BERLIN

FO 64/285: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 41, Berlin, 29 February 1848

Course pursued by Prussian government on hearing news of the insurrection in Paris

I returned here this Afternoon from Schwerin and have seen Baron Canitz, he has no later news from Paris than that which I reported to Your Lordship in my despatch No 40. He has read to me a letter he has addressed to the Chevalier Bunsen which he directs him to communicate to you and which expresses the anxiety of the King and of the Prussian Government to learn Your Lordship's sentiments upon the state of affairs which has arisen in France,[1] and the hope that they may be in accordance with those of His Majesty which are, in no way to interfere with the internal Government of that country but a determination to resist any attempt, if such should be made to overthrow the territorial arrangements sanctioned by the Treaties of Vienna.[2]

Your Lordship will receive this communication from Baron Canitz at the same time with this despatch I need not therefore enter further into its details.

A similar communication of the views of the Prussian Government has been made to the Governments of Austria and of Russia, and to the former Monsieur de Radowitz will be sent for the purpose of conveying them more particularly to Prince Metternich.

The only measure the Prussian Government has at present adopted in relation to these events has been to order the return of the men absent on Furlough during the winter to the eight Corps d'Armée which is stationed on the Rhine with Head Quarters at Coblenz. This measure has been taken in consideration of the many Garrisons occupied by that Corps particularly those of Mayence Coblenz and Cologne which, in the present state of the Battalions, is not sufficient for their safety if any hostile movement was made against them; but this measure will be carried into effect as one belonging to the ordinary routine of service and without being calculated to be remarked upon.

[1] February Revolution in Paris.

[2] Act of the German Confederation of 8 June 1815 and Act of the Vienna Congress of 9 June 1815.

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The imperfect information which has been received here as to the formation of a Government in Paris or as to the probability of its acquiring any stability makes it impossible for the Prussian Cabinet to form any opinion with regard to such government but they are most anxious in case any communication should be received from it that the answer should be in harmony with the reply which would be given by Your Lordship, and with this view Baron Canitz will wait with anxiety to know what are Your Lordship's impressions upon the state of things which will be known to exist at Paris when this despatch will reach you and when something much more decided as to the nature of the Government will have been ascertained. He conceives that if a republican form of Government should be established and should desire to be acknowledged, that the allied Governments would wish to act in uniformity in giving their reply, for which reason, if such a demand was addressed to him he would delay replying to it until he had received a communication from Your Lordship.

FO 64/285: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 69, Berlin, 18 March 1848

Ordinances of Prussian King; violent incident in front of the palace; riots in Berlin

I have the honor of transmitting to Your Lordship, herewith enclosed,[3] an ordinance issued this day by His Majesty the King declaring his intention of assembling the representatives of the German States of the Confederation for the purpose of deciding with them the course to be pursued generally in Germany upon all points in which its interest are concerned. His Majesty also calls the United Diet of Prussia together for the 2nd of April, and He publishes a new Law for the Press by which the Censorship is abolished.[4]

The effect of these ordinances was that of great satisfaction and a number of persons presented themselves before the Palace to express their gratitude to His Majesty. I am grieved to say that, after the King had from the Balcony thanked the assembled multitude, a most unfortunate occurrence took place, a part of the crowd led on by strangers, who are supposed to have been sent here to create disturbance, attempted to force themselves into the Palace: the Troops, following the orders they had received, drove the people back and the Cavalry in clearing the space in front of the Palace killed some persons

[3] Enclosure: *Extra-Blatt zur Allgemeinen Preußischen Zeitung*, 18 March 1848.

[4] The respective acts were the patent of 18 March 1848, which brought forward the convocation of the United Diet of Prussia already promised for 27 April, and the press law of 17 March 1848.

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and wounded a considerable number. This sad event spread instant alarm throughout the Town and barricades were immediately thrown up in various parts of it, the garrison was called to arms and at the moment I am writing, just before the departure of the Post, firing is heard in a great many quarters of the City. I fear great mischief will have occurred, and a considerable loss of life. I must reserve all further detail for my next despatch.

FO 64/285: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 72, Berlin, 21 March 1848

False alarm that troops are to enter Berlin; procession of the monarch through Berlin; King's intention to place himself at the head of the German nation; attempts to reconcile the army and the people

Since I wrote to you last night the tranquillity of the Town has not been disturbed. An alarm about one in the morning was spread that the Troops were coming in and the Burghers were called to arms, but the falsehood of the report was soon discovered and the Ministers issued an official notice a copy of which I enclose assuring the citizens that the statement was entirely without foundation. This alarm is supposed to have been got up by evil disposed persons who are dissatisfied with the sudden termination of the revolutionary movement they had originated without their having derived from it the profit they had anticipated. The King this morning, having allowed a publick notice,[5] a copy and translation of which is enclosed, to be printed at the Official Press of the Government, although without any signature by which He is designated as the Head or Sovereign of Germany, immediately after it had been issued, came from the Palace on horseback attended by His Uncle Prince William and His two Sons the Princes Adalbert and Waldemar, as also by His Aid-de camps and proceeded through the principal Streets of the Town. His Majesty was received with great enthusiasm, and with the continued cheers of the people during the whole time of his progress which lasted nearly two hours. At different times the King stopped and addressed the assembled multitude and when by some persons he was saluted as Emperor of Germany, he rejected the title saying that he was no Usurper, that he would never injure or menace the throne of any other Sovereign, but he would put Himself at their Head to support their constitutional Governments and the Independence of the German Nation. This speech from His Majesty has quieted the apprehensions of some of the Ministers of the German Courts who saw in the published Notice an expression

[5] Proclamation: *An die deutsche Nation*, 21 March 1848.

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which they thought might be construed into a dethronement of their Sovereign. This the King has now distinctly denied, but an act of the nature he has adopted was necessary to gain the voice of the multitude and to turn their thoughts from the contest which had desolated the city.[6] A contest which I believe will turn out to have cost not less than 300 killed and wounded of the Burghers and near 800 of the Military. The great object of the King and of his Government is now to reconcile the Army and the People, and with this object I learn a proclamation will be issued with the concurrence of the Burghers, stating that respect is due to all the victims on both sides, that of the Troops and the People should fulfil these duties towards each other, that they should now come together, for the public funeral of all those who perished in this unfortunate contest, and from that time that all animosity should cease.

If this proceeding is adopted and the proclamation (the substance of which has been repeated to me) is sanctioned and issued, the troops will be ordered to re-enter the town tomorrow and by giving them support to the Burghers who are now anxious for it, this will secure the peace of the Town, which both from the strangers still within it and from the lower classes was considered by the respectable citoyens as likely to be disturbed.

At the moment of closing this despatch I have received a proclamation signed by His Majesty and countersigned by His new Ministers of which I enclose a copy and translation, which explains the publick Notice issued this morning mentioned in the former part of this despatch.[7] It states how far His Majesty is desirous of taking the lead in the present posture of the affairs of the German Confederation in unison with the other Sovereigns of Germany, in establishing constitutional Governments and securing the independence of their Common Country.

I am unable at the present moment to give your Lordship any account of the impression made by this document, nor would it be fitting to do so by the present opportunity of the ordinary Post.

I hope also to be able to enclose a copy of the proclamation signed by a number of the respectable Burghers of the Town stating that the victims of the late contest both on the side of the Army and of the People will be buried together tomorrow and their funeral attended both by the Citizens and Soldiers. This document is already posted up in my neighbourhood but as yet I have not been able to get a separate copy.

[6] Westmorland refers to the clashes between the military and the civilian population between 13 and 18 March 1848.

[7] Proclamation: *An mein Volk und die deutsche Nation*, 21 March 1848.

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P.S. At this moment 9 o'clock at night, I have received the proclamation I have above alluded to of which I enclose a copy and translation.[8]

FO 64/285: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, Confidential, No 87, Berlin, 29 March 1848

Troops ordered to return to Berlin; petition for reforms from Rhineland; resignation of Arnim; change of ministry; disturbances in Silesia; affairs of Posen; Schleswig-Holstein question; conduct of Prince Wilhelm during the disturbances

I am happy to state that the tranquillity of Berlin has not been disturbed since I had the honor of addressing you, and as a part of the troops which are to form the Garrison are ordered to enter the Town tomorrow and the rest on the following day, I hope it may permanently be established. The notice issued by the Commandant of the Town[9] and the President of the Police[10] states that these Troops are merely called in for the purpose of assisting the Burgher Guard in the maintenance of order, and that they are to act only when called upon to do so by the Authorities of the Town.

There is however considerable agitation kept up by the numerous Clubs which have been formed where violent and revolutionary speeches are made, and in which addresses both to the King and to the population are voted which have so seriously embarrassed the Government (coming as they do in support of the petition from eighteen Towns on the Rhine, a copy and précis of which I enclose)[11] that Count Arnim[12] the First Minister and the Minister of War[13] have resigned and Count Schwerin has asked the King's permission to retire. It is understood that Monsieur Camphausen the Deputy from Cologne and Mr. Hansemann from Aix la Chapelle will be appointed Ministers in their room, and General Reyher will be charged with the Ministry of War.

[8] Enclosures: Notice of the ministry contradicting reports of arrival of troops in Berlin, 20 March 1848; *An die deutsche Nation*, 21 March 1848 (notice by King of Prussia, copy and translation); *An mein Volk und an die deutsche Nation*, 21 March 1848 (proclamation by King of Prussia, copy and translation); *An alle Preußen* (proclamation of Committee for Burial of the Dead, copy and translation).

[9] Karl Wilhelm von Ditfurth. The notice was issued on 29 March 1848.

[10] Julius Rudolf Ottmar von Minutoli.

[11] Enclosures (German originals and précis): Address of the Rhenish towns to the King of Prussia, 24 March 1848; His Majesty's reply, 28 March 1848.

[12] Adolf Graf von Arnim-Boitzenburg.

[13] Ferdinand von Rohr.

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The two former of these Gentlemen represented the most advanced liberal opinions in the States General when assembled last year and are understood to have considerable influence in the Provinces on the Rhine. They are of opinion that the General Diet which is called for the 2nd of next month should assemble, and that it should occupy itself with the new Law of Election for the National Parliament; and when that is completed or when the principle upon which it is to be established shall be decided upon, that this Diet should be dissolved. In this latter case the regulations by which the principle is to be carried out would be entrusted to the Ministers. Great opposition has however been manifested to this Assembly of the Diet, as it is looked upon by the movement party as too conservative in its opinions, and they would rather desire that the King should dissolve it, and Himself promulgate a law of election on the basis of universal suffrage and call together a Parliament elected upon that principle.

The Conservative portion of the public on the contrary are anxious that the principle of this Law should be discussed by the present Diet, as they believe it to be a more constitutional mode of deciding upon it, and a more likely means of settling it upon a safer foundation.

The Government have at present to contend with questions of great difficulty. In the first place, with the disturbances in some of the Provinces, particularly in Silesia where a number of the Nobles have been forced to surrender their rights of property by the peasants by whom many of their country seats have been burnt. To counteract these evils Monsieur Auerswald[14] the Minister of the interior has issued a proclamation[15] stating that the Government will not recognize the legality of any of the renunciations which have been forced upon the proprietors, and he has directed several columns of troops to be sent through the Province to put down the perpetrators of these excesses and give protection to the peaceable inhabitants.

Another great difficulty is the disturbed state of the Polish province of Posen. The Poles who were liberated from confinement in this city on the 20th Instant[16] as well as a large number who have arrived from Paris and other countries, have proceeded to that Province. These persons, in connection with some of the inhabitants, have in different districts formed Committees, have seized upon the local Governments in defiance of the political rights of the German population, have torn down the Flags and Arms of Prussia, have carried off the public funds and have excited the peasants to arm themselves.

[14] Alfred von Auerswald.

[15] Ministerial decree of 27 March 1848.

[16] The Poles who had been condemned in 1847 after the unsuccessful uprising in Cracow (1846) were released under the amnesty for political offenders of 20 March 1848.

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In the midst of this excitement Prince Adam Czartoriski reached this Capital last night from Paris having at Cologne made a speech in which he declared that he would support the democratic principle in Poland. He is attended by a number of persons who constitute his staff and many of them have proceeded to Posen. I understand he has expressed his wish to see the King saying at the same time that his desire is to be of use to Him in regulating the movement in Poland but that he would conform himself to His Majesty's wishes, and only waited His orders to leave Berlin if He required it. But the arrival of these persons will probably produce, even if the leaders should not wish for it, a general Insurrection in the Province where there are about 700,000 Polish inhabitants, and it is supposed they will make an attack upon Russian Poland. The German inhabitants of the province who amount to 500,000 are entirely opposed to the Polish population and have petitioned the King to be separated from them, and to be attached to the Province of Prussia; this may be effected with about 300,000 who are unmixed with Poles, but the remaining 200,000 are so intermixed with them on the Eastern Frontier that it will be almost impossible. The Members who are about to form the new Government are I believe most anxious to prevent the menaced rising in this Province or any attack upon Russia, but after the liberation of the Polish Prisoners and the disorganization of the general Government of the country by the events of Berlin they are not supposed to have the means of preventing it.

The question of Schleswig-Holstein[17] also presents considerable embarrassment to the Government: the declaration made by the King, in a letter to the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein Augustenburg[18] dated the 24th Instant, respecting the rights of the Duchies, is

1st. that the Duchies are independent States

2nd. that they are inseparably connected,

3rd. that the male line of succession is established in the Duchies, and that He is prepared to defend them against all attacks.

It is in order to follow out the principles set forth in this declaration, that the Governments of Hanover and Mecklenburg have been called upon to send their troops to the Frontier of that country and the Prussian troops amounting to six battalions with a small force of Cavalry and Artillery are to assemble at Perleberg as a support to them in case they should be attacked by the Danes.

The Danish Minister[19] has called upon me with a gentleman on a Mission from the Court of Copenhagen who has requested me to

[17] On the Schleswig-Holstein crisis cf. pp. 188–190.
[18] Christian Karl Friedrich August.
[19] Greve Wulff Heinrich Bernhard Scheel-Plessen.

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represent to Baron Arnim[20] the precipitancy and injustice of this step, but I have replied that I had received the strongest assurances from that Minister that the measure the King had adopted was intended as a means of preserving peace and that until I receive instructions from Your Lordship it was impossible for me to take any official step upon the subject. In addition to this difficulty the Government is under considerable apprehension how far the policy it has adopted upon this question may be approved in Germany, in England and in France; and if the Danish Government should resent it and blockade the Prussian Ports a great injury would be inflicted upon the country.

To add to these various complications great uneasiness is felt as to the result of the meeting of the German delegates to be held at Frankfort on the 30th Instant.[21] It does not appear that the proposal of the King to place Himself at the Head of Germany[22] has met with much favor, and it is doubted whether any resolution calling upon Him to do so will be passed. If this should not be the case, the feeling of national superiority, which has very generally been felt by the Prussians, will be thwarted & the mortification thus brought upon them will be attributed to the King who, by His conduct in bringing about a conflict in His own capital,[23] will be accused of having lost the position of preeminence which His country had a right to occupy.

The Army which feels acutely the manner in which it has been treated by His Majesty, and which I am sorry to say has not been reconciled by the speech he made to the officers at Potsdam on Saturday last, will very greatly partake in this sentiment.[24] Under all these circumstances the King Himself does not I understand feel any great annoyance at His position, nor is He so much distressed as might have been expected from the unfortunate situation in which the Prince of Prussia[25] has been placed. The accusations which have been brought against His Royal Highness have no other foundation than his earnest desire to secure the safety of the King's Palace when at different times the populace attempted to force themselves into it. He never during the disturbances had any command of the troops, but I believe he expressed himself warmly to the officers in command and particularly to General Pfuel (at that time the Governor of the City)

[20] Alexander Heinrich Freiherr von Arnim-Suckow.

[21] For the meeting of the Pre-Parliament cf. n. 11 in Frankfurt section.

[22] Cf. pp. 107–108.

[23] Cf. pp. 106–107.

[24] On 19 March the King had ordered the army to leave Berlin, thus giving in to the demands of the citizens of Berlin. In his Potsdam speech to the officer corps of the guards on 25 March, Friedrich Wilhelm IV tried to gain support for his policies while emphasizing that he was fully capable of taking action.

[25] Wilhelm.

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as to the necessity of repressing with vigour the riotous proceedings of some of the persons who had penetrated into the Court of the Palace. The language he used on this occasion induced General Pfuel to appeal to the King and to demand an apology which, at His Majesty's desire, the Prince immediately made to him & a reconciliation took place; but the words which had passed were heard by the insurgents, and commented upon with great asperity, so that when the contest was over and the troops withdrawn, the animosity of the people was entirely directed against the Prince.

The King being made aware of this, requested him to leave the Town, and afterwards (when an alarm was given that he was returning at the Head of the Troops) He sent to him to beg he would go to England charging him with a commission to the Government. The announcement in the official Gazette[26] as to the Prince's departure for London made no mention of this Mission, he is therefore represented as having fled, and the consequence is that up to this moment the anger of the people is entirely directed against Him & his Son,[27] and the most violent language is held with regard to Him, and his succession to the Throne is declared to be impossible.

The King I know has charged Count Goltz, whom He has sent to attend the Prince in England, to express to him his sincerest love, attachment and respect, but in the mean time nothing is done to rectify these unfortunate impressions, and his Palace is still occupied as National Property, the Princess[28] living with her Son and Daughter[29] in concealment at Potsdam.

FO 64/286: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 112, Berlin, 6 April 1848

Reorganization and state of affairs of the Duchy of Posen; Russian military interference; Polish deputation in Berlin

General de Willisen, who is supposed to enjoy the confidence of the Poles, has been sent to Posen by the Prussian Government to preside over the reorganization of that Province. Besides his duties as a civil Functionary he is charged with the control of the Landwehr[30] which in many places has assembled without orders.

[26] *Preußischer Staatsanzeiger*.
[27] Friedrich.
[28] Augusta.
[29] Luise.
[30] Territorial reserve.

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Baron Arnim informed me, however, that the Government had no intention to admit of the formation of a Polish Army within the Grand Duchy.

All the accounts received from Posen represent the Country, with the exception of that part of it which is occupied by the Prussian Troops, to be in the greatest state of anarchy and confusion.[31] The Messenger Drury, who arrived the night before last from St Petersburgh and Warsaw, reports to me that he found the Country between the frontier of the Kingdom of Poland and the Town of Posen in the hands of the Polish insurgents who, however, appear to be but ill armed, their principal weapons being Scythes, and few having fire arms – on the other hand the Russian Troops have been withdrawn to the distance of a few miles from the frontier, so as to avoid any collision on Prussian Territory.

Great excesses have been committed by armed bands of Poles, headed by some of the Nobles and Refugees, who have pillaged & set fire to Country Seats and Farm Houses and rendered themselves guilty of other depredations which the Government will endeavour to repress by moveable columns of Troops.

These outrages have occasioned great consternation amongst the German Inhabitants of the Grand Duchy and numerous deputations have arrived to represent them to the Government. A general meeting of the Deputations has been held at which it was decided to move the Government to issue a Proclamation declaring that the Province of Posen should not be separated from the Prussian Kingdom, that such Institutions should be introduced as might be calculated to uphold the German as well as the Polish Nationality and the religious confessions of all the Inhabitants, that the acts of the National Committees[32] should be annulled as illegal, the Commission of reorganization[33] dissolved and not again reinstated until tranquillity should be restored. It was further resolved to request the Government to send a Royal Commissary with a view to the reestablishment of order, temporarily to reinstate the Authorities which have been expelled, to call out the Landwehr as a proof of confidence in the Polish population, to

[31] Cf. pp. 110–111.

