Assembly that it cannot be any longer regarded as likely to assume the position which its original announcement assigned to it.

Unless what is now passing in Prussia leads to a renewal of agitation, I think there is such a general disgust and weariness with the state of things which has sprung out of the derangement of order caused by the events of the last 18 months, that it would be an easy task for that Government in conjunction with, and in accord with Austria, to settle almost any form of future central Authority on which they could agree. Such a solution however will strike Your Lordship as hardly probable if I am correct in the view taken in a preceding part of this Despatch as to the policy of Austria with regard to the Separate States upholding their Independence. If fresh disturbance occurs in Prussia, Austria will be prepared, and I think able, to take advantage of the crisis to promote her own peculiar policy; it is therefore of the gravest importance to the best interests of Germany that the perilous agitation of last year should not recommence, and the peaceable solution of the actually pending questions between the King and the Chambers of Prussia[83] must be looked forward to with the greatest anxiety and interest.

FO 82/63: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 13, Stuttgart, 16 March 1850

Speech of the King on the opening of the chamber; his wish to avoid foreign occupation; persuasion of King and cabinet of carrying the country through the crisis

I have the honor to acquaint Your Lordship that His Majesty The King of Wurtemberg opened yesterday the session of the Chamber called to revise the Constitution with the speech from the Throne a copy and translation of which are enclosed.[84]

It is currently reported that His Majesty wished to have expressed Himself in a tone even more decided than that which He used, both in speaking of the past, and of His Own projects as to the future, but

[82] For the withdrawal of Saxony and Hanover from the Erfurt Union cf. n. 144 in Prussia section.

[83] Malet is referring to the revised Prussian constitution.

[84] Enclosures (copy and translation): King of Württemberg's Speech on opening the chamber.

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that He yielded in this respect in some degree to the representations made to Him against the impolicy of declaring His opinion.

The sentence in which it is said 'We will be neither Prussians or Austrians &c' created a sensible emotion in the Assembly, and even very audible expressions of approval.

There is no doubt that The King must have the most earnest wish both on His own account and for the sake of His Country to avoid the necessity of a Foreign occupation, for the feeling of German unity is not yet sufficiently advanced to allow the presence of federal Troops of any other Member of the Confederation to be otherwise considered.

The proceedings of the Assembly now sitting are likely to be rendered much more moderate than its composition would denote, by the certainty that no popular movement to support them against the Government could succeed whilst such ample means of repression are at hand should the military force of the Country fail in maintaining tranquillity. The Minister of Foreign Affairs[85] however assured me in conversation a few days since that The King and the Cabinet had the fullest persuasion of carrying the Country through the crisis by their own unaided resources.

The Government is generally believed to be on the eve of a change, and the Baron de Linden will it is thought, be the leader of the new Cabinet which will probably not be constituted until the Chamber is dissolved.

FO 82/63: Augustus Denham Craven to Viscount Palmerston, No 3, Stuttgart, 27 June 1850

Proceedings in constituent assembly of Württemberg; impeachment of the minister for foreign affairs

I have the honor to inform Your Lordship that the Legislative Assembly of Wurtemberg which had been adjourned three weeks ago, met and resumed its labours this morning.

The order of the day was a motion to impeach Baron de Wächter-Spittler, Chief of the Foreign Department for having declared in the Assembly that the Cabinet of which he was a member looked upon the Germanic Confederation (constituted by the Federal Act of 1815) as still in existence, and for having signed the act of adhesion to the Bavarian project, assented to by Austria.[86]

The impeachment was carried by a majority of 50 to 11.

[85] Karl Eberhard Freiherr von Wächter-Spittler.

[86] For the Four Kings' Alliance cf. n. 85 in Bavaria section.

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I have to observe to Your Lordship that this Act of impeachment of the Chief of the Foreign Department implicitly contains a threefold Protest.

1st Against the Royal Prescript of the 12th June of which I have the honor to enclose a copy and translation.[87]

2dly Against the present existence of the Germanic Confederation and Diet of 1815, as having been abrogated by the Law of the National Assembly of Frankfort of June 28th 1848 accepted by the organ of the Diet (Bundes Organ) on the 12th July following.[88]

3dly Against the adhesion of The King and Government of Wurtemberg to the Austro-Bavarian Alliance and system.

