

Je vous prie, Monsieur, de donner lecture de cette dépêche au Ministre et de lui en laisser copie. Je suis profondément convaincu que, même en formulant les conseils que Lord Russell vient de nous donner, il n'a pas cru se mettre en contradiction avec les sympathies qu'il a, toujours témoignées envers le Danemark. Cet intérêt sincère et le souvenir des antécédents politiques de sa Seigneurie me donnent le ferme espoir qu'il trouvera dans nos franches explications des motifs suffisantes pour ne plus s'arrêter à des propositions qu'il n'a pu mettre en avant, j'en suis certain, que parcequ'il ne lui est pas aussi évident que pour nous, que leur adoption pré luderait à l'anéantissement de la vie constitutionnelle du Danemark et bientôt mettrait en question l'existence même de la Monarchie.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) C. HALL.

(Translation.)

Sir, *Copenhagen, October 15, 1862.*

I think it due to the interest which Lord Russell has always taken in Denmark to reply without delay to the despatch, inclosed herewith in copy, which Mr. Paget communicated to me yesterday, and which has occasioned us the more surprise and regret inasmuch as Lord Russell had hitherto expressed views very different from those towards which he now appears to incline.

The Minister in his despatch begins by putting aside the question of the position of Holstein in the Monarchy as being no longer a subject under discussion. To us, too, this question appears to be exhausted, in the sense that its final settlement only depends on the arrangement of some points the necessity of which cannot be ignored.

Our attitude in regard to the demand of the Germanic Diet is clear and well defined. We have proved that the power which the Diet claims for the Holstein States of voting the common Budget and the common laws, in so far as they regard the Duchy, is as contrary to international law as the demand of it is indefensible in respect to the competency of the Diet. We have, nevertheless, declared that we should be ready to accede to it, whatever dangers to the integrity of the Monarchy it might involve, if the eventual position of Holstein could be defined in such a manner that the rest of the Monarchy would not be reduced to a constant dependence on Germany, and if by this sacrifice our relations with the Confederation could be re-established on a permanent basis.

It was to settle these points that we entered upon the present negotiations with Prussia and Austria, and the opinion which Lord Russell expresses on the necessity of this concession on our part is, I am convinced, accompanied by an entire approval of the two conditions which I have just pointed out.

With regard to the internal affairs of Schleswig, we might have hoped that our line of conduct was not less fitted to assure us the sympathies of the English Government. The intentions in respect to this Duchy which the King had on a former occasion spontaneously expressed, the engagement of honour, to use the term employed by Lord Russell, which the King had taken, were immediately and conscientiously fulfilled by him. Even in respect to the regulation as to the use of the two languages — which, I repeat, never was mentioned in the correspondence of 1851 — the Government has scrupulously maintained the same measure, for the arrangements now in force are the same which in 1851 did not provoke any objection. Lord Russell next recommends an extension

of the liberties accorded to the Provincial Diet of Schleswig, but the King has already, in the Speech from the Throne of this year, proclaimed the same intention. Such a development could not, however, take place otherwise than by the King's free will, and in like manner His Majesty is the best judge of the opportuneness of such a measure. The Government will act in this matter as soon as the state of the Holstein question permits it, and in the new organization it proposes then to give to the Provincial Estates of Schleswig, it will follow the same liberal principles which guide it in the whole of its administration, and will especially do so in framing the new electoral law which, by universal consent, is the most indispensable element of any new order of things in the Duchy.

Lord Russell enters, finally, on the question of the common Constitution in so far as it concerns the Kingdom and Schleswig. I have nothing in this respect to add to what you have already said to the Minister, and you will beg his Lordship to look upon the explanations which you have already given him as the final expression of the views of the King's Government.

I will not enter into any detail to prove how unfounded is the objection that the Constitution ought to have been submitted to the vote of the different special representations of the Monarchy. I have already sufficiently demonstrated it; but, whatever may have been the opinion of the Diet of Frankfort in respect to the right of the Holstein States, I trust that, in what concerns the Kingdom and Schleswig, Lord Russell, while expressing an opinion, does not intend to ignore the imperious duty which forbids the King to submit to the decrees of Germany in estimating what he owes to those of his States which do not belong to the Confederation. So little as the common Constitution is defaced by any defect in form, so little would it be possible to substitute the organisation of which Lord Russell has endeavoured to sketch the principal outlines, without the Monarchy being dissolved, and that very integrity which it was the object of the Treaty of London to maintain being seriously compromised. Lord Russell himself has, in his despatch, shown, with perfect justice, all the dangers that such an organization would entail on great and powerful Monarchies; with still more reason he will, I believe, readily admit that, for a State like Denmark, this organization would produce anarchy, and would shortly be followed by the entire dismemberment of the Monarchy. The maintenance of the common Constitution for the Kingdom and for Schleswig is, therefore, the question of life and death for Denmark; and as the Government is convinced of this, so is it resolved not to depart from the line of conduct prescribed to it by such a conviction.

I beg you, Sir, to read this despatch to the Minister, and to give him a copy of it. I am firmly convinced that, even in drawing up the advice which he has just given us, Lord Russell did not believe that he was acting in contradiction to the sympathies which he has always shown for Denmark. This sincere interest, and the political antecedents of his Lordship, afford me a firm hope that he will find in our frank explanations sufficient reasons for not adhering to propositions which I am sure he can only have put forward because it is less evident to him than to us that their adoption would be the prelude of the extinction of Constitutional life in Denmark, and would soon jeopardize the very existence of the Monarchy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. HALL.