[32] On 20 March 1848 the Polish National Committee was formed in Posen (Pozna). Its main aim, in addition to reorganizing the Grand Duchy of Posen (Prussian province), was to assemble an armed force to invade the Russian part of Poland (Kingdom of Poland). The many accusations levelled at the numerous local committees included tolerating acts of violence against German inhabitants, dissolving Prussian authorities, and confiscating public funds.

[33] The order-in-council of 24 March 1848 authorized the setting up of a Polish–German commission which was to advise on the reorganization of Posen while also restoring order in the province.

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assemble a sufficient number of regular Troops and station a part of them on the Russian Frontier as a security against provocation given by Russia. The above mentioned Proposals were submitted to General Willisen who appears to have received them favorably and given assurances that the national Interests of the German Population should not suffer from the contemplated reorganization of the Grand Duchy.

I have already reported to Your Lordship the wishes of that part of the Country which is exclusively German; a deputation from several of those districts presented a Petition on the 3rd Instant to the Minister of the Interior Mr. de Auerswald praying that they might be separated from the Province of Posen, consequently excluded from its proposed reorganization and annexed to the German Confederation,[34] requesting however that the question of annexation should not be decided until the whole Population of the several circles had been consulted as to whether it desired to continue to belong to Prussia.

In addition to these various addresses a Deputation arrived at Berlin yesterday with Petitions from Districts principally signed by Polish Burghers and Peasants stating that they owe their Prosperity to their connexion with Prussia that they wish to remain Prussian and do not desire a reorganization such as is the object of the Polish Nobility – they therefore pray that before any changes are introduced affecting their legal condition every inhabitant of the Country should have an opportunity of voting upon the subject. The sentiments thus expressed by the Polish peasants in the districts in question are believed to be participated in by a large class of their fellow countrymen who are apprehensive of returning under the yoke of the Polish Nobility, and it is this circumstance which will always have considerable influence in preventing any general revolt of the Polish Peasantry against the Authority of the Crown, indeed M. Kraszewski, the Polish Deputy whose speech I referred to in my Despatch No 109, called upon the Government to take measures for the protection of the Polish Proprietors against their Peasants.

In conclusion I may observe that the same feelings which have called forth the demonstration I have reported on the part of the German Inhabitants of Posen have likewise contributed to produce a reaction unfavourable to the Poles in the sentiments of many Persons at Berlin who took part in the late events and who at one time acting under the influence of the numerous Polish Refugees in the Town advocated a War with Russia in order to assist in the reconstruction of Poland.

[34] On 22 April 1848 the western part of the Province of Posen was accepted into the German Confederation on Prussia's application.

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FO 64/286: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 114, Berlin, 6 April 1848

Observations on the new electoral law; the liberty of the press and the right to hold public meetings

I have reported to Your Lordship in my despatches of the last three days the adoption by the United Diet of the propositions submitted to it by His Majesty as the basis of the new Constitution.[35]

The Law by which the election of the Constitutional Assembly is to be regulated was passed yesterday,[36] and it is remarkable that it was within a few days of the anniversary of the opening of the United Diet last year, on which occasion His Majesty declared that He never would allow a written Constitution to intervene between Himself and His People. This total and, to His Majesty, most unexpected change in the Government of His States, is naturally viewed by different persons under very different aspects.

Few of those who took part in the unanimous vote by which the Law of Election was carried were sincerely favorable to it, but the state of abeyance in which the Government has been since the events in Berlin of the 18th Ulto, and the alarm which has been created by the disturbed state of this Town as well as of several of the Provinces, induced the chambers of the United Diet, while their authority was still recognized to pass a measure almost without discussion which they believed might tranquillize the country and keep together the distant Provinces which both upon the Rhine and on the Eastern Frontier were menacing revolution and separation.

The probable result of the law of election, according to which universal suffrage is established in its most extended form, corrected only by a secondary election of the Deputies, is entirely uncertain.

The most eminent persons and those best acquainted with the feelings and sentiments of the population of the different Provinces of the Kingdom are at a loss to conjecture the use they may make of a privilege with which they are now entrusted for the first time in so extended a shape, and for which they have in no way been prepared.

The effect even of the double election, whether it will act in a more conservative sense than a direct one, is greatly doubted; the feeling of the Government by which the Law has been prepared was certainly in favor of the first hypothesis, but many persons entertain an opinion that the smaller number of electors for the secondary election will

[35] The royal rescript of 6 April 1848 (*Verordnung über einige Grundlagen der künftigen preußischen Verfassung)* guaranteed, among other rights, freedom of the press and right of assembly (indoors), equal rights for all confessions, and the legislative and budgetary rights of a future Prussian national assembly.

[36] The electoral law for the constituent assembly was promulgated on 8 April 1848.

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be more likely to be acted upon by agitators and democratic leaders than would have been the more numerous body. Where a doubt exists upon so important a point of the probable working of the new Law, it is impossible that any opinion as to the other features which belong to it can be of any value. That it is a dangerous experiment is almost universally admitted, that it was a necessary one after the great concessions made by His Majesty, during the excitement in the Capital and in some of the Provinces is a question upon which all are not so entirely agreed, but that the ordeal must now be passed through no person can hesitate to acknowledge.

The principal of universal suffrage which has now been promulgated in this country, and which will probably be rendered permanent in all future elections by the constituent assembly, has created much uneasiness in the Ministers resident here from the different States of Germany in which Constitutional forms of Government already exist.

The right of election in all of these States is founded upon a qualification of property, yet the assemblies returned by the electors so constituted have generally, as in Baden, in Würtemberg or in Saxony, not been found wanting in attachment to liberal views. Their fear is now lest the example of so influential a State as Prussia should lead to the desire of a similar Law of Election in their own countries and should cause the overthrow of their present constitutions.

The concession which has lately been made by His Majesty of the liberty of the Press without the sufficient guarantee of a Law of Libel,[37] has been most shamefully abused; the attacks which have been made upon the King, upon the United Diet, upon the Army, and upon almost all the constituted Authorities of the State, as well as upon the rights of property and the characters of individuals have been of a most malignant nature. In some instances these excesses have been repressed by the better feeling of the people, who have threatened to take the Law into their own hands, and inflict a severe chastisement upon their authors.

The right of holding public meetings has led to the establishment of many Clubs in which the most violent language has been held, but hitherto the peaceable citizens supported by the Burgher Guard, which has performed a most arduous task with excellent effect, have prevented any violent disturbance of the public peace.

The attempt to prevent the Assembly of the United Diet which had been very extensively organized was frustrated by these means,

[37] On 17 March 1848 the Prussian King abolished censorship and gave courts the right to prosecute press offences.

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and there does not now appear any reason to apprehend any serious disturbance.

The United Diet has this day been occupied in nominating the Members who are to form the Prussian portion of the German National Assembly which is to meet at Frankfort.[38]

Tomorrow the Diet is to discuss the financial measures which have been submitted to it by the Government but which I understand are not likely to be adopted to the extent which has been proposed.

FO 64/286: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 159, Berlin, 27 April 1848

Conversation with Arnim-Suckow about British mediation in Schleswig-Holstein question; conduct of the Hanoverian government in the question; territorial pretensions put forward by the German press; newspaper article about seizure of Prussian vessels by Danish government

In an interview with Baron Arnim, in which I laid before him the substance of Your Lordship's Despatch No 100, he stated that he had accepted through me Your Lordship's mediation if it was asked for by Denmark, but that up to the present moment, neither through the Danish Agents, nor through me, nor through Your Lordship by the Chevalier Bunsen did he know whether Denmark had asked for Your mediation or not, but that he was still willing to accept it if agreed to by the Danish Government, upon the basis prescribed or to be prescribed by the Frankfort Diet 'laquelle base, savoir l'occupation du Sleswig par les troupes Fedérales', it is probable had been already secured by the successes of those Troops.[39]

When I read to him the expressions contained in Your Lordship's Despatch No 100 'that with reference to the Note addressed to him by the Danish Minister[40] upon the subject of the mediation of Great Britain for the adjustment of the differences which have arisen between Denmark and the German States, you desired that I would strongly urge the Prussian Government to suspend hostilities in order to enable negotiations to be carried on', he stated that Your Lordship must be well aware that until Denmark had accepted the mediation he could not consider it as existing and that he could not prescribe an armistice

[38] According to the Federal Diet's resolutions of 30 March and 7 April 1848, the deputies for the Frankfurt National Assembly were to be elected in general elections and not nominated.

[39] On 10 April 1848 the Federal Diet passed a resolution that if Danish troops did not withdraw from Schleswig voluntarily, the Confederation would force them out militarily. By the end of April federal troops had largely done so.

[40] In Scheel-Plessen's note to Arnim of 16 April 1848, it was stated that a formal demand by Denmark had been made for Great Britain's mediation.

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when the troops were in the field and when he had received no proposition of a peaceable nature from Denmark.

He said he expected this War would be put an end to by the fall of the Ministry of Orla Lehmann, that when this was accomplished he would very well be able to settle the questions in dispute with the party opposed to him and who would succeed him; but that it was owing to the action of England upon the Hanoverian Government that this War was not already terminated; because by the declaration which had been made to that Government,[41] the march of its troops had been delayed, and consequently the whole confederate Army was not in a position to move forward till long after the time it would otherwise have been able to do so.

He stated that he had written in this sense to the Chevalier Bunsen and that Your Lordship would be informed of his feelings, and that Hanover had consequently lost much of its popularity in Germany.

That with respect to the present Government in Copenhagen who were stopping the German Shipping he considered them as a set of Pirates.[42] Baron Arnim said he had learnt from the Chevalier Bunsen that Your Lordship was about to send me detailed instructions which might arrive in a day or two and in which he expected the facts as to the acceptation of the mediation by Denmark would be stated so that we should then have that point cleared up and a basis upon which to settle what further could be done. I endeavoured to learn from Baron Arnim what would be the stipulation which he would require for the termination of hostilities, but he assured me he was so entirely subservient in this matter to the German Diet that he could not undertake to speak upon them. He wished in no way to infringe upon the rights of the King of Denmark, but he thought the best measure that Sovereign could pursue would be to alter the succession as it now stood settled for Denmark in the Female line, and allow the Kingdom and the Duchies to descent in the Male line, he conceived this might be managed by an arrangement with the Prince of Hesse.[43]

A friend of Baron Arnim's in speaking upon this subject stated that Denmark had lost a great opportunity by not proposing at once to incorporate Sleswig as well as Jutland in the German Confederation and then by a perpetual treaty unite the Kingdom with its fleet and

[41] In accordance with Viscount Palmerston's instructions of 6 April 1848, John Duncan Bligh, the British envoy to Hanover, tried to dissuade Hanover from sending troops into Schleswig and thus to prevent Germany from opening hostilities towards Denmark.

[42] On 19 April 1848 the Danish fleet received the order to seize all Prussian merchant ships and to confiscate Prussian ships at anchor in Danish harbours. On 1 May 1848 this was extended to all hostile and suspicious ships. At the same time it was announced that enemy harbours were to be blockaded.

[43] For the Danish succession cf. n. 27 in Hanse Towns section.

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merchant Navy to the German Zollverein,[44] that such an arrangement would have made Denmark a great and influential Power & (however displeasing it might have been to England) it would have secured her the lasting gratitude and friendship of Germany.

I am not the least aware that any such idea has ever been entertained by Baron Arnim, but the German Papers have lately put forward pretentions as to the advantages both in the form of territory, including some of the Danish Islands, and in that of Ships of War which are described as belonging by right to Sleswig Holstein, by which it is proved that this War has not been undertaken without exciting the hopes of realizing some of the projects of aggrandisement which have lately been afloat.

These projects I in no way attribute to the Prussian Government but I think it right Your Lordship should be made aware of their existence, and with this view I enclose an article which has appeared this day in one of the Journals of Berlin and which refers to the seizure of the Prussian Vessels by the Danish Government and to the retribution which ought hereafter to be required for it.[45]

There is no doubt that throughout Germany there is a great and anxious feeling in favor of the protection of the supposed German National rights in Sleswig, and I have little doubt that great exertions and sacrifices would be made by the whole nation to accomplish their views.

How far these may be limited to a division of Sleswig into German and Danish as alluded to in the Chevalier Bunsen's Pamphlet[46] I am not able to decide; I mentioned this subject yesterday to Baron Arnim with reference to this Pamphlet which he had sent me, but he declined entering into it saying that he had not yet himself been able to read it.

Some days ago Baron Arnim in speaking of the manner in which Your Lordship would be likely to carry out the mediation you had offered when it should be accepted, asked whether you would depute a person specially charged with that negotiation, I replied that I was not at all aware in what way you would act in this matter.

I did not report this remark to Your Lordship as I considered it as merely conversational, but I do so now because having learnt that Baron Arnim had stated his having mentioned this to me as a wish on his part, I yesterday enquired of him whether it was so, and on his

[44] Customs Union.

[45] Enclosure (original and translation): Article from the *Vossische Zeitung*, 27 April 1848.

[46] Memoir on the constitutional rights of the Duchies Schleswig and Holstein, presented to Viscount Palmerston by Chevalier Bunsen on 8 April 1848. Bunsen's memorandum justified Prussia's actions and denied any commitment made to Denmark on the part of Great Britain.

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answering in the affirmative I told him I should make my report of it to you.

FO 64/287: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 209, Berlin, 25 May 1848

First meeting of the Prussian National Assembly; its conduct and character

The first meeting for the despatch of business of the Constituent Assembly[47] took place this day, I was present during a considerable part of the Sitting, but as the questions brought before it related solely to the disputed elections, it would be premature to give any opinion as to its future action.

There was great confusion in the Assembly throughout its sitting, various interruptions taking place after the questions had been put, and after the President had declared the decision of the majority, which being contested, he allowed to be put again, and several times to the Vote, so that the Members on some occasions left their seats and assembled themselves tumultuously in the centre of the Chamber. One cause for this want of order is the weak voice of the President chosen by Age Monsr. de Schön who has the Title of Minister of State and has the reputation of entertaining very liberal opinions and who is personally attached to the King, but who is hardly heard by the Members sitting at a distance, and who is ill supported by the Deputies who have been elected his secretaries and assistants.

If I could venture to give any opinion upon what I observed in the Assembly I should say that the Republican and Democratic party which is represented by Count Reichenbach and Monsr. Jung are decidedly in the minority, I also judge, from an incident which took place, that the Assembly is for the maintenance of its Prussian character; for with reference to an election which was disputed on the ground that the Deputy[48] was not a Prussian, a member[49] having remarked that such a distinction would soon disappear as all would be Germans, the whole body of the Diet declared against such a sentiment, and in favor of the maintenance of the Law.

I also feel that the great majority is opposed to the Polish party in the Assembly, for, upon one occasion, when a Polish Member[50] characterized in harsh terms the conduct of the Germans of the

[47] The constituent assembly – also known as the Prussian National Assembly – was elected on 1 May 1848.

[48] Deputy Räntsch.

[49] Deputy Dierschke.

[50] Antoni Feliks Kraszewski.

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Province of Posen towards the Poles, there was a very general protest against the assertion of such an opinion.

A question arose as to the Election of the Prince of Prussia[51] who not having declared his acceptance of it, might be represented by his substitute but the Chamber decided after a short discussion to adjourn the decision until the protocols of the election, which had been asked for, should be received and until His Royal Highness had signified His intention of accepting or of declining.

I was glad to observe that this discussion was carried on with the most perfect respect towards His Royal Highness.

With respect to the Constitution I understand the Ministers have already ascertained that a majority of the Assembly will support them in bringing forward the project they have presented,[52] against the opinion of the democratic opposition who wished to refuse to take it into consideration, as emanating from the King, who, this party contends, ought not to have a voice upon this subject, as the Constituent Assembly is supreme.

But while the Ministers are now secure upon this point I fear they have not the same security as to other parts of their project and more particularly as to the Articles which relate to the formation of the Upper House, and more especially to the appointments of the Members of it who are to be hereditary.[53]

FO 64/288: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 229, Berlin, 9 June 1848

Debate in Prussian National Assembly to acknowledge the March Revolution; Prussian foreign minister insulted by the populace

The discussion in the National Assembly, to which I referred in my despatch No 227, on the proposal of one of the Deputies[54] of Berlin to acknowledge the Revolution of the 18th and 19th of March last and to declare that the combattants who fell on that occasion had deserved well of their Country, was brought to a close today by the

[51] During his stay in England, the Prince of Prussia was elected for the circle of Wirsitz in the Province of Posen. Wilhelm's election was the pretext for his return to Berlin.

[52] The ministry presented its draft of the new constitution to the Prussian National Assembly on 22 May 1848.

[53] According to §38 of the draft constitution, 60 members of the first chamber could be chosen by the King in addition to the 180 deputies elected by delegates. The prerequisite for this hereditary right to be a deputy was an unencumbered annual income of at least 8000 *Reichstaler*.

[54] Julius Berends.

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adoption with a majority of 19 votes of an amendment supported by the Ministers.

The purport of the amendment was 'that in consideration of the importance of the events of March as well as of the undisputed merit of those who took part in them to which and to the sanction of the King the new order of things was owing, and in consideration that the chamber was not called upon to deliver judgements but to concert the Constitution with the Crown, the Assembly should pass to the order of the day;'

The deliberations were extremely animated and derived the more importance from the Knowledge of the existence of the present administration being endangered had the original motion been passed. The Debate chiefly turned upon the recognition of the principle of the Revolution by which the Advocates of that motion stated they understood the forcible overthrow of the former system of Government and the Sovereignty of the People.

The opponents of this measure many of whom admitted the services rendered by the Individuals who had fought at the contest, pointed out the dangers of recognizing the principle of the legitimacy of Revolutions, and the Minister of Finance Mr. Hansemann, the only Minister who spoke during today's debate, exhorted the Chambers not to pass a resolution which would throw an apple of discord in the Country at a moment when so great an extent of distress arising from general distrust, prevailed, and when it was so essential to bring about a reconciliation between the People and the Army, more particularly considering how dependent the Country was upon the latter for the maintenance of its independence. One of the Members[55] likewise alluded to the noble conduct of the Troops during the contest. The result was the adoption of the Amendment by the small majority I have mentioned.

During the Debate a deputation from the crowd outside demanded permission to enter the Chamber for the purpose of urging the necessity of the acknowledgement of the Sovereignty of the People as the basis of the new Institutions. This request having been refused the Deputation desired to see the President[56] who replied that the only real Representatives of the People were those now assembled in the Chamber and he could not recognize any others.

I regret to state that the Minister for Foreign Affairs Baron Arnim, on leaving the Assembly was stopped and insulted by the Populace who called upon him for an explanation of the conduct of Ministers in refusing to admit the principle of Popular Sovereignty. The Burgher

[55] Adolf Friedrich Johann Riedel.
[56] Karl August Milde.

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Guard being unable to protect him he was conducted by some of the Students to the University as a place of refuge. There several Members of the Ultra Democratic Party of the National Assembly had already met, and speeches were held in Baron Arnim's presence. A motion was made that he should be summoned to justify himself, upon which His Excellency addressed a few words to the Persons present, saying that ministers would not allow themselves to be intimidated by brute force and that he for his part would rather be torn in pieces than yield to it. The students then opened a passage for him and the Rector of the University[57] led him to a carriage in which he went home.

It appears that it was also intended to insult the other Ministers and Mr. Camphausen only narrowly escaped similar violent treatment.

FO 64/288: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 235, Berlin, 15 June 1848

Storming of the arsenal; debates in Prussian National Assembly on measures for its protection

[. . .] I regret, however, to inform Your Lordship, that after two or three days of comparative tranquillity, very serious disturbances and Revolutionary movements broke out yesterday. In the morning two Iron gates which had been erected for the protection of the inner Court of the Palace were forcibly taken down by the Populace; the one was thrown into the river and the other carried away to the University.