It is currently reported that the majority intend to refuse the Supplies for the ensuing four Months, and as currently believed that the Government is prepared, in that case, immediately to dissolve the Chamber. That measure has been resorted to already, by the same Ministry, as reported to Your Lordship in Sir Alexander Malet's Despatch No 89 of the 23d December last.

FO 82/64: Lord Augustus Loftus to Viscount Palmerston, No 17, Stuttgart, 29 September 1850

Results of Württemberg elections; likely opposition to the projected constitution; political state of Württemberg; anxiety about the state of German affairs

The new Elections to the Wurtemberg Constituent Assembly, now convoked for the third time, took place on the 20th Instant: With few Exceptions the same members have been reelected as sat in the preceding Assembly, and the result has been, as indeed was anticipated, in favor of the Democratic Party. What is termed the Constitutional Ministerial Party may be reckoned at 19. Members of the Second Chamber, inclusive of Monsieur Römer, Chief of the late Ministry, and others of his Party, who though opposed to the present Government more especially as regards their German Policy, cannot be viewed as appertaining to the Democratic Party. On the other hand the Democratic Party in the Chamber number 45 votes.

Though this result can admit no hope of the present Government being able to command a Majority, there have been many

[87] Enclosures (copy and French translation): Royal rescript, 12 June 1850. This rescript contained an affirmation that the German Confederation would continue to exist. At the same time it rejected the involvement of the Württemberg chambers in drafting an all-German constitution and the early recall of the Württemberg *Landtag*.

[88] For law on the provisional central power of 28 June 1848 cf. n. 23 in Frankfurt section.

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circumstances attending this appeal to the Country which shew an amelioration of public opinion, and prove that the Democratic Party have considerably fallen in general estimation.

In various places, a considerable Number of Votes were given to His Majesty. On many of the Voting Tickets were inscribed a wish that His Majesty would take affairs into His own hands; And it is further calculated that not more than one fifth of the Electors of the Country took part in the suffrage. What is termed the Conservative Party generally throughout the Country kept aloof, wishing thereby to prove that the present Chamber is not a faithful Representation of the Country.

About 10 days prior to the Elections, the Ministry published the new Project of Constitution which it is their intention to submit to the Chamber. It is conceived in a comprehensive and liberal spirit, and appears to offer all the freedom and liberty desirable and conducive to sound Constitutional Government.

The two principal features likely to encounter the opposition of the Democratic Party are 1^{t} the establishment of an Upper Chamber, the Members of which are to be elected in the same manner as those of the Lower Chamber, but with a higher Qualification: all their former prerogatives and privileges being abolished. 2^{d} An Electoral Law decreeing double election, and providing tha[t] in each Electoral division one seventh of the Electors chosen from the Highest Rate Payers, should balance the remaining Rate Payers asElectors.

As there is little hope of this projected Constitution being accepted by the Chamber, or at least without such important changes, as neither the King nor His Ministry could assent to, I have refrained from occupying Your Lordship's time with so diffuse a document.

It is probable that this Chamber will be assembled within a few days: the Taxes having been only voted to the 1st September, a fresh levying of Taxation must be authorized by the Chambers.

There is no doubt that the same attempt to refuse the supplies – as practised in Hesse Cassel, and again in Hesse Darmstadt will be likewise essayed by the Chamber here. But the position of the King of Wurtemberg is very different to that of the Elector of Hesse. His Majesty has acted with great sense and moderation, and has never outstepped the limits of His Constitutional Right. He further enjoys the Confidence of the Majority of His Subjects, who, from all I can learn, weary of the fruitless agitation of the Democratic Party, will gladly support Him in the Exercise of His prerogative.

The Army, which during the last year had been disaffected and undermined by Political Seducers, is now well disposed, and in a high state of discipline.

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The maintenance of the Law is upheld by the new system of Jury[89] which is working well, and acquiring the respect of all classes. Only within a few days Prince Zeil-Waldburg, who since 1848 had joined the Democratic Party and voted with the left in the National Assembly at Frankfort, was found guilty by a Jury of defamation of the Ministry, and sentenced to 8 months imprisonment and a fine of 200 Florins. This is the first instance of a Peer of Wurtemberg being tried in open court by a Jury of his countrymen, and in which he publicly gloried. I cannot either omit to mention to Your Lordship that an appeal against this sentence has been moved on the ground that during the Trial one of the Jury was seen to sleep!!