In the middle of the day a conflict took place at the Brandenburg Gate between the Burgher Guard and a Body of Workmen who endeavoured to effect an entry into the Town with Banners, but the rioters were repulsed, some wounded and 3 of the Ringleaders arrested. At 5 o'clock, a large Mob assembled tumultuously under the windows of my house and endeavoured to force a Passage through the detachment of Burgher Guards posted across the Street in order to protect the House of the Minister of War,[58] from whom the Mob were anxious to obtain the withdrawal of a small body of troops still stationed in the Arsenal. They eventually dispersed after nearly two hours of disturbances and parley with the Burghers. By 8 o'clock in the Evening a large Mob had collected before the Arsenal and insulted and attacked the Burgher Guards who, in their turn, fired and either killed or wounded from three to five Individuals.

Between 11 and 12 o'clock at night the Populace succeeded in storming the Arsenal, having met with very feeble resistance from

[57] Johannes Peter Müller.
[58] August Graf von Kanitz.

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the Burgher Guards, and carried off a certain number of Arms, as it is calculated between two and three thousand muskets and Rifles besides several cases of bullets.

The Rifles being of a peculiar construction[59] and the locks not being complete, it is not thought that immediate use can be made of them.

The Burgher Guard having called in the assistance of the troops, one battalion of the 24th Regiment, one of the two Regiments of Infantry stationed in the town, recaptured the Arsenal at about 12 o'clock without difficulty, and the Burgher Guards before the Arsenal having previously retired, others continuing only to hold the Guard Houses and Gates.

The Burghers seem to have shewn little capability of maintaining order in the Town and the great body of them in front of the Arsenal either stood inactive or marched off at the critical moment. Single Burghers were disarmed by the populace, the same cries were uttered, the same false reports were spread and the same plan of action was followed as during the Events of March last. The same individuals who had prepared those events were likewise observed to be active on the present occasion and several Poles were recognized amongst them.

About three this morning the two remaining battalions of the 24th Regiment, and a Regiment of Lancers, the only one garrisoned here, returned to their barracks from outside the town which had orders to evacuate during the night.

The National Assembly met again this morning and Monsieur Milde the President acquainted the Chamber with a letter written by him to the Commander of the Burgher Guard[60] on the subject of the adoption of further measures for the protection of the Assembly, and with the replies received from that officer, in one of which he stated that he had summoned a certain number of guards, but that he could not undertake any Guarantee, as he doubted whether they would appear in sufficient force and still more so, after what had taken place, whether they would do their duty; in his second answer however, he announced that certain Divisions had come forward to perform the Service.

The President of the Ministry Monsieur Camphausen admitted the momentary insufficiency of the means at hand for the maintenance of Order and stated that the Government had called out three battalions of the Landwehr[61] of Berlin to act conjointly with the Burgher Guard, that a reorganisation and choice of a Commander of the latter force

[59] Needle rifles, the construction of which was highly secret at the time.
[60] Johann Ludwig Urbain Blesson.
[61] Territorial reserve.

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appeared necessary and that Ministers were on the point of forming an efficient Corps to relieve the Burgher Guard of the Police duties of the Town. This Corps, I understand, is to be 2,000 strong, to be framed according to the system of the London Police[62] and to be composed principally of non commissioned military officers.

The Ultra Democratic Deputies took exception at the steps taken by the President, contended that the events of last night did not in any manner affect the Assembly and finally, owing to the absence of many Members of the Liberal Conservative Party, carried, with a sufficient Majority, a motion brought forward by Monsieur Uhlick [sic], the Clergyman of Magdeburg, that the Assembly should decline the protection of the armed force and declare that it placed itself under that of the Population of Berlin. A proposition which was strenuously but ineffectually combated by the Vice President, Monsieur Esser, who spoke in the name of the Rhenish Deputies and stated how much the confidence with which they had arrived in the Capital had been shaken by what had passed under their eyes during the last few days. With reference to the opinion which I expressed in my despatch No 193 relative to the period at which I thought the Government had improperly given way in respect to the maintenance of its authority,[63] I fear that the insults offered to Members of the National Assembly, the forcible removal of the Gates of the King's Palace and the plunder by the Populace of a considerable number of Arms in the Arsenal, are signs of difficulties which it may not be easy to overcome without a serious collision. However, it remains to be seen what may be the effect of the calling out of three battalions of the Landwehr of the City.

FO 64/289: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 299, Berlin, 10 August 1848

Proceedings in Prussian National Assembly; abolition of death penalty; collision between the military and citizens in Schweidnitz; Assembly decision requiring officers to refrain from all reactionary endeavours; powers given to the new police force in Berlin

The question of the abolition of the punishment of death has been under discussion for two days in the National Assembly. It has been decided by a Vote of 315 to 28 that this punishment shall no longer be enforced for the crime of High Treason; and it has further been decreed that it shall be abolished for the crime of premeditated murder

[62] The semi-military *Schutzmannschaft* was established by order-in-council on 23 June 1848. It was modelled on the London Metropolitan Police and its constables.

[63] Westmorland is referring to the occurrences in connection with the recall of the Prince of Prussia in May 1848.

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by a vote of 248 to 50. It has however been decided by a vote of 166 to 160 that the punishment of death shall be retained in such cases as the existing Laws prescribe on occasions of proclamation of Martial Law, or of a State of Siege; and it has further been determined that the forms and effects of such a State of Siege, and the circumstances under which it is to be proclaimed, shall be reserved for the subject of a special Law.

A discussion took place yesterday on the report of the Committee appointed to examine petitions on the subject of a collision which took place at Schweidnitz on the 31st ultimo, between the Military and the citizens of that place.

The Commandant[64] having refused to allow the Burgher Guard to be called together by beat of drum as Schweidnitz was a Fortress; a mob assembled in front of his house which they attacked; a company of Soldiers which attempted to clear the place was driven back and a second company coming to their assistance, a collision took place, in consequence of which eleven citizens were killed and twenty wounded, and it was stated that the Soldiers had fired without orders.

The Committee proposed that the Assembly should demand a full explanation from the Government of this affair, and that the troops which had been engaged in it should be immediately withdrawn, this latter proposition was agreed to; and the Assembly further determined to send a Committee to Schweidnitz to report on the subject.

It was also decided by a large majority that the Minister of War[65] should issue a proclamation to the Army, desiring the Officers to refrain from all reactionary endeavours, and not only to avoid all conflict with the Citizens but to make approaches to them for the purpose of proving their sincere intention of supporting the new order of things, and an amendment was likewise agreed to by a majority of only one to the effect that those Officers who would not agree to this should be compelled as a point of honour to leave the Army.

I have since learnt that the Government intend to take no notice of the decision thus come to by the Assembly.

A discussion then took place on the subject of the powers granted to the New Police Force,[66] and it was proposed to bring in a Law the effect of which would be to diminish the powers entrusted to them. The Minister of the Interior[67] stated that the powers given to this new force were almost entirely the same as those which the former

[64] Karl Rollas du Rosey.
[65] Ludwig Freiherr von Roth von Schreckenstein.
[66] Cf. n. 62 in this section.
[67] Friedrich von Kühlwetter.

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executive Authorities possessed and that any attempt to diminish them would paralize the effect they were intended to produce.

The motion was consequently rejected by a Majority of fifty one in favour of the Ministers.

FO 64/289: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 325, Berlin, 4 September 1848

Proceedings in the Prussian National Assembly with respect to its resolution on reactionary endeavours of officers; discussion of the conduct of the army

In my despatch No 299 of the 10th ultimo I reported to Your Lordship a resolution[68] passed by the National Assembly that the Minister of War[69] should issue a proclamation to the Army desiring the Officers to abstain from all reactionary endeavours and urging it as a point of honour upon those whose conscience did not permit them to do so, to quit the Army.

In the sitting of the Assembly this morning a communication with reference to this Resolution addressed by the Ministry of State to the President[70] was read to the Chamber. In this communication signed by all the Ministers it is stated that the general bearing and conduct of the Officers has been most praiseworthy and patriotic, but that when exceptions have occurred they have formed the subject of enquiries and reprimands; that the Minister of War had given directions to the Commanding Officers to counteract all tendencies on the part of the Officers or men either of a Reactionary or Republican nature in opposition to the Constitutional Institutions of the Country which the Army was called upon to defend and which the Ministers were determined to uphold; but that the Government did not consider that such a general proclamation as that proposed by the Chamber would be calculated to meet the object the Chamber had in view; that it would on the contrary engender distrust in the Army and would be subversive of all discipline; it would therefore be advisable to leave it to the Minister of War to choose the means which he might think most advisable in order to obtain that object.

Notwithstanding, the conciliatory character of this Declaration, a Deputy of the extreme left, Mr Stein, converted an interpellation which he had announced on the subject into a motion calling upon the Minister of War to carry the former resolution of the Chamber into effect with a view to tranquillize the country and prevent a conflict

[68] *Steinscher Antrag* of 9 August 1848, cf. p. 127.
[69] Ludwig Freiherr von Roth von Schreckenstein
[70] Wilhelm Grabow. The resolution was dated 2 September 1848.

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with the Assembly; the Chamber decided by a Majority of 50 upon giving this question precedence over the other orders of the day, whereupon Mr Stein stated that he founded his motion upon the reactionary spirit which existed amongst a portion of the Officers who endeavoured to bring about a restoration of the former order of things and who sheltered themselves behind the Minister of War who they were convinced would not issue orders similar to those which had been given to the civil Authorities by the Minister of the Interior.[71]

This assertion brought forth a vigorous reply from the Minister of the Interior who observed that there was a wide distinction between the Civil Authorities who were deliberating bodies, and the Army which had only to obey, and that the instructions which he had issued only related to any acts on the part of Officers of the Civil Service, which might be directed against the constitutional Institutions of the Country, and by no means to their sentiments with which he had no concern.

A Deputy[72] then moved the adjournment of the discussion till the 7th instant, which was eventually carried by a majority of 14 votes, not however before considerable warmth had been shewn by the Deputy[73] who seconded the adjournment, and by the one[74] who opposed it. The former declared that he was perfectly satisfied with the explanation of the Ministers; that the Resolution the Chamber had adopted on the occasion alluded to was a moral inquisition, and had excited general indignation in the Country, and that it would be an unheard of course in Parliamentary Annals, to force its execution upon the Government, such a proceeding would be to declare the omnipotence of the Chamber, whereas it was only convoked to concert the Constitution with the Crown.

The latter Deputy on the other hand, said that the resolution was called for by the bloody conflict which had taken place at Schweidnitz,[75] that the Ministers ought not to withhold from the Army the Right of Association, and that the least they could do would be to execute the decision of the Chamber, in order to put down the spirit of opposition in the Army, and should they not do so, he threatened that neither he nor his friends would take any part in the Proceedings.

It would appear that the extreme Left in the Chamber are determined to make strenuous efforts to overthrow the Ministers,

[71] Friedrich von Kühlwetter. The orders mentioned were issued on 14 July 1848 and were directed against the disloyal conduct of civil servants.

[72] Hans Victor von Unruh.

[73] Peter Reichensperger.

[74] Benedikt Waldeck.

[75] For the incident at Schweidnitz cf. p. 127.

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and have chosen this question as the point of their attack, hoping thereby to enlist on their side the Passions of the Populace.

It is only fair that I should on this occasion bear testimony to the exemplary conduct of the Prussian Army which has distinguished itself by the submission and obedience which it has shewn as well as by its strict attention to discipline under the very trying circumstances in which it has been placed since the revolution of March, bearing with remarkable patience the endless misrepresentations and insults proceeding from a Party whose object seems to be the disorganisation of that force, which constitutes the main reliance of the Country against Foreign Enemies and Internal disorder.

FO 64/290: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 370, Berlin, 16 October 1848

King's birthday; declaration by Prussian National Assembly that the constitution should be jointly agreed to by the King and the Assembly

Yesterday being His Majesty's Birthday, the King and Queen[76] accompanied by the Prince and Princess of Prussia[77] and other Members of the Royal Family, came into Berlin from Potsdam and attended Divine Service in the Cathedral.

His Majesty afterwards proceeded to the Palace of Bellevue outside the Gates of the Town and received the Deputations from the National Assembly from the Burgher Guard and from the Municipal and other Authorities who came to congratulate Him on the occasion. To the Address of the President[78] of the National Assembly His Majesty replied by exhorting the Chamber to advance in the important work of the formation of the Constitution and by expressing his hope that the result of its labours would conduce to the welfare and prosperity of the Country. At the conclusion of his speech he remarked, with reference to the erasure of the denomination of 'By the Grace of God' in his title, that all Authority came by the Grace of God, that of the Assembly as well as His own.[79]

The Commandant of the Burgher Guard[80] having combined with his felicitations the assurance that that Body would uphold

[76] Elisabeth Ludovika.
[77] Wilhelm and Augusta.
[78] Wilhelm Grabow.
[79] Friedrich Wilhelm's comment was a reaction to the resolution taken by the Prussian National Assembly on 12 October to delete the phrase 'by the Grace of God' from the preamble to the constitution.
[80] Otto Rimpler.

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the resolution of the National Assembly[81] and maintain order and tranquillity in the Town, His Majesty said that He trusted the Burgher Guard would remember that it was he who gave it its Arms, and would make a good use of them.

The Royal Family was well received on alighting at the Cathedral. The Revolutionary Party had, however, convoked a Popular Assembly at the usual place of meeting[82] which is but a short distance off the Palace of Bellevue, but at an unusually early hour, the language held at this meeting which was not very numerous, was openly in favour of the immediate establishment of the Republick, and the carriage of a Deputy who was on his way to the King's reception was stopped as it was passing at a trot and partially destroyed by the mob, the Deputy being forced to continue his route on foot. The usual dinner given by the Minister for Foreign Affairs[83] to the Diplomatick Corps was on this occasion omitted.

The National Assembly resumed today the consideration of the Project of Constitution and came to an important vote on the question whether the Constitution should be declared to be concerted by the King with the Assembly or merely decided by the Assembly, that is to say, whether the Constitution, as proposed by the Chamber, should be absolutely obligatory on His Majesty. Two of the Members[84] of the Left proposed that the Preambles should be as follows 'We Frederick William (title to be inserted) make known hereby the Constitution decided upon by the Representatives of the People.' The arguments adduced in favour of this motion were grounded on the Sovereignty of the People represented by the Assembly; those against it upon the Electoral Law of the 8th of April last[85] by which the Assembly was convoked in order to concert the Constitution with the Crown and upon the necessity of the maintenance of the balance of Power in the State.

General Pfuel in opposing the motion stated that it was his duty to uphold in the most formal manner the right of the Crown to take into consideration the resolutions of the Assembly concerning the Constitution with a view to their acceptation or rejection, but he afterwards explained that his meaning was that such mutual propositions should be exchanged between the crown and the

[81] On 13 October 1848 the Prussian National Assembly passed a law (*Bürgerwehrgesetz*, published 17 October 1848) which made the militia a state organization. After this date, the militia's task was 'to protect constitutional freedom and the legal order' and to take part in defending the national territory.

[82] The inn *Unter den Zelten* in the Berlin *Tiergarten* had been the protest movement's meeting place since 6 March 1848.

[83] August Graf von Dönhoff.

[84] Georg Jung and Ernst Gustav Mätze.

[85] Cf. pp. 116–117.

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Assembly until an understanding was effected. The Ministers of the Interior and Finance[86] both gave assurances of the anxiety of the Government to arrive at such an understanding and the former remarked that the King had already given a proof of his wish to redeem His promise of a Constitution on the broadest basis by granting universal suffrage for the election of the existing Assembly. The motion was negatived after a lengthened Debate by a Majority of 106, and the following formula proposed by a Member of the Centre[87] was adopted by a Majority of 241, 'We Frederick William (title) hereby make known the Constitution, settled by the Representatives of the People in concert with Us'; after the pretensions which have been put forward in the Chamber, the result of this Vote may be considered to be fully as favourable as could have been expected, only 110 Members having voted for the recognition of the principle of the Sovereignty of the Chamber in regard to the formation of the Constitution.

A few days ago the Workmen at a Canal within the walls of the Town destroyed a Steam Engine, since which, detachments of Burgher Guards have been placed in the neighbourhood to maintain Order and protect the manufactories near the spot and which the workmen had threatened to destroy on account of the employment of Steam. Today a conflict took place between the Burgher Guards and the same workmen in which the former, being attacked, made use of their firearms; the workmen were likewise partially armed and five Persons, amongst whom a Captain of the Burgher Guard, were killed and a larger number wounded on both sides.

FO 64/290: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 389, Berlin, 1 November 1848

Proceedings at the Democratic Congress; resolution of Prussian National Assembly calling on the Frankfurt central power to protect popular freedom in Austria; Assembly besieged by the mob

Although the Congress of German Democrats[88] has not answered all the objects for which it was convoked, it has succeeded in exciting considerable agitation on the subject of the Events at Vienna which it selected as best calculated to produce that effect.[89] On Sunday the 29th ultimo it organised a very numerously attended popular Assembly at

[86] Franz August Eichmann and Gustav von Bonin.

[87] Friedrich Wilhelm Alexander Riel.

[88] The Second Congress of German Democrats, attended by just under 240 deputies, was held from 26 to 31 October 1848 in Berlin. Its main feature was a growing split between the political and the social democrats. Attempts to establish a democratic party failed.

[89] For the events at Vienna cf. pp. 419–422.

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which the People were called upon to urge the King and Government to send succours to the Inhabitants of Vienna whose liberties were in jeopardy; and as it was to Kings that the disasters of that capital were owing, the People were likewise told that they ought to give their lives and substance for the establishment of a Republick in Prussia.

In consequence of these speeches, two of the Speakers[90] have been arrested. On the following day the congress published an Address to the People,[91] which was placarded in the Streets of Berlin calling upon them to espouse the cause of the town of Vienna, and, in connexion with this Address, Mr Waldeck and other Members of the Left demanded of the National Assembly to hold an extraordinary sitting that evening for the purpose of discussing a motion of theirs relative to the same subject. The Chamber, however, decided not to do so, but to take the question into consideration in the evening Sitting of the 31st of October which was to be set apart for interpellations. In the mean time, the Members of the Congress and their Associates in the National Assembly did not relax their activity. In the name of the Democratic Club of the Burgher Guards and others, they yesterday morning summoned a large Assembly on one of the Squares of the Town[92] which marched in a procession, composed of several thousand Persons with red flags, through the principal Streets, for the purpose of presenting a petition to the National Assembly demanding that it should come to the aid of the People of Vienna.

The Petition having been delivered to Mr d'Ester, one of the Deputies and at the same time a Member of the Directing Committee of the Democratic Congress, the Assemblage remained on the Square,[93] in which the Theatre where the Chamber meets is situated, during the remainder of the Sitting, and for some time afterwards listening to the harangues of mob Orators who spoke from the Steps of the Theatre and who stated that if the Government did not consent to send troops or to authorize the formation of free Corps to assist Vienna, the payment of the taxes should be refused. The Mob, before dispersing, agreed to assemble on the same spot during the evening Sitting of the Chamber which was to commence at 5 o'clock.

On the opening of that Sitting Mr Waldeck brought forward his motion which was as follows 'that the Government should be called upon immediately to employ all the means and force at the disposal of the State for the protection of the Freedom of the People endangered

[90] August Silberstein and Conrad Senin.

[91] Proclamation made by the Congress of Democrats, 29 October 1848: *An das deutsche Volk*.

[92] *Alexanderplatz*.

[93] *Gendarmenmarkt*.

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at Vienna.' The motives which were assigned for this motion were that an Army composed in part of barbarous hordes had been marched against the Austrian Capital in despite of the Representations of the People and at the bidding of the Camarilla for the destruction of Liberty. This motion was rejected by a Majority of 118 votes, but an amendment proposed by Mr Rodbertus, a Member of the Left Centre, was adopted by the large Majority of 209 calling upon the Government 'to make prompt and energetic application to the Central Power of Germany in order that efficient and virtual Protection might be afforded to popular freedom which was in danger in the German Territories of Austria, as well as to the Imperial Assembly, the existence of which was menaced.' An Amendment, which was supported by the Right, merely calling upon the Government 'to take steps at Frankfort so as to prevent any danger to Liberty and German Nationality arising out of the events at Vienna', had previously been rejected by a Majority of 17. The arguments of Mr Waldeck's supporters were only a development of the motives I have reported. But few members of the Right spoke; they contended that a wrong view had been taken of the origin of the events which had led to the Military operations commenced against Vienna and that whatever steps were to be taken to avert any dangers to freedom should be adopted by the Central Power at Frankfort which was charged with the general affairs of Germany. These members were evidently under the influence of the intimidation of the mob outside the House; and it was no doubt under the same impression that a considerable number of them who had spoken against Mr Rodbertus's motion afterwards voted for it.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Dönhoff, read extracts from the Emperor of Austria's Proclamation of the 22nd October[94] to prove that His Majesty had no intention of withdrawing the liberties he had granted to His Subjects, and from the Instructions already given by the Central Power to the Commissioners who had already been sent to Austria to bring about a Pacification.[95] The Minister of Finance[96] adverted in a few words to the state of Anarchy and Lawlessness existing at Vienna and to the illegal position in which the Imperial Assembly had placed itself after the secession of so large a portion of its Members.

[94] In his speech, Dönhoff referred to the proclamation issued by the Austrian Emperor on 19 October 1848 in Olmütz. On 22 October the Emperor made a similar promise in another proclamation, which also transferred the Austrian Imperial Diet to Kremsier.

[95] On 12 October 1848 Karl Theodor Welcker and Johann Ludwig Mosle were sent to Austria as commissioners for 'all the Austrian areas of the German federal state'. However, the Austrian civil and military authorities did not recognize their authority.

[96] Gustav von Bonin.

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The debate was remarkable for the extraordinary violence of the language employed by the Members of the Left who asserted that the maintenance of Liberty at Berlin depended upon the decision which the Chamber should take. At its close, one of the Authors[97] of Mr Rodbertus's motion, for which the Left also voted, announced that he should enquire on Friday next what the Government had done in execution of the Resolution passed by the Chamber.

It is now necessary that I should relate what was passing outside the Chamber.

By the time it met large crowds had collected round the building bearing red flags; an hour afterwards they encreased to the amount of several thousand Persons who occupied the whole Square and for some hours rendered all entrance into the Assembly Room or egress out of it impossible, the several doors being besieged and guarded by Individuals who bore torches and uttered threats of violence against the Deputies who should not vote as they wished. During the whole of the Sitting the shouts of the Populace outside were heard within the Assembly, whilst the agitation of the Mob and the flaring of the torches were seen through the windows. A Member of the Corps Diplomatique who managed to effect an entrance being taken for a Deputy was menaced with being hung by the Populace unless he should act as they dictated. All access from without either to the Members of the Assembly or to the Ministers was prevented; an attempt was made from the Foreign Office to communicate to Count Dönhoff the arrival of the telegraphic despatch announcing the submission of Vienna; a servant from that Department was entrusted with this communication; he was seized by the Mob as he entered one of the doors of the Building, the despatch he was the bearer of was taken from him and opened, a rope was put round his neck and it was only partly by his own struggles, and afterwards by the interference of some Persons who knew him that his life was saved.

The lobbies of the House were occupied by Burgher Guards, but it was not until nine o'clock that the Guards appeared in any force outside, and then they were not sufficiently strong to clear the square effectually or permanently liberate the exits out of the House, the beat of their drums adding only to the many discordant sounds which reached the ears of the Members of the Assembly.

Some of the Deputies and Members of the Diplomatic Corps, who attended the Debate availed themselves of the advance of the Burgher Guards to leave the House, but the Populace having broken through the Ranks of the Burgher Guard and again besieged the outlets; those who remained until the end of the sitting at 10 o'clock were obliged

[97] Philipp von Berg.

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to wait some time longer before they could effect their escape. The Ministers for the most part did so singly. Two of them, the Ministers of the Interior and Finances,[98] together with Mr Howard and Mr Lowther and two other Members of the Diplomatic Corps made their way out by crossing the stage in the Theatre to a side door, and thus were able to leave the House unperceived. General de Pfuel saved himself by placing himself under the protection of two Deputies of the extreme Left. Several Deputies were recognized and insulted and some of the Burgher Guards were wounded by the Mob, in the discharge of their duty. Two Individuals belonging to the latter were likewise severely wounded whilst opposing the Burgher Guards, one of them has since died and this circumstance has produced considerable agitation amongst the workmen against the Burgher Guards. This evening a large Popular Assembly is to be held.

FO 64/290: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 424, Berlin, 29 November 1848

King's refusal to place himself under control of the Frankfurt central power; failure of Gagern's mission

At the reception of the Corps Diplomatique which took place this day as I have reported in my dispatch to Your Lordship N° 423 His Majesty spoke to me of the mission which Monsieur de Gagern had undertaken.[99] He said that this gentleman the President of the Frankfort Assembly had endeavoured to point out to him the advantages which would derive from His Majesty's submission to the Central Power in the arrangements of the affairs of his own Country and also in his assuming the chief direction of the affairs of Germany under the appointment and guidance of the German National Assembly. His Majesty said: 'I told him he was preaching in the desert. That I could not (out of respect to my own people) submit to place myself or them under foreign control, nor could I ever accept a Sovereignty from hands whose right to confer it I never could acknowledge.' With respect to the assumption of a directing position amongst the Sovereigns and Princes of Germany, His Majesty said he

[98] Franz August Eichmann and Gustav von Bonin.

[99] On 23 November Heinrich von Gagern was sent to Berlin to support the deputies Simson and Hergenhahn, who had been sent there as commissioners on 18 November 1848, shortly after the Prussian National Assembly's resolution of 15 November to withhold taxes and the installation of the unpopular Brandenburg cabinet. When it became known that Friedrich Wilhelm IV wanted to impose a constitution, the Frankfurt commissioners were instructed to raise objections. Heinrich von Gagern used the Prussian conflict to promote his ideas for unification on a *kleindeutsch* basis with a hereditary emperor.

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had told Mr de Gagern that if called upon to do so by those Sovereigns and Princes, he would conform himself to their wishes, but he was not of opinion that the time was yet arrived for anything permanent in this matter to be decided upon; that he conceived the best course was to allow what was at present provisionally existing to continue for some time longer. When the affairs of his own Country and of Germany were more settled, when order had been established, it would then be the time to decide upon the best means of securing the true liberty as well as the Unity of the whole Country.

From other Persons to whom His Majesty's sentiments are well known, I have learnt that Mr de Gagern has used every means to persuade Him to withdraw His confidence from his present ministers, and to submit himself to such arrangements with his states as the Central Power could make for Him, one of these propositions made by Mr. Hergenhahn was that the King should wait till the Frankfort Parliament had completed the constitution (which it was said would not be before the middle of January)[100] and then conform himself in all points to the provisions of that constitution and bring back his present chamber to Berlin for the purpose of accepting it.

This proposal, like the rest which have been made from Frankfort, has not been accepted and a project which has been put forward by which Mr de Gagern himself and Mr de Vincke (with whose name your Lordship will already be acquainted) should become the King's ministers replacing Count Brandenburg and his Government (a project which I believe has received encouragement from some of the members of the Royal family) has been crowned with no greater success. [. . .]

FO 64/290: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 440, Berlin, 18 December 1848

Failure of endeavours to induce Prussian government to accede to Bavaria's project for reorganization of the central power; views of King and government on the subject

Your Lordship will have received from Frankfort the detailed reports of the various projects which have been put forward in the South of Germany for the settlement of the form and nature according to which the supreme authority of the Empire should be established and the person or persons by whom that authority should be exercised.

The governments of Bavaria and of Wurtemberg have lately advocated the plan of a Triumvirate of Sovereigns who should form

[100]For the Imperial Constitution cf. n. 81 in Frankfurt section.

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this supreme authority and Mr Klindworth (a Gentleman with whose name Your Lordship will be familiar) was sent here with a strong recommendation from the Bavarian Government to their Minister Count Lerchenfeldt and with a letter from that of Wurtemberg to Count Bülow. The object of Mr. Klindworth, as it had been that of the Prince Charles of Bavaria during his late visit to the Queen,[101] his Sister, was to recommend to the King this project of a triumvirate and Mr Klindworth had several audiences of His Majesty for this purpose. But I learn from Count Bülow that this attempt to change the opinions of the King or of His Government upon this subject was entirely without success. The determination of His Majesty neither to accept any dignity or appointment from the Assembly at Frankfort or to acknowledge the constitution which it is at present elaborating is, I am assured by Count Bülow, not to be changed or modified. The language of His Majesty upon this subject, as reported to Your Lordship in my dispatch No 424, is unaltered.[102] Whenever the Sovereigns of Germany may require a cooperation on his part towards establishing the unity of Germany in which Austria should be included or to which she should be cordially united, He will come forward to give his best assistance and to conform Himself to the general wish which may be expressed, but He will receive no authority from an Assembly alone which He looks upon as seeking to trespass upon the rights of the Sovereigns and Princes of Germany, nor will He acknowledge a constitution the provisions of which He cannot approve, and for the establishment of which without the concurrence of all the governments of the Empire he conceives the Assembly to be unauthorized. Mr. Klindworth left this Capital yesterday and I believe he returns with not other result of his Mission than the conviction that this Government will not for the present enter into any of the arrangements proposed for the establishment of a Supreme authority in Germany nor bind itself by any stipulations upon this subject with other Powers, but that, whenever the time may arrive when such a determination may be come to in conjunction with the other German Sovereigns and with the present Central Power and Assembly at Frankfort, Prussia will be anxious and desirous of cooperating in accordance with Austria, in arriving at such a conclusion as may best conduce to the establishment of a strong united Government of the Empire combined with the wholesome liberty and independence of its different States.

Both Count Brandenburg and Count Bülow regard the propositions of Bavaria and Wurtemberg upon this question as emanating from a feeling of distrust towards Prussia, a feeling which they state to be

[101] Elisabeth Ludovika.
[102] Cf. pp. 136–137.

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totally unmerited, as their opinions with regard to it have been openly declared and they are fully determined not to reverse from them.

Since I began this despatch I have received Your Lordship's dispatch No 258 enclosing one from Lord Cowley No 325[103] in which mention is made of the project of a triumvirate of Sovereigns as one of the plans proposed in Frankfort for the establishment of a supreme authority in Germany and he states at the same time his reasons for objecting to it. These reasons would appear to be conclusive against it, but in addition to them in Prussia both the King and the Government object to the establishment of a supreme authority by the Central Parliament of Frankfort alone or to one which should be clogged and fettered by the constitution that Parliament is about to promulgate.[104] They object to the recognition of a supreme authority emanating from an Assembly of the people and bound by its orders and regulations and more particularly to those dispositions by which it would take from every state in Germany its independence, and the management of its own army or its internal affairs. All these pretensions on the part of a body of men, who have no power but what is derived from Foreign aid, who without such aid would be unable to maintain tranquillity in the capital in which they are assembled, are considered as being out of place and exaggerated.

The Prussian ministers would therefore willingly see them consulting with the governments of Germany, as to the best mode of forming a stronger bond of union than has hitherto existed in Germany, but they demur to their attempt at dictation and to their assumption of supremacy.

Lord Cowley states that 'six months ago the Assembly of Frankfort had incontestably within its hands the fate of the greater part of Germany'. This, while anarchy reigned triumphant in Berlin and Vienna, may to a certain extent have been true, but still in this country, with the exception of a turbulent minority, even the first acts of the Frankfort Assembly were resisted and when, to save its own existence, the Central Power was obliged to call in the troops of Austria and Prussia, it lost even its influence over its turbulent supporters.[105]

By that act its spell was broken with the revolutionary Party, but in return it rendered service to the well intentioned, and might have done so more effectually and have given greater support to the King of Prussia in the measures he took for the reestablishment of order in

[103]Cf. pp. 49–53.
[104]Cf. n. 81 in Frankfurt section.
[105]Cf. pp. 38–39.

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His capital;[106] that it did not do so was owing to its own organization as shown by its vote upon the execution of Mr Robert Blum,[107] and this is one of the main causes why the King of Prussia is not desirous of working in common with it.

The pretentions which it put forward to supreme and dictatorial authority never would have been sanctioned in this country by the army or by the well intentioned or patriotic portion of the population, and I believe it is now quite out of the question that they should be acceded to.

FO 64/298: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 79, Berlin, 15 March 1849

Proceedings in chambers; removal of state of siege from Berlin; arrival of Prokesch on a special mission from the Austrian government

The only interesting subjects which have as yet been decided in the National Assemblies have been the adoption by the Government of a motion made by a violent opposition Member Mr Waldeck for the appointment of a Committee to enquire as to the necessity of maintaining the state of siege in Berlin.[108] This motion responded entirely to what was desired by Count Brandenburgh's administration as it gave them the opportunity of bringing forward the many proofs of which they are in possession, that the democratic Party are prepared to take advantage of any opportunity which, by a relaxation of vigilance on the part of the Government, might be afforded them to renew the scenes of disorder which were only put an end to by the establishment of Military authority in the Town.

The Committee to which this question is referred is favourable to the Government, and it is not likely they will make their report for some time, during which all question as to the State of Siege will be at rest and the Laws which are to secure the Authority to the Government, which will enable them to maintain order, will be passed.

The first Chamber has made considerable progress in the discussion of the Address to His Majesty in answer to His speech on the opening of the present Sessions;[109] and the Committee appointed to draw up

[106]Among the measures were the dissolution of the Berlin militia (*Bürgerwehr*) on 11 November 1848, the declaration of a state of siege on 12 November 1848, the appointment of a new chief of police, and the transfer of the national assembly to Brandenburg and its subsequent dispersal.

[107]Cf. pp. 46–49.

[108]The state of siege in Berlin was declared on 12 November 1848.

[109]The session of the newly constituted and elected chambers of the Prussian *Landtag* was opened by King Friedrich Wilhelm IV on 26 February 1849.

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the Address of the Lower Chamber has terminated its labours and reported the project which it has submitted for adoption.

In both these Addresses the validity of the Constitution[110] granted by His Majesty is recognized, and the strongest expressions of loyalty and gratitude towards Him are expressed. In both of them considerable stress is laid upon the question of German Unity and an anxious desire is expressed, that if the whole of Germany could not be united, that Prussia should use her best efforts to effect a more restricted confederation.

The feeling in favour of attaining a preeminence for Prussia over the smaller States of Germany has been considerably aroused in this capital by the reports received from Frankfort of the notion of Mr Welcker by which the German Constitution was at once to be adopted and the Imperial Crown to be offered to the King.[111]

I understand from Count Brandenburg and Mr Camphausen that the discussion upon this subject is to take place this day at Frankfort is not likely to be carried on as rapidly as it has been supposed, they believe the different articles of the Constitution will be discussed in detail and will occupy considerable time, and the new proposition which has been made by the Austrian Government[112] is likely to lead many members of the Central National Assembly to desire to have sufficient time for taking it into mature consideration.

Monsieur de Prokesch has arrived here on a special Mission from the Austrian Government. I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing him but I understand the language he has held is; that his instructions are to concert upon every point regarding Germany with Prussia, and to direct all his exertions to the fullest cooperation with her to effect the reestablishment of order and of the authority of all the different Governments of the Empire. He states also that he will very little embarrass himself as to the more or less of authority which may accrue either to his Sovereign or to the King of Prussia in the arrangement which may be come to, that he considers all such as of far minor importance to the great object of the suppression of that anarchy with which (more particularly) the south of Germany is at present menaced.

[110] The constitution was imposed by Friedrich Wilhelm IV on 5 December 1848. It was based upon the draft of the Prussian National Assembly, though the King's authority was strengthened by his right to impose an absolute veto and emergency decrees.

[111] Cf. n. 76 in Frankfurt section.

[112] The Austrian proposal of 8 March 1849 for the formation of a new central government provided for a directory of seven under the annually alternating presidency of the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia.

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FO 64/298: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 121, Berlin, 5 April 1849

Discussion in chambers on King's answer to the Frankfurt deputation offering him the imperial crown

In the Second Chamber this day the question of an Address to the King urging His Majesty to reconsider His decision and unconditionally to accept the proffered dignity of Emperor of Germany was again brought forward, and very violent language was employed. Mr de Vincke endeavoured to fix a vote of censure on the Government for having advised the King's answer to the Frankfort deputation,[113] at the same time that he recommended that the Chamber should, before coming to a resolution, await the promised communication in a fortnight of the definitive decision of the Government, but his motion as well as several others proposing various orders of the day and amendments and proceedings from the different fractions of which the Chamber is composed, were successively rejected, and finally the Chamber voted that no Address whatever should be presented to His Majesty.

During the course of the debate the Minister of the Interior M. de Manteuffel in defending the Government stated that he wished that circumstances had enabled them to advise the King at once to accept the offer which had been made to him, but that a due respect for the rights of other Nations had prevented them from doing so and that in counselling His Majesty to follow the dictates of honor and of right, they conceived that they had acted in a truly German spirit.

He likewise observed that neither the present Government nor those Governments which had preceded it, had recognized the Sovereignty of the Frankfort Assembly. The Chamber afterwards adjourned until Thursday next the 12th.

In the first Chamber the question of an Address to the King on the same subject was mooted on the 4th Instant but the Chamber adjourned without having come to any decision.

[113] On 3 April a deputation of 32 deputies from the Frankfurt National Assembly offered the King of Prussia the German imperial crown, in line with their resolution of 28 March 1849. Friedrich Wilhelm's response to the deputation, namely, that he first had to obtain the approval of the German princes, and that the German states had to approve of the Frankfurt Imperial Constitution, amounted to a rejection. In a note dated 28 April 1849, the Prussian government informed the Frankfurt imperial government of its final rejection.

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FO 64/299: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 209, Berlin, 28 May 1849

Close of conferences on German affairs; agreement of Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony to the project of a constitution

The Conferences between the Plenipotentiaries of Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover and Saxony[114] relative to the affairs of Germany were brought to a close yesterday, and a Protocol was drawn up and signed recording their result and the agreement of Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony to the Project of a Constitution formed upon the basis of the one promulgated at Frankfort, but excluding and altering several of its articles and providing for the free consent of the different Governments to promulgate or suppress such other articles of that Constitution as should be found to accord with their present legislation.[115] One of these articles is that regarding the fundamental rights of the People,[116] which having already been established in Saxony will become law in that Country, but not having been so in Hanover, and not being applicable to the state of legislation of that Kingdom will not there be established. Count Brandenburg in speaking of this general arrangement of the affairs of this part of Germany characterized it as being merely a sort of alliance between the Governments which took part in it, for the purpose of meeting the disturbed state of a great part of Germany, and therefore that, considered in this sense it could not be looked upon as militating against the rights of Austria or any other Power, that the King of Prussia merely became Reichsvorstand and Chief-Director of the military movements of the troops of those States which formed a compact with him, and as it was only provisional, there was nothing to prevent hereafter more extensive arrangements. Count Brandenburg stated that the Constitution and Electoral Law[117] would appear in the Gazette either tomorrow or the next day, but that no time was yet fixed for the Assembly of the Chambers or for carrying into effect the elections; one article of the constitution would however immediately

[114] Participants of the conferences from 17 to 26 May were Radowitz, Lerchenfeld, Stüve, and Beust.