His Majesty is now about to assemble for the third time a Constituent Assembly for the revision of the Constitution. Should this attempt fail, Justice at all events will be rendered to His Majesty for His patient perseverance and moderation, and He will thereby acquire the confidence and support of His People for the adoption of such ulterior measures as He may judge necessary for the Wellbeing of His State and the Happiness of His Subjects.

I have been informed by a Person in the confidence of the King, that more anxiety is felt here on the state of German Relations in general, than on the actual internal state of the Country: The apparent impossibility of an understanding being effected between Austria and Prussia, necessarily keeps the smaller independent States in continual alarm, and the Question now pending in Hesse Cassel is regarded here with extreme interest and anxiety.

I have the Honor to inform Your Lordship that Monsieur de Wächter-Spittler – late Minister for Foreign Affairs, has been appointed by His Majesty, Minister of Worship and a Member of the Cabinet.

FO 82/64: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 51, Stuttgart, 28 October 1850

Address of the Baden upper chamber urging the Grand Duke to withdraw from the Erfurt Union

I learn this instant from Lord Augustus Loftus, that in the secret sitting of the Baden Upper Chamber on Friday last, an Address was voted to The Grand Duke praying His Royal Highness to withdraw from the Prussian Union.[90]

[89] Trial by jury was introduced in Württemberg by the law of 14 August 1849.
[90] For the Erfurt Union cf. n. 115 in Prussia section.

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The immediate result of this vote was the dismissal of Monsieur de Klüber from the Post of Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Monsr de Rüdt formerly Minister at Munich and well known for his anti Prussian views, has been named to that Office.

Lord Augustus Loftus acquaints me that it is considered probable that the second chamber will be dissolved. At any rate The Grand Duke clearly indicates His intended course of returning to his old federal position by the step He has taken.

The retreat of so important a member of the Prussian Union as Baden from that League, at so critical a moment as the present, must have very considerable influence on pending events, and may very probably have the result of forcing Prussia to abandon the Union altogether, and thus open the door for an understanding with Austria.

FO 82/64: Alexander Malet to Viscount Palmerston, No 63, Stuttgart, 27 December 1850

Debate of Baden second chamber on German affairs; appeal to uphold constitutional principles in Electoral Hesse; internal organization of Electoral Hesse and other German states incompatible with real constitutional principles

Lord Augustus Loftus has sent me the enclosed précis of a Debate in the Baden Second Chamber and translation of a Protocol of sitting which I do myself the honor of enclosing to Your Lordship as rather interesting documents in the present crisis of German Affairs not merely from the subject touched upon, but as being the expression of the views to which, under present circumstances, Messrs Welcker and Mathy, two of the most able and zealous supporters of the Unionist or Gotha Party[91] in Southern Germany, think it advisable to give utterance.

The Phrase relating to the indissoluble union of Schleswig and Holstein[92] is perhaps the only one of a really exceptionable nature in Mr Mathy's composition.

The appeal to upholding constitutional principles in Hesse[93] will meet with very general approval.

It is not however generally known how incompatible with real constitutional principles the internal organization not only of that State but of nearly all the minor Governments of Germany have hitherto been – I do not allude in this case to the election of the Hessian Chamber which took place by universal suffrage, but to the

[91] Cf. n. 104 in Frankfurt section.
[92] Cf. n. 25 in Hanse Towns section.
[93] Cf. notes 156 and 160 in Frankfurt section.

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holding of their employments for life by nearly all the Servants of the Government, and there not being any constitutional means of removing them when once named to Office.

Your Lordship will readily perceive the vice of such an organization, and will understand why the bureaucracy exclaim so loudly at any measures adopted against their vested rights.

In all likelihood the ill effects of the system had become intolerable in Hesse where the Servants of the Government appear recently to have acted in systematic opposition to the nominal executive authority.

The compelling these functionaries to resign by means of military coercion as is now being effected at Cassel and elsewhere in Hesse has a prima facie appearance of great oppression, and will doubtless occasion considerable outcry, as well as lead to much misrepresentation, but I think Your Lordship will perceive that though it might have been desirable to adopt a more lenient method, it was absolutely necessary to obtain the result, and I feel convinced that similar changes must be generally effected wherever this institution exists, before genuine constitutional Governments can be established in Germany.[94]

[94] Enclosures (translations): Interpellation of Deputy Welcker; Protocol of the second Baden chamber.

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