[115] In the treaty of 26 May 1849 (Three Kings' Alliance), Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover committed themselves to working towards the establishment of a *kleindeutsch* federal state (excluding Austria) under the leadership of Prussia. The interim constitution agreed on 28 May 1849 – based on the Frankfurt Imperial Constitution of 28 March 1849 – was to be revised by a future constituent assembly. Twenty-eight German states joined the union, also known as the Erfurt Union because of the seat of the planned diet; eight states, including Austria, Bavaria and Württemberg, did not.

[116] For the Frankfurt Basic Rights cf. n. 62 in Frankfurt section.

[117] Cf. the following dispatch.

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be put into operation which provided for the establishment of a tribunal for the punishment of acts against the State, and this Tribunal would be established at Erfurt.[118] Count Brandenburg informed me that 60,000 Prussian troops were now on their march and in the early days of next month would be assembled at Wetzlar and Kreutznach, and would be in a position to move to the assistance of the Southern States of Germany who might call for their support.

Count Lerchenfeld the Bavarian Plenipotentiary has signed the Protocol mentioned in the early part of this despatch, but under the reservation of the future approbation of his Government from which he had not yet received the authorisation to do so.

FO 64/299: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 216, Berlin, 31 May 1849

New electoral law for second chamber

I have the honor of enclosing herewith Copy in Duplicate of the State Gazette published this evening containing a new Law for the Election of the Deputies of the Second Prussian Chamber dated the 30th Instant, and an ordinance of the same date issued by His Prussian Majesty directing that the new Elections for that Chamber should take place on the 17th of July next and convoking both the Chambers for the 7th of August.[119]

These documents are preceded by a report of the Ministers to His Majesty of the 29th Instant, stating that experience had proved the necessity of a modification of the Electoral Law of the 6th of December last,[120] relative to the 2nd Chamber, that they had hoped to have concluded their arrangements for the introduction of the new Law, so as to be able to assemble the Chambers within the period appointed by the Constitution, but that the disturbances which had broken out in some parts of the Country had impeded those arrangements and they were therefore forced to propose the delay of six weeks for the elections and the convocation of the Chambers respectively.[121]

[118] The establishment of an arbitration tribunal was agreed by Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover on 26 May. It was to be set up in Erfurt by 1 July 1849 at the latest.

[119] Enclosure: *Preußischer Staatsanzeiger*, No 148, 1 June 1849. After the second chamber was dissolved on 27 April, the new electoral law was introduced on 30 May by emergency decree.

[120] Electoral Law for the second chamber, 6 December 1848; it retained the universal and equal suffrage introduced in April 1848.

[121] In the case of dissolution of one of the chambers, the constitution provided for new elections to be held within forty days, and the reconvening of both chambers within sixty days.

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The Electoral Law thus promulgated is based on the project of German Law[122] (a précis of which was transmitted in my Despatch No 214) its provisions go however beyond those of the latter, for according to them every independent Prussian who has completed his 24th year and who is in the full possession of Civil rights is entitled to a vote in the Parish where he has resided for 6 months provided he does not receive assistance as a Pauper out of the Publick Funds.

The primary Electors are, as in the German Law, to be divided into three Sections according to the rates of direct Taxes they may pay, in such manner that each Section shall represent one third of the total amount of Taxes to be paid by the Primary Electors; but in the third Section, composed of those who pay the least amount of Taxes, are also included those who pay no Taxes at all. Each section is to elect one third of the Electors. The number of Deputies for the Second Chamber will continue the same namely 350. As this Electoral Law for Prussia has only appeared this evening I can only remark that it has created a feeling of much dissatisfaction in the representatives of the other German States at present in Berlin, since a Census for the Electors of the lowest class is not required by it, and only a residence of six months; while in the Electoral Law proposed for the whole of Germany no Elector of the same class can vote unless he has been a resident in his Parish for three years and pays a direct tax to the state.

There is also a difference of one in favor of the Prussian Electors who become entitled to vote at 24 years of age, while those for Germany only become so at 25.

The remark made upon these differences in the two Electoral Laws is that the rest of Germany will be dissatisfied and perhaps refuse to accept a Law which is less liberal than the one the King of Prussia has felt bound to adopt for his own subjects.

FO 64/300: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 255, Berlin, 2 July 1849

Conference on the question of a central government; views and opinions on the subject

The conference which I reported to Your Lordship, in my Despatch No 253, was established with the view of forming a Central Power for Germany to replace the present Vicar of the Empire,[123] and in

[122] Cf. n. 115 in this section. In contrast to Westmorland's account, the Erfurt Union's electoral law of 28 May was based on the forthcoming Prussian electoral law, not vice versa.

[123] Archduke Johann.

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which M. de Pfordten and Baron Prokesch took part with Monsieur de Radowitz and Count Bulow, is not likely to arrive at any result.[124]

The last proposition which was put forward by the Bavarian Government (according to which the provisional Central authority should be taken for six Months by Austria and Prussia, but the military direction of the forces of the Empire given up to the latter, and the power of naming a third person conceded to the four Kings of the Empire[125] but whose nomination was not for the present to be carried into effect) has been rejected by the Prussian Government, unless the general principles upon which the Prussian League[126] is formed was assented to by Austria and the intention of continuing to negotiate with the Governments of Germany for its extension consented to.

The Austrian Government in pursuance of the policy it has announced in its correspondence with the Prussian Government upon the formation of this league, a correspondence which I learn from Lord Cowley he has transmitted to Your Lordship, has declined to adhere to this demand and therefore, for the present, the proposition is not likely to be adopted.

M. de Pfordten, who had put forward the proposal, has addressed a Note to Count Brandenburg requesting a final answer as to whether it will be accepted or not, and if it should be in the negative he will immediately return to Munich.

In connexion with this subject the question as to whether the Archduke should continue to be recognized as the existing Central Power has been brought into discussion by Prussia. Lord Cowley has reported to Your Lordship the answer sent by Count Brandenburg to the communication transmitted to him upon this subject, to Prince Wittgenstein and which states the adherence to a determination already expressed no longer to recognize the Central Power as it at present exists; Count Brandenburg in his statements to me has not gone quite so far, declaring only that he neither recognized the Archduke's power for peace or War nor the direction of the Military power of the Empire, but that he continued to recognize it as being charged with all matters relating to the custody and superintendence of the Fortresses of the Empire. He conceived the Archduke had this power as delegated by the representatives of the Empire in the Diet, who made it over to him at Frankfort at the period of his nomination, but the other powers were limited by the National Assembly to a concurrence with them and to the cooperation of Ministers who were responsible to them; and, since this National Assembly no longer

[124] The conference, called by the Bavarian foreign minister, started on 27 June in Berlin.
[125] The Kings of Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, and Hanover.
[126] Cf. n. 115 in this section.

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exists, Count Brandenburg considers those powers to be extinguished. I do not believe these distinctions were made in the communication to Prince Wittgenstein, but it is the statement made to me by Count Brandenburg; it is however so slight a recognition that it may probably, upon a fitting occasion, be lost sight of.

The Prussian Government feels the great extent of power it has lately gained by the successes of its arms against the Anarchy with which Germany was menaced, and it is desirous of profiting by the advantages thus established to secure a commanding influence, and without the attainment of this object it will hardly consent to any reconstruction of a Central Power.

Austria on the other hand as well as Bavaria, and probably Wurtemberg, will decline to agree to the great extension of a Power which would go far to annihilate their own, and to which their people are generally understood to be disinclined; so that in lieu of the Unity of Germany, which was represented as the universal desire of the Empire, two opposing influences may probably be established.

By many persons of much influence in Prussia this is considered an arrangement called for naturally by the tendencies of the Northern and Southern populations, and it is accompanied by the desire that a strict union should be established between the two Powers into which Germany would thus be divided; but others are influenced by the fear that two such Powers will be drawn into opposition to each other, and by seeking alliances and connecting themselves with foreign powers expose Germany, as was the case in the early period of the French revolutionary War and in the wars of the Emperor Napoleon, to be torn to pieces by Foreign armies. To persons holdings these opinions the danger to Germany of a separation and antagonism between Austria and Prussia, by which its different component States would be drawn into adverse lines of policy, is looked upon with great alarm, and they seek to enforce the maxims inculcated by the late King in the latter and prosperous years of his reign, that Germany could only enact the part assigned to it, as the great conservative power, of the centre of Europe, by a strict union between Austria and Prussia connected with and supporting the other States of the Empire, and securing to them by their influence and power an independence from all foreign interference. These persons state themselves to be perfectly aware of the altered position of many of the smaller German States, in consequence of the late revolutionary movements during which the inability of their Governments to maintain their authority has been proved, they therefore approve the formation and extension of the Prussian League by which the influence of their country will be increased and the better Government of those States secured, but they desire that in so doing Prussia should act upon a principle which

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might not disconnect her from any part of Germany or from Austria, so that the whole Empire may remain united, and the anxious hope of the great majority of the population be thus carried out.

P.S. Since writing this despatch I have learnt from M. de Pfordten that his Sovereign the King of Bavaria withdraws all pretention to the nomination of a third person in the provisional Central Power he had proposed and that he is satisfied to leave the formation of that Power entirely in the hands of Austria and Prussia.

FO 64/301: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 283, Berlin, 19 July 1849

Conversation with Brandenburg on Prussia's role in German affairs

There are not at present any discussions going on at Berlin as to the future Head of the German Empire, the negotiations with the different States who propose to enter into the Prussian League,[127] are those which at present occupy the attention of the Prussian Government and of those Governments which have formed an alliance with it.

I told Count Brandenburg, in reference to Your Lordship's despatch No 183,[128] that, although Her Majesty's Government would not wish to take any direct or active part in the discussions going on as to the great question of German Unity, you had transmitted to me some observations upon that subject, and that you thought if Germany was to be organized upon a principle of union, it should be under the leadership of Prussia, but entering into the closest alliance with Austria for all purposes of common defence.

Count Brandenburg observed that this project, which had also been put forward in the Frankfort Assembly by M. de Gagern and his party,[129] would be acceptable to Prussia and would offer the advantages contemplated by Your Lordship, but that the Prussian Government would not attempt to obtain it by driving Austria out of the connexion she had maintained for centuries with Germany and which at present was secured to her by treaty,[130] that if they did so they would not have the support of either Hanover or Saxony of Bavaria or of Wurtemberg, and that they might be left without allies except some of the smaller States and that party in Germany who had put forward the plan at Frankfort, and who, however respectable, had not shewn sufficient

[127] Cf. n. 115 in this section.
[128] For Palmerston's dispatch of 13 July 1849 cf. pp. 11–12.
[129] Cf. n. 68 in Frankfurt section.
[130] Act of the German Confederation of 8 June 1815.

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power, in relation to the more violent partizans with whom they had been associated, to be reckoned upon as affording any real or effective support.

That even if the King of Prussia was inclined to adopt such an alliance it would not be a proper position for him to assume, but if Austria was brought to agree to that project, and if she would allow her German Provinces to form a part of the German Confederation organized upon the principle above enunciated, there could be no doubt that it would place Prussia in a commanding position and might in every way be advantageous. Count Brandenburg stated that he felt the great duty of a Prussian Minister at the present moment was to endeavour to secure to his country some years of tranquillity and repose undisturbed by any contentions with Foreign Powers, so that it might consolidate the organization it had received, and repair the losses, both individual and public, it had suffered from the revolutionary disturbances it had passed through.

That the events of last year had proved that the worst enemy the country had to contend against was the party of Anarchy which for a time had overthrown the Government, and was still ready to seize upon any difficulties in which it might be placed to renew its desperate attempts. He hoped therefore that whatever final settlement should take place as to the organization of Germany it would be arrived at by mutual concession and friendly arrangement with Austria and the other States of the Empire, while it would guarantee to Prussia that high position which the eminent services she had lately rendered to the common Fatherland, as well as her own strength and power gave Her a right to pretend to and to require.

FO 64/302: Henry Howard to Viscount Palmerston, No 9, Berlin, 22 August 1849

Prussia's amendment of Biegeleben's plan for establishment of a central power for Germany; efforts to hasten convocation of the Erfurt Union Diet; Saxon and Hanoverian attitude towards the Diet

Besides the alteration proposed by the Prussian Government in M. de Biegeleben's plan for the establishment of a new Provisional Central Power for Germany,[131] as reported in the Earl of Westmorland's Despatch No 341 of the 18th Instant, the Prussian Cabinet has inserted, in Article 3, an amendment providing that the formation of the Federal State shall more particularly be left open as a subject of agreement amongst the Several States; whereas the more general phrase of the

[131] Cf. pp. 75–76.

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'Question of the German Constitution' was alone employed in the original Project with a view to obviate the objections likely to be entertained at Vienna to an express mention of the Federal State.

Baron Schleinitz has, however, stated that these amendments are not to be considered as the final decision of the Prussian Cabinet and that he will be ready to listen to Counterproposals.

M. de Biegeleben accordingly left Berlin on the 20th for Munich, whence he will proceed to Gastein to confer with the Archduke Administrator of the Empire,[132] & afterwards to Vienna.

Whilst the Prussian Government thus shows a much greater disposition than it did a few weeks ago to promote the establishment of a new Provisional Central Power, feeling no doubt the inconveniences resulting from the present state of things, and whilst it continues to wish for a cordial understanding with Austria, it is steadily pursuing the object of the formation of a Federal State within the Confederation, and there is a powerful Party both in and out of the Chambers which presses it to hasten the period of the Convocation of the Imperial Diet,[133] although no formal motion to that effect has yet been made.

This is the Party, of which M. de Gagern is generally considered to be the head and which is represented in the Prussian Chambers by Messieurs Camphausen, Simson, Beckerath, Count Schwerin and other former Members of the Frankfort Parliament, to whom a considerable number of East Prussian and Rhenish Deputies have associated themselves and with whom M. de Radowitz and one or two other Persons attached to the Government are believed to be, more or less, connected.

The original motto of this party was the Unity of Germany, but it may fairly be assumed, particularly after the speech of M. Camphausen,[134] reported in Lord Westmorland's No 327, that its more exclusively Prussian Elements have the Establishment of Prussian Supremacy over as large a part of Germany as possible still more at heart, otherwise they would not insist on conditions which are not calculated to bring about that Unity. However these Politicians have not lost sight of their original plan of combining all Germany, with the Exception of Austria, under the Presidency of Prussia and this is evidently one of their principal objects in urging the speedy convocation of the Diet, for, by holding out to the German Party in Bavaria and Wurtemberg (which in some cases is synonymous with the Democratick Party) the attraction of a large

[132] Archduke Johann.

[133] For the Erfurt Diet cf. notes 148 and 156 in this section.

[134] In his speech in the upper chamber on 9 August 1849 Camphausen stressed the necessity of Prussia's supremacy in Germany and German affairs.

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Assembly of Representatives of the German People, they may hope to exercise a moral coercion over the Sovereigns and Governments of those countries who consider the Prussian Project of Constitution[135] to be incompatible, in its present form, with their independence and injurious to their national interests. At all events they may expect that the measure which they advocate will oblige those States, which still hang back, to pronounce themselves one way or the other; and that then the formation of a Federal State, of a greater or less extent, may be immediately proceeded with. The men whose names I have mentioned all enjoy the reputation of being highly conscientious and honorable, but it would not be to be wondered at if, amongst the Members of their Party who played so prominent a part in the Frankfort Parliament, but who were ultimately outstripped by their bolder and more unscrupulous Colleagues in that Assembly, some were to be found who are desirous of attaining in the future Government of the projected association of States that position which, with the support of the vast resources of Prussia, would enable them to carry out their views of German Policy.

However this may be, should the Chambers now sitting press the Convocation of the Imperial Diet, the Prussian Government, notwithstanding its wish to allow full time for an understanding with the other German Governments, may see itself under the necessity of anticipating the period which it may at first have contemplated for the meeting; indeed I have reason to believe that it is prepared for such a contingency and will act accordingly.

The first step to be taken would be to call upon those Governments which have not hitherto acceded to the Alliance to declare their intentions, and the next to organize the Elections. But all measures relating to the Assembly of the Imperial Diet come within the province of the Council of Administration of the Alliance[136] and there the opposition of the Saxon and Hanoverian Governments would first have to be vanquished unless the Prussian Cabinet should itself take the initiative in the matter. Those Governments are averse to a convocation of the Diet until some understanding should have been arrived at with Austria, the continuance of which in Germany, after a connexion of so many centuries, they consider to be of such vital importance. On the occasion of the conclusion of the Convention of the 26th of May they both reserved to themselves the right of further negotiations and of a revision of the project of Constitution, if the

[135] Cf. n. 115 in this section.

[136] The council of administration (*Verwaltungsrat*) in Berlin was established by the Three Kings' Alliance of 26 May 1849. Until the Union's constitution came into force, it was the highest organ of the Union, and all member states were represented in it.

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discussions that were to take place should only lead to the formation of a North and Middle German Association, and if Bavaria should not join the League before the assembly of a German Diet. Moreover Saxony expressly reserved the sanction of her Chambers.

The consent, therefore, of the Saxon and Hanoverian Governments to the Convocation would greatly depend upon the feeling which may be manifested in their respective Countries and it is perhaps too early to be able to form a correct judgement on the subject; particularly previous to the approaching discussions in the Prussian Chambers on the German Question which will not be without their influence, in one sense or the other, on publick opinion in other parts of Germany.

In general, however, I find the opinion accredited that Saxony and Hanover having once signed the Project of Constitution, may find it carry out their reserves to their full extent. At all events, so numerous must be the preparations previous to the Convocation of the German Diet, that it appears that a considerable time must elapse before it can meet, and one of the conditions of its Assembly must be the prorogation of the Prussian Chambers.

On the 24th Instant the Documents and correspondence relative to the German Negotiations will be laid by the Prussian Government before the First Chamber and on the following day before the Second Chamber. General de Radowitz is named Government Commissary for the discussions in the Chambers on these Questions.

FO 64/303: Henry Howard to Viscount Palmerston, No 79, Berlin, 2 October 1849

Arrangement between Austria and Prussia for the creation of a new provisional central power

Intelligence has been received here this day that the long pending arrangement for the creation of a new Provisional Central Power for Germany was signed at Vienna on Sunday the 30th ultimo by Prince Schwarzenberg on the part of Austria and by Count Bernstorff on the part of Prussia.[137]

The groundwork of the arrangement remains the same as I have already had the honour of reporting to Your Lordship, but the Austrian Cabinet has so far yielded to the wishes of the Prussian Government

[137] The Austro-Prussian convention of 30 September 1849 settled the authority of the former Vicar of the Empire on an interim basis and installed a four-man federal commission (*Bundeszentralkommission*). The purpose of this measure was to preserve the Confederation's internal and external security and to administer federal property. Although this measure came to an end on 1 May 1850, the federal commission continued to exist until the autumn of 1850.

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as to wave its pretention that the Presidency by Austria of the proposed Imperial Commission should be formally expressed in the Convention; although I imagine that some sort of tacit understanding has been come to that one of the Austrian Members will in point of form have the direction of the Proceedings of the Commission. The Austrian Cabinet has likewise agreed that it shall be left to the option of the various other German States whether they shall send Agents to the Commission, instead of the accrediting of such Agents being established as a Rule as provided by Article V of the Counter Project enclosed in my despatch No 54. No definition is contained in the arrangement as to what is meant by 'The Question of the German Constitution' referred to in Article IV of that Project.[138] The mode which has finally been adopted for the formation of the Board of Arbitration to decide upon differences between the Members of the Imperial Commission varies both from the Austrian Counter Project, and the Prussian Proposals[139] reported in my despatch No 61, in as much as it is to consist in Austria naming one Arbiter, Prussia a second, and in Austria and Prussia agreeing upon the choice of a third.

It appears that it is owing to the conferences which have taken place between the Saxon and Hanoverian Ministers for Foreign Affairs[140] and Prince Schwarzenberg since Mr de Biegeleben left Vienna that the Austrian Cabinet has been induced to make further concessions than were expected from it a few days ago when I wrote my despatch No 73.

I understand that those Ministers have likewise been engaged in discussing with His Highness some general Proposals to be made by Austria on the Constitution of Germany.

In the meantime the Hanoverian and Saxon Plenipotentiaries here will oppose the convocation of the proposed Imperial Diet[141] taken the Question is brought forward on the 5th instant in the Council of Administration of the Alliance[142] and will insist upon the opening

[138]The revised draft of the convention was conveyed to Prussia on 15 September 1849. Article IV provided for the German governments to come to an understanding concerning the extension of the agreement in case no decision had been taken on the constitutional question by 1 May 1850. Prussia applied this provision to the constitution of the Erfurt Union.

[139]In its proposals of 19 September 1849 Prussia suggested that Austria and Prussia should alternate in having the right to name two of the three arbiters. The Austrian draft provided for the three arbiters to be drawn from Bavaria, Hanover, and Saxony (alternating with Württemberg).

[140]Friedrich von Beust; Alexander Levin Graf von Bennigsen.

[141]Cf. notes 148 and 156 in this section. The plenipotentiaries were Friedrich Freiherr von Wangenheim and Heinrich von Zeschau.

[142]Cf. n. 136 in this section.

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of Negociations for a general understanding with all the States of Germany.

It is expected that the conclusion of the arrangement with Austria relative to the reconstruction of the Central Power will occasion some embarrassment to the Prussian Government in the Chambers.

According to the terms already known to Your Lordship the arrangement is to remain in force till the 1st of May 1850.

FO 64/304: Henry Howard to Viscount Palmerston, No 171, Berlin, 15 November 1849

Proceeding of committee of council of administration of the Erfurt Union; Radowitz's views with regard to an understanding with Austria on subject of the German constitution

Hitherto the Committee of the Council of Administration of the Alliance of the 26th of May last,[143] to which the proposals of the Prussian Government for changes in the project of German Constitution were referred, has not made any report on the subject.

Indeed the Members of the Council do not, according to their present disposition, appear to be in any hurry to take a decision concerning those proposals, not that they have been induced, by the late declarations of the Saxon and Hanoverian Governments[144] that they will not accede to a Federal State constituted in the manner proposed, to abandon their intentions in respect to the convocation of the German Parliament, but because they probably consider that there will always be sufficient time, before the meeting of that Body, to settle the necessary alterations, and because they hope in the meantime that the action of Publick Opinion and of the several Representative Assemblies may tend to favour the accession of some of the dissenting States.

In connexion with this subject, I learn that whilst General de Radowitz, who has for some time past directed the policy of the Prussian government on German Affairs, staunchly adheres to the plan of the convocation of the German Parliament and counts upon support in the highest Quarters towards the prosecution of his Views; he at the same time entertaining great hopes of being able, through the position which he will occupy as Member of the new Central

[143] Cf. n. 136 in this section.

[144] In a joint note dated 20 October 1849, Hanover and Saxony resigned from the council of administration of the Erfurt Union. Both states had joined the Union only on the condition that it would include all German states except Austria. They officially withdrew from the Union on 21 February and 24 May 1850.

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Commission[145] for Germany, to bring about an understanding with Austria and to persuade that Power to withdraw its objections to the constitution of Germany into a Federal State and to accept an arrangement based upon a Union with Germany as close as that which existed under the German Confederation amongst the various States composing it. Could such an arrangement with Austria be arrived at, he thinks that an agreement with the other German States would be the natural consequence, should their opposition be not otherwise overcome by the force of circumstances, and so confident does he appear to be in his own Powers of persuasion that he hopes to have accomplished an understanding with Austria before the meeting of the proposed Parliament[146] which he thinks ought not to take place till about the end of February.

On the other hand I understand that General de Radowitz, notwithstanding his eagerness for the formation of a German Federal State, expresses himself as sensible, particularly with reference to the present state of France, of the value of the maintenance of the German Confederation established by the Treaties of 1815[147] although he does not cease to contend that many of the Provisions of the Acts by which it was constituted have lost their legal force.

Some of the accessions of the minor States to the Convention of the 30th of September last for the creation of a New-Central Organ for Germany are still wanting, so that it is not expected that the Federal Commission can be installed much before the end of this month.

FO 64/304: Henry Howard to Viscount Palmerston, Confidential, No 203, Berlin, 2 December 1849

Contradictory reports of Austrian minister having used menacing language to Prussian government on subject of the Erfurt Diet; nature of his language

Reports having been very generally circulated in the Publick Journals that the Austrian Cabinet had held menacing language to the Prussian Government on the subject of its having fixed the 31st of January next for the Elections for the German Parliament and of its intention to convoke that Assembly,[148] I think it right to state that no such language

[145] Cf. n. 137 in this section.

[146] Cf. notes 148 and 156 in this section.

[147] Act of the German Confederation of 8 June 1815 and Act of the Vienna Congress of 9 June 1815.

[148] On 17 November 1849, the council of administration had established that elections to the second chamber of the parliament would be held in January 1850. On the same occasion, Erfurt was fixed as the meeting place.

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has hitherto been employed by the Austrian Minister[149] here in his communications with the Prussian Ministers, nor is it to be found, as I am informed on the best authority, in any of the various despatches of the Austrian Government which have yet been brought under the knowledge of the Prussian Government and which contained refutations of arguments, warnings and representations couched in terms of moderation.

The language which I understand the Austrian Minister has held with reference to the convocation of the Diet is, that, as that measure is resorted to with the avowed purpose, in addition to its other objects, of exercising an influence, or as Mr de Bodelschwing the Prussian Plenipotentiary in the Council of Administration[150] expressed himself, a power of attraction over the other German states which are unwilling to join the proposed Federal State, it will be necessary for the Austrian Government to take measures of precaution to protect the Austrian German Dominions and the rest of Germany from the operation of the agitation which, in its opinion, is likely to be the infallible consequence of the meeting of an Assembly convoked against the will of so many of the States of Germany.

In what the precautionary measures would consist has not been said, but their nature, according to the language of the Austrian Minister, would be defensive not aggressive.

The Prussian Government, on its side, contends, in answer to the various arguments against the Legality of its Proceedings and to the warnings it has received as to their probable dangerous consequences for the tranquillity of Germany, that it considers itself to be justified by the Laws of the Confederation in the course which it has adopted, that it is ready to uphold all the Rights and duties accruing to the Members of the Confederation from those Laws, that it does not foresee the threatened dangers from the Assembly of the Parliament, that it is able to maintain order, and that after the steps it has already taken it cannot do otherwise than proceed with the convocation of the Parliament. To this, amongst other observations, the Austrian Minister replies that Austria cannot admit the exclusive right of Prussia and Her Allies to interpret the Treaties of 1815, and that She claims for Herself and the other German States the maintenance of those Treaties.[151]

[149] Anton Prokesch von Osten.

[150] Cf. n. 136 in this section.

[151] Prussia declared that its union project was a reform of the German Confederation. The right of the Union states to coalesce was derived from article XI of the Federal Act of 1815.

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I understand that on the Russian Minister[152] here communicating to Baron Schleinitz the confidential despatch alluded to in my despatch No 199 of the 30th ultimo, the latter Minister stated that Prussia could not now recede from the course she had adopted with respect to the German Parliament.

Since I addressed your Lordship on the 29th ultimo, no further progress has been made towards the installation of the Federal Commission[153] at Frankfort.

FO 64/314: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, Confidential, No 80, Berlin, 28 February 1850

Prussian proposition for arrangements regarding the affairs of Germany; warlike language of French minister

A messenger was despatched by Baron Schleinitz two days ago to Vienna with a proposition of arrangement as to the affairs of Germany.

Baron Meyendorff was applied to for his assistance in recommending this proposition and in obtaining for it the support of Mr de Medem the Russian Minister in Vienna, a request with which he readily complied. The feeling of the Prussian Government with regard to the federation of the 26th of May[154] is that as its character has now changed by the secession of Hanover and of Saxony,[155] the objects for which it was established, namely the formation of a general government for the whole of Germany, must be reduced to the formation of a smaller combination of States under the presidency of Prussia, which may ally itself, or become confederate with the rest of Germany.

The carrying out the Prussian proposals is entrusted to Count Bernstorff the Prussian Minister at Vienna, who is well known to entertain a strong opinion that Austria and Prussia should, under present circumstances, establish a united action in the affairs of Germany.

Baron Prokesch has, at the desire of Baron Schleinitz, given an assurance to Prince Schwarzenberg that the Prussian proposals, as they will be presented by Count Bernstorff, are made with the sincere desire of coming to a friendly understanding with Austria, but he, notwithstanding, has some hesitation upon the subject as it is understood that the Council of the Federal Administration has agreed

[152] Peter Casimirovic Freiherr von Meyendorff.
[153] Cf. n. 137 in this section.
[154] Cf. n. 115 in this section.
[155] Cf. n. 144 in this section.

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to the supplementary project to the Constitution to be presented for the sanction and approbation of the Parliament of Erfurt, by which some of the pretentions of the original scheme of Imperial government are maintained.[156]

I have not been able to obtain a copy of this document, which has not as yet been sanctioned by all the members of the Council, and therefore I am unable to state whether the apprehensions of Baron Prokesch are well founded.

Monsieur de Persigny has continued to hold the same language to various persons as that which I reported to your Lordship in my despatch No 61, amongst others to Mr Abeken of the Foreign Office, and to Baron Prokesch; to the latter, in speaking of the probability of France being forced into War, he told him that in such a case She would never think of carrying her conquest beyond either the Rhine or the Alps, thus seeking to satisfy him that Austria would incur no danger from such hostilities; to me, he stated that if Your Lordship would appeal now to France, as you had formerly done to Louis Philippe as to the affairs of the East,[157] to join you in remodelling the present state of Europe, you would not receive the same refusal you had met with from her former government. To Mr Abeken, as he had done to me, he gave it to be understood that the Prussian government had acted most unwisely in putting forward a menace of an occupation of some of the Swiss Cantons,[158] as Prussia must know that some time or other France must go to War, and that in such an event her armies must occupy and concentrate themselves in Switzerland whence they would be able to menace alike both Italy and the South of Germany.

As Mr de Persigny's language has now become pretty generally a subject of conversation, I have thought it right not to keep your Lordship in ignorance of it, particularly as he read to me the report he had made to General de la Hitte of his first conversation with Count Brandenburg in which report he refers to the more extended explanation of that conversation which he had given in a private letter to the President.

[156]On 26 February 1850 the council of administration of the Erfurt Union resolved on an act additional to the draft of the Imperial Constitution, which had been agreed on 28 May 1849. Both were to be presented to the Union Diet convened for 20 March 1850 in Erfurt. Elections to the second chamber were held in each member state of the Union at the end of January 1850; half the members of the first chamber, known as the state house, were nominated by the governments, and the other half by the chambers of the individual states of the Union.

[157]This comment refers to the Eastern Crisis of 1839–1840.

[158]Behind this threat lay the fact that Switzerland had become the refuge of radical politicians and that in 1848, with the support of neighbouring Swiss Cantons, a democratic republic had been established in the Prussian Principality of Neuenburg (Neuchâtel), which had also been a Swiss Canton since 1815.

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I asked Mr de Persigny what was the nature of the intimate alliance with Prussia which he had proposed to Count Brandenburg, he replied with some hesitation that what he had proposed could not be considered in that light, that he had spoken of the willingness of France to favour the Prussian Policy and to consent, if she desired it, to her incorporating some of the Southern parts of Sleswig.

From Baron Schleinitz whom I have just seen for the first time since his illness I learn that Mr de Persigny's proposition went to the incorporation of the Southern part of Sleswig as far as Flensburg.

FO 64/315: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 105, Berlin, 14 March 1850

Austria unlikely to accede to Prussian proposals for regulating German affairs

No official answer to the proposals made by Count Bernstorff to the Cabinet of Vienna upon the affairs of Germany[159] has yet been received, but both Baron Schleinitz and Baron Prokesch have received private letters which give very little hope of their being acceded to; the principal difficulty seems to arise from the wording of the Constitution and the Additional Act to be presented to the Parliament at Erfurt,[160] since in both these documents the original pretentions of the Imperial Government to the exclusion of Austria are maintained. This was the point upon which, as I stated to your Lordship in my despatch No 80, Baron Prokesch hesitated to believe the Prussian proposal were made with the sincere desire of coming to a friendly understanding with Austria, and which he considered as in opposition to the assurances of Baron Schleinitz that as the character of the Federation of the 26th of May had now changed by the Secession of Hanover and of Saxony,[161] and by its not having been accepted by Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the object for which it had been formed must be changed, and a federation of States which could ally itself or become confederate with the rest of Germany be instituted in its stead.

This is the basis upon which, according to Baron Prokesch's assurance, Austria would be ready to treat with Prussia, but to any proposition grounded upon her exclusion from Germany She will not.

[159] Cf. pp. 157–158.
[160] Cf. n. 156 in this section.
[161] Cf. n. 144 in this section.

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FO 64/317: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 185, Berlin, 22 May 1850

Attempt to assassinate the King of Prussia

It is with the deepest regret I have to report to Your Lordship that an attempt upon the life of His Majesty the King has this day been perpetrated but most providentially with no dangerous result.

The attempt was made at the Railway Station leading to Potsdam as His Majesty was descending the steps leading from the door of the appartment appropriated for the King's service upon the platform, which led to His carriage. The assassin fired a shot from a pistol levelled against His Majesty and from a distance only of from three to four feet. The Bull struck His Majesty's right arm and passed through the flesh, but (as the moment I heard of the event I went to the Station and was admitted to His Majesty's room) I have the happiness to be able to state to Your Lordship that the wound is slight and that His Majesty was perfectly unconcerned about it, and was only occupied by His anxiety for the Queen[162] who was present, and who had naturally been very greatly alarmed.

Before I left their Majesties the King's wound had been dressed and He was about to return to Charlottenburg instead of continuing his journey, as he had intended by the Railroad to Potsdam.

Your Lordship will conceive that the whole town has been thrown into the greatest agitation by this event and it is generally considered as a part of a conspiracy, of which Notice has been received here, against the lives of the different Sovereigns, and His Majesty in His conversation with me begged I would impress upon Your Lordship the necessity of attending to some information which had lately been transmitted by the messenger I had placed at the disposal of the Duke of Coburg[163] on the 13th instant and which gave a detail of the objects of the Persons engaged in this Conspiracy who are now assembled in London, and who in the abominable list of their intended Victims have placed the name of Our Most Gracious Queen. I saw the assassin at the Station, and I must say a more contemptible miscreant I never beheld.

He has been till last October a private in the Bombardier corps, and since his discharge he has been allowed to remain in the Barracks as an assistant in the Kitchen, he was, I understand, in pursuance of a late regulation, about to be removed from this situation. He is a Native of Wetzlar, named Leveloh,[164] and when he was first interrogated as to the

[162]Elisabeth Ludovika.
[163]Ernst II.
[164]The would-be assassin's name was Max Sefeloge.

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motives of his desperate attempt he spoke of liberty and the rights of Freedom, but as he had been a good deal injured by the blows he received from the Bystanders when he was first arrested, he was not very distinct in the declaration of his political impressions.

His Majesty on leaving the Station was immensely cheered by the great concourse of Persons who had assembled upon the report of this iniquitous attempt.

P.S. Since writing the above I have been to Charlottenburg to enquire after His Majesty, who learning I was in His anti-room sent General Gerlach to say, he very much regretted he could not see me, but his medical Attendants had forbidden it, but that he was doing quite well, and was only most anxious that I should transmit to Your Lordship all the information which had been received by His Ministers as to the conspiracy of assassination which was carried on in London; for this purpose he requested I would go myself to the Minister of the Interior and convey to him his order that he should supply me with all the intelligence he had received. I immediately obeyed His Majesty's commands and Mr de Manteuffel has promised to send if possible this evening a report which has been received from London of a later date than the one transmitted by the Prince of Coburg, through my Hamburg Messenger of the 13th instant.

This second report is entirely confirmatory of the first but with greater detail. If this document should arrive in time I will forward it to Your Lordship this evening, if not by my Messenger of tomorrow.

FO 64/317: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, Confidential, No 186, Berlin, 23 May 1850

Conversation with the King on the prospects for peace with Denmark; letter from the King of Denmark in answer to letter from King of Prussia

The day before the deplorable event which took place yesterday[165] I had an opportunity at a Fête which was given by His Majesty of asking what hopes of Peace with Denmark he entertained from the communications he had received from General Below on his return from Copenhagen; His Majesty replied 'very little'; He said the Danish Government was under the influence of the revolutionary Party who had gained the ascendant in 1848,[166] and who were actuated by the most decided hostility to the Duchies, he said a leader of that Party Mr Tchirning [sic] still directed the policy of the Country and that

[165]Cf. preceding dispatch.
[166]Cf. n. 8 in Hanse Towns section.

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he would not be satisfied with anything short of the incorporation of Sleswig with the Kingdom. His Majesty declared that although he found fault with the Duchies to a certain extent for having commenced the War against their Sovereign yet he denied they had ever acted revolutionarily, that their claims were more legitimate than those of the Danes, that the present reigning Family in Denmark had only become so by being Dukes of the Duchies, and that these Duchies had a right to remain together.[167]

I here interrupted the King to say, surely one[168] formed a part of Germany and the other did not. His Majesty replied that this was true, and made some difference, but that the Danes, because there was a certain proportion of Danes amongst the inhabitants of Sleswig had no more right to claim to incorporate the whole of that Duchy than Germany would have to incorporate the Canton of Berne because a great part of its population was German.

I told His Majesty that there was no question of the incorporation of Sleswig, that on the previous day I had made the declaration to General Below in presence of the Danish Plenipotentiaries[169] that Your Lordship would not admit of such an arrangement, and the Danish Plenipotentiaries had entirely adhered to that declaration as being conformable to the instructions they were acting under. His Majesty replied that General Below had reported this conversation to him but he doubted that the Danish Government would confirm the declaration of their Plenipotentiaries. At this stage of the conversation I called up Sir H. Wynn who was standing near and I told him that His Majesty believed the leader of the movement in 1848 Mr Tschirning [sic] had great weight with the Danish Government. Sir Henry immediately assured His Majesty that this was not the case, and he proceeded to describe the political position at present occupied by that Person,[170] which was neither influential nor exerted in the direction His Majesty supposed. The King replied that he was surprised at this statement, for on that very morning he had been told what he had before asserted. Sir Henry Wynn again assured His Majesty that the statement he had made as to the position of this person was correct, and he went on to explain to him in what way his influence was at present directed. The conversation was then interrupted as His Majesty was called away and as Sir Henry Wynn was to leave Berlin

[167] For the legal aspects of the Schleswig-Holstein question cf. pp. 193–197.

[168] Holstein.

[169] Baron Friedrich Christian von Pechlin and Holger Christian Reedtz.

[170] In 1850 Tscherning, the former Danish minister of war, was member of the Danish parliament.

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on the following morning the King took leave of him in the most cordial manner.

I have thought it right to report this conversation confidentially to Your Lordship because it is an evidence of the degree to which His Majesty is influenced at times by Persons who, either ill informed or perhaps with ulterior objects in view make representations to Him which upon examination turn out to be incorrect, and which representations acquire weight with Him and influence His conduct. The language of His Majesty upon this occasion under the representations which had been made to Him, was not unlike that which was held here at the commencement of the War, and before the disastrous experiments of the Campaigns of 1848 and 1849, and it was totally at variance with the expressions His Majesty had used to me as reported to Your Lordship in my despatches No 319 of the year 1848 and No 289 of 1849 when, after the conclusion of the First Armistice of Malmö[171] and after the signature of the Armistice and Preliminaries ratified in Berlin on the 17th of July last,[172] He told me he felt the greatest satisfaction at the conclusion of these arrangements by which he considered the War was terminated, and when He expressed to me his feelings of the most sincere obligation and gratitude for the part I had taken in bringing about these arrangements. Yet the very contrary of the rights of Unity between the Duchies which His Majesty had now put forward is stipulated in those Preliminaries, and the distinct political separation between them is established.

I hope these impressions will be removed, there certainly is nothing in the letter of the King of Denmark to His Prussian Majesty in reply to the one from the King of Prussia[173] of which General Below was the bearer which can bear out the views now attributed by the King to the Danish Government.

I enclose a translation of this letter from the King of Denmark which has confidentially been placed in my hands by Baron Pechlin who has delivered it at a private audience to His Prussian Majesty.[174]

Mr de Radowitz in a conversation with Baron Meyendorff about three months ago stated that the Duchies ought to form part of the German system and that Prussia could afford to delay any final arrangement with Denmark for ten years, so that at the end she might obtain Her object. I looked upon this language at the time as of little importance, but the mode in which the Danish negociation has of late been conducted by the Prussian Government has induced me

[171] Cf. n. 16 in Hanse Towns section.
[172] Cf. n. 107 in Frankfurt section.
[173] Letter of Friedrich Wilhelm IV to Frederik VII of 6 May 1850.
[174] Enclosure: Translation of Letter of Frederik VII to Friedrich Wilhelm IV, 14 May 1850.

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to give more weight to it (as indicating an intention to protract the negociation) than I originally did, and it is under this impression that I now bring it under Your Lordship's consideration.

Baron Pechlin has prepared a detailed reply to the two last Memoirs which have been presented by Mr d'Usedom[175] according to which he announces to the Prussian Government the objections entertained by Denmark to a Peace which would leave all the questions at present at issue between the two Governments unsettled, but expresses the hope of concluding a permanent and satisfactory arrangement on the basis of the Preliminaries.

FO 64/318: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 240, Berlin 2 July 1850

Peace treaty between Denmark and Prussia signed; points of difference

My despatch No 238 will have informed Your Lordship of the result of the last Conference between the Prussian and Danish Plenipotentiaries.[176] The discussions which took place at that Conference extended to almost all the Articles of the proposed arrangements.

The Prussian Plenipotentiaries wished to substitute an Article in the Protocol in lieu of the one brought forward by the Danish Plenipotentiaries which related to the entry of the forces of the King of Denmark into the Duchy of Holstein in case the German Confederation neglected, upon the King's requisition, to reestablish his authority, but this article was so worded as in the opinion of the Danish Plenipotentiaries to be quite unsatisfactory, they did not consider it as recognizing sufficiently the legitimate authority of the King as contradistinguished from that which was at present exercised by the Statthalterschaft[177] in his Majesty's name, nor did it take any notice of the eventuality of a prolonged delay of the Central Government of the Confederation in responding to the call which the King of Denmark might make upon them for their intervention. In many of the other Articles brought forward by the Prussian

[175] Memoir of 17 April 1850, which accompanied the Prussian peace proposal, and memoir of 11 May 1850. Pechlin replied on 24 May 1850.

[176] On 2 July 1850 Denmark and Prussia concluded the Peace of Berlin, which restored the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to Danish rule. Prussia, which gave up any further support of the Duchies, signed this treaty on behalf of the interim federal commission, and thus in the name of the German Confederation. According to article 4 the King of Denmark (as Duke of Holstein – a member state of the German Confederation) could seek the intervention of the Confederation to restore his rule in Holstein.

[177] Cf. n. 55 in Hanse Towns section.

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Government the Danish Plenipotentiaries found objections more particularly in the 3rd Article of the Treaty in which it was proposed to reserve the relations as well as the rights which had belonged to the respective parties before the War, and in the 5th Article where it was sought not only to fix the limit between the dominions of His Danish Majesty not comprised in the German Confederation and these which belonged to it, but also the territorial rights appertaining to the respective Duchies.

There was also in the 1st Article of the Protocol a restriction as to the entry of the Danish Troops into the Duchy of Sleswig, until the Prussian contingent had entirely withdrawn from it, while there was no provision against the invasion of that Duchy by the Holstein Army; in addition to these there were many other points of minor difference but I am happy to report to Your Lordship that after two very long conferences of nearly five hours duration, the treaty such as it was paraphéd last night has this evening at 9 o'clock been signed at my house by the respective Plenipotentiaries and at the request of both Parties I have added my signature as representing the Mediating Power.

I have the honor of enclosing a copy of this Treaty, of the Protocol, and of the secret Article which accompanies it, as also of the protocol of the Conference held yesterday evening which has been paraphéd as upon former occasions with my Signature.

I cannot but congratulate Your Lordship upon the termination under Your auspices of this prolonged and arduous negociation, the result of which I hope will be the reestablishment of peace not only between the Powers engaged in the Negociation of the present treaty, but also the reconciliation of the Duchies with their Legitimate Sovereign and their return to that state of tranquillity which can alone secure to them the degree of prosperity which they formerly enjoyed.

I cannot close this despatch without stating that Baron Meyendorff the Russian Minister has been unremitting in his exertions to bring about the termination of this negociation, and that fortified by the declarations which have lately emanated from his Government, and guided by his own ability and discretion he has greatly contributed to that result.

With reference to the Situation in which I have been placed during this Negociation, I can only desire to bear testimony to the conciliatory and friendly feeling with which, as Your Lordship's representative, I have on all occasions been treated by the Prussian Plenipotentiaries Baron Schleinitz and Monsieur d'Usedom, as by those of Denmark Baron Pechlin, Monsieur de Reedtz and Monsieur de Scheel. These distinguished persons, while anxiously by desiring to carry out the

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important interests of their respective Countries have always evinced the greatest consideration for every communication or proposal which through me has emanated from Your Lordship, and I hope the successful result of their labours will be the best proof of the value of Your recommendations.

FO 64/319: Henry Howard to Viscount Palmerston, Confidential, No 12, Berlin, 27 July 1850

Austrian government rejects Prussian proposals for affairs of Germany; remarks by Schleinitz; danger of war less imminent

Baron Schleinitz confirmed to me this morning the refusal of the Austrian Cabinet to entertain the proposals of the Prussian Government on the affairs of Germany of the 2nd instant referred to in my despatches Nos 3 and 8 and which, as far as the form of the Negociations is concerned, were based upon former proposals of the Austrian Government, when the establishment of a new Provisional Central Power was under negociation.[178]

The Austrian Cabinet, however, contends that the Prussian Government has not fulfilled the condition upon which the offer was made, namely the suspension of the Union,[179] and consequently that it cannot agree to the application of such a form.

With reference to an enquiry on my Part, Baron Schleinitz stated that he now considered the discussion between the two Governments to be at an end, but that the Prussian Government would be ready to take any further proposals which might be made to it into consideration.

It could not however recognize the Plenum or ordinary Assembly of the Diet:[180] a rupture between Austria and Prussia need not necessarily ensue from this state of things and Prussia would certainly not be the Aggressor, but, with regard to the turn of events, much unfortunately might now depend upon chance and incidental circumstances.

With references to this subject, I beg leave to observe that nobody is willing to entertain the idea of a war arising from these differences unless indirectly brought on, although the general impression is that a long time may yet elapse before a solution of them is arrived at; a most complicated and confused state of things continuing in the mean time.

[178] Cf. p. 159.

[179] For the Erfurt Union cf. n. 115 in this section.

[180] For the Federal Diet of the German Confederation reconvened by Austria cf. pp. 86–87 and n. 163 in Frankfurt section.

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Baron Schleinitz did not admit to me having received communication of the Instructions of the Austrian Cabinet to Count Thun at Frankfort for the establishment of the Ordinary Assembly of the Diet (Engerer Raht).[181] but he said that the intention of the Austrian Government to continue its course (which was the adoption of that measure) has been announced to him and he did not doubt but that, by this time, the proposal has been made at Frankfort on the part of Austria.

He did not say that the order for the recall of the Prussian Plenipotentiaries[182] from Frankfort has been sent but he told me that I might consider as positive that it would be given.

FO 64/319: Henry Howard to Viscount Palmerston, No 19, Berlin, 1 August 1850

Arrival of Heinrich von Gagern en route to Holstein for the purpose of assisting the Holsteiners; democratic party takes advantage of the Schleswig-Holstein question

Mr Henri Gagern, former President of the National Assembly and afterwards of the Imperial Government at Frankfort, has arrived here on his way to Holstein wither he is going, as was stated to me by a Prussian Minister whom he has visited, for the purpose of assisting the Holsteiners not only by giving them the benefit of his advice, but likewise by taking, eventually, a personal part in their military operations in the Duchies.

He came here to ascertain what support the Holsteiners had to expect from the Prussian Government, but he was told by the Minister to whom I refer that Prussia had no intention of renewing the war, and Baron Schleinitz stated to a Colleague of mine that he had neither seen nor intended to see him. He has however sought Mr de Radowitz.

The Democratic Party in Germany has availed itself of the Sleswig-Holstein Question, which did it such good service in 1848, in order to recover its lost ground, and numerous collections are being made in different parts of Germany to come in aid of the war waged in the Duchies by the Holstein Statthalterschaft,[183] but I have not heard that their produce at all equals the high sounding phrases with which they are announced.

Even the Students of the Berlin University, who at one time played no inconsiderable part, but who have not been heard of since the

[181] Cf. n. 112 in Frankfurt section.
[182] Karl von Boetticher and Eduard von Peucker.
[183] For the *Statthalterschaft* cf. n. 55 in Hanse Towns section.

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reestablishment of order in November 1848 by the present Ministry, have publickly set a collection on foot.

FO 64/319: Henry Howard to Viscount Palmerston, No 58, Berlin, 29 August 1850

Prussia refuses to participate in the reestablishment of the Federal Diet; passage of Baden troops; Schleinitz hopes for an ultimate understanding with Austria; policy of Prussia regarding the admission of Austria's non-German provinces into the confederation

Baron Schleinitz informed me this morning that the answer of the Prussian Government declining the invitation of the Austrian Cabinet to participate, by the appointment of a Plenipotentiary, in the Assembly of the ancient German Diet which Austria has convened for the first of September next,[184] was despatched to Vienna two or three days ago. The nature of this answer I have already had the honour of stating in my despatch No 51. Baron Schleinitz also told me that he had not yet received any written reply from the Austrian Government to the Prussian answers of the 19th and 20th instants relative to the questions of the passage of the Baden Troops by Mayence and of the Administration of the Federal Property, as Prince Schwarzenberg had left Vienna shortly after their arrival, but he said that from His Highness' verbal communications with Count Bernstorff he was led to believe that the Austrian Cabinet would enter into the views of the Prussian Government, and that an agreement would be arrived at on the two questions under discussion.[185] It will be in your Lordship's recollection that the chief point of difference between the Austrian Proposals and the Prussian counter Proposals is, that whereas the former imply that the whole Question of the dislocation of the Baden troops should be submitted to the contemplated Arbitration, the latter admit of it only for the passage of the Troops.

I find that Baron Schleinitz has expressed to other Foreign Representatives the same hopes, which he conveyed to me as reported in my despatch No 51, of an ultimate understanding with Austria on the general affairs of Germany, saying that the differences between Austria and Prussia were in reality not so essential, that if a form could be found, they were capable of being removed, and that he trusted the new Federal Central Commission, which it is proposed to establish for the Administration of the Federal Property, might, by bringing Representatives of the different German Powers together, facilitate the attainment of such an understanding.

[184]Cf. n. 163 in Frankfurt section.
[185]Cf. pp. 88–90.

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With regard to the realization of these hopes as far as the new central commission is concerned, I beg to observe that much would depend upon the choice more particularly of the Prussian Plenipotentiaries; the same expectations were entertained in respect to the Federal Commission instituted by the Treaty of the 30th of September of last year,[186] but they were defeated, the bearing of General Radowitz having tended to narrow and neutralize as much as possible its efficiency, although it is not to be denied that by the stipulations of the Treaty, the question of the political reorganization of Germany was excluded from its competency.

Besides the indirect facilities which the creation of the new commission may afford towards the object in view, there are two other forms under which a negociation between the opposite Parties might be set on foot viz: that of a general conference of the German States (des conferences libres), a plan which has hitherto failed from the conditions which Prussia has attached to it either of the recognition of the German Union[187] or at least of the general principle of the Right of close union of the States amongst each other; and secondly that form by which the assembly of the Diet at Frankfort should frame a plan for the revision of the German Federal Law[188] which should be submitted as a proposal to Prussia and Her Allies.

Either of these forms would be accepted by the Prussian Government. In point of substance the principal difficulty in the way of an agreement would be should Prussia insist, as she has hitherto done, upon the recognition by Austria and Her adherents of the principle of the Right of the States to form to a certain extent a constitutional and legislative Union amongst each other. On the other hand, as to the particular constitution of the German Union as framed at Erfurt,[189] I have reason to believe that a part, at least, of the Members of the Prussian Government consider it to be under present circumstances impracticable and would be disposed to abandon it.

With regard to the wish of Austria to annex her outlying and non German Provinces to the German Confederation, Baron Schleinitz has stated to a Foreign Diplomatist that Prussia would not oppose the realisation of such a plan, provided there should be no German Parliament for the whole Confederation associated with the definitive Central Organ to be created.

[186]Cf. n. 137 in this section.

[187]Cf. n. 115 in this section.

[188]Act of the German Confederation of 8 June1815.

[189]The interim constitution of 28 May 1849 (cf. n. 115 in this section) was adopted by the chambers of the Erfurt Diet on 13 and 17 April. Further amendments were passed until 29 April 1850.

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The policy of Prussia in this respect may be thus explained. Her object is to extend her influence in Germany and to unite as many of the States of Germany as possible in certain constitutional and representative bonds with Her. Should the Austrian non-German Provinces be added to the Confederation, it is evident that there can be no common Legislative tie between them and the German States of the Confederation; hence would arise the necessity of loosening as much as possible the ties between the several States of the Confederation as regards their common organ and of giving to the Confederation more the character of an international Alliance than of the closer Union which it has hitherto borne and towards the development of which the efforts of the two last years have in vain been directed. The Confederation being reconstructed on a wider and looser basis, one of the contemplated consequences would be the acknowledgment of the Right of the several States to form a separate closer Alliance. This right being admitted, it might be expected that all those States for whom the Protection afforded by the Central Organ might not be sufficient, would be induced to seek that Protection from Prussia and ally themselves intimately with Her, and thus the policy of Prussia to establish, under her own auspices, a Federal State within the Confederation would be promoted, whilst by the accession to the Confederation of the Austrian outlying Provinces material advantages might be procured for German Commerce and Manufactures. Such a combination would not appear to suit the interests of the second rate German Powers who might sooner or later be forced to sacrifice to Prussia a considerable part of their independence.

It appears that Prussia has withdrawn her objection to the plan in question, but should others of the Great Powers, Parties to the Treaty of Vienna[190] oppose it, Prussia not having originated it, would leave to Austria the responsibility of having proposed it, nor can I believe that, should those Powers pronounce themselves against it, Austria which takes her stand upon the Treaties of 1815 and draws a wide distinction between a mere proposal such as the Project of Constitution drawn up at Munich[191] and the commencement of the execution of a Project like the Establishment by Prussia of the German Union, could insist upon so evident a deviation from those Treaties as the annexation of Her non German Provinces to the Confederation would involve.

In this review I have not treated this scheme with reference to its practicability in which I am unwilling to believe, but merely with reference to the motives which I have reason to think guide the

[190] Contracting partners to the Act of the Vienna Congress of 9 June 1815 were Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, France, Portugal, Russia, Sweden, and Spain.

[191] On the draft constitution of the Four Kings' Alliance cf. n. 85 in Bavaria section.

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Prussian Government in regard to it. How far, on the other hand, the conditions which the Prussian Government would attach to its consent to the plan, and which may be gathered from the above remarks, might suit Austria is again a question which would add much to the difficulties of its execution.

I abstain from entering further into the pending questions of German Policy; a glance at them is sufficient to shew the apparently inextricable confusion into which they are fallen; it is however, consolatory to think that the fears, which at one moment were entertained, of an open rupture between the two great Powers of Germany, whose Union is so essential to its prosperity and force, have now subsided, and that a more conciliatory tone has taken the place of the asperity of language which marked some of their late communications.

FO 64/320: Henry Howard to Viscount Palmerston, No 125, Berlin, 9 October 1850

Prussian government determined to resist any armed intervention by the Federal Diet in Hesse-Cassel; conversation with Radowitz on the subject

During the interview which I had yesterday with General de Radowitz that Minister, in speaking of the affairs of Hesse Cassel took an opportunity of repeating the determination of the Prussian government, which he had already stated to me as reported in my despatch No 106 to resist any armed intervention on the part of the Frankfort Diet in the Electorate.[192]

He justified this determination, in opposition to the argument used on the other side, that Prussia has no right to interfere uncalled for in the affairs of an independent Sovereign or of preventing him from seeking assistance from those of his Confederates to whom he may think it best to apply, by assimilating the intervention of the Diet to a foreign intervention and by saying that Prussia could as little agree to it, as for example Bavaria could consent to a French intervention to restore order in Wurtemberg.

I observed to General de Radowitz that without entering into the merits of the Question or pretending to judge of them, I could not but consider a conflict between German Troops on German soil as a most deplorable event and one which every effort ought to be made to prevent. I said that I supposed he was aware that the Austrian

[192] For the conflict in Hesse-Cassel and the Frankfurt Rump Diet's policy cf. n. 156 and n. 160 in Frankfurt section.

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Government, on their part, had taken up an equally decided attitude, and I asked him whether he had well calculated all the consequences of such a conflict. He replied that he had, that he was not blind to the consequences it might entail in Hungary, in Italy and elsewhere, that if a War broke out, and Austria were prostrated, he should consider it a calamity, if Prussia were to be so, it would of course for him, as a Prussian, be a much greater calamity, but the greatest of all c[a]lamities would be a suicide on the part of Prussia, and She would be committing suicide, were she to permit such an intervention. It was a question of national honour for Prussia and the Prussian Government would not tolerate that the Frankfort Assembly should govern Germany.

Your Lordship is no doubt aware that the Hesse Cassel Government have, on their side, protested against a Prussian intervention.

FO 64/320: Henry Howard to Viscount Palmerston, No 131, Berlin, 10 October 1850

Observations on the present state of affairs concerning Hesse-Cassel and Holstein, and on the prospect of war between the German powers

As Your Lordship is acquainted with the warlike language held by General de Radowitz on the question of an intervention of the Frankfort Diet in Hesse Cassel and in Holstein, with the determination which Prince Schwarzenberg has expressed not to be deterred from following up the course he has chalked out, as well as with the feelings of the other German Governments you will be enabled to form your own judgement as to the present state of affairs.[193] It would therefore be superfluous for me to offer any opinion upon the subject. I cannot, however, abstain from remarking that at no time have matters worn so menacing an aspect as at present, and that the Peace of Germany and with it, that of Europe appear to be dependent upon the Chapter of accidents. Notwithstanding these threatening appearances, the majority of the Persons with whom I have conversed on the subject are unwilling to believe in a War, thinking that the storm, which has now gathered, may blow over, as so many others have done. They found the opinion upon the disinclination to War which has been so frequently manifested of late years, upon the chance of some solution of the Hesse Cassel Question occurring even at the last moment, and upon the expectation that were that question disposed of, the Great Powers of Europe would find means of settling the Holstein Question, or at

[193] For the Frankfurt Rump Diet's pending intervention in Electoral Hesse and in Holstein cf. n. 160 in Frankfurt section and n. 85 in Hanse Towns section.

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least of paving the way for its settlement by interposing to put end to hostilities in the Duchies. They also count in some degree upon the conciliatory views which some of the Members of the Prussian Cabinet are known to entertain, as well as upon the continuation of the efforts of the Russian Government to prevent a collision between the two great German Powers, although they are sensible that since the nomination of Mr. de Radowitz[194] and the policy which he has announced the weight of Russia will be thrown in a much more decided manner in favour of Austria than it was when hopes were entertained that the Prussian Government would not be disposed to push matters to extremities.

A War would certainly not be popular in Prussia, nor is the Cassel affair one which is generally considered as affording a sufficient ground for the commencement of a War, the extent and end of which would be incalculable. But on the other hand, there is no knowing what might not be the effect of an appeal to Prussian National Honour in silencing differences of opinion as to the motives of such a War.

In the mean time matters are advancing on both sides, to a point from which a retreat appears to be becoming every day more difficult; nevertheless as I have before had the honour of remarking, a pacifick solution is by no means despaired of, though few persons appear to have any formed opinion as to the exact manner in which it may be brought about.

FO 64/321: Henry Howard to Viscount Palmerston, No 185, Berlin, 3 November 1850

Effects of the Warsaw Conferences in Berlin; resignation of General Radowitz averts the danger of war with Austria

It appears that after General de Radowitz had in the Cabinet Council of the 1st inst, expressed himself unfavorably upon the Proposals brought by Count Brandenburg as the result of the Warsaw Conferences,[195] he yesterday showed a greater disposition to enter

[194]Radowitz was appointed Prussian foreign minister on 26 September 1850.

[195]On 28 October Brandenburg and Schwarzenberg concluded the interim Warsaw Agreement. Brandenburg declared himself prepared to vote in favour of a restitution of the German Confederation including the whole of Austria. In addition, it was agreed to dispense with popular representation, and to transfer supreme power in the Confederation to a federal council (*Bundesrat*) with seventeen votes. The questions of leadership and executive control in the German Confederation were to be decided by the members of the Confederation. Schwarzenberg declared that he was prepared to continue negotiations at ministerial conference level only on condition that the Erfurt Union were abandoned and that the Federal Diet reconvened by Austria were recognized.

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upon them, but at the same time he demanded, as I have reported, in my preceding Despatch, in view of the Assembly of an Austrian Corps of 100000 men in Bohemia, and of other Austrian armaments, that the whole Prussian Army, including the Landwehr,[196] should be immediately called into active service, in order to support the Negotiations to be carried on with Austria, thus adding nearly 200000 men to the present Prussian forces under Arms.

Count Brandenburg and Monsieur de Manteuffel on the other hand, who had on the preceding day advocated the adoption of the Warsaw basis of arrangement, opposed General de Radowitz's notion concerning the Army in such a manner as to leave no doubt but that its acceptance would lead to their retirement.

Monsieur de Radowitz's views not having prevailed in the Cabinet, notwithstanding the support which his motion in question is said to have found in the highest Quarters, he declared his intention of resigning his post and of not attending the Council of Ministers to be held today.

The Russian Chargé d'Affaires,[197] as I am told, on his side lost no time yesterday evening in writing to Baron Meyendorff at Vienna with a view to obtain from the Austrian Cabinet such a declaration in respect to the Austrian Armaments as may prove satisfactory to the Prussian Ministers.

Baron Prokesch, I understand, received yesterday a Despatch from Prince Schwarzenberg reporting the result of the Warsaw Conferences and desiring of the Prussian Cabinet an answer respecting them, offering at the same time certain guarantees with respect to the withdrawal of the Federal Troops from Hesse Cassel as soon as wished by the Elector, and to the other questions connected with the intervention of the Diet.[198]

In this Despatch of Prince Schwarzenberg there is, I am told, no mention made of a Preliminary Conference. I regret to have to inform Your Lordship that Count Brandenburg was taken seriously ill last night but he is somewhat better at the hour at which I am now writing viz four o'clock. No formal Council of Ministers was in consequence held this day.

General de Radowitz having given in his resignation, Monsieur de Manteuffel, the Minister of the Interior and General de Stockhausen, the Minister of War, have proceeded to Potsdam since I wrote the above to present for the King's Signature the Ordinances accepting

[196]Territorial reserve.

[197]Andrei Fedorovic Baron Budberg.

[198]For the Frankfurt Rump Diet's intervention in Electoral Hesse cf. n. 170 in Frankfurt section.

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that Resignation; should His Majesty object to signing it, they intend to tender their own. Monsieur de Manteuffel intends to propose Count Bernstorff now Prussian Minister at Vienna as Minister for Foreign Affairs. In the meantime he would himself take the directions of that Department as well as the Presidency of the Council of Ministers during Count Brandenburg's illness. There is every reason to hope and believe that the retirement of General de Radowitz would avert the danger of a war and lead to a satisfactory solution of the present crisis. General de Radowitz has declared that he will under no circumstances retain office.

FO 64/321: Henry Howard to Viscount Palmerston, No 186, Berlin, 4 November 1850

King accepts Radowitz's resignation; Prussian government accepts proposals for arrangement of German affairs agreed upon at Warsaw; effects on Hesse-Cassel and Holstein questions

I have just seen Monsieur de Manteuffel the Minister of the Interior who informs me that the King signed yesterday evening the Ordinances by which His Majesty accepts the resignation of General de Radowitz and charges the President of the Ministry Count Brandenburg and as long as the latter is impeded by illness, himself (Monsieur de Manteuffel) with the Foreign Department which has been offered to Count Bernstorff at Vienna.

Monsieur de Manteuffel further informs me that after his return from Potsdam last night, he sent off Monsieur de Rosenberg to Vienna to announce the acceptance by the Prussian Government of the proposals of arrangement brought by Count Brandenburg from Warsaw (as reported in my despatch Nos 180 and 183), stating that although the Prussian Government regretted that the Austrian Cabinet had not at once consented to the two points which were most favorable to Prussia, yet they were ready to leave them for discussion in the Free Conferences which they express the wish should take place as soon as possible. With regard to the abandonment for the Union of the Constitution of the 28th of May 1849, the Prussian Government say that Prussia, as head of the Union declares that She will not carry out that Constitution.[199]

With regard to the Affairs of Hesse Cassel, Orders have been transmitted to General de Groeben to halt, and to confine his occupation to the line of the Military Roads assigned to Prussia.[200]

[199]For the Warsaw agreement cf. n. 195 in this section.
[200]For the military occupation of Hesse-Cassel cf. n. 170 in Frankfurt section.

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The General, Monsieur de Manteuffel added, had already proposed a Convention to the Commander of the Bavarian Troops[201] regulating a Rayon for the Prussian occupation.

With regard to the affairs of Holstein, Monsieur de Manteuffel said that he likewise sent off last night a Despatch to St Petersburg, stating that the Prussian Government had made a last effort, by the Mission of General Hahn, to bring about a pacification; should it however fail they would not oppose any obstacle to the execution of the 4th Article of the Treaty of the 2nd of July last,[202] meaning, though not expressing it in the Despatch, the execution by the Assembly at Frankfort. The purport of what Monsieur de Manteuffel observed to me on this subject was, that the Austrian Cabinet no longer requiring of Prussia to recognize the Diet altered the case as far as the Prussian Government were concerned in respect to an interference in the matter on the part of the German Princes whose representatives had met at Frankfort.[203]

Since I wrote the above I have again seen Monsieur de Manteuffel. He tells me he hopes that Monsieur de Ladenberg the Minister of Public Instruction, who had offered his resignation at the same time as Monsieur de Radowitz, will remain in office. There was also a question of the retirement of the Minister of Commerce, Monsieur von der Heydt, but it is uncertain.

The State Gazette[204] of this Evening contains the Royal Ordinance dated the 3rd of November, to which I have alluded at the beginning of this despatch, charging Count Brandenburg, and during his illness Monsieur de Manteuffel, with the provisional Administration of the Department for Foreign Affairs.

By another Royal Ordinance of the 2nd instant, the Chambers are convoked to meet at Berlin on the 21st instant.

The course which Count Brandenburg, Monsieur de Manteuffel and General Stockhausen, with the support of some of their Colleagues have adopted, has saved their Country and Europe from the incalculable chances of a War, but it is still beset with internal and external difficulties of considerable magnitude, so far has the Government been committed at home and so great has been the distrust created abroad in many Countries, by the Warlike Policy which Monsieur de Radowitz has pursued.

[201] Karl Theodor Fürst von Thurn und Taxis.

[202] Article 4 of the Peace Treaty of Berlin (cf. n. 176 in this section) gave the King of Denmark, as Duke of Holstein, the right to ask the German Confederation to intervene in order to restore his sovereignty in Holstein.

[203] The representatives of the German princes constituted the Diet of the German Confederation as convoked by Austria. Cf. n. 163 in Frankfurt section.

[204] *Preußischer Staatsanzeiger*.

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Count Brandenburg, though better this evening, still continues seriously ill. General Radowitz leaves Berlin for Erfurt.

FO 64/321: Henry Howard to Viscount Palmerston, Confidential, No 221, Berlin, 26 November 1850

Conversation with the temporary president of the ministry, Ladenberg, on differences with Austria over Hesse-Cassel; language of Baron Prokesch on conduct of Prussian government

With references to my Despatch No 220 of yesterday evening's date in which I allude to an interview which I had with Monsieur de Ladenberg, who is now acting as temporary President of the Ministry, I beg leave to make the following statement.

Having heard that a Cabinet Council was to be held on the morning of the 24th inst upon the subject of the guarantees which had arrived from Vienna relative to the Federal occupation of Hesse Cassel and to the security of the Prussian Communications on the military Roads,[205] I called at an early hour upon Monsieur de Ladenberg, but as he was unable to receive me, I wrote him a few lines which I marked confidential and of which I had not time to take a copy, saying that the object of my visit to him had been to speak to him in the sense of Your Lordship's Despatch to me No 56 of the 5th inst which I had already communicated to Monsieur de Manteuffel, and at this critical moment to represent to him how deeply Her Majesty's Government would deplore a hostile conflict between Prussia and Austria, and how great would be the dangers for the Peace of all Europe which would result from such a conflict.

Monsieur de Ladenberg having called upon me yesterday and thanked me for my communication, I repeated to him the sentiments conveyed in Your Lordship's above named Despatch. Speaking then in my own name, I asked him whether, considering that the Prussian Government had conceded the general principle of not opposing the actions of the Diet in Hesse[206] and having obtained the guarantees in question from Austria and Her Allies, the occupation by Prussian Troops of a few points on the military roads was really a matter of sufficient moment to Prussia for Her to insist upon it, and thereby,

[205]The declaration made by Austria in the name of the German States represented at the Frankfurt Diet was transmitted to Manteuffel on 22 November. Though it contained the assurance that the federal intervention in Electoral Hesse was to be a temporary measure, and that Prussia was still to use the military roads in Hesse (as agreed in the convention between Prussia and Hesse-Cassel of 12 May 1834), it did not concede to Prussia the occupation of certain points on these roads.

[206]Cf. n. 170 in Frankfurt section.

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as it appeared, inevitably bring on a War with Austria and Her Allies? I then remarked upon the probability that such a War would not long be confined to its original limits and that it would stir up the revolutionary Elements existing in Europe, and I urged such considerations as I thought were best calculated, without committing my own Government, to gain Monsieur de Ladenberg over to a pacifick policy.

Monsieur de Ladenberg in reply disclaimed any warlike views; he said, however, that the maintenance of the Prussian Troops on the line of Military roads was a question of National Honor; their withdrawal, on the contrary, would be a measure so much at variance with the feelings of the Army, the Chambers and the Country, that the Government could not, in his opinion, have recourse to it without the most dangerous consequences, and it would, moreover, be against the conviction of the King himself; As to the revolutionary Party in foreign Countries, the Prussian Government would certainly not court its alliance, at all events were that Party to raise its head in Prussia, they would know how to put it down. He said that he was aware of the danger there might be of an extension of the War, but still the question was one with regard to which the Government could not fly in the face of the strongly pronounced and patriotic feeling of the Country, and he added that if Austria had really wished for Peace she would have ceded a point upon which she could, out of regard for the position of the Prussian Government, so easily have yielded.

The whole tenor of Monsieur de Ladenberg's further remarks left upon me the impression that he was averse to abiding by the basis of the Negociation as hitherto adopted; indeed he told me that he had been opposed to the general Admission of the action of the Diet in Hesse when agreed to by the Prussian Cabinet. This impression was afterwards confirmed by the information which I received concerning the deliberations of the Cabinet this day as reported in my preceding Despatch.

Your Lordship will I trust, not think that I have exceeded my duty in acting as I have done in what I have conceived to be the interest of Peace.

I ought to add that some days after the receipt of Your Lordship's Despatch No 56 I had an opportunity of seeing General de Gerlach, the King's Aid-de-Camp and I placed it in his hands in order that he might read it to the King. The General returned the Despatch to me with a Note in which he stated that His Majesty had expressed his great satisfaction with its contents.

I saw Baron Prokesch during the course of yesterday and I found him much irritated at the turn which things were taking. He said that he acquitted Monsieur de Manteuffel of any blame, but the appearances

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were that the Prussian Government had not been sincere in their admissions and negociations and that they had been seeking to gain time. He dwelt on the other hand on the patience and conciliation which his own Government had shown during the long pending transactions.

In my conversations with Monsieur de Prokesch I have never failed to urge upon him to do everything in his power to support Monsieur de Manteuffel's pacifick policy and I must do him the justice to say that I have always found him so disposed.

If I have myself during the negociations expressed hopes of the preservation of Peace, those hopes have been founded upon the supposition that the Prussian Government would adhere to the principles they adopted on the retirement of General de Radowitz on the 3rd inst.

FO 64/322: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 269, Berlin, 4 December 1850

Chambers adjourned due to violent speeches by opposition; Ladenberg resigns over agreement at Olmütz

Having waited Yesterday evening upon Monsieur de Manteuffel I learnt from him that there was so much excitement in the Chambers and so much violence in the Speeches of some of the opposition Members, particularly in those of Messieurs Vincke, Riedel and Saucken in which insinuations had been thrown out to the Army to oppose itself to the King's decisions, that he should this morning take His Majesty's orders as to their adjournment.

His Majesty has adopted this measure, and Monsieur de Manteuffel, as soon as the 2nd Chamber met this day, and after the protocol of the last sitting had been read, communicated the order for its adjournment to the 3rd of January and the Chambers immediately separated. The 1st Chamber was equally adjourned at 3 o'clock. This adjournment for 30 days is in accordance with the regulations established by the Constitution and in the King's prerogative, and Monsieur de Manteuffel felt it was necessary to exercise it, as in face of the excitement occasioned by the Debates in the Chambers it would have been impossible to carry out the provision of the arrangements entered into at Olmütz.[207]

Monsieur de Ladenberg, who is the only Minister who was opposed in the Council to some of the arrangements come to at Olmütz, has resigned and the King has accepted his resignation.

[207]For the Olmütz Punctation cf. n. 177 in Frankfurt section.

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FO 64/322: Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston, No 279, Berlin, 12 December 1850

Remarks on the changes in the policy of the Prussian government over the last two years

Under the present circumstances of this Country when the call for War has given place to expressions already very general of satisfaction at the prospects of Peace and a combined action of the two great German Powers in the Affairs of the Confederation, it is not uninteresting to trace the Changes in the policy and feelings which within the last two years has taken place in the Prussian Government. Your Lordship will remember that on the 19th of July 1849 in my despatch No 283 I described the sentiments of Count Brandenburg as to the policy a Prussian Minister should pursue in German Affairs [. . .].[208]

On the 9th of August of the same year a totally different policy from the one thus described was brought forward in the Prussian Upper Chamber by Monsieur Camphausen, who, as is described in my despatch No 337 of the 10th of August 1849, declared the object of himself and of his party to be 'to obtain for Prussia the Headship of Germany regardless of the consequences which may ensue from Her assumption of that position without the sanction of the other German Powers. Prussia must have the last word in Germany when there is a question of Peace or War, and the President of the Empire must have it only because he is King of Prussia.'

From the period at which this Speech was made, the policy it recommended was in a great measure adopted by the Government, the Assembly of the Erfurt Parliament[209] was announced and notwithstanding the protests of Austria as of the Governments of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, and the withdrawal of Hanover and Saxony from the Alliance of the 26th of May,[210] it was persevered in, and those Governments who had left the Bund were threatened with prosecution by the Central Tribunal,[211] which had been established for the Trial of all delinquents, and the further military execution of its decrees was menaced for those States which should disobey its orders, or withdraw from its authority.

After the close of the Erfurt Parliament, in which a majority had taken several decisions in opposition to the Prussian Government, and when its general bearing had thwarted or disappointed the views of

[208]Cf. pp. 148–149. Brandenburg's comment is also cited at the end of this dispatch.
[209]For the Erfurt Diet cf. n. 156 in this section.
[210]Cf. n. 144 in this section.
[211]Cf. n. 118 in this section.

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Prussia, and when the meeting of the Princes of the Bund in Berlin[212] had proved that a great difference of opinion existed amongst them, repeated overtures were made to the Austrian Government, with a view of arriving at an understanding upon the formation of a Central German Authority, but as I stated to Your Lordship in my despatch of the 14th of March 1850 No 105,[213] the difficulty arose from the wording of the Constitution and the additional Act presented by the Prussian Government to the Parliament of Erfurt, since in both these documents the original pretention of Imperial Government to the exclusion of Austria was maintained, and thus the character which Baron Schleinitz had given to Baron Prokesch of the Prussian Alliance, (after the Governments of Saxony and Hanover had retired from it and Bavaria and Wurtemberg had not acceded to it) that it was a federation of States which could ally itself or become confederate with the rest of Germany was done away with.

This was the real point of contention between Austria and Prussia, and of which no solution was arrived at till at the meeting at Warsaw and afterwards at Olmütz the free Conferences for the settlement of a German Central Power and for the establishment of a Constitution for the Empire were agreed to without mention either of the Prussian Bund or the diet at present assembled at Frankfort.[214] It is therefore to these Conferences that Germany may now look with hope for the establishment of such a general Government as may secure to her, internal Peace and the independence of her different States, and that Prussia may expect, as Count Brandenburg expressed himself 'by mutual concession and friendly arrangement with Austria and the other States of the Empire to arrive at a final settlement of the organisation of Germany which at the same time will guarantee to Her that high position which the eminent services she has rendered to the common Fatherland as well as her acknowledged strength and power gave her a right to pretend to and require.'

[212] Berlin Princes' Conference (*Fürstentag*), 8–10 May 1850, at which it was decided provisionally to extend the union to 15 July 1850.

[213] Cf. p. 159.

[214] Cf. n. 195 in this section and n. 177 in Frankfurt section.